

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**ROLE OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS: THE CASE OF PARLIAMENT OF KENYA**

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DECLARATION

The research is my original work and has not been presented to any university for award of any degree in any higher institution of learning and therefore any resemblance to it in part or whole, is purely coincidental.

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Date

DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

This research proposal has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University of Nairobi Supervisor.

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Date

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the Eleventh (11th) Parliament of Kenya for the unrivalled commitment, participation and contribution to diplomacy in Kenya

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
CPA	Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
CPF	Cetinje Parliamentary Forum
DPC	The Danube Parliamentarians Conference
EAC	East African Community
EALA	East African Legislative Assembly
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
GOPAC	The Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption
IAO	The Inter-Parliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy:
ICC	International Criminal Court
IGAD	Intergovernmental Agency for Development
IPA	International Parliamentary Association
IPI	International Parliamentary Institution
IPO	international parliamentary organizations
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
PO	Parliamentary Organizations
SA	South Africa
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
WW	World War

ABSTRACT

Parliamentary diplomacy is an emerging concept in the international arena. Legislators and delegations of parliament are involved in different activities aimed at enhancing international relations among countries or entities. This study examines the Kenya parliament engagement in international relations and role in international parliamentary institutions. The study is an exploratory qualitative design that relies on reports from the various international parliamentary institutions, protocols, and resolutions. The theoretical framework relied on is international relations theory. The exploratory qualitative design has been used. The Kenya's parliament has been chosen because of the engagement with Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), Pan African Parliamentary (PAP), East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) and other international parliamentary institution activities such Canadian African Parliamentary Association (CAPA) and the Conferences of Speakers of Parliament. Secondary data derived from reports and journals of identified international parliamentary organization has been used. Qualitative content analysis guided the analysis and reporting of findings. The three international parliamentary institutions were found to have different institutional structures and mode of operations. The CPA and PAP have members derived from member country seating parliamentarians while EALA is unique as the assembly members are nominated based on strengths of political parties in respective countries. The parliamentarians meet at stipulated times in different member countries to discuss ranging topical issues such as gender inclusion, climate change, peace, terrorism, and security, and African economic issues. Each of the parliamentary institutions was formed after the parent organizations created a resolutions to have legislative functions embedded in the operations. EALA has a parent in East African Community; PAP is a product of deliberations of African Union and the African Commission; and CPA has its original in Commonwealth that brings together former British colonies and protectorates. The Kenyan parliament has actively been engaged in peace and security promotion and restoration in Somalia, Southern Sudan, and the Burundi Crises. The PAP has been involved in arbitration in the conflicts of Chad, Libya, and the transition in Egypt following the challenges of Arab Spring. The study identifies challenges in Kenyan parliamentary engagement internationally. One is the seasonality of seating parliamentarians who are elected every five years and therefore every time the members have to be reoriented into the international parliamentary functions. The inter-parliamentary engagements are autonomous in nature and their ratification of the laws, statutes, and resolutions is not guaranteed in member states. This puts a case for parliamentary diplomacy. There should be away to have the laws, statutes and resolutions to be made bidding to the member countries. The study recommends further studies be focused on specific case studies such direct contribution to peace and security, development and environmental sustainability, territorial disputes, ethnic instigated violence, and election rigging and instability.

Key words: Parliamentary Institutions, Parliamentary diplomacy, International Relations

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Parliamentary diplomacy as a concept has not adequately been defined or contextualised for what its role is within the international relation as a discipline. Götz (2005)¹ attempted to place the parliamentary diplomacy as both procedure and method. Lesley (2015), in strategic review of the South Africa's emerging parliamentary diplomacy and soft power, explains parliamentary diplomacy as procedure to entail processes in which discussions are guided in for a of community of nations but strategically focused on international relations or foreign policy. Parliamentary diplomacy as a process exhibits the following characteristics according to Freidheim (in Lesley, 2015): It is institutionalised and carries a broader agenda, allows for public debate that share or lead to development of certain formal rules and procedure, and those engaged as participants exercise sole discretion to vote based on their guaranteed sovereign equality, and that their decisions are made by their voices in vote.² As a process, Parliamentary diplomacy entail a series of negotiations and agreements made within multilateral or bilateral settings and which extends the work of diplomats beyond the original international relations only³. In this context, diplomats representing their respective states in multilateral forum are considered to be conducting parliamentary diplomacy⁴.

¹Götz (2005), is one of the writers who extensively have done a considerable work on parliamentary diplomacy. He is based at the University of Greifswald (Swedish Institute of International Affairs). This work discusses the origins of parliamentary diplomacy specially focusing the case of selected Scandinavian 'Bloc Politics' and delegation policy in the League of Nations.

²Lesley (2015) in her master's dissertation describes the emergency of South Africa's emerging diplomacy and soft power. This dissertation was viewed from a strategic review of Southern Africa sub-continent context.

³ibid

⁴Kleiner (2008) wrote about the inertia of diplomacy discussion it a new craft or shift in paradigm in running government affairs.

The methods approach places parliamentary diplomacy from an agency perspective. It considers parliaments or its members for that matter as actors or agents within an international relations sphere. It rewrites the rules of diplomacy which was a preserve of the executive arms of government and extends it to legislature. It places the parliamentary to be outward looking and complement their traditional representation, legislation and oversight beyond their geographical confines⁵. Noulas (2011) ardently favours this approach in understanding parliamentary diplomacy and simplifies the definition to "*the activities carried out by parliament in international relations*". From this standpoint, there is a justified explanation as to the parliaments increased involvement in international milieu. Globally, the role of parliament in ratification and supporting certain international laws, policies, goals, and protocols has been engaged even to be top echelon organisations such as EU and United Nations.

Banjo (in Lesley, 2015) describes this in his book, "*Huntingtonian third wave of democratization*" and the "*flourishing of parliamentary activism in East, Central Europe and Africa*"⁶. This emphasizes the greater need for a parliamentary involvement in diplomacy. Resultantly, Squarcialupi (in Lesley, 2015) explains the involvement of parliamentarian in international relation tasks has having created more structured and organized cooperation through the IPU as well as through regional organizations such as the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), aimed at addressing the expanding international agenda and its domestic ramifications⁷.

⁵ Weisglas and de Boer (2007) wrote on the parliamentary diplomacy, its principles and practice.

⁶ Banjo (2009) reviewed the parliamentary foreign policy making a comparison of South Africa and Namibia.

⁷ Squarcialupi (2000) studied the role of international assemblies in parliamentary diplomacy space.

Parliaments are, therefore, no longer merely engaged in the processes of foreign policy formulation and ratification, but are equally directly active as participants in international relations⁸. Within international relations as a space for entrenching individual or collective nations' interest, the parliamentary are involved as part or representatives of national delegations to international negotiations, parliamentary delegations to intergovernmental meetings, parliamentary study groups and research trips, and even the establishment of parliamentary liaison offices abroad⁹.

The International Parliamentary Union (IPU) in 2005 wrote a paper that described the nature of parliamentary involvement in international affairs which extends certain activities of parliamentary diplomacy to: bilateral cooperation between parliaments; establishing of parliamentary friendship groups; fostering engagement involving parliamentary with a regional or sub-region bloc, participating in joint activities with different parliamentary delegation either at home or externally; being involved in certain key interest activities such as monitoring elections and conflict resolution among other; being hosts or being hosted by foreign ambassadors or high commissioners in their countries or while visiting foreign states; and furthering technical cooperation between parliaments¹⁰. There is an argument that involvement of parliaments carries the people weight as they representatives of the people and therefore their informal engagements works to strengthen people to people-to-people relationships, and deepening the people-

⁸Lesley (2015)

⁹Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) (2005) *report discusses how the national parliaments are involve on International Affairs.*

¹⁰Lesley (2015)

driven governance through created friendship groups, while engaging in international relations¹¹.

1.2 Background of the Problem

Internationalization of parliamentary functions and the entrenchment of international relations in legislative functions have gained traction since the first attempts of the League of Nations¹². In the post-Cold War epoch, international diplomacy architecture has increasingly been permeated by the non-traditional actors, such as parliaments and non-governmental organizations, who have emerged to challenge or complement the traditional role of governments of international relations and foreign policy¹³. This has signaled a shift from parliamentary methods and procedures in individual states towards being parliamentary agents. This paradigm shift serves to emphasize the internationalization of democratic systems that challenges the notion of foreign policies incongruence with democratic decision-making and accountability, and that exclusively, it is the prerogative of the state to represent the citizenry in international platforms¹⁴. The internationalized parliamentary organizations are unique in creation, policies, patterns of delegation and group formation, and historical underpinning of the strategic alignment and representativeness. Through these parliamentary associations, representatives of the people have been resolving complex foreign policy problems, international and cross-border issues, and fostering partnership for regional or global peaceful existence¹⁵.

¹¹Stavridis. (2002) *examined parliamentary diplomacy and especially how much people are driven.*

¹² Gotz (2005)

¹³Ibid

¹⁴Bajtay, P. (2015) examines the contribution of parliamentary diplomacy and oversight to democracy and efficiency of EU foreign policy.

¹⁵Noulas (2011) also examined the contribution and role of parliamentary diplomacy in foreign policy formulation and implementation.

Holistically, Minja (2013) concurs that this is what perfectly fits the definition and operations of parliamentary diplomacy¹⁶.

In recent years, parliaments increasing extending their circles of influence by involving in activities were a traditionally reserve of the executive arms of governments such as foreign relations and international diplomacy. Noulas (2011) further highlights the increasing issues touching on foreign policy or international protocols have either in committees or during full house parliamentary plenary or special sessions formed serious subject matter. In Kenya, the issue of International Criminal Court (ICC) is one search issue of demonstrated parliamentary diplomacy that did not only influence debates in the national parliament but found its way in the African Union (AU) heads of States Assembly and the Pan African Parliament (PAP) as well. Global practice has exhibited parliamentary delegations being involved and participating in legislation, representation, and oversight within the parliamentary assemblies at international, regional or sub-regional level, or just within their geographical borders and taking stands on issues of international interest. An exemplary case is the potential influence exerted by national parliaments in ratifying or offering legislative output to the European Union Parliament (EP)¹⁷

Ideally, when parliaments, their agents, or delegations actions and duties are conducted in a foreign area then the holistic chain of events, inputs and outputs is considered

¹⁶Minja (2013) explores the security challenges in Sub-Saharan African. He further explores how regional communities of the EAC and SADC are comparable in their perspective of dealing with security situation. An attempt has been made interrogate the role of EALA.

¹⁷Ibid

parliamentary diplomacy. The interdisciplinary character of the parliamentary organizations allows for a condensed two-level approach of analysis. Firstly, legal nature and institutional mandate of the parliamentary organization is examined. The analysis should strive to examine institutionalization of the identified parliamentary organization (PO) and their competence in handling of the international relations issues of member states. Second level analysis, is political orientation and nature of the parliament organization. Some POs are meant to undertake broader political roles in the formulation, implementation and ratification of the union's or network's foreign policy stipulations. The combination of these two levels is what Noulas (2011 p.2)¹⁸ subsumes to the effective definition of parliamentary diplomacy, *“the activities carried out by Parliaments in international relations, both within the limits of institutional competence and as a central factor of internal political scene”*.

The institutional competency and political nature to analysis the role of parliamentary institutions that Kenya is a member or participates in their activities in adjudicating the international relations issues will guide the analysis of this study.

1.3 Problem Statement

Over last few years, parliamentary role is no longer confined to their geographical boundary but has permeated international spheres through various activities of engagement cross-border. Parliamentary diplomacy both as concept and process is increasing being embraced with parliamentarians contributing immensely to mutual understanding between nations, improving their oversight role and scrutiny of

¹⁸Noulas (2011)

governments through shared experiences, extending representation of the people beyond their geographical or cultural bounds, and further entrenching the democratic legitimacy of inter-governmental institutions. Governance processes have been percolated by the undisputed influence of globalisation and internationalisation. To this effect, it cannot be contained within a particular nation's sphere. There is a lot of learning and experiences to be shared between nations. Therefore, parliaments are internationally working together either formally or informally as regional blocs or through friendship arrangements respectively.

In nearly all continents, there is a registered significant growth in number and activities of cross-border or transnational parliamentary bodies. The phenomenon of national parliaments or delegations being actively involved in international relations has largely been under-researched at the academic level. Studies on parliamentary diplomacy focused on Africanized contexts are limited¹⁹²⁰²¹. Even the existing studies outside Africa have not distinguished the notion of parliamentary diplomacy and parliamentary accountability in foreign and defence policies, probably because of their interconnectedness. A look at non-academic or grey literature presents generalised focus on the general establishment of international parliamentary organizations, challenges, but little on the achievements and weak points. This study aims takes cognizance of the fact that the concept of parliamentary diplomacy is still new and there is need to embrace its emerging role in international relations arena.

¹⁹Stavridis (2002)

²⁰Davonport (2003) considers the parliamentary diplomacy as a new form or emerging power in diplomacy.

²¹Fiott, D. (2011) discusses the value of parliamentary diplomacy.

Limited researches have been done on the concept parliamentary diplomacy and this is the reason it has not been widely accepted as a form of diplomacy. The study aims to bridge the gap parliamentary diplomacy concept has caused/made in the field of international studies with the view of discussing its role in international relations.

1.4 Research Objectives

The general objective of the study is to examine the role of parliamentary institutions in international relations.

The specific objectives are:

1. To examine the role of parliament with reference to international relations
2. To analyse the structure of international parliamentary institutions and parliamentary networks where Kenya is involved;
3. To critically analyse the selected international parliamentary institutions and parliamentary networks contribution to international relations.

The following are the research questions:

1. What is the role of parliament?
2. How the international parliamentary institutions and parliamentary networks are organised and structured where Kenya is involved in?
3. How are the selected IPIs and networks structured to execute their parliamentary diplomacy activities?

1.5 Literature Review

The involvement of parliaments in international activities has served to increase the space of countries engagement in diplomacy and international relations. Parliaments are increasing being involved in fostering peace and mutual understanding countries²², strengthening democracy and having the people be involved in government affairs, representation of the people beyond geographic confines, and increasing of the legitimacy of inter-governmental institutions²³. Characteristically, diplomacy engagement has been a reserve of the executive arms of the government, there legislative arm and in even in some cases judiciaries have encroached this space to give holistic notion of government involvement in international relations²⁴. There countless examples of where the intervention of parliaments especially through influencing standardised legislation or policy formation for countries that have common challenges or intend to solve some societal ills. For instance legislation on transnational terrorism, border-neglecting pollution, international criminal syndicates, and topical issues such as illicit trade or gender marginalisation through harmful traditional practices among other cross cutting issues²⁵.

Involvement of parliament in international affairs could be considered to be persuasion to the dictates of globalisation. Most of the issues currently deliberated in most parliaments are originated from internationally acclaimed issues and challenges. The parliamentary

²²Ahere, J. (2015) has provides a profile on the peacekeeping missions and the contribution to regional security.

²³Noulas (2011)

²⁴Nowotny, T. (2011) investigates the space of diplomatic services in a world permeated with interdependency. It explores how globalisation has strengthen the resolve for parliamentary diplomacy.

²⁵Crum & Fossum (2013) documented the practices of Inter-Parliamentary Coordination in International Politics.

oversight role on government extends to foreign engagements. Conversely, the parliaments are increasingly becoming conscious of the role in the international sphere. The delegations of parliament or individual members that are working under the ambit of parliamentary friendship are being involved cross-border in solving complex issues²⁶. Sometimes, the role of oversight and engagement in diplomacy are deeply intertwined and could be overlapping²⁷. Parliamentary diplomacy therefore is exercised within the realms of both oversight and engagement in international relations activities²⁸.

1.5.1 Multilateralism and National Oversight of Executive Bodies

When parliamentary members exchange information during the various interactions in multilateral parliamentary fora is facilitative of encouraging the access to information and shared knowledge on democratic scrutiny and oversight of the respective national governments²⁹. International parliamentary institutions exercise the collective responsibility in passing and enforcing the implementation of resolutions and requests. It is worth noting the degree of discretionary exercise of the collective control over executive bodies depends on the structure and the legitimate powers of a given parliamentary institution³⁰. For instance, during the second world conference of speakers of parliament, the Inter-Parliamentary Union was granted unique and powerful status of being in the global

²⁶ *ibid*

²⁷ De Vrieze, F. (2015) studied how the parliamentary cooperation is entrenched in international relations discipline. The study provides mapping and analysing of international parliamentary institutions and parliamentary networks focusing on the Western Balkan and South East Europe.

²⁸ Bajtaj (2015)

²⁹ Bradley, et.al. (2007) presents constitutionalism and the how parliaments contribute to this.

³⁰ Crum & Fossum (2013b). *Conclusion: Towards Democratic Multilateral Parliamentary Field*. In B. Crum, & E. Fossum, *Practices of Inter-Parliamentary Coordination in International Politics* (pp. 251-269). Colchester: ECPR Press.

parliamentary counterpart of the UN. This accords IPU the more impact either directly or through national politics that the UN activities are prominent.

When NATO's parliamentary assembly issued a declaration that urged NATO to engage in intensified dialogue with Georgia, this had a wide impact on NATO's executive arm's approach to Georgia. Further, in Netherlands it was taken up in their parliament when a Dutch parliamentarian who doubles up as member of NATO parliamentary assembly introduced into the national parliament as a motion³¹. Usually it is not easy assessing how impactful parliamentary oversight and impact of information exchange in national politics. It worth noting that such impact could be limited in current context and could easily be increased and be made more effective. Secondly, such impact could be reliant on inter-parliamentary organization procedures and respective standing orders but equally the individual members' efforts and commitment³².

1.5.2 Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy

Parliamentary activities transcend the oversight function on executive bodies. Parliamentarians have encroached into what has been traditionally a reserve of the executive arms through their inter-parliamentary, inter-party or other co-operations³³. Constructively, inter-parliamentary institutions have mitigated conflicts by acting as neutral arbiter. The NATO PA involvement in Georgia explains this level of diplomatic

³¹Whitaker, R. (2011). *The European Parliament's Committees: National Party Influence and Legislature Empowerment*. London: Routledge. www.fransweisglas.nl

³²Crum & Fossum (2013b)

³³ibid

involvement³⁴. The parliaments are considered intermediaries in these processes though they carry more weight as they are the legitimate representatives of the people compared to appointive representatives or NGO groups³⁵. Parliaments have a designated responsibility in entrenching processes of democratization and state-building³⁶. This involves wide range involvement of conflict prevention and resolution in quest to foster nation-building, democratisation and securing civil and the political rights of the affected citizens.

It is interesting to note here, however, that not only parliaments from long established democracies participate in these projects. Some of the countries in the Caucasus, for example, are still perfecting their democratic institutions, yet at the same time they are already setting an example for and giving assistance to neighbours that are still suffering from instability³⁷. Complementary to their development-oriented contacts, parliamentarians assemble often from different countries to discuss current affairs and their own institution's working methods³⁸. This exemplifies the dynamism of democratisation of governance. Parliamentary diplomacy provides an avenue to examine the virtues and faults of both developed and developing nations and recommend ways of addressing the challenges identified. Bilateral parliamentary engagement cut down on the bureaucracy sometimes delaying the addressing of critical and urgent issues that could

³⁴ Ahere (2015)

³⁵ Bradley et al.(2007).

³⁶ Lord (2011) is an exposition of the political theory and the practice of parliamentary participation in common security and defence policy.

³⁷ Dinesh. (2014)

³⁸ Beetham, D. (2006).

take long if were taken through the foreign affairs ministries and executive decision making³⁹.

The substance measure of the concrete effect and impact of such bilateral contracts is not quantitatively tenable, though qualitative; the focus on concretised topics and level of preparedness and resolutions derived present lasting impact or just changes in the areas of focus. By having the parliaments meet on topical issues on foreign affairs is just a success in itself⁴⁰. Such internationalised assemblies clearly expound on what stands to be gained. For instance, deliberation on the contribution of international security through consolidation and entrenchment of democratic values in a faraway country, or just preoccupation with the achievement of concrete results at national outcome of certain international discussions or policy direction.

1.5.3 Parliamentary Diplomacy

Kerr and Wiseman (2013) and Nowotny (2011) have highlighted quintessential need to increase awareness of the public in diplomatic activities and their corresponding effects on their daily lives. Among elected leaders in individual nations' legislative assemblies, there is growing interest and priorities to be involved in shaping, designing and controlling foreign policies as it affects local mandate and accountability to the people. There is however, general agreement that scope and content of parliamentary diplomacy depends on contexts though the point of convergence is that in nearly cases or practices,

³⁹Malamud & Stavridis (2011) *deliberates on the parliaments and parliamentarians as international actors. It exposes the members of parliaments and legislators as complementary to their executive counterparts.*

⁴⁰Fiott (2011)

the cardinal role is to promote state interests⁴¹. Globally, democracy is being expanded and entrenched through regional parliamentary organisations, para-parliamentary institutions, and inter-parliamentary groups that have taken a distinguished role in handling issues of common interest beyond their borders⁴². The parliamentary organizations are also unique in formation, scope, content of their engagement, mandates and statutes that operationalize their existence, and broadly their formal or informal aspirations or ambition, authority and powers, size of facilitation and financial support, and the seal of authority in as far their engagement or involvement in foreign policy and international relations activities is concerned⁴³.

Sabic (2013)⁴⁴ enumerated International Parliamentary Institutions (IPI) and estimated them at about 70. This ranged from the first known IPI, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), established in 1889 to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (1949), to the Central-America Parliament (1975), to the Andean Parliament (1979), or the OSCE parliamentary Assembly (1991), who have acted as parliamentary assemblies and the members drawn or delegated from national parliaments or legislative assemblies of member countries⁴⁵. With exception of elected national parliament or the European Parliament, as a unique IPI, which have consolidated powers to pass legislations, discuss, enact and decide public, and exercise direct oversight on executive; most of the international parliamentary assemblies do not have such powers, neither have direct

⁴¹Nowotny(2011)

⁴²*Kerr & Wiseman (2013) reviews the theories and practices in the face of globalisation.*

⁴³De Vrieze (2015)

⁴⁴*Sabic, Z. (2013) considers the international parliamentary institutions as a research agenda. It is an excerpt from Costa, Dri, and Stavidis (edition) on parliamentary dimensions of regionalisation and globalisation.*

⁴⁵ibid

mandate of the people nor directly accountable to the public, and therefore, their impact or involvement in parliamentary diplomacy appears to be rather cosmetic and peripheral⁴⁶. The roles adduced by the IPI is engagement in the inter-parliamentary cooperation through debates and adoption of usually non-binding recommendations on pressing regional and international issues of common interest⁴⁷. Hallunaj (2015) explains that the international parliament groups consequently hope that the political goodwill in their countries will prevail to adopt some of the recommendations and/or influence the government policies and international agreements. The unity of nearly all IPIs is they are usually operated with the blessings of their home governments, therefore implementations of most their suggestions to larger extent is assumed guaranteed⁴⁸.

Distinctively, the IPI's role as new actors in international gallery is not undermine through duplication, replacement or competition with the member government but to act complementarily to reinforce policies with wider implications, norm the cross cutting inter-boundary issues, and build consensus on certain laws that if enacted individually per country would be contradictory, and foster networking and peace⁴⁹. Hamilton (2010)⁵⁰ started that networking and benchmarking among members of parliaments and parliament is contributes to in learning, institutional strengthening, and rich domain of expertise and unrivalled experience in handling bilateral or multilateral issues that sometimes result in conflicts. This is done through political dialogue, as most of the times the flexibility of

⁴⁶Hamilton & Langhorne (2011). *The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory, and Administration*. New York: Routledge.

⁴⁷Hallunaj (2015) paper is focused on how the benefits of Parliamentary Diplomacy as an Instrument in Foreign Policy

⁴⁸Hamilton (2010)

⁴⁹Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2005). *Parliamentary Involvement in International Affairs*. New York: IPU.

⁵⁰Hamilton(2010).

the actions of IPIs permits them use unofficial channels to resolve certain issues⁵¹. In some cases, especially where the parliamentary bodies enjoy direct legitimacy from the people or members directly elected, then members or delegations could on behalf their states or entities as a way of cementing or strengthening their democratic legitimacy and mandate⁵².

The wider assumption that parliamentary diplomacy loosens the grip of the government (executive) on handling their traditionally perceived diplomatic roles is quashed, mutually, the countries benefit from internationalised policies and protocol jointly designed and enacted, if their internal relationship is built in mutualism⁵³. Otherwise, some national parliaments develop own foreign policies if pre-conditionally permitted though this compromises the foreign policy direction of the state or represented entities⁵⁴. One identified constraint related to the distinct foreign policy is the that in most liberal electoral democracies, parliaments are predominated by the majority party or coalition, who are considered an extended arm of the executive or vice versa. This parliamentary majority act in the in the interests of their political affiliation which disenfranchises the minority or opposition voices as the decision made even at foreign level must meet the aspiration of the government they are aligned to. This relegates the role of the parliaments to only supporting and legitimizing the decisions and actions of government and not necessarily oversight it. This invokes the question of sovereignty of parliaments and independent action as the aspiration of majority dominated parliaments act on

⁵¹Weiglas & De Boer (2007)

⁵²Fiott (2011)

⁵³Hallunaj (2015)

⁵⁴Hamilton & Langhorne(2011)

⁵⁴Hamilton (2010)

“instructions” of the executive. Conversely, in an assumed independent status, as the European parliament where the continued existence of government is not dictated by the legislature’s majority then the parliaments are at liberty to pursue and chat their own foreign policy direction⁵⁵. Parliamentary independence implies great involvement in advancing and shaping foreign policy of state or entity represented.

1.5.4 Instruments of Parliamentary Diplomacy

The parliamentary diplomacy includes but not limited to contribution to conflict resolutions, dispatching of envoys of peace, and active involvement and participation in government delegations to international conferences at regional, global and in other associative inter-parliamentary forums. Ideally, role of these “diplomats” or delegations to act as goodwill ambassadors on issues that transcend their geographical boundaries or granted legal entity to gather, disseminate, and share information, and consequently involve the public in foreign policy decision making⁵⁶. The instruments of parliamentary diplomacy are classified into two: the Institutional Diplomacy and Diplomatic or Lobbying approach. Firstly, the parliaments have some of their roles delegated to the cooperation with other nation’s parliament. This process heightens the competencies of these parliaments in the face of responding to bilateral agreements. Respectively, the Parliaments are designated the right and role to ratify international treaties, organize strategic meeting with targeted foreign specialists in different fields especially in situations where cooperation, benchmarking, and exchange of expertise is required, and necessity of creation of mutual committees on specific agendas. In most cases, speakers

⁵⁵Whitaker (2011).

⁵⁶Sabic (2013)

or presidents of parliaments are engaged or take part in on behalf of parliaments on international meetings and conferences but other times they select a delegation or designate the responsibilities to a select team or individual members of parliament⁵⁷. It is also common practice to have parliamentary diplomacy actions are usually undertaken by the inter-parliamentary institutions and/or representatives of parliament or temporary delegations in their engagement in international relations⁵⁸.

In Kenya, for instance, there is a designated committee of dealing in foreign affairs where some members represent the parliament in international parliamentary institutions such as the Commonwealth Parliament Association, Pan African Parliament, and Inter-Governmental Agency for Development (IGAD). Each major party nominates a given number of selected members to the EALA which at a fully pledged parliament dealing with matters East Africa Community. The foreign policy committee respective houses of parliament are mandated to engage in foreign policy, international relation and cooperation, and set guidelines for implementation of international protocols and agreements⁵⁹. These are fundamental spaces for engagement and instruments that encourage engagement and bolster the role of parliament in parliament diplomacy. Second instrument, is the utility of foreign policy space for lobbying with an intended goal of diplomatic impact. For sometimes, Kenyan parliament played a role in restoration of peace in Southern Sudan, and discussions on the Burundi situation. Through IGAD the Kenyan parliament has nominated special envoys to war torn Southern Sudan, latest

⁵⁷Hallunaj (2015)

⁵⁸Hamilton & Langhorne (2011).

⁵⁹Sayfullaev, D. (2016). Parliamentary Diplomacy in Making of Foreign Policy. *The Advance Science Journal of International Relations*, 1 (1), 52-54.

being, Hon. Dalmas Otieno, Member of Parliament for Rongo to negotiate a peace deal with warring factions⁶⁰. As good example of parliamentary diplomacy, Kenyan parliament through delegation has worked to build capacity of Somali parliamentary, recognize the autonomy of candidate nations such Somaliland/Puntland as way of sustaining peace in the horn of Africa.

It must be noted that entrenchment of parliaments in the foreign policy sphere is deeply anchored in established tradition of parliamentarianism in the concerned country. The capacity and standing of the country internationally and its respective political stability dictate their quest or level of engagement in parliamentary diplomacy. It important to highlight that domestic pressure for elections and national interests overshadow the international agenda on foreign issues therefore there is still greater room to advance, promote and encourage parliamentary diplomacy.

1.6 Justification of the Study

1.6.1 Contribution to Policy and Practice of Parliamentary Diplomacy

This does not delve into the merits or demerit of parliamentary cooperation, which is subset and crucial component of parliamentary involvement in international relations and diplomacy. Documenting the constitutional status of the targeted international parliamentary institutions; the level of institutionalization; and establishing institutional authority status will contribute immensely to entrenching the parliamentary diplomacy and parliamentary discourse internationally. The interrogating the affiliations; the initiative of establishment of the international parliamentary institutions (IPI); and the

⁶⁰Kenya's Standard Group in 2015

motivating objective of regional cooperation; continental integration such Pan Africanism or East African Integration initiative are thoughtful as it offers the more information regarding the international relations and incorporation of other players in the field of diplomacy. The finding of this study will generate the necessary political dialogue on the role of parliaments on international relations.

There is limited documented academic evidence on the role of parliament institutions in international relations⁶¹. This study is aimed to underscore and explain parliamentary diplomacy as a concept that is exercised by parliamentarians in bid to advance international affairs. The findings of this study will be instrumental in understanding the underpinning of some actions taken or inaction by the parliamentary institutions or delegates on some of the cross-cutting or contentious issues in the continent of Africa. The findings and deductions of this study add to empirical evidence on studies directed at Africa-specific parliamentary diplomacy and involvement of the representative of the people in international relations.

1.7 Theoretical Review

1.7.1 Theoretical Review of Parliamentary Diplomacy in Context of IR Theory

The parliamentary diplomacy is underpinned with the broader international relations (IR) theory which Beetham (2006) explains has momentarily contributed diplomacy history. Regularization of multilateral diplomacy is deeply embedded not only on the character of its proceedings, but also in increased actors in international diplomacy or diplomatic

⁶¹Sayfullaev, D. (2016). Parliamentary Diplomacy in Making of Foreign Policy. *The Advance Science Journal of International Relations*, 1 (1), 52-54.

agents. There are three documented approaches of parliamentary institution to engage in diplomacy and international affairs. Firstly, is the duty to influence policy through national parliaments; secondly, carrying out parallel diplomatic relations which this study subsumes to be parliamentary diplomacy; and thirdly, through established and empowered representative bodies as parliaments where representatives of states or entities legislate outside their “home” country boundaries. The roles stipulated differ in their form and substance.⁶²Classically, the parliamentary institutes are required to enact policies that are to be ratified by member case, though the degree is varies from one democracy to the next. Second function is focusing on mediation, arbitration for peace and conflict resolution. Thirdly, though ideal in orientation is the supranational institution building such as champion or lobbying for candidate countries⁶³.

1.7.2 The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory

International relations practice and theory have underpinning in the neo-realism theory and world-system theory. These two theories offer structural explanations on behaviour of nation within the international arena. Neo-realists define international system structure based on observable attribute of their member states, and resultantly distinguish the role of the defined structures in individualist terms as constraining the choices of pre-existing state actors⁶⁴. World-system theorists, on the other hand, define inter-national system structures in terms of the fundamental organizing principles of the capitalist world economy which underlie and constitute states, and thus they understand the explanatory

⁶²Hallunaj (2015)

⁶³Hamati-Ataya (2010)

⁶⁴Wendt (1987)

role of structures in structuralist terms as generating state actors themselves⁶⁵. These differences, and their implications, have yet to be explicated in the international relations literature.

Neorealists conceptualize parliamentary diplomacy as a positive deviance on the constraining choices of pre-existing state agents involved in international relations exercises and diplomacy. On the hand, world system theory conceptualises the parliamentary diplomacy as one in which parliamentarians self-actualize to the level of state agents by themselves.

1.8 Research Methodology

The subsection comprises research design and orientation, selection and search criteria of literature, data collection, data analysis and data presentation, and ethical issues associated with diplomacy and international relations researches.

Positivism as research paradigm explores social reality through observation, experimentation and reason⁶⁶. This consolidates the understanding of human behaviour as true knowledge is usually anchored on experience of senses⁶⁷⁶⁸⁶⁹. Ontologically, champions of positivism generally assume that reality is objectively arrived at, and that its operationalized measurements rely on properties independent of the researcher and their research instruments. Ideally, the knowledge generated can be described as

⁶⁵ibid

⁶⁶Livesey (2006).

⁶⁷Wheeldon (2010)

⁶⁸Halfpenny (1982)

⁶⁹Mayring (2007)

objective and quantifiable(Weber, 2004)⁷⁰. This study on assesses role of parliamentary organizations on international relations. Positivism is rightly chosen for study because of its strength in helping quantification of parameters of interest and relationship among them and enhancement of precision. Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004) in expressed that positivism oriented studies uncover true through presented empirical evidence. Walsham (1995) corroborated this, acknowledging the role of positivism in maintaining scientific knowledge is factual while its ontology places reality as being independent of social construction. Success of parliamentary institutions relies on human behaviour as passively guided, controlled, and influentially determined by actions or practices different country contexts and environment.

The guiding research design is an extensive literature review⁷¹⁷². The research has reviewed various literatures both with generalised contexts for parliamentary diplomacy and organization and using Kenya as a focal discussion example. Onwuegbuzie *et.al* (2010)⁷³ explores contradictions and inconsistencies, and finding out what are strengths and weaknesses of various research approaches with intention of avoiding such pitfalls or adopt what could strength the study in question.

⁷⁰Weber (2004)

⁷¹Mayring (2007).

⁷²Boote, D. N., & Beile, P. (2005). Scholars before Researchers: On the Centrality of the Dissertation Literature in Research Preparation. *Education Researcher*, 34 (6), 3-15.

⁷³Omwuegbuzie, A. J., Collins, K. M., Leech , N. L., Dellinger, A. B., & Jiao, Q. G. (2010). *A meta-framework for conducting mixed research syntheses for stress and coping researchers and beyond*. In G. S. Gates, W. H. Gmelch, M. Wolverton, K. M. Collins, J. Onwuegbuzie, & Q. G. Jiao (Eds.), *Towards a Broader Understanding of Stress and Coping: Mixed Methods Approaches* (pp. 169-211). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

1.8.1 Research Design

The research has been guided by exploratory qualitative design. This design helped in interrogating the literature, both published and grey, on subject of parliamentary diplomacy. Mayring (2007) expressed that qualitative designs get into the depth of the subject matter and therefore are pliable in understanding the topic of interest. This corroborates Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2008)⁷⁴ thought on the subjectivity of the qualitative approach in delving beyond what is known on a subject and its environment. Livesay (2006) explained exploratory nature of qualitative studies places much emphasis on the reasons behind the happenings which are usually seen by the naked eye, and interestingly brings into fore the constructed knowledge behind certain phenomenon and happenings.

1.8.2 Choice of Study Subject

The Kenyan parliament has been chosen as a study subject in light of parliamentary diplomacy. The parliament of Kenya has two houses of the National Assembly and the senate, each with distinctive functions that impacts on diplomacy as a broader subject. The parliament of Kenya or its delegated representatives have in the recent years been engaged international parliamentary obligations that have a direct effect on how the country is government. Being the legislative arm of the government, some of the international protocols or legal compliances are legislated and ratified by the national assembly and impacts directly on Kenya's diplomatic standing globally.

⁷⁴Leech, N. L., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2008). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Compendium of Techniques for School Psychology Research and Beyond*. *School Psychology Quarterly*, 23.

Kenya is a global player in various diplomatic expediencies, and the study has chosen to analyse the contribution and participation of Kenya's parliament in Commonwealth Parliament Association (CPA), Pan-African Parliament (PAP), and the East African Legislation Assembly (EALA) and how this assists in propagating and enhancing international relations. The selection has been responsive to the globalised nature of the organizations, the distinctive structure in relation to Kenyan interests, and the probable participation of the Kenyan parliamentary and delegation. For instance, Britain which is a former colonial master and principal international trade partner is one of the nations that support the Common Wealth Parliamentarians and therefore Kenyan interests must always be advanced or presented in search forums of British former colonies. Kenya has parliamentary representatives who work to bolster trade relations, improve networking for implementing or advocating for certain common interest legislations and policies, and benchmark on good parliamentary practice. On Pan African Parliament (PAP), Kenya is a member state of African Union and a passionate advocate of Africa renaissance. Involving her parliamentarians in champion common good for African has been over recent years. Therefore, the selection of PAP in the study is thoughtful at a time when clamour to improve intra-African trade is being emphasised. Lastly, the largest international trade partners of Kenya are within East African Community, therefore the choice of EALA is of value as understanding her contribution from academic perspective has rarely been attempted.

1.8.3 Data Collection

The literature gathered was mostly descriptive; the exact articles on the subject of interest and findings were of variable qualities. It is therefore decided the literature reviewed was based on the highest methodological quality but without aggregated analysis or meta-analysis. The results of literature search were as follows: the study has referred to 182 articles where 79 were generalised search of abstracts, and 34 full text reading; while 25 were PAP and EALA specific abstracts and 19 full text reading. The data collection sheet was developed to high on the indicators that are to be sought from the secondary information.

1.8.4 Data Analysis

Two levels of analyses have presented. Firstly, secondary analysis of the materials on parliamentary diplomacy, international parliamentary groups engagements, and secondly, qualitative manifest content analysis which describes the observed or just manifest aspects of parliamentary organizations models and operations through objective, systematic, and empirical means.⁷⁵

After the process of data collection and gathering, the research has extracted the targeted data variable from the selected individual parliamentary organization reports and publications. The research will document the data through organized or categorised codes and draw the data into thematic concepts. The data has been connected on how specific functions influence one another and corroboratively legitimize the findings by evaluation of alternative explanations, disconfirmation of evidences, and inclusive search of both

⁷⁵Omwuegbuzie et.al (2010).

positive and negative case influences to international relations. The researches collated all the emergent themes and presented a representative account of the findings and the deductions.

1.9 Scope and Delimitation

There are several international parliamentary organizations in Africa and which Kenyan agencies other than the parliament participates in such as the delegation of Trade and Commerce Ministers conference which deliberate annually on trade related policies, the International Labour Organization where an umbrella of trade unions, the Central Organization of Trade Unions, takes lead to represent Kenya and which deliberates and negotiates important legislative and policy influencing activities. This study therefore deliberately does not focus on these types of arrangements which could be construed to be parliamentary diplomacy. This critically analysed the engagement of the Kenyan Parliament with selected parliamentary organizations (CPA, PAP, and EALA) in four dimensions of the analysis: constitutional status, institutionalization; institutional authority; and synergies with other initiatives.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 announces the study and provides for problem context regarding parliamentary diplomacy and international relations. The chapter analyses the problem of the study and how parliaments are involved in international relation through multilateralism and bilateral diplomacy exploits. This section justifies the study in the context of problem presented.

Chapter 2 is an extensive review of the role of parliament in diplomacy and international. It provides a broad based view of the opportunities and spaces available to parliament, nationally and internationally in international relations exercises.

Chapter 3 is findings summary based on the literature review that was conducted on parliamentary diplomacy and the description the structure of Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), Commonwealth Parliament, Pan African Parliament (PAP), East African Legislative Assembly (EALA), and Canadian African Parliamentary Association.

Chapter 4 describes the strategies employed by Pan African Parliament and EALA to enhance international relations. The study will do a strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunity analysis of the 2 parliamentary organizations by their vision and activities. Further the chapter discusses the implications of the parliamentary organization activities and operations on international relations in the region citing case examples of Burundi situation, Somalia crisis, South Sudan crisis and ripple effects of Arab Spring. This chapter will interrogate the opportunities missed in contributing to mitigating the African crises identified for analysis.

Lastly, chapter 5 presents conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: FUNCTIONS OF PARLIAMENT

2.1 Introduction

The roles of parliaments depend on the kind of governance that each and every nations have adopted. In Parliamentary systems, the parliamentary equally have some roles extended to the executive management of affairs while in a purely presidential or hybrid system then their roles are dedicated with their mandate to the people which are usually representation and oversight. Generally, the role of parliaments can broadly be classified as representation, legislation and policy formation, accountability and oversight functions, and fiscal management and distribution.

2.2 Representation of the Elective

All over the world, citizens have a tendency of identifying with members of parliament in a manner that is more personal as compared to other public officials⁷⁶. Constituents normally talk of “my MP”, “my senator”, “my congressperson” or “my representative”. It is not common to hear phrases like “my judge”, “my president”, or “my commissioner”. Unlike chief executives, such as presidents and prime ministers who are representatives of entire nations, or judges and bureaucrats who bear the responsibility of carrying out and interpreting the law impartially for all citizens, legislators are charged with the responsibility of representing differences in society, and drawing these differences to the arena of policy making⁷⁷. These differences may be stemming from geography, religion, ethnicity, gender, political identification or any other characteristics, but the onus is on

⁷⁶Goldoni, M (2013). The Role of National Parliaments in European Union Law Making: A Republican Approach. Proefschrift

⁷⁷Johnson K (2005). The Role of Parliament in Government: The International Bank of Reconstruction and development/ World Bank. Washington, DC

the MPs to represent them at the national level. Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that representation goes beyond merely being a resident of a specific area in a country or even bearing common characteristics with the people that one represents (like political beliefs, gender or social standpoints). It in essence involves listening to the people that one represents and making decisions and practicing influence on their behalf. In the worlds of political scientist Nelson Polsby, parliaments are referred to as the “nerve endings” of the polity⁷⁸. Parliaments, in reality are the wing of government that are closest to people, Members of Parliament need to be familiar with the constituents’ needs more than any other national level officials and be able to act on those needs. Democratic parliaments bear the most transparency and the easiest to access of the three arms of the government. In most parliaments, the plenary sessions are open to the press and the public, in an increasing number of them, citizens are allowed to attend committee meetings. It is not just the parliaments that more open and accessible as compared to the other arms of the government, it is also easier for citizens to gain access to the MPs. In many democracies, the representation role of the legislature involve services to the constituents, for instance helping citizens to penetrate bureaucracies in the government to get benefits, assisting with special problems and enabling access to funds from the government for projects that are beneficial to the constituency, such as schools, bridges, water systems and like in the case of Kenya management of the constituency development fund. In essence, parliamentarians become well known in the course of their service to their electorate and their re-election is ensured through the provision of services as outlined above.

⁷⁸Johnson (2005).

2.3 Oversight and Accountability

The conventional Westminster perception of oversight that many of the former British colonies inherited presents it as more adversarial and in some instances it comes out as an opposition politicians' purview and not the legislature as an institution⁷⁹. However, emphasis should be on oversight being a role of the legislature, since it has a close relation to ensuring that the government complies with approved public spending. In carrying out that tasks entrusted to it, the Executive, whether it is implementing policy or legislation is predisposed to a lot of power. Within a constitutional democracy, a condition is created in which the Executive needs to be monitored and held accountable to a government organ that is different from it⁸⁰.

Within the context of any democracy, parliament is entrusted with the crucial task of oversight on the executive regardless of the form of government that might be in question. From a general perspective, parliamentary oversight refers the act of parliament acting as a supervisor and also monitoring the executive and administration. Within the context of South Africa, oversight is a function of legislative state organs that is constitutionally mandated for the scrutiny and overseeing of action of the executive and any other state organs⁸¹. The country has a legal framework enshrined which give parliament the power to oversight the Executive, which is provided by the Constitution⁸² and the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA)⁸³. This constitutional and legislative

⁷⁹Griffith, G (2005). *Parliament and accountability: the role of parliamentary oversight committees*. [Sydney]: NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service.

⁸⁰Goldoni (2013)

⁸¹ The South African Constitution (1994)

⁸² Constitution of Kenya (2010): Public Finance Management Chapter

⁸³ Jahed, M (2005) The Critical Role of Parliament in Fiscal Management and Oversight

framework grants the parliament the opportunity to carry fiscal oversight. In its capacity as an oversight body, parliament performs the following key functions: detecting and preventing abuse, arbitrary behaviour or conduct that is unconstitutional or illegal that the government and public agencies may engage in. In essence, the protection and citizens' rights and liberties are at the very core of this oversight role of the legislature. The parliaments serve to hold the government accountable with regards to how tax payers' money is used and the impact that it cultivates for the national economy. It has the role of detecting waste within government and public agencies machinery. The ultimate objective is the improvement of efficiency, effectiveness as well as economy of operations of government. Parliaments work to increase transparency in the operations of the government and enhance the trust that the public has towards the government, which in essence underpins effective delivery of policy⁸⁴. Parliament further ensures the government of the day collects and utilizes the public taxes in a manner that is accountable and for the good of the public. By extension, parliaments ensure the delivery of the policies that the government announces and parliament authorizes. Within this mandate is the monitoring of the achievement of goals that the Parliament sets and the programmes belonging to the government.

Under the oversight function, the legislators review, monitor and supervise government and other public agencies on the utilization of public expenditure. Further, they examine and recommend adjustments on how public finance policy and legislation should reflect and meet the peoples need. Through appropriation of the revenue, the parliament ensures the public revenue distributed equitably and inclusive to ensure there is uniform

⁸⁴Parliamentarian (2010)

development. Oversight basically involves checking the executive actions and excesses by parliament as through delegated power as the representative of the people. This is actually core to parliamentary democracy and enhances accountability and good governance. Parliamentary oversight is powerful tool in maintaining the balance between the three arms of government and propagates the people's interest against the executive priorities and decisions made.

The parliament has committees which is a system that provides vital tools for oversight. It focuses parliament work and clusters parliamentarians into thematic areas which are a capacity enhancing for parliamentarians in exercising their oversight functions. There are five different types of parliamentary oversight committees in different parliamentary democracies in the world. Some of the countries have: the Legislative review committees which are tasked to review government bills especially on public finance and the management of public expenditure bills; Estimates or budget committees that interrogate the appropriations of the various government departments and government owned entities; Public accounts committee (PAC) which mainly monitors and supervises the use of public finance and in some countries like Kenya they play a fundamental role in inquiry into corruption and misappropriation of public coffers; and there are other select or standing committees tasked with scrutiny of administration and public finance policy⁸⁵. The speaker through the powers and privileges committee could equally establish specialised oversight committees to carry our independent investigatory

⁸⁵Griffith (2005)

functions and/or just perform supervisory role to independent investigatory bodies or constitutional commissions.

Accountability is closely related to oversight function of parliament, only that this about setting up systems or legal architecture that deter misappropriation of public funds. Accountability is one of the principles of public governances and is bestowed on each and every public officer. Parliament has the responsibility of summoning public officers especially in the other public officers in the executive and other government institutions to explain their decisions, acts, and omissions in their expenditure and fiscal policies. This extends to ensuring that the foreign affairs department and functions are held accountable. This is the accountability function of parliament extends beyond borders. For instance, in the investigation of the Tokyo Embassy scandal, the representatives of Kenyan parliament travelled to Japan to ascertain the transactions and the actual building was acquired and assessed value for money issues.

With the modern state expanding and bureaucratic activity growing exponentially, there is increased need for Parliament to exercise its functions of oversight and accountability more efficiently and effectively. However, it is also important to note that with the increased expansion of the activities of the state, Parliament alone is not capable of performing the accountability functions that the modern era demands. Hansard Society Commission report (2001) in reference to South Africa oversight explained why on account of complex nature of oversight and accountability parliaments require

complementary effort of the public and other institutions. There is need to create mechanisms and systemic infrastructures that help entrench and promote accountability⁸⁶.

However, the parliament's role of scrutiny is placed at the apex, and supersedes other agencies that promote accountability within the state. It is however, worth noting that the accountability that the Parliament is entrusted with promoting in government performs the following functions. Firstly, the parliaments serve to enhance the integrity of public governance so that the government is does not suffer from scourge of corruption, leadership that abuse power or debilitate propagation human rights, entrench negative ethnicity, tribalisation of public affairs, chronic nepotism or exclusion and marginalisation of a segment of society among other forms that that lead to despotic governance. Secondly, parliaments work to scrutinize, review and recommend for the improvement of performance which fosters service delivery and institutional learning and service delivery.

The parliamentary institutional arrangement sometimes is affected by the democratic controls. In Kenya, for instance, counties that have one-party formation have their members of county assembly finding it difficult to hold the governors to check. This negates the parliamentary role in ensuring that there is transparency, answerability and responsiveness, to acquire confidence of the public in their government. This promotes people-centred governance and strengthening the legitimacy of the governance. Public participation in decision making, a constitutional provision and legal requirement is a

⁸⁶Griffith (2005)

better way of complementing the parliamentary accountability function. Through access to information rights and privileges, the function of accountability is greatly enhanced.

2.4 Legislation and Policy Formulation

2.4.1 Legislative Role of Parliaments

Legislation is both a process of making the laws and the product of law making. Legislation refers to a law which has undergone debate and ratification with a house of parliament or legislative assembly. The process of law making is rigorous it starts from a drafting of a bill which is read and subjected to debates. In the case of a bicameral parliament, there is concurrence that is sought from either houses of parliament before it is taken for assent. Legislations serve many functions. Some of the functions include regulation, authorisation, outlawing, appropriation of functions (provide funds), sanctioning, granting, declaration, or restriction of certain issues with society or based on public good. The process of development of law is as critical as its intended product. Informing the public of the benefits and the consequences of the law should be prioritised and this is where public participation in legislative affairs adds value⁸⁷.

Kenya's Constitution 2010 introduced many changes on legislation. Notably, the reintroduction of two national level parliamentary chambers: the National Assembly with total 349 members both nominated and elected, and the Senate with 66 members on aggregate⁸⁸; and established 47 county assemblies in each of the 47 devolved units in

⁸⁷ KRLC (2014), Guidelines on Legislation and Policy formation

⁸⁸ Constitution of Kenya (2010)

Kenya. At each and every level or parliament, public participation and involvement in conducting business is a must.

The Kenyan Senate is designated the following functions: to represent the people of the counties which amount to representation, serving, and protecting the interest of the devolved units (counties) and their governments; the Senators legislate laws concerning counties through considering, debating, and approving bills (see. Art.109, 110, 111, 112, and 113); the Senate is tasked with the function of determining the division of revenue between the national government and county governments, and among county counties (provided in art.217); further the Senate carries out oversight function over national revenue allocated to and local revenue collected by the county governments; and the Senate carries the ultimate oversight function in Kenya. This entails considering and determining any resolutions that targets the removal of the president or his/her deputy from office as is stipulated in article 145⁸⁹.

2.4.2 Policy formation

A policy is a declaration by the government department or that is intended to help achieve or suggest methods and principles in achieving government goals and aspirations. A policy document is not a law but usually forms a foundation for a corresponding law that would help achieve the aims and the goals. Laws sometimes give legal mandate to policies so that their legality is not questioned.

⁸⁹Constitution of Kenya (2010)

Legislatures are important institutions in the composition of a democratic system and making it to function. However in Latin America and some African states, the role that the legislature plays in the process of policy making is marginal, in most cases the legislators are inexperienced and not equal to the task, the Parliament's authority vis-à-vis that of the other arms of the government, specifically the Executive is weak and not succinctly defined⁹⁰.

The legislature makes laws or the rules which govern society. In reality, effective legislatures not only represent differences in society, but also bear the responsibility of reaching agreements on policy, spending and tax that individuals as well as groups agree with generally. This is a role that is quite challenging even under the best circumstances, and is more complicated in societies that are deeply divided and nations that are poor with limited resources to distribute⁹¹.

2.5 Other Roles of Parliament

The Parliament is mandated to have some functions that are not core to the day to day activities. In Kenya, for instance, the National Assembly is mandated to review the conduct of the President and the deputy president and other state officers and could initiate the process of impeachment which is usually completed by the Senate upon approval. The National Assembly has the powers to approval of declaration of war and the extensions of the states of emergency. The Parliament in Kenya is increasing involved

⁹⁰Saiegh (2005) elaborates the role of legislature in the process of formulating policy.

⁹¹Johnson (2005)

in vetting of public officials who are to ascending to office or tasked with the role of impeachment of the public officials or disband government owned entities based on review and sound proof of misconduct⁹². The parliaments are increasing becoming involved in international relations either through seating in international parliamentary institutions or are engaged on in diplomacy.

⁹² Committee of Experts on Constitutional Review (2010, February), “Report on Submission of the Harmonised Constitution of Kenya. No. 40

CHAPTER THREE: KENYA PARLIAMENT ENGAGEMENT IN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Kenya Parliament engagement in other international parliamentary institutions and networks. It examines the contribution and design of engagement of Kenya's parliament in international relations and more particularly on the concept of parliament diplomacy. The sample international parliamentary institutions focused are: the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA-UK), Pan African Parliament (PAP), the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) and extendedly the involved in the speakers association and the Canada African Parliamentary Association. For CPA-UK⁹³ and PAP, the Kenya Parliament nominates represents from among the elected parliamentarians to seat periodically in the Assemblies, while for EALA, the members states based on the strengths of political parties nominate the members to serve in the legislative assembly.

The speakers global association is a biannual forum that brings together the chairpersons, presidents of parliaments, or moderators of legislative sessions globally to around to discuss from among other things role of parliament in peace and security, entrenching inclusive and sustainable development, topical issues such as climate change, gender equality and equity, democracy, and peered and benchmarked learning of good parliamentary practices. In understanding the role of the selected parliamentary institutions on international relations and diplomacy, the analysis of institution has been

⁹³ Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (2016), Advancing parliamentary democracy from the heart of Westminster. <https://www.uk-cpa.org>. Accessed 18th September, 2016.

organized on the following parameters: the constitutional status, institutionalization, institutional authority, and synergies with other initiatives.

3.2 Constitutionality of Parliamentary Involvement in Diplomacy and International Relations

Kenya Constitution (2010), specifically chapter eight provides for the establishment and role of parliament. The constitution provides for a bicameral assembly of representation, with National Assembly and senate distinctively performing functions accorded to them. Article 94⁹⁴ provides the role of parliament which includes derivation of legitimacy from the people; manifest the cultural diversity of the nation; ensure that the will of the people is propagation and represented; and further entrenchment of the people's sovereignty. Management of public affairs should be conducted in a manner that ensures that legitimacy and diversity of the people is maintained both internally and externally beyond borders. The will of the people should not be limited by the territorial boundaries. This is the motivation for parliamentary involvement in diplomacy that transcends national borders.

The National Assembly has the distinguished role and right to ensure the constitution is protected and democratic governance is entrenched. In situations where a security crisis or cross cutting issue that interviews with the ability of the parliamentarians to successfully protect the constitution and promote democratic governance, their role

⁹⁴ *The Constitution of Kenya (2010) provides for chapter 8 that outlines the role of legislature. In part of the chapter explains how parliament is established and its function in parliament. Art. 94 and art.95 stipulates the role of national assembly, which section is discussing in regard to international relations and foreign diplomacy engages.*

extends beyond borders. For instance, the ratification of international agreements in some cases requires the intervention of parliament especially where it requires the allocation of national financial and natural resources.

The parliament function of the representation is exercised through delegated power of representatives of the people and protection of special interests. Article 1 explains how the sovereign power of the people can be exercised and this is directly through voting or delegated through representatives of the people. Currently, these functions extend beyond border. For instance, when South Sudan is threatened by insecurity and conflict Kenya and neighbouring Uganda bear the brunt. They have to host refugees and work hard to restore peace in conflict areas.

Further, parliaments have the role to legislate on the revenue division and allocation of the financial resources, revenue appropriation for national government expectation and other national state organs; and the national assembly further has the power to exercise oversight over national revenue and its expenditure. Kenya as a country has international obligation to provide or pay membership funds to certain international institutions like the UN. The parliament legislates on such obligations and agrees what is appropriate so that the country is not burdened. The extension of foreign aid and bilateral or multilateral debts is also usually discussed in parliament. The parliament therefore is increasing becoming a dominant player in foreign policy implementation and involvement in international relations beyond what is traditionally known to be the executive function of government.

The Kenya constitution gives power to the national assembly to approve the declaration of war and extensions of the state of emergency. War is usually internal or externally influenced. For the Kenya armed forces to join war to flush out Al-Shabab terrorist group that had been causing problems in the Kenyan territory, the Kenyan parliament in 2011 was legislated and gave the forces the express authority to invade Somalia.

3.3 Commonwealth Parliamentary Association of the UK

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association of United Kingdom (CPA-UK) was founded in 1911 in the brink of the World War I, at that time known as the Empire Parliamentary Association⁹⁵. There member branches in traditional British protectorates of Australia, Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, South Africa and the United Kingdom, herself.

The new Commonwealth Organisation had the parliament rebranded in 1948 to Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and with altered rules accommodated members of nations considered branches of commonwealth and therefore were given the privilege to participate directly into the CPA's management and establishment an independent and separate secretariat to manage the affairs of the CPA⁹⁶. The main goal of the CPA is ensure that there is information exchange, benchmark on good practices, adaptation or adoption of new policy options on topical issues and capacity support for parliamentarians and the parliamentary staff from commonwealth member countries.

⁹⁵All Africa (2015, March 18), "CPA Africa Meeting Begins in Dar Today."

⁹⁶Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) (2016), Advancing parliamentary democracy from the heart of Westminster. <https://www.uk-cpa.org> Accessed 18th September, 2016.

Through collaborations enhanced through seminars⁹⁷ on topical issues, parliaments and other affiliated civil society organization such as inter-governmental community in meeting purpose and intent to have vibrant commonwealth organization. Parliaments and legislative assemblies within Commonwealth work to complement the works of member state governments in entrenching and promoting democratic governance and linkages to governmental, intergovernmental, and non-governmental sectors.

Through CPA, the Commonwealth's commitment to meeting basic socio-political values of just and honest government, the alleviation of poverty, fundamental human rights⁹⁸ and privileges, international peace and order, championing global economic development, entrenchment of the rule of law, equal rights and effective representation of the public by gender and age, and advocates for the distinctive independence of the Judiciary, Legislature and Executive arms of governments, and propagating the right to participate in free, fair, and democratic political processes. CPA is a strong champion of separation of powers in governance. For a period spanning nearly a century, the CPA has been vibrant in voicing and championing parliamentary democracy across the Commonwealth. In the 21st Century, the CPA has been symbolised with advocacy for parliaments to play active role in development of their nation. The Association comprises 185 parliaments and legislatures and their estimated 17,000 members who actively engage in formulation of the CPA plans and activities.

⁹⁷CPA (2015). The 64th Westminster Seminar on Parliamentary Practice and Procedure <https://www.uk-cpa.org/events-projects/64th-westminster-seminar-on-parliamentary-practice-and-procedure/> 18th September, 2016.

⁹⁸CPA (2015) The Commonwealth Parliament Conference on the Rule of Law and Human Rights. <https://www.uk-cpa.org/events-projects/commonwealth-parliamentary-conference-on-the-rule-of-law-human-rights/> 18th September, 2016.

The CPA has a Secretariat established and currently seated in London, UK. The general assembly (GA) is granted powers to nominate the members of the executive committee and for the appointment of the secretary-general of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)⁹⁹. The secretariat work to interpret and implement the CPA policies and propound its activities and the international relations. The CPA chief executive is by default the secretary to the annual plenary conference. The secretariat is the focal communication and coordination activities for CPA agenda and for all its branches.

The executive committee has an estimated membership of 35. This executive committee is under the chairpersonship of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, officers of the CPA, the chairperson of the Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP), three regional representatives from each commonwealth regional block and Africa which is larger commonwealth bloc thus represented by the regional representatives. The main meeting times for the executive committee is stipulated to be mainly during, or within seven days of, each plenary conference or as may necessarily be determined between the plenary conferences.

The CPA is a universal commentator on topical issues affecting its members such as climate change, gender based violence, democracy and effective governance, poverty alleviation, and peace and security¹⁰⁰. The CPA relies heavily on member states to select its own representative of parliaments and therefore it does not have the liberty to determine who serves in the Association. As demonstrated, the CPA is free to have its own president (SG) and has a permanent secretariat.

⁹⁹www.cpahq.org

¹⁰⁰ CPA UK (2012), “*International Parliamentary Conference on Gender and Politics*” Organized in collaborated partnership with British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

CPA is a highly consultative organization on matters that requires the decision making members. In fact, the activities of CPA are highly decentralised with annual seminars on cross cutting issues nearly held in close proximity to the various countries in regional blocks. The CPA bulk of the budget emanates from the UK; those some developed country branches are supporting their activities nearly autonomously. The CPA can approve treaty changes on issues that are of interest Branches especially on trade or economic transactions among themselves¹⁰¹. The new members who have been admitted to Commonwealth are admitted to the CPA.

The CPA UK holds annual event that christened the '*International Parliamentary Conference*' (IPC) that attracts members of international parliaments from other IPIs as well engage thematic discussion on topical issues of climate change, gender based violence, democracy and effective governance, poverty alleviation, and peace and security among other things. In 2014, the international parliamentary conference had thematic issues that are centred on the role of parliamentarian in managing African economic agenda for regional development. In a momentous conference of 2016 that included 50 parliamentarians, 35 speakers, and 25 observers globally, was centred on sustainability, energy and development¹⁰². The conference led to the development of an e-handbook that provides information and practical tools for members of parliaments in understanding and capacity to deliver on legislation, scrutinise, and advocate deliver

¹⁰¹ Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (2013), "The 2013 international parliamentary conference, held 23-26 November, explored *The Post-2015 Development Agenda: placing parliamentarians at the centre of global development*"<https://www.uk-cpa.org/events-projects/international-parliamentary-conference/>

¹⁰²CPA(2016). "E-Handbook on Sustainability Energy and Development." <https://www.uk-cpa.org/ehandbooks/ehandbook-on-sustainability-energy-and-development/> Retrieved and Accessed on 22nd September, 2016

sustainability, energy, and development. This is consistent with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) ratified in the 70th United Nations General Assembly. This implies CPA synergies well other international organizations such as UN to adverse agenda for common good of humanity. The next IPC will held in March 2017 and the topical issue will addressing national security issues especially in the imminent global terror threats and the parliamentarians can play a role.

3.4 Pan-African Parliament

The Pan-African Parliament was outcome of the OAU meeting held in Abuja in 1991. The meeting developed what came to be known as the Abuja treaty of 1991 that stipulated for the formulation of a continental parliament that would deepen people involvement in the economic development and further foster the desired unity and integration within the parliament. A further declaration at Sirte, Libya emphasised the earlier declaration of formation of Pan-African Parliament (PAP). The protocol establishing the PAP was adopted at the 2001 OAU Summit in Sirte, Libya. It was not until 3 years later that the PAP was fully constituted and first session held in March 2004. The PAP is established as an organ of the African Union and is seated in Midrand, South Africa. The parliament is mandated to exercise its full legislative powers and conducts advisory and consultative function based on powers bestowed on it by the 2001 Abuja Treaty (protocol).

The PAP is made up of about 250 members representing the 50 AU member states that have ratified the Abuja protocol and established it. Each state is represented by 5

members maximum. Additionally, PAP has 10 permanent committees. Under rule 28 of the PAP's Rules of Procedure, the Pan African Parliament is required to meet at least twice in an ordinary session with a one-year period. The sessions usually last up to one month. Further under rule 29, the PAP is mandated to call for an extraordinary session¹⁰³.

The broad objective of PAP is the facilitation of the effective implementation of the policies and objectives of the AU. This has enabled PAP to promote cardinal principles of human rights and democracy in Africa; champion good governance, transparency and accountability among member states, develop common positions on economics, peace, security and the African development agenda. PAP has been fundamental in deepening relationships between regional economic blocs and communities and their parliamentary forums. Under rule 7 of the PAP rules of procedure, a member's tenure of office begins on the date that he or she is elected or designated as member of PAP. At the beginning of every Assembly, an ad hoc committee of 5 members drawn from elected representatives of each of the 5 regional caucuses that organize and preside over the election of the President of the PAP. The election of the President and the Vice-President is usually carried out at the first sitting of the PAP following its inauguration in the new seating term or when there is a vacancy. There is a secretariat consisting of one clerk, two deputies, and other support staff, that is mandated with the running of the operations of PAP such as taking minutes of meetings, organising elections, and management of staff. The other component of the PAP is the plenary that comprises delegates from the member states and is chaired by the president of the PAP and acts as the body that passes resolutions. PAP

¹⁰³ <http://www.au.int>

embraces transparency through placing most documents to be accessible to the public via internet¹⁰⁴.

PAP is still subservient to the African Union and is unable to independent oversight. Accordingly, the Pan-African Parliament under rule 4 is mandated and with powers to: (a) to oversee the policies and programmes that are developed and implemented by the African Union (AU) and African Union Commission (AUC); (b) organising the debates and plenary on the objectives, policies, aims, and programmes of various regional economic blocs and communities and how this affects various organs and the life of the African Union; (c) offer advisory function to the organs of the African Union, affiliated regional economic community or the legislative body of any member state; (d) recommend and take resolutions on any matters that affect the AU and other related agencies; (e) the parliament extends invitation to the representatives of the Organs of the African Union, regional economic communities, members and delegated power of state representatives and provide report to plenary on deliberated the special conferences and institutions; and lastly, (f) the PAP has the authority and power to exercise any incidental or auxiliary functions¹⁰⁵.

3.5 East African Legislative Assembly (EALA)

The East African Legislative Assembly (Assembly) is an organ of the East African Community; established under Article 9 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. The original signatories to the treaty were Republics of Uganda,

¹⁰⁴www.panafricanparliament.org

¹⁰⁵<http://www.au.int>

Tanzania and Kenya in 1999 and operationalized in 2000. Later, they were joined by the Republic of Burundi and Rwanda after acceding and becoming members of EAC in 2007. In 2015, Southern Sudan was admitted as a 6th partner member state of EAC. The EALA is affiliated to and recognised by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy and the Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA) as an international parliamentary institution. Objectively, EALA strives to cooperate with member national assemblies of partner states on the EAC issues and development; engage in debate, legislation and approval of the EAC budget; review annual reports of EAC and the annual audit report from the Audit commissions that have been referred by the council; and engage in discussions that enable EAC to meet its mandate as outlined in the treaty.¹⁰⁶

Structurally, the current EALA comprises 45 elected members and 7 ex-officio members which collectively add to 52 members. The females are 20 representing 44.4% of the aggregate membership. EALA members are equally elected from 5 of its member states of Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Burundi, and Rwanda each represented by 9 members and seven Ex-officio Members. The elected members are indirectly nominated from each member state assembly though not within the ranks of those national assemblies. In Kenya, the membership is seconded based on the numerical strength of each political party or coalition in Parliament. The treaty in principle recommends for the representation of diversity of view of their own home or national assemblies and mainstream gender in its activities and programming.

The treaty that established the East African Community, under article 48, Clause (3) institutes EALA committees. Further article 49, clause (2) (e) mandates EALA to

¹⁰⁶ African News Service (2011, May 6), “*EALA Starts Public Hearing On Key Bill*”

establish committees that is it deems in necessary for particular functions and consistent with the EAC mandate. Article 78 of the rules of procedure gives EALA the following primary committees: accounts committee, legal, rules, and privileges committees, communication, trade, investment committee, Agriculture, tourism, and Natural Resources Committee, Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolutions, and General Purpose Committee.

Politically, the Head of the Assembly is the Speaker, while the Clerk is in charge of its day to day administration. Administratively, EALA is divided into the Legislature and the Office of the Clerk. There are an estimated 25 staff officers currently manage EALA under the leadership of the Clerk of the Assembly. The first division is the legislative and procedural services which processes bills, motions, sit in the chambers and are secretaries to the standing and select committees. The second is the Hansard division that is mandated to produce verbatim records made within the assembly debates and several committees sitting. The third division is that Sergeant-At-Arms that is mandated to provide security and maintenance of law and order within parliamentary buildings and participate in ceremonial functions including carrying the assembly mace. The fourth division is the library and research section that provides materials and technical support to staff and Members of the EALA on matters research, documentation and dissemination of information. The fifth and last is the Accounts division that facilitates the operation of the EALA through financial management and book keeping¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁷EAC (2015)

3.6 Conference of Speakers of Parliaments

The UN affiliated Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) organised, in September, 2000, the first conference of the presiding officers of National Parliament at UN in New York¹⁰⁸. This conference was held in the side-lines of Millennium Assembly following the United Nations General Assemblies (UNGA) of the 53rd and 54th sessions accepting to have it held. The first conference main objective was to express the support for international cooperation and to have the commitments reached in the UNGA endorsed and carried by the highest level of parliaments to support UN systems and other major international negotiating forums. This was to happen nationally and globally through the IPU. The speakers' conference was conceived on during the UNGA of 1996 aimed at strengthening the linkages and cooperation of the IPU with the UN¹⁰⁹. The resultant outcome of the first conference was a declaration entitled the "*Parliamentary vision for international cooperation at the dawn of the third millennium*". The hallmark of the declaration was the generalised identification of challenges of the 21st century such as climate change, terrorism, religious extremism and economic recession that are increasing changing the architecture of international relations and set opportunities for the international parliamentary institutions to be engaged in fostering international cooperation.

The second World Conference of Speakers of Parliament as a follow up meeting to the first is was organised and convened in 2005. In an article cited from the resolution of the conference, Barbara Prammer, "*We underline that parliaments must be active in international affairs not only through inter-parliamentary cooperation and parliamentary*

¹⁰⁸IPU (2005)

¹⁰⁹IPU (2000)

diplomacy, but also by contributing to and monitoring international negotiations, overseeing the enforcement of what is adopted by governments, and ensuring national compliance with international norms and the rule of law. Similarly, parliament must be more vigilant in scrutinizing the activities of international organizations and providing input into their deliberations."¹¹⁰The participants of the conference reigned on parliaments and their membership to take responsibility and engage in international relations. The parliaments at all levels had designated functions. Nationally, all parliaments were required to review, improve and make better use of parliamentary procedures and standing orders.

This is meant to strengthen the capacity of parliaments to effectively influence foreign policy especially in matters that require deliberation in international negotiating forums, improved ability to have evidence based legislations that help inform progress and the outcomes of the international negotiation forum; and engagement ratification of various international agreement and to promote effective and active involvement in the implementation process. Regionally, the parliament or parliamentary institutions are required to use their persuasion and entrench their influence in corresponding inter-governmental bodies. Role of IPU as a world legislative or representation institution should be consolidated to carry the vision and will of its member states. This will strengthen parliaments' role in multilateralism, peace building, fostering security and championing human rights and development pursuant to what is internationally agreed on commitment of better world. One of the achievements of the 2nd Conference of World's Parliament Speakers is that it dictated the agenda of heads of states and government

¹¹⁰www.culturaldiplomacy.org

(high level meeting) who subsequently held in the same venue in the following week of 14th-19th September, 2005¹¹¹.

The 3rd world conference of speakers of parliament was held July 2010, only that this round it was held in the UN office in Geneva. The agenda was organized around adopting a report dubbed "*How parliaments organize their work with the UN*". This meeting deliberate on the state of implementing and what had been achieved by then on Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), strengthen the structure for democratic parliaments, and enhancing the role of IPU and relationship with UN and its aspirations. The general debate was centred on how parliaments can brave world crisis and remain accountable. The 3rd conference was also laced with the presentation and approval of the report of the 6th meeting of the Women Speaker of Parliament. The conference major output was road map to holding a collective promise on the MDGs and building and strengthening people belief and trust and parliaments.

More recently in September 2015, the fourth World Conference of Speakers was held in UN headquarters and provided a unique platform for policy dialogue and engagement, and cooperation between parliaments of member countries of UN at the highest level¹¹². This particular conference was themed on three building blocks to sustainable development: Peace, Democracy, and Development from a parliamentary lens. This conference was part of the series of high-level stakeholder meetings that informed the

¹¹¹ CPA UK's (2011) "*International Parliamentary Conference explored the Millennium Development Goals*", with outcomes of a communiqué and toolkit for parliamentarians.

¹¹² Xinhua News Agency (2010) "Backgrounder: World Conference of Speakers of Parliament.(Conference news)"

deliberations at the 70th UNGA summit that launched the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Before this particular conference of Speakers, there was just concluded 10th Meeting of Women Speakers of Women Speakers of Parliament held a few days earlier. This serves to explain the amount of premium the UN and its agencies as the IPU put on the role of the representatives of the people and the legislative assemblies in delivering global agenda.

This study has noted that every 5th yearly Speakers conference held had the number of participants diversely increased. The 2015 conference was highly inclusive and broad based in membership as it brought together speakers of both members and non-member parliaments of IPU. However, there were restrictions as size of the delegations from parliaments and the observers to six persons (10 persons for bicameral parliaments) and not more than two persons respectively¹¹³.

3.7 Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association (CAPA)

The Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association (CAPA) has been working with Kenya since 2008 to build up on the bilateral relations between Canada and Kenya and strengthen cooperation through commonwealth. Both countries cordial hold high commissions in respective countries. In spite of Kenya not being in strategic plan for aid effectiveness and technical assistance of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), CAPA chose to partner with Kenya's parliament and exchange ideas on wide ranging international issues. The first pre-planned meeting in January 2008 for Nairobi

¹¹³ IPU (2005) Second World Conference Of Speakers Of Parliaments U.N. Headquarters, New York, 7 - 9 September 2005 *Organised by the Inter-Parliamentary Union* <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/speakers15.htm> Accessed 20th August, 2016.

was disrupted by the post-election violence (PEV) following heavily disputed elections of 2007. In February 2008, the CAPA communicated to the speakers of the Kenya National Assembly on the PEV issues and expressed their regrets and deep concerns on the predicaments of the Kenyan nation. This was followed up by a delegation of CAPA in June 2008 in Nairobi meeting various parliamentary leaders and leaders of government on exploring the issues that Kenya faced at the particular time and how to mitigate on these challenges and role of parliamentarians in this space.

A follow-up meeting in September, slightly after the promulgation of the Kenya Constitution 2010, was held in Ottawa with Kenyan delegation mainly drawn from the Parliament's Committee on Administration of Justice and Legal Affairs. The talking points were on constitutional implementation and reforms and issues related to federalism, bicameral parliaments, accountability, and regional integration. The subsequent year, CAPA had a forum with the Kenyan parliamentary delegation under leadership of the Speaker of the 10th Parliament, Hon. Kenneth Marende¹¹⁴.

The CAPA between January 17th and 20th 2012 undertook bilateral visits to Nairobi, Kenya and Juba, South Sudan. The following were the talking points: strengthening bilateral relations and parliamentary cooperation; engagement with parliamentarians in support of democracy, governance, and the rule of law; engaging parliamentarian on security and economic issues; strengthening relations with regional organizations more

¹¹⁴Parliament of Canada, International and Inter-parliamentary Affairs (2011), "*Visit to Canada of the Honourable Kenneth Marende, Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Kenya, and a Parliamentary Delegation*," http://www.parl.gc.ca/ia/Default.aspx?Language=E&DCId=5&DTId=1&P=2011_10_03_kenya. Accessed on 23rd September, 2016.

specifically the African Union (AU), the East African Community (EAC¹¹⁵), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA¹¹⁶), and the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD¹¹⁷); and familiarising the representatives of Canada's parliament with Kenya's long term aspirations of Vision 2030¹¹⁸ and regional development. The Vision sets opportunity areas for cooperation and linkages with members of parliament, government officials, civil society groups, and business community. The meetings were left low key not to attract attention from the Al-Shabab insurgencies that who interests in threatening the Western interests. Through dialogue with the representatives of parliament and government, the CAPA were keen on sustainability of reforms in Kenya, encouraged parliaments to take charge in the development of democratic and political structure. Of interest to the CAPA delegation was an assurance of free and fair elections and peaceful resolution of disputes.

In conclusion, more resource mobilization is needed to support the capacity of parliamentarians so as to entrench the use of instruments of diplomacy in furthering their roles of representation, legislation and oversight.

¹¹⁵*The member countries of the EAC are The Republic of Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania, Republic of Uganda, Republic of Rwanda, Republic of Burundi, and Republic of South Sudan.*

¹¹⁶*The member countries of COMESA are Republic of Burundi, Islands Republic of Comoros, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, South Sudan, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.*

¹¹⁷*The member countries of IGAD are Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda*

¹¹⁸ Republic of Kenya (2008), "Kenya Vision 2030" <http://www.vision2030.go.ke/> accessed on 24th September, 2016

CHAPTER FOUR: IMPACT OF PARLIAMENTARY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter focuses on case studies of parliamentary institutions: the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), Pan-African Parliament (PAP), and East Africa Legislative Assembly (EALA), and the ways through which they contribute to international relations. Aspects of Kenya's parliamentary power with regard to its capacity and its relational standing to executive arm of the government; firstly, effectiveness of the parliament on oversight not only on domestic issues but is also increasing on foreign policy decisions and engagements. The other dimension of power which has been added to the equation courtesy of the new constitutional dispensation is the expanded territorial reach in representation, legislation, and oversight.

Historically, before the promulgation of the Constitution 2010, the international affairs and relations was reserve of the executive and the parliament paid very unrecognisable role at least for academia. Even the limited involved in international affairs was based on volunteerism or just individual members proactiveness. The membership of parliament has been involved in different international parliamentary institutions. Among others Kenya's MPs belong to the CPA, PAP, IPU, and have relationship or cooperation with the other parliamentary groups in Europe. The parliament therefore plays a critical role in ratifying agreements that usually emerge from their diplomatic efforts.

4.2 Decision Making Function and Legislation

The parliaments are engaged at two levels in their quest to promote and harness international relations. Internally in their countries, the parliaments engage and offer technical input at various levels of decision-making while exercising oversight on different issues of foreign policy by the executive arms¹¹⁹. Secondly, Lesley (2015) explains that parliaments are increasingly being acknowledged as actors or agents of foreign policy. The new paradigm on diplomacy can simply be described as ‘participation’, ‘empowerment’, ‘people-centred’ and ‘consensus’ building¹²⁰.

With democratic dispensations going beyond the internal confines of a particular country, Kenya Constitution (2010) envisioned the foreign policy as just part of public policy. In this regard, the rights and privileges on access to information and public participation¹²¹ are highly embedded in this foreign policy undertaking. Sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya and is exercised in accordance with the Kenya’s Supreme Law¹²². Under Article 1(2), the people are allowed to legitimately exercise their sovereign power either through directly voting in elections or referenda or delegated power to the democratically elected representatives all levels of governments. The constitution further enlists the National Assembly and Senate (Parliament) and the county assemblies (legislative wings of County government) as state organs that have delegated sovereign power. This implies that parliaments have express authority or legitimacy to exercise their democracy (usually parliamentary) on foreign policy issues which are in national interest.

¹¹⁹DurbekSayfullaev is attached to the Tashkent State Institute of Orientalism, Uzbekistan and has written on parliamentary diplomacy in making of foreign policy

¹²⁰Davonport (2003)

¹²¹ Public participation is at the centre of the new governance dispensation in Kenya.

¹²²Kenya Constitution (2010) Article 1 of the constitution provides for sovereignty of the people

Malamud and Stavridis (2011) explained that some level of democratic control on foreign policy thoughtful needed to complete the general public policy of a given state. The democratic control should go beyond the domestic affairs and extend to influence the external affairs of a given state. Countries whose parliaments are engaged in international parliamentary associations have greater benefits. Firstly, the representatives of parliaments participating in the multilateral parliamentary for a network with their counterparts from other countries exchange ideas and experiences. This has improved the quality of information access through the networks and strengthens their oversight role of their respective governments in local parliaments. Further, international parliamentary assemblies have broken deadlock in some countries through having communication directed on their positions or concerns on the international issues.

4.3 Oversight and Collective Accountability in International Relations

The level of such ‘collective accountability’ is still minimal due to the legal status of these parliaments that affect their sizes and limited powers to enforce and operationalize the resolutions and requests. Reliance on the power of sharing information and ideas is seen as a sure way of improving the collective power and control over the governments. The collective engagement fundamentally enhances the individual parliamentarians have the agency to relay information from international fora to their speakers back home and crystallize the agenda for local consumption¹²³.

¹²³ CPA (2014), “*The Role of Parliamentarians in Managing Economic for Equitable Development*” The Annual CPA UK’s International Parliamentary Conference on Growth for Development”

Even though, there is limited verifiable academic assessment of the outcome of the information exchange through the inter-parliamentary institutions on wide range of socio-political and economic decisions. The countries do not want to be bogged with outsider ideas and therefore most times find it difficult to ratify some resolutions. This equally influenced on type and mandate of the concerned inter-parliamentary organization. On international affairs, the Kenya's speakers of parliament have participated in different global conferences of Speakers of parliaments. The involvement of the speakers of national assemblies and parliaments in international relations and international conferences works to strengthen parliamentary democracy. The voices of the speakers are fundamental in formulation and establishment of laws and ratification of international policies. The Inter-Parliament Union (IPU) was endorsed as the coordinating instruments for these targeted international parliamentary institutions under the umbrella of world organisation of parliaments. This is consistent the permanent observer status granted to the IPU by at the United Nations General Assembly 2002 and presents IPU as the organization of choice in adjudicating on issues that are of democratic nature. Essentially, Kenya by a virtue of being member of UN has its parliamentarians involved in the democratic parliamentary component of the United Nations¹²⁴.

The international parliamentary bodies have tended to be engaged in international parliamentary diplomatic activities than do the oversight of their secretariat or executive administrative bodies. Engagement in international relations activities for non-traditional actors not only signals a rise of democracy and transparency externalised but also

¹²⁴The Inter-Parliamentary Union (2006) published Guide on Parliament and Democracy expressing various issues on parliamentary diplomacy.

fostered cooperation for inter-parliamentary and inter-party actors and new found legislative partnerships. Such partnerships help in rationalization of trading countries laws or policies.

4.4 Promotion of Peace

The role of parliamentary bodies entails neutrally arbitrating on the conflict or frugal states increasing contributing to world peace. Promotion of peace in a bilateral or multilateral sphere is usually handled case by case depending on the nature of conflict and the diplomatic persuasion of different actors. The parliaments come in fill a vacuum usually where conventional diplomacy has failed. This parliamentary role in conflict mitigation and resolution is not in isolation, it involves governments and the non-governmental organization. Role of parliament in this regard is highly distinguished in that they are representative of the people so there legitimacy are high compared to representatives of NGOs and the governments. This sometimes permit the parliaments penetrate and deal with sensitive situations comparatively.

The Parliament of Kenya, through its nominated representatives, was instrumental in the installation of the peace process for both South Sudan and Somalia. Just like other parliamentary bodies, Kenyan parliament role institution of the democratic governance in Somalia and state building in South Sudan cannot be understated. Kenyan government, both executive and legislature, has been critical in restoring the rule and reconstructing the state of Somalia. They have been offering some capacity building in legislation and oversight for the executive. In Sudan, Kenyan parliamentary were in the forefront in

lobbying for a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) for the benefit of building a new state of Southern Sudan, improved democratisation of governance in the war torn country and secured civil and political rights for all citizens. The regional parliamentary bodies such as EALA have been vocal in the restoration of peace in Burundi and South Sudan. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 (Art.240¹²⁵) provides for the deployment of peacekeepers. The subtitle 240(8) mandates the Security Council, based on approval of parliament, to deploy national defence forces outside Kenya either regional or international peace support operation or other operations and (b) could as well approve the deployment of foreign forces in Kenya. The National Security Council (NSC) being the apex security institution in Kenya has the discretionary role for decision making on security matters both internally and externally. Kenya's contribution to regional or international peace support operation is outstanding and ranked with the top 20 in the world.¹²⁶ The NSC advises the President of the Republic of Kenya¹²⁷ who is the principal decision-maker on the deployment of troops for peacekeeping purposes. The article is operationalize by the Kenya Defence Act 2012 (section 18c) that emphasis the instrumental role of the National Assembly in approval of deployments for regional and international peace support operations. Such a request for parliamentary approval is ordinary by the President through at delegated motion moved by the Major Leaders or their designated members in Parliament. The role of parliament is function in international security or peace operations is further emphasised through the mandatory

¹²⁵Article 240 of CoK 2010 provides for the establishment of an apex security organ called National Security Council.

¹²⁶John Ahere is a seasoned writer on matters security (international) and peace keeping. He is attached to the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD)

¹²⁷Also the Commander-in-Chief of the Kenya Defence Forces

requirement by the Constitution that National Security Council be reporting annually to the parliament on the “State of Kenya’s Security”.

4.5 Participatory Governance and Public Participation

Accordingly, the democratic doctrine emphasises the importance of having public opinion in international governance discourse. Just as the public are sensitive to demand for accountability and transparency on seasoned action of governments and decisions undertaken relating to foreign policy and international politics, the parliaments are not immune to this scrutiny and must provide reports and feedback their public of their engagements. This is still weak in the least developed countries but is gaining currency in the developing nations such as Kenya, and South Africa. Nowotny (2011) noted that in traditional diplomatic engagements the public did nowhere near know what was going on, but now it is part of their civic duty. This kind of quest for openness is improving even the agenda discussed in the inter-parliamentary assemblies.

The expanded civic space is improving how international relation activities are conducted. The diplomacy issues are discussed at the public level for instance border disputes and encroachment of profane behaviours such as cattle rustling or cross border motor vehicle syndicates. The people voices on these ills that disparage harmonious existence are carried to parliament where the issues are discussed and clear lobbying done to the national government. This is how increasingly, the parliament is getting involved in parliamentary diplomacy and shaping the foreign policy discourse. Where reaching out to other parliamentary organizations is required, the institutions of

parliament or individual representatives in those parliaments present their petition or cases to their networks to help on issues that impact on the lives of public¹²⁸.

Parliaments are increasingly shaping the development discourse and agenda. The Common African Position on Post-2015 Agenda was championed by support of legislative Assemblies affiliated to the Africa Union and African Union Commission. The parliaments are increasingly working to have common positions on terrorism, money laundering, human trafficking, and animal poaching and trophy trade. The new reflection on how the African countries and associated trading blocs will do business with European Union and the United Kingdom following BREXIT. There are just of negotiations still involved. The national parliaments are increasingly consulting on their countries strategic approaches to emerging issues in the international scene.

4.6 Formulation and Ratification of International Protocols

Being principal policy makers, the parliaments' involvement in formulation and ratification of the international protocols cannot be understated. Increasing the parliaments are informing scientific guidelines and adoption of agricultural technology that is externalised in the region. Development of comparative law in various areas of international interests is the fiscal policy, the telecommunication operations, and the standard measure of commodities.

¹²⁸Noulas (2011)

Since many countries are extending their diplomacy through branding initiatives, the parliaments are now ably carrying the mantle of being advocates and ambassadors of their respective country development agenda. These kinds of roles are guided by particular countries historical origins, struggles, associations and alignment, the type of government and political systems, and the ideological orientation within the international arena. Parliamentary diplomacy is still nascent and still undergoing numerous problems. The role of parliaments at the international arena is still subsidiary. Comparatively, the parliamentary contribution to diplomacy is relatively weak than that of governments, NGOs and businesses. The international parliamentary associations are still dogged with the inadequate finances to facilitate their assignment, limited resources and power to influence the resolutions and the recommendations they make.

The parliamentary associations also have varied mandates especially because in each country, the delegations have interests they pursue which sometimes makes it hard it had to draw better conclusions, resolutions, and declarations which not just most of the vague but not easy to act upon or their member states are less committed to implement. In this regard therefore, the benefits accrued are not uniform for different parliaments in different states.

There is still mistrust between the executive and the legislative arms. The executive, especially in the dictatorial regimes believe that parliaments are highly vulnerable to handing and engaging in foreign affairs because of weight burden of internal pressure of public opinion, high level scrutiny, accountability, and transparency, and susceptibility to

hawk-eyed media projection. The parliaments show their interest through control of the foreign policy debates, engagement in frequent meeting with other affiliate committee members of sister country parliaments.

In bilateral diplomacy, the parliaments have worked to strengthen the cooperation with others and this entrenches the oneness of people. Kenya is through these engagements of the speakers in the international speaker committees, the members of parliament being involved in various inter-parliamentary associations such as PAP, IPU and Commonwealth Association has served to further entrench and strengthen the international relations between the country and its counterparts. The operation of parliamentary groups is still largely informal and the still more at a level of inter-parliamentary cooperation or just individual parliamentary networking. There is bold move though to have the IPAs to be autonomous, inter-disciplinary, and intercultural and more importantly people driven.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

There is increasing shift in how diplomacy is traditionally conducted to a more inclusive and multi-stakeholder engagement. Initially, the executive arm of governments controlled and dictated the operation of the diplomacy functions. This space is fast being encroached by the parliament or legislative assemblies in various countries among other civic actors. This is what now has come to be known as parliamentary diplomacy. Even though, this study has found that the effectiveness of parliamentary engagement is anchored human and material resources available and access to information. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 is rich in supporting the parliament to engage in foreign affairs. The Kenyan parliament is a little lucky that they control their own budget and therefore the members are cushioned from the inadequacy that inhibits the participation of emerging democracies. Bilaterally and multilaterally, the involvement of Kenya's parliament in international cooperation and relations has increasing become more prominent.

Parliamentary diplomacy is increasing becoming a preferred agency and prominent globally in advancing common interest legislation and conducting international relations. The work of parliamentary institutions serves to complement traditional diplomatic engagements by the governments. This study serves to examine and present the opportunity of parliamentary diplomacy as a means and concept of developing and strengthening the people-to-people relation and bolster their resolve to handle differences.

The distinguished role of international relations in influencing public policy and developing and this has signalled the concept of parliamentary diplomacy in international affairs. The challenges associated with implementation of parliamentary diplomacy which include and limited to balancing principles and practices of propagating the soft power capabilities and sustaining democratic practices. People-driven governance has permeated governments across the world and therefore conjoined in their commitment to principles of democracy, human rights and responsiveness. Whenever people are less engaged in the establishment and operations of the parliamentary institutions then the very aspiration of parliamentary diplomacy in its credibility and soft power persuasion is negated.

The parliamentary groups or assemblies through partnerships or taking advantage of opportunities provided with regional blocks have formed other collaborative legislative assemblies where members of a particular country are nominated to or the parliament takes represents from its own members. Kenya is a key player in parliamentary diplomacy, through the engagement of the Kenyan Parliament Speakers in the International Association of Speakers, the members of parliament belonging to IPU, CAPA, the PAP, and having Kenya political parties based on their strength in parliament nominate some Kenyans to the East African Legislative Assembly. The Kenyan parliament has increasing played a vital role in oversight of government on their foreign policy or engagement. The parliament of Kenya had to be reconvened over recess to formulate, to debate and enact an anti-doping law that is compliant and consistent to provisions of World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). This was in bid to improve

international relationship between Kenya and the WADA affiliated countries and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and champion for the commitment of Kenya in playing clean in its sports endeavours.

The engagement in the parliaments in international relations has been fundamental in entrenching democratic principles among other networking parliamentary groups or regional legislatures assemblies. In some cases, the parliaments such as the PAP and the EALA have championed the social justice, equality, respect for people's dignity, and voicing concerns or developing their positions on rights and freedoms being curtailed in a member country or even beyond their membership.

The international parliamentary groups have been associated with the timely integration of the regional block. The EALA who is autonomous in its decision making and development and advancing legislative agenda and has track the development of certain protocols that would form a united EAC federation which is socio-political set up that will bring the countries together and collapse their political governance under one government. The EALA has fast track East African Monetary Union and facilitating the free movement among the 6 EAC states which being questioned on VISA.

The IPI are now the frontiers through which advocacy issues around development, peace, poverty, gender, justice, and fair trade. The Pan African Parliament has been steadfast in promoting, encouraging, and negotiating for Intra-African trade. This aspiration is slowly being realised. Further, the IPI are lauded for engaging the people-centred

engaged at the international platforms. Development of the Common African Position on Post-2015 development agenda was highly strengthened through the engagement and participation of the Pan African Parliament. The parliamentarians drawn from various countries have developed visionary think tanks that set the development agenda. It is only recently that to unite and integrate Africa was a pipe dream, the African Union summit under chairmanship of the late Col. Gaddafi of Libya tried but the success was minimal. The direct engagement of the Pan African Parliament has been lauded for liberalising the migration policy. Through AU, the PAP has ratified the development and implementation of the African Passport for improving the Intra-African trade and ease movement.

IPI have fundamental in regionally coordinating the mechanism of the countries around security agenda. The Burundi, South Sudan, and Somalia crisis have been given sufficient attention in both EALA and the PAP. The EALA's Inter-Parliamentary Relations Seminars, christened Nanyuki Series have been fundamental of influencing security policies in EAC. The deployment of the first peacekeeper troops of Uganda and Burundi were influenced from EALA. This coordinating and advocacy function is undertaken through the evidence based processes.

Evidence based advocacy of the IPI have instrumental in wading off international crime syndicates on animal poaching, terrorism, money laundering, and attracting investments through benching on legislations among member states that develop the public-private partnership arrangements. The invasion of China in the African continent has been a

strategic issue at the PAP which has emphasised on constructive and mutually respecting engagement.

Lastly, there IPI have come of age and do not only engage or cooperate just as a form of networking but also taking serious their traditional role of oversight to diplomacy and international relations. These international assemblies have boldly stepped forward to provide opportunities to discuss ideas that genuinely affect the people. The members of most IPI are elected representatives of the people.

5.2 Recommendations

The definition and operationalization of the parliamentary diplomacy is a pretty new phenomenon in method, purpose, processes, and impact but it is fast gaining currency. A lot of studies are still required to deeply understand the new found space and opportunity in advancing diplomacy and the parliamentary networking, and cooperation seem to be shaping up the political, institutional, and social structure of representative countries. More still unearth on the opportunities existing on parliamentary interchange or benchmarking.

The parliamentary diplomacy should serve as complementary not antagonistic role to the traditional diplomacy that is conducted by the government and its designated executive organs. There should further be long term support for the parliamentarians to entrench the use of instruments of diplomacy for strengthening their role of representation, legislation and oversight.

There is need to establish the relationship between this emergent concept of parliamentary diplomacy and the notion of inter-parliamentary cooperation to mitigate on the overlaps and further clearly delineate roles of the acts in each case in relation to international relations. The development, networking and operations of the international parliamentary associations, based on their distinguished purpose, should be encouraged, strengthened, and supported on the focus efforts to champion peace, security, and reduce inequality among members.

Being parliamentary organizations they should draw their mandate from the people. This could be through elections or engaging the people in strategic decisions before undertaking them. The mandate some of the IPI should be extended and broadened to have stronger fiscal and policy making authorities. This could be done through strengthening institutional and networking capacity building.

Lastly, the study wishes to benchmark the recommendations of Sayfullaev (2016) that the Kenyan parliament and the inter-parliamentary institutions it is affiliated such as EALA, IPU, PAP and CPA should have a distinguished parliamentary involvement in cross border affairs in four different ways. Firstly, through ensuring or being involved in drafting and ratification of international treaties and enacting laws that have specific reference on sovereignty, defence, security, and peace missions. Secondly, exercise oversight through hearings, petitions, preliminary, censure, and involvement of the people in international relations issues of national interest. Thirdly, through allocation, approval and oversight of annual budgets dedicated to foreign policy or foreign activities.

Fourthly, parliaments should take their space effectively in bilateral and multilateral diplomatic negotiations. This study envisages that these four dimensions of parliamentary involvement in diplomacy will strengthen the diplomatic power of Kenya's parliament and their involvement in IPIs and further help in mitigating regional and global changes. This consequently leads to an improved, efficient, capable and coherent foreign policy for Kenya and other neighbouring African states in the Great lakes region.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Studies

Even though, there are studies that have been done on parliamentary diplomacy on its emergency and entrenchment into the international relations space, few of these studies are Africa or Kenyan specific and the value of the parliamentary diplomacy in contributing to a country's international relations like in Kenya remains a grey area that would attract further academic debate. Further, there need to interrogate the legislative agenda and issues permeate international relations and how they can inform the local development agenda.

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