PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY: CASE OF KENYA FROM 2010 – 2017

ABDIBASHIR ALINOOR IBRAHIM

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF SECURITY, DIPLOMACY AND PEACE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER, 2019
DECLARATION
This proposal is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university

Abdibashir Alinoor Ibrahim
C50/CTY/PT/29950/2014
Signature_____________________
Date_______________________

SUPERVISOR
This project has been submitted for the review with my approval as the University Supervisor

Dr. Linet Hamasi
Department of International Relations, Conflict and Strategic Studies
Signature_____________________
Date_______________________
DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to Allah Almighty my creator, my strong pillar, my source of inspiration. He has been the source of strength throughout this program. I also dedicate this work to my wife; Fardosa who has encouraged me all the way and whose encouragement has made sure that I give it all it takes to finish that which I have started. To my children Amina, Ahlan and Aaliya who have been affected in every way possible by this quest. I thank you. My love for you all can never be quantified. God bless you.
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My utmost regard also goes to my parents, family members who laid the foundation for my education giving it all it takes. I am and will forever be grateful to my loving wife; Fardosa who has given everything possible and I can’t find the words that express my gratitude. I also from the depth of my heart appreciate my children. I appreciate my siblings Mohamedweli, Omar, Amina, Nesteha, Zamzam, Fardosa, Amran and Sumya; truly you inspired me. I appreciate all my friends and who in one way or the other have been there and have continually prayed for my success. God bless you.
ABSTRACT
The purpose of the study was to examine the participation of women in implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. Implementation of foreign policy is a critical component internationally and is achieved through diplomacy, war, foreign sanctions, and alliances. The role of women in the implementation of foreign policy has raised research interest over time. The study’s objectives were: to establish how women participate in decision making in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 – 2017; to determine the role of women leadership in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 – 2017; to assess the role of women capacity building in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 – 2017; and to evaluate how women’s political participation influences the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 - 2017. This study analysed literature review on studies that have examined the relationship between women and international politics and how the contribution of women in the implementation of foreign policy can be theorized. Literature was organized into three key themes. In the first section, the study analyzes what has been covered by researchers with regard to Participation of women in foreign policy and the role of women in the implementation of foreign policy. The liberal feminist theory was used as the primary theory to assess the issues that affect women and their role of women in the international relations, and neoliberalism theory which emphasizes that international relations entail diverse actors and issues. An explanatory research design was employed. A total of 143 women working in the foreign affairs ministry in Nairobi formed the study’s target population. A sample of 72 was done using purposive sampling. A questionnaire was used to collect data, with data analysis being done using descriptive and inferential statistics. The study found that women’s decision making, leadership, capacity building, political participation all have significant influence on implementation foreign policy. The study concluded that women in Kenya are not fully involved in capacity building, decision making and politics, which hinders them from fully participating in the implementation of foreign policy. The study recommended that on the establishing standing or ad hoc committees and other statutory bodies on gender equality and empowerment of women, with cross-party representation, to monitor the review and the implementation of existing laws and constitutional provisions, budgets and policies from a gender perspective, as well as recommendations.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ...................................................................................................................... iii  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .................................................................................................. iv 
ABSTRACT ...................................................................................................................... v  
LIST OF TABLES ............................................................................................................ ix 
LIST OF FIGURES ......................................................................................................... x  
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS ........................................................................... xi 
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS .................................................................... xii 

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION ............................................................................... 1  
1.1 Background to the Study ...................................................................................... 1  
1.2 Statement of the Problem .................................................................................... 7  
1.3 Objectives .............................................................................................................. 9  
   1.3.1 General Objective ......................................................................................... 9  
1.4 Research Hypotheses ......................................................................................... 9  
1.5 Justification of the Study .................................................................................... 10  
1.6 The Scope of the Study ...................................................................................... 11  
1.7 Limitation and Delimitations ............................................................................. 11 

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW .................................................................. 12 
2.1 The Concept of Foreign Policy Implementation .............................................. 12 
   2.1.1 Women Decision Making and Implementation of Foreign Policy .......... 12 
   2.1.2 Women Leadership and Implementation of Foreign Policy ................. 17 
   2.1.3 Women Capacity Building and Implementation of Foreign Policy ....... 19 
2.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework ............................................................ 28  
   2.2.2 Conceptual Framework ............................................................................. 31  
2.3 Summary of the Literature Review ................................................................... 34  

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY ...................................................................... 35 
3.1 The Research Design ......................................................................................... 35  
3.2 The Study Area .................................................................................................. 35  
3.3 Target Population ............................................................................................. 36
3.4 Sampling Technique ................................................................. 36
3.5 Sample Size .............................................................................. 37
3.6 Data Collection ......................................................................... 37
3.7 Pretesting of Data Instruments .................................................. 37
3.8 Validity and Reliability ........................................................... 38
3.9 Data Collection Procedure ...................................................... 39
3.10 Data Analysis .......................................................................... 40
3.11 Ethical Consideration ............................................................ 41

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION ................................................................. 42

4.0 Introduction.................................................................................. 42
4.1 Response Rate........................................................................... 42
4.2 Demographic characteristics of respondents ............................ 43
  4.2.1 Distribution of Respondents by Gender .................................... 43
  4.2.2 Distribution of respondents by age ........................................ 44
  4.2.3 Distribution of respondents by level of education .................. 45
  4.2.4 Distribution of respondents as per the title ............................ 46
4.3 Women Participation in implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy .... 47
  4.3.1 Achievements that women have attained in the implementation of the Kenya’s foreign policy ................................. 49
4.4 Decision Making by Women and implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy between 2010 and 2017 ........................................ 50
4.5 Women Leadership and Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy from 2010-2017 .................................................. 51
4.6 Women Capacity Building and Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy between 2010 and 2017 ............................................. 53
4.6 Women’s political participation influences the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017 ........................................... 55
4.7 Correlation Analysis ................................................................ 57
4.8 Regression Analysis ................................................................. 59
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS...... 64

5.1 Introduction.................................................................................................................. 64
5.2 Summary of Findings .................................................................................................. 64
5.3 Conclusion ................................................................................................................... 66
5.4 Recommendations ...................................................................................................... 67
5.5 Suggestions for Further Research .............................................................................. 67

REFERENCES .................................................................................................................. 68

APPENDICES ..................................................................................................................... 74

Appendix I: Introduction Letter from the University ......................................................... 74
Appendix II: Introduction Letter from the National Commission For Science, Technology
And Innovation .................................................................................................................. 75
Appendix III: Permit from National Commission For Science, Technology and Innovation76
Appendix IV: Questionnaire ................................................................................................ 77
LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Target population ............................................................................................................ 36
Table 3.2: Sample size ......................................................................................................................... 37
Table 3.3: Summary of Reliability Coefficients for Variables of The Study ................................. 39
Table 4.1: Return Rate ......................................................................................................................... 43
Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Gender ........................................................................ 43
Table 4.3: Distribution of Age Group ............................................................................................... 44
Table 4.4: Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education ..................................................... 45
Table 4.5: Distribution of Respondents as Per the Title ................................................................ 46
Table 4.6: Women Involvement in Foreign Policy Implementation ................................................. 47
Table 4.7: Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy .................................................................... 48
Table 4.8: Decision making and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2010 and 2017 ......................................................................................................................... 50
Table 4.9: Women Leadership and Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy Between 2010 And 2017 ............................................................................................................................ 52
Table 4.10: Women Capacity Building in Implementation Of Kenya’s Foreign Policy Between 2010 And 2017 ............................................................................................................................ 54
Table 4.11: Political participation by women and Kenya’s foreign policy implementation between 2010 and 2017 ......................................................................................................................... 56
Table 4.12: Correlation Analysis ........................................................................................................ 58
Table 4.13: summary output .............................................................................................................. 59
Table 4.14: Analysis of Variance ....................................................................................................... 60
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The conceptual Framework ........................................................................... 32
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU: African Union
CS: Cabinet Secretary
DDR: Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
ICC: International Criminal court
KDF: Kenya Defense Forces
KNBS: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
MENA: Middle East and North African Region
NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
OAFL: Organization of African First Ladies
PFA: Platform for Action
SRHR: Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights
UN: United Nations
UNMIL: United Nations Mission in Liberia
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Feminism: This refers to a social movement that seeks to remedy the social, economic and political inequalities between men and women. The central argument is that the society is dominated by masculinity and this places women at disadvantage in all spheres of life.

Foreign policy implementation: The process through which appointed or elected leaders and specific agencies advance the interests of their country in relations to other countries using different tools such as diplomacy, war, sanctions and so forth.

Pacifism: A foreign policy behavior that exalts peaceful methods of resolving disputes and avoids the use of military power as an instrument of foreign policy. It is a foreign policy behaviors that have been associated with women by some scholars.

Socialization: The process through which the children acquire the values, belief, and attitudes of their community especially at formative stages. It main agents are family, school and other areas of social relations.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a systematic overview of the proposed study. The chapter begins by examining the context of the study from a global, regional and local perspective. This chapter also provides the reasons that justify the proposed study, the scope and limitations of the study it is likely to encounter.

1.1 Background to the Study

The term foreign policy has been defined in various ways by scholars; however, they are certain that it is concerned with behaviour of a state towards other states. Hermann and Hermann (1989), for instance, defined foreign policy as “the discrete purposeful action that results from the political level decision of an individual. It is not the decision but a product of the decision. By this it can be seen that Hermann and Hermann (1989) defines foreign policy as the behaviour of States.

George Modelski (1962) defines it as “the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other States and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. Foreign policies must throw light on the ways States attempt to change and succeed in changing the behaviour of other states.” Modeski, noted only those aspects of policy that aim at the change in the existing behaviour of states, as the primary objective of foreign policy. However, foreign policy is not only to change but also continuation of the behaviour at different times. It is concerned both with the change and the status quo as far as they serve their national interest.
According to Bojang (2008) foreign policy implementation refers to the process through which the decisions made on implementation of foreign policy by states are translated to reality through mechanisms such as diplomacy, war, sanctions and alliances. This process involves individuals, corporations and Non-Government organizations and other non-state actors who have been authorized to act on behalf of their country. Over the years, there has been concern on the role played by women in foreign policy implementation. The dominant argument was not only on foreign policy process as elitist but also how it tended to be dominated by men (Tickner, 1992). Most studies have suggested that women are not just outnumbered by men; they also wield less influence compared to men. This study analyzed if this is the case in Kenya.

Efforts to increase women’s participation in foreign policy are not taking place in isolation. Multiple other international campaigns have sought to increase the numbers of women in legislatures, in the executive branch or as voters (Tickner, 2012). Criticism of the foreign policy is mainly concentrated on a few recurring issues. This include; the international resistance likely to meet, as parts of its agenda can be perceived as controversial (such as promotion of SRHR); the assumption that a Feminist Foreign Policy is equivalent to soft power and will be insufficient in tackling some pressing security issues and the controversy between ideology and practice, meaning that feminism is inconsistent with some of Sweden’s political practices, such as its arms export.

Several studies have shown that women have experienced gradual empowerment which has enabled them to occupy positions that enables them to participate directly in the implementation of foreign policy (Kimani and Kabila, 2013). With reference to this, scholars have argued that involvement of women in foreign policy is a reflection of ongoing
women empowerment movement which intensified with the beginning of women conferences in 1970s (Kiamba, 2008). Since then countries, like Germany, Australia and Britain have elected women as heads of state and government hence placing them at the helm of foreign policy implementation. Women also serve in ministries of foreign affairs in a number of states. These developments have been subject of research by a number of scholars focusing on issues such as women in power (Tickner, 2012), women in armed conflict (Enloe, 2014) and the nature of the foreign policy that is pursued by female leaders (Northrup, 1994). With regard to latter, some researchers have claimed that women have different cognitive and physiological attributes and that makes them pursue a foreign policy that is distinct from men (Durham and Gurd, 2005), whereas others like Keohane et al. (2010), have contested this argument, and insisted that is no significant distinction on the behavior of women in power compared to male leaders in similar positions.

Globally, there has been transformation about the role of women in the implementation of foreign policy. More awareness is being created with regard to incorporating gender perspectives in policymaking and the adoption of gender-inclusive approaches in the implementation of development-related goals in order to empower women (Akudo, 2012). The achievement of this goal is seen as the attainment of peace, justice and sustainable development. Women empowerment is measured by five dimensions that may be considered to represent the expansion of choice and freedom of women to make decisions, as well as to take the actions which are necessary to influence their life outcomes. These are: economic decision making, household decision making, freedom of movement, ownership of property, and political and social awareness. These dimensions are invoked based on the central
meaning of women’s empowerment, fundamental right of women in family, society and nationally from various literatures (Batliwala, 1995).

The introduction of women’s rights into foreign policy initiatives by the United States, particularly in the Mena region, has not yet been completely successful, however, the introduction and effort in introducing such initiatives is progress in and of itself (New American Nation, 2017). Though it is true that much still needs to be done, it cannot be denied that foreign policy focus have shifted over time and women are becoming a more prominent topic of conversation all over the world. With the United States at the forefront pressing for more focus on women’s rights and women empowerment, it is only a matter of time before more and more countries push for the same goal, and progress will be made.

Women's part in United States foreign policy creation and application has turned out to be progressively more noticeable. As of not long ago, international politics were wrangled about and executed by men, with practically zero respect for its effects on women. The post-World War II period might be viewed as the start of genuine implementation of human rights into international politics, and in this manner can likewise be viewed as the time when women's rights started to end up a piece of the global discussion (Miyahara, 2018).

Other than participating in the implementation of foreign policy by holding public office, studies have also demonstrated that women play an essential role in armed conflict. War is recognized as a legitimate approach for pursuing foreign policy goals especially with regard to armed threats (Northrup, 1994). Some scholars have claimed that conventionally, women experience conflict as victims because military forces are dominated by men (Durham & Gurd, 2005). However, this is gradually changing as states set quotas for the recruitment of
female soldiers. A report prepared by the UN Peacekeeping Department (2017) indicates that there are more women today in battlefields and peacekeeping missions than ever before. Moreover, Moser and Clark (2001) have shown that even if women do not participate in war as combatants as frequently as men, women, and children constitute the bulk of its casualties (Oeri, 2014; Farr, 2009).

In Africa, the marginalization of women in leadership is a major issue in research. In their study, Lawless and Fox (2005) reveal that this marginalization is reinforced by the stark inequalities in access to education, control over resources, and prevalence of cultural restrictions that do not favor the election or appointment of women in powerful positions (Nzomo, 1997). Despite the cultural and structural barriers facing women in leadership, women have risen to atop leadership position in a number of cases. Sirleaf Johnson became the first democratically elected female head of state in Africa in 2005. Her immense contribution to the empowerment of women on the continent, and her central role in stabilizing Liberia was recognized through a Nobel peace prize she was awarded in 2011 (Isbell & Jacobs, 2017). Africa has also experienced a number of women who served in an acting capacity especially during transition periods. These include Joyce Banda who served as acting president of Malawi between 2012 and 2014, Catherine Samba who served Central African Republic between 2014 and 2015, Rose Francine who served as acting president of Gabon in 2009, Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri of South Africa between 2005 and 2008, and Slyvie Kinigi who lead Burundi between 1993 and 1994. These leaders played an instrumental role in shaping their countries’ engagements with the rest of the world. That notwithstanding there is a gap in knowledge on how such women shape foreign policies of their homeland.
Moreover, women in Africa have served in other positions where they are involved in the implementation of foreign policy. The AU elected Dlamini Zuma as the secretary general in 2012 hence becoming the first woman to head the AU. In her tenure, she promoted intra-African trade and unity of African States against external forces such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) (Hendricks, 2017). Through the Organization of African First Ladies (OAFL) African women are also playing a role in implementing the policy agenda of the AU in socio-economic issues such as healthcare. Quite a number of countries have also appointed women as ministers of foreign affairs whereas women are increasingly serving in the military where they take part in combating the threat to their countries’ peacekeeping.

Kenya is among the countries that have made commendable strides in women empowerment. In 2010 Kenya adopted a progressive report which recognized gender inequality as a major challenge and stipulated ways to rectify the situation (Kimani & Kabila, 2013). Specifically, the two-thirds gender majority rule was adopted stipulating that no agency can be staffed by more than two-thirds of workers from the same sex (Opoku, Anyango & Alupo, 2018). This was a milestone development because it secured the place of women in decision-making organs. Since the promulgation of the new constitution, an increase of women in key policy decision-making organs has been witnessed. For instance, between 2013 and 2017, female Cabinet secretaries constituted 33.3%, Principal Secretaries 26.9%, Diplomatic Corps 23.8%, Members of the National Assembly 19.7% and Members of the Senate 26.9% of the total (KNBS, 2014). There has also been a tremendous improvement in the status of women in positions important for foreign policy especially in Defense and foreign affairs which were led by female Cabinet Secretaries. However, the
contribution made by these women in the implementation of the foreign policy has not been analyzed by researchers.

Studies have also been undertaken on challenges that obstruct women from accessing elective and appointed positions. Moreover, a study by Gichuhi and Njeri (2016), indicate that women still face structural discrimination by emanating from practice, customs and laws. Structural discrimination, demographic factors such as education, religion and marital status have been shown to be inhibitors of effective participation of women in the political decision-making process (Khan, 2010). However, these studies have not shown how these inhibitors have impinged women participation in implementation of foreign policy. This study will attempt to close this gap in knowledge.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Foreign policy implementation is part of foreign policy decision-making. It is technical and administrative in nature as well as political. Implementation is an integral part of political course of foreign policy. It is part of the governmental process where decisions and policy are sanctioned. Implementation thus occupies an extensive but subtle area of concern in the part of foreign policy that is neither severely technical nor likely to be clearly detailed. Implementation of foreign policy depends on three factors; nature of a particular decision (Cuban Missile Crisis required a highly analysed decision), situation in which decisions are made and controls exercised within the political field (Clarke 1979). Familiar explanations of the "instruments of implementation" or the range of pressures from "pure coercion" "pure persuasion" are significant in themselves, but they do not define the practices of implementation as such: they are linked to the behavioural or organizational content of the strategy as opposed to its application.\(^7\) Foreign policymaking, unlike domestic policy,
usually involves fewer people and less publicity. The heads of state serve as the chief diplomat and are tasked with executing the country’s foreign policy. The chief diplomat/head of state employ three tools to execute foreign policy: diplomacy, foreign relief and military force. States generally pursue diplomacy either unilaterally (States act alone, minus the assistance or approval of any other state), bilaterally (State collaborates with another state) or multilaterally (the State works in with many other states).

Women in Kenya are underrepresented in decision-making positions. They also have less access to education, land, and employment. The untapped potential of women and girls is gaining greater attention in Kenya especially in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. The country’s new Constitution, passed in 2010, provides a powerful framework for addressing gender equality. It marks a new beginning for women’s rights in Kenya; seeking to remedy the traditional exclusion of women and promote their full involvement in every aspect of growth and development.

Studies have shown that foreign policy as a study and practice is dominated by men. Yet, women are now being elected to head government with greater frequency and have a better chance of being appointed to foreign policy roles such as ministers, diplomats and so forth. Besides they enjoy better access to male-dominated roles such as the military which is involved in the implementation of foreign policy. In Kenya, the constitution has paved way for women to hold office in agencies that are involved in the implementation of foreign policy. However, their contribution and performance in this area have eluded the attention of researchers. This study undertakes to reduce this gap in knowledge. The study will attain this goal by evaluating the role played by women in the implementation of Kenya foreign
policy, their level of participation and performance of women in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy.

1.3 Objectives

The following are objectives of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to examine the participation of women in implementation foreign policy; case of Kenya between 2010 and 2017.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To establish the influence of decision making on implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017
2. To examine the role of women’s leadership on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017
3. To evaluate the influence of women’s capacity building on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017
4. To assess women’s political participation influences the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

1.4 Research Hypotheses

H₀₁: There was no significant relationship between decision making by women and the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

H₀₂: Women leadership did not affect the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017
H03: Capacity building by women played no role on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

H04: Women’s political participation did not influence the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study is justified by its potential contribution to academy and policy. Generally, scholars have also shown that the field of foreign policy is dominated by masculine issues and there are relatively fewer women in agencies that are involved in the implementation of foreign policy (Tickner, 1992). That said, there is considerable evidence that women contribute to foreign policy relations of their country both directly and indirectly (Farr, 2009; Moser & Clark, 2001). In Kenya studies have been undertaken on the contribution of women in the country’s affairs. These studies have majorly dwelt on issues such as rights of women, economic marginalization and inclusivity in the public sector (Nzomo, 1997; Kassilly & Onkware; Kimani & Kabila, 2013). However, there is a gap in knowledge the contribution of women in the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. This study undertook to close this gap.

Additionally, the study has potential policy implications. Kenya adopted one of the most progressive constitutions in Africa in 2010. The constitutions guarantee the voice of women in the public sector through the two-thirds gender principle (Kimani & Kabila, 2013). Since the adoption of the constitution, noteworthy progress has been made with women being appointed to positions that are influential in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. That being the case, this study will examine if these appointments have translated to
tangible results in terms of women empowerment in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy.

1.6 The Scope of the Study

This study examined the contribution of women in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. This period is justified by the fact that since 2010, Kenya has witnessed considerable gains in women empowerment, especially in public service as a result of the new constitution which provides that offices in public sector should not be dominated by more than two thirds employees of the same gender.

The study focused on the contribution of women in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy and focused on the level of participation, contributions, and performance of women in foreign policy implementation. The research involved experts in foreign policy and individuals with intimate involvement in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy. This included officials at the ministry of foreign affairs, current and former female CSs for Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministries and female diplomats.

1.7 Limitation and Delimitations

In conducting the research, this study is faced several limitations. The main limitation anticipated in the study was a risk of biased information being collected from interviewees. This challenge was overcome by collecting data from different sources so as to facilitate comparison of data collected from various sources. Data from different sources was also cross-referenced to identify and rectify inconsistencies.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter analyses key studies that have examined the relationship between women and international politics and how the contribution of women in the implementation of foreign policy can be theorized. Literature was organized into three key themes. In the first section, the study analyzes what has been covered by researchers with regard to Participation of women in foreign policy and the role of women in the implementation of foreign policy. Chapter will also discuss the proposed theoretical frameworks, and justify their suitability to the study. Lastly, the chapter will endeavor to outline conceptual framework represents a system of variable interrelationship if the contribution of women in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy.

2.1 The Concept of Foreign Policy Implementation

2.1.1 Women Decision Making and Implementation of Foreign Policy

Women are more visible in public life now than they have been at any other point in modern history. Globally, women have more access to positions of authority than they did 30 years ago – from the judiciary to parliament, from professional associations to the boardroom. Women are now entering high-level decision making positions in the public sector. Women leaders have an enormous potential to influence the way we all live and work, by promoting fairer management practices, a better balance between work and family life and reducing gender disparities within the workplace (Pitt, Khandker, and Cartwright, 2006). The United Nations has established a comprehensive code of corporate conduct focused on empowering and investing in women worldwide.
There are several approaches on female participation in decision-making in Africa. First is the women's human rights approach, which claims that since women are about half of the entire population in Africa, they have a right to be represented in decision-making (Boserup et al., 2013). Next is the critical mass theory, which claims that women would achieve solidarity of purpose for their interests and welfare if represented in decision-making (Oliver and Marwell, 1998; Fraser, 1990).

At the policy level, feminist theorists advancing a theory of congresswomen's impact on women's issues, suggest that women are a homogenous group who need to be represented in discussions that result in policy-making and implementation, as their experiences are unique and different from those of men (Young, 1989; Swers, 2002). This implies that women conduct politics differently from men. Feminists theorists also claim that women's interests differ from men's (Pateman, 2005), and therefore, should be represented in institutions to articulate their interests. From a mentor and role model perspective, feminist theorists state that female role models will enhance female involvement and engagement in politics, while equal representation of women and men in politics will results in democratization of governance at a national and international level (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006).

One of the prevailing approaches used by scholars to demonstrate that women experience international relations from disadvantageous positions is by looking at women in armed conflict. The role of women in armed conflict is the genesis of the Feminist conflict theory which focuses on the experiences of women in conflict. Among the pioneers in this field are Enloe (2014) and Tickner (1992). These scholars criticize international relations for neglecting the role of women in armed conflict. The silence accorded by international relations on the role of women in armed conflict was most fiercely assailed by Enloe (2014)
who posed the question ‘where are the women?’ She then proceeded to demonstrate that the women played salient roles in conflicts not only as victims but as mothers and wives of the combatants. What is more, Weber (2006) demonstrates the influential role played by women in socializing the society, including boys towards aggression. The culture of sacrificing men to save women and children as well as the role women play in mobilizing their societies by conjuring and sustaining images of the enemy.

A gender-sensitive foreign policy can be defined as a policy built and implemented considering the potential gendered effects of its actions and aiming to alleviate any perceived situation of gender discrimination or violence with actions and specific policies. One of the possible indicators of gender-sensitive foreign policies is the international agreements against gender discrimination and violence by which a certain government is bound. Another indicator is its political pronouncements over situations affecting women’s rights over the world and the active participation in intergovernmental discussions on gender governance. Application of gender mainstreaming in foreign aid/cooperation agreements (including south-south cooperation) in which it participates as donor, executor or receptor, as well as the application of gender mainstreaming policies by its peacekeeping forces in foreign countries is another indicator (Pitt, Khandker & Cartwright, 2006).

Women generally have been excluded from decision-making processes. The need to address this exclusion was a critical concern of the Fourth Women’s World Conference in Beijing (1995). The Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) that emerged from this conference was adopted by representatives from 181 member nations, but with 40 countries announcing reservations. The Platform identifies 12 ‘critical areas of concern’ considered to represent the major obstacles to women’s advancement poverty, education and training, health,
violence, the economy, human resources, media, the environment, the girl-child, institutional mechanisms, armed conflict, and power and decision-making (Moghadam & Senftova, 2005). The PFA also identifies strategic objectives to be taken at national, international, NGO, and private sector levels in order to remove obstacles to women’s advancement.

Keohane et al. (2010) have conducted studies to evaluate whether there is a notable distinction between foreign policy pursued by men and those pursued by women. This study sought to uncover the prevailing stereotype that women have unique biological and physiological characteristics make them more inclined to be peaceful as compared to men. This stereotype, therefore suggests that inclusion of women in foreign policy-making positions and military in greater numbers has the potential to alter the foreign policy direction of a country towards a more peaceful direction. This view also holds that the use of force is a masculine domain and a key dimension of masculine identity.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) affirmed the need to include women in decision-making with regard to issues of peace and security. In 2006, the 50th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women adopted agreed conclusions on the equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes (Moghadam & Senftova, 2005). Women’s participation in decision-making is not only advantageous for women themselves, but for development and democracy in general. The fiftieth session of the Commission on the Status of Women assert that, without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women’s perspectives at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved. Women’s equal participation is a necessary condition for women’s and girls’ interests in order to strengthen democracy (Bigio & Vogeltein, 2016).
As any other social institution, foreign policy reflects and reproduces the same gender hierarchies which are present in society. The infra-representation of women in politics is a universal phenomenon, although representation rates vary considerably from country to country. In foreign policy, women tend to be either infra-represented or invisible in all instances related with foreign policy decision-making, both in the executive and in parliament. This lack of representation reflects in policy content. There is a well-established, although not linear, correlation between feminine (and feminist) presence in the arenas of political decision and the gender-sensitive content of these policies (Tremblay, 1998; Atchinson & Down, 2009; Sawer, 2012).

A key theme in the nexus between women and foreign policy related to gender and conflict. Scholars who have conducted studies in this area have focused mainly on attributes that account for the differences between men and women in decision making and implementation of foreign policy. Fonrobert et al. (2003) have observed that the nature of socialization through which girls go through encourages pacifism by shaping how they structure their communication; perceive power, politics, and security. It has been claimed that women are not as competitive as men and tend to focus more on fostering interdependence and egalitarianism.

The question of how female and male physiological and psychological attributes shape foreign policy is elaborated further by Northrup (1994). This particular study examines the whether there is a distinction in how women and men behave when they occupy positions of power. The issue was addressed by evaluating a number of women who have occupied positions of authority as ministers for foreign relations or heads of states and thus, commander in chief. Also, the performance and behavior of female soldiers in armed
conflict were examined in the view of hypotheses that have emerged from studies that have proposed that women act with more restraint and are more diplomatic than men.

That notwithstanding, Northrup (1994) makes three key findings on the involvement of women in civil service and military: that women perform as well as men when they hold positions of authority in both the civil service and in the military; that women are as much likely to use force as men, although they do so or different reasons; and women tend to perceive force as necessary to defend their families, homes, and nations. This suggests that women are less likely to engage in wars of aggression as compared to men.

2.1.2 Women Leadership and Implementation of Foreign Policy

There are a number of studies that have emerged to support or oppose women leadership in the implementation of foreign policy. Durham and Gurd (2005) have enumerated with great details that despite the compassion of female leaders such as Margaret Thatcher, Catherine the great and Indira Gandhi thousands of soldiers and civilians died in war during their reign. Trenin, (2002) reveals that during her reign, she undertook an expansionist policy whose ultimate goal was to stretch the Russian empire to natural borders in the south and in the black sea. This entailed conducting a war of aggression against the Turks and Greeks.

Margaret Thatcher, on the other hand, came to power when Britain was reeling from the devastation caused by the Second World War. According to (Dyson, 2009) Britain’s economy was on its knees due to trade blockade and relentless bombardment by Germany in the early stages of the war. Thatcher stood out as the champion of capitalism in a time when the Soviet Union threatened a nuclear war with the west (Jewkes, 2003). Thatcher found when women like in other patriarchal societies, the subordinate position which the women in
implementation foreign policy are subjected to, predisposes them to various acts of gender-based discrimination. Being a patriarchal society, male dominance is reflected in the marriage institution, political and governing institutions, religious institutions, and other public and private institutions existing within the community set-up. Very few women in this community occupy leadership positions and participate equitably with their male counterparts in implementation foreign policy.

Fernea’s (1998) pointed out some variations in women leadership from country to country and state to state – from full political rights to limited rights. Some Muslims believe that the Qur’an specifically forbids women from participating publicly in political life; others claim that women are too emotional and thus lack the capacity to reason and make intelligent political decisions. Tuppurainen (2010) it is true that Muslim women’s movements are naturally restricted by family commitments, but other major constraints are caused by deep-rooted Islam cultural prejudice that inhibits women’s freedom to work for gain, practice a profession and move about freely in society.

Many foreign ministers claim that their program aims at promoting women’s issues, rights or well-being, but women’s rights is a complex issue that many countries have not dealt with. If a feminist foreign policy requires renouncing the military altogether, then a country like Costa Rica, which has no military at all, must be in the running for a feminist foreign policy leadership, as it is far more pacifist than Sweden or Norway. If it requires having women’s presence in leadership in the foreign policy arena, then Sweden and the United States can be considered leaders.

Javidan and Carl (2005) argued that the issue of universality of leadership across cultures is important, however inadequate. They point out that there is a great deal of research on
leadership in the US and Europe, but ask how generalizable this is in other cultures. To the extent that leaders in different cultures share similar values and expectations, they will also display similar leadership behaviors. Leaders act the way they do because followers accept and expect it (Collinson, 2006). In particular in the business world, across cultures there is a convergence of administrative, training, and interaction styles due to globalized business practices. In an increasingly capitalist system across nations, Javidan and Carl (2004) suggest that these commonalities in leadership behaviors and characteristics are the result of a shared need for achievement and self-actualization.

2.1.3 Women Capacity Building and Implementation of Foreign Policy
Research on gender perspectives in different areas and the sex-disaggregation of data has increased. Considerable knowledge of the gender perspectives in different areas of work of the United Nations has been documented. Important institutional measures have been adopted to increase the awareness, knowledge, and capacity of professional staff for implementing gender mainstreaming, including training programmes and gender focal point systems. Limited access to capacity enhancement programs, social services and support further exacerbate their risks and vulnerabilities. This is a “toned-down” version of the equity approach adopted by development organizations out of reluctance to interfere in gender relations between men and women. It is regarded as the ‘cultural’ domain in which they had no right to interfere. By providing greater employment opportunities for women, the anti-poverty approach met women’s practical needs. However, it also places a greater work burden on women, who now have to cope with extra responsibilities besides their reproductive work (Mosse, 1993).
Alison Woodward (2003) outlines several critical success factors for gender mainstreaming in her article; ‘European Gender Policy: Promises and Pitfalls of Transformative Policy’. These include: commitment to a gender mission; level of sophistication in terms of gender and policy issues in the administrative setting; level of resistance to gender; extent to which gender experts play a role. Gender mainstreaming requires a radical re-definition of policy values and is transformative (Benería, Berik & Floro, 2015). It requires a deliberate and systematic approach to integration. Its capacity for gender analysis and gender mainstreaming helps to improve the implementation of Sida’s gender policies. It suggests a better balance between policy ambitions and operational capacities. In this regard, it presents two options: 1) to assign the responsibility of gender mainstreaming to a full time expert or appointed official who has gender expertise, or 2) to adapt its gender policy to sector wide approaches and provide the necessary gender training and tools to sector officials for effective implementation. Building gender capacity in the organisation is key to preventing policy evaporation.

Furthermore, discrimination towards women causes them to have lower levels of education, skills and knowledge than men, which limits their productive capacity and potential income. Women’s productive activities are also hindered by reproductive roles and the healthcare issues surrounding it, and by traditional gender roles that tie women to unpaid domestic work. Promote capacity-building for the leadership of women in decision-making at all levels of society in every realm of life. Yet women are represented as the poorest of the poor rather than as existing throughout all levels of society, as well as being affected by race, age, ethnicity and other intersecting factors. The vehicles through which the document hopes the capacity building will occur are partnerships and networking.
Capacity building on women helps them grow their businesses into profitable enterprises (Benería, Berik & Floro, 2015). Women empowerment is an important aspect of development in any society. Women are believed to play key roles in meeting the basic needs of the family. However, it is through the establishment of institutions such as women groups that women and other agencies including the government can propagate the empowerment initiative. Benería et al. (2015) further recommended diversification of income generating activities by women groups and need for government, private organizations and community members to inculcate a cultural orientation that recognizes women and position in society. It was also notable that in some groups, male leaders served longer than the stated period because of fear by other members who do want to be chosen as leaders. This shows the need for more capacity building amongst the women so that they can take up leadership roles as noted in the leadership training section which revealed that majority of groups had not received any training related to leadership.

2.1.4 Political Participation of women in foreign policy

Over the years, a number of studies have been conducted on how women interact with international politics in different contexts. In these studies, a general consensus has coalesced around the argument that the number of women in foreign policy is increasing, albeit slowly and unevenly. That said, the dominant view that has emerged from these studies is that women are outsiders to the foreign policy decision making and implementation mainly due to gender stereotypes, legal, economic and social-cultural conditions in which they face (Benería et al., 2015). They also contend that men dominate decision-making structures in the legislature and executive and thus these institutions and their behavior are driven by male-centered worldview.
Women are relatively excluded from positions of power in key organs that shape foreign policy including the military, diplomats and heads of states. Studies that focus on contribution of women in international relations have tended to train their focus masculine constructions of international relations in these areas. These constructions suppress the participation of women in foreign policy (Tickner, 1992). There is also the view that in most cases women experience relations between states as victims rather than proponents (Enloe, 1989).

To better understand how women are depicted in studies of international relations it is important to consider a study by Crapol (1992). This particular study focuses on the lives, ideologies, influences and accomplishments of various women who have played a prominent role in American politics. Crapol (1992), sought to understand the influence wielded by women in foreign policy by focusing on women in the department of defense, and state department, which is in charge of foreign policy-making and implementation. The study categorizes women into two groups, insiders and outsiders. Insiders are those who hold a privileged position as result of wealth, political office or other attributes that improve their closeness to centers of power. On the other hand, outsiders are those who acquire power as political appointees.

Crapol (1992) in his study revealed that, women are not needed to come from elite class to influence foreign policy. Women could acquire power by rising through the career ladder or contesting or political office. Yet even though this is the case, the vast majority of women appeared to rise to prominence with relatively more ease by establishing strong connections with men who held powerful positions. Furthermore, the study established that the ideological background did not have a major influence on the influence wielded by women.
in foreign policy. Women who championed different ideological standpoints could rise to powerful positions without major differences. However, in all cases, their gender identity seemed to render women marginalized when it came to exercising influence on the actual policy. As a result, they had to work harder and longer to gain acceptance as experts by the male-dominated establishment. Thus this study generalizes that although women had been able to rise to positions where they could influence foreign policy decisions their contributions had been rendered obscure and invisible in the foreign policy process.

A similar study has been conducted by Hermann and Kurtz (1995) examining the influence wielded by women in Israel’s foreign policy. It revealed that strategic position in the foreign policy bureaucracy confers upon the particular individual powers and prestige. For these reasons, the elites have always struggled to dominate the domain of foreign policy. Because in general men dominate women economically, these differences are reflected in political leadership and an extension in the field of diplomacy. What is more, the fact that conducts foreign relations require individual with expert knowledge on military affairs, politics and diplomacy create a barrier to the groups that lack those attributes. Subsequently, social, racial, ethnic and religious minorities regularly discover that this realm of politics virtually closed to them.

To explain the absence of women from foreign policy making in the state of Israel, the researchers have focused on the legal, cultural and historical issues. With regard to this, Ben-Porat (2013) reveals that the Zionist movement which led to the creation of the state of Israel was dismissive of the role of women in the participation of the state of Israel. This is partly due to clear-cut differences between the public and private spheres in the Jewish religious practices. The Jewish traditions allow men to operate from both the public and
private spheres while obstructing women from participating in the public spheres. This effectively blocks them from accessing political office. This has resulted in underrepresentation in parliament and thus denied them one of the most influential platforms to shape the foreign policy process.

Secondly, Hermann and Kurtz (1995) observe the state of Israel occupies one of the most unstable regions in the world. The Middle East has witnessed some of the most longstanding conflicts that pit the State of Israel against her Arab neighbors. The primary causes of friction are the issue of Palestine. The establishment of Israel as a Jewish state in 1948 led to massive displacement of Palestinians an issue which alarmed Arab countries. The Arab states articulated their determination to restore Palestinian to their land. They also committed to restoring their dignity from the humiliation of the crushing defeat they have suffered in repeated wars with the State of Israel. These realities have made national security the central pillar of Israel foreign policy. Men bear the burden of defending the state of Israel from external threats and are rewarded with superior political and social standing vis-à-vis women.

Bearing these issues in mind, Barak and Sheffer (2006) have found that the role of women in Israel’s foreign policy is seriously undercut by the prestige and honor attached to serving in the Israel Defense forces which have become a cherished symbol of Israel nationhood. In many countries, military service is also a powerful catapult for launching political careers. Because of the limited participation of women in military services, this also limits their chances of excelling in the political arena and weakens their prospects of being appointed in diplomatic services. This study will evaluate if women in Kenya share a similar experience.
The above studies raise critical issues which are quite relevant to the study. However, they do not tell us much about how women are uninvolved in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy and factors that enhance their participation. This study will address these concerns.

Literature on women political representation and influence in domestic policies offers a clue, based on political participation in informal and formal extra-parliamentarian instances. According to this literature, the strong Brazilian feminist movement, along with an efficient state-feminism, is the main influences of the several legal provisions and mechanisms against women’s violence and discrimination adopted in the last years. According to it, the women’s movement, especially the National Council for Women’s Rights (main representation channel of civil society organizations) and the Secretariat of Politics for Women would be the main influence in the development of the gender-sensitive dimensions of Brazilian Foreign Policy. It is tested by examining some outcomes of Brazilian gender-sensitive Foreign Policy in three areas: global governance (Brazilian commitment to international agreements against women’s violence and discrimination); security (Brazilian involvement in UN’s agenda on Women, Peace and Security); and South-South cooperation (gendered dimensions of cooperation projects with Africa) (Hill, 2003).

Political parties have enabled access to political posts. It is important, however, to nuance how parties have in some cases helped women access political posts, and under what circumstances. For the most part, political parties are vehicles to access political leadership when politicians are members of the dominant political party in the region both at the county and the national level. Political parties in Kenya generally lack an ideological basis and tend to be organized around region and ethnicity with opaque organizational structures making
them difficult to navigate. According to the FIDA gender audit, ‘during the 2013 elections, political party selection was assessed as one of the most pivotal factors in the success or failure of women aspirants and candidates’ (FIDA 2013, p. 58).

Foreign policy implementation is part of foreign policy decision-making. It is technical and administrative in nature as well as political. Implementation is an integral part of political course of foreign policy. It is part of the governmental process where decisions and policy are sanctioned. Implementation thus occupies an extensive but subtle area of concern in the part of foreign policy that is neither severely technical nor likely to be clearly detailed. Implementation of foreign policy depends on three factors; nature of a particular decision (Cuban Missile Crisis required a highly analysed decision), situation in which decisions are made and controls exercised within the political field (Cooper & Peksen, 2014).

Research on the role played by women in foreign policy in Africa has focused on their marginalization from all spheres of life especially with regard to accessing political power. Scholars such as Kiamba (2008) have revealed that in Africa, women have had relatively little success in ascending to positions of power due to the prevalence of political, social and cultural barriers. If anything scholars such as Nzomo (2013), have shown the associations created to advance the interests of women have been rendered ineffective by political interference and their futile attempt to remain politically neutral. A Case in point is Maendeleo Ya Wanawake and National Council of Women of Kenya. This has hindered most women to access political powers hence unable to participate in implementation of foreign policy.
Once in political roles, many women find their voices and opinions marginalized by male political actors because of the patriarchal nature of political systems. Political party elites often curtail women’s ability to operate independently from the party once in elected office and view women politicians as easy to control. Women may also be assigned ‘soft portfolios’, such as health, tourism, housing, education, culture, while men are assigned ‘hard portfolios’ such as finance, trade or foreign affairs (Hill, 2003). Such gendered assignments reinforce cultural expectations about women’s roles and capabilities. In some cases, women included through quotas report not enjoying the same level of respect and authority as elected women. A study on women brought into government through quotas in Uganda showed that they are less recognized in plenary debates than their elected counterparts and therefore may not have equal influence as their male colleagues to shape legislative outcomes (Lovenduski, 2005).

The degree and type of accountability is linked to the party system. Parties are key ‘gatekeepers’ to women’s political representation and participation. In some cases parties may restrict women’s influence and use them instrumentally to mobilize women voters for the party, rather than to integrate a gender perspective into the parties’ policies. Parties without a quota system or reserved seats for women in their leadership structures tend to have very few women leaders. Parties that are not required by their own internal rules or by a national statutory quota to place women candidates on their lists or in winnable positions also tend to have a low level of women’s participation in legislatures (Cooper & Peksen, 2014). There is a strong linkage between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numerical presence both in elected and appointed office (parties also tend to nominate from among their leadership circles). Political parties that seek to mobilize
voters around a set of positions on policy issues may be pressured by women’s groups, party members, and representatives to include gender equality policies into their political programmes. There may even be a ‘contagion effect’ as rival parties take on similar commitments to gender equality in a bid for women’s votes. This strengthens the culture of accountability to the electorate (Lovenduski, 2005). The experts noted that parties based on individual self-interest and fueled by patronage and corruption were less susceptible to external influences that would promote either women or a gender equality agenda.

2.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.2.1 Theoretical Framework

Feminist foreign policy is a course of action towards those outside national boundaries that is guided by a commitment to gender equality and that seeks to solve problems of male dominance, gender inequality and the devaluation and denigration of those who do not conform to traditional gender stereotypes (Butler 1993; Young 1990). Traditional gender stereotypes exclude women from power or restrict them to governance of “soft” areas. They privilege men and traditional models of masculinity as appropriate power holders (Mansbridge 1999). Traditional stereotypes associate violence with men, and portray it as an appropriate tool for solving conflicts and maintaining dominance. Male violence towards women and “deviant” gender groups is normalized, seen as acceptable or as a low priority (Sjoberg 2013; Young 2006; Weldon 2002; Hudson et al. 2012; Hooks 2000). Feminist foreign policy seeks to counter these value preferences and stereotypes.

The study employed the liberal feminism theory. Feminism is a movement that seeks to remedy the social, economic and political inequalities between men and women. Liberal feminism can mean many things in practice, in the policy world, liberal feminism has come
to denote a version of feminist that focuses on integration of women into existing institutions as opposed to abolishing existing institutions, formal equality in law as opposed to social equality and representation in elected office and appointed positions of leadership. For example, U.S. Foreign Policy under the Clinton Administration has been seen as an example of a liberal feminist foreign policy (Garner, 2013). This way of understanding liberal feminism sees it as a sort of state feminism that is not necessarily reflective of the depth or variety of liberal or liberal feminist political theory (Garner 2013; Banaczk 2010). How is this sort of feminist foreign policy approach distinct from other types of feminist approaches? Liberalism in general is distinguished by its commitments to equality and individual freedom (or autonomy).

It is also distinguished by a commitment to fairness in political institutions. This may be why liberal feminism is sometimes distinguished from other forms of feminism by its focus on women’s integration into extant institutions (military, the government, etc.). Liberal feminists often focus on formal equality in law and see the state and legal reform more generally as an important feminist project while other forms of feminism see all state power, with its attendant bureaucracy and hierarchy, as anathema to feminist principles of equality, and subsequently reject interaction with the state (Ajinkya, 2011; Garner, 2013), or see institutions imbued with a power or mission to do violence of any kind (like the military, police etc.) as antifeminist. The commitment to advancing legal rights and protections for individual women (rather than thinking of women as a group, or looking at inequalities among women) may mean that liberal feminists put more weight on the accomplishments of particular women. Pushing for women’s equal participation in government and for women’s
participation in the military on equal footing with men is a distinctive priority of liberal feminists.

This theory is relevant to this study since gender-based inequalities in the political realm have undergone gradual change. Increasingly, states are embracing women as heads of states, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defense and soldiers. Appointments and recruitments to these positions allow them to infuse their ideas in policy discourse and practice. In Africa women such as Dlamini Zuma, Ellen Sirleaf Johnson and Joyce Banda have occupied positions that allowed them to shape policy in Africa and beyond. In Kenya, the ministry of foreign affairs has been led by several female cabinet secretaries, whereas a third-gender rule is shaking up the gender equality in the recruitment to the security, public and electoral roles. Similarly, female social movement leaders such as Wangari Maathai have won the Nobel Peace Prize hence putting the country on the world map. Therefore women in Kenya are at a position where they are involved directly in shaping and implementing Kenya’s foreign policy.

The study also employed the Neoliberalism theory. The principal argument that underpins the neoliberal theory is that non-state actors such as individuals, corporations and non-profit organizations are the principal actors in international actors. This theory is relevant to this study because it enables the study of situate individual women as important players in international politics.

Also, the neoliberal theory holds that international politics is not just about security and conflict. There are other issues such as human rights, environment, culture, and trade. These issues bring states together for common good (Walker, 2013). This theory will be relevant
because it will enable the study to analyze the behavior of individual women leaders and how their influence has shaped foreign policy. Moreover, neoliberalism theory also provides a relevant framework through which the study can analyze and explain the influence of civil society organizations that champion the rights of women to a representation in leadership, and decision-making and how this representation has enhanced the voice of women in the foreign policy process.

2.2.2 Conceptual Framework

The following conceptual framework represents a system of variable interrelationship, which will provide a logical view of the research problem.
Independent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision making</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy formulation</td>
<td>Implementation foreign policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy implementation</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leadership</th>
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<tr>
<td>Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reporting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Structure level</td>
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<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
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<tr>
<th>Capacity Building</th>
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<tr>
<td>Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Technological advancement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capacity of members</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Participation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Political groupings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political affiliations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political representations</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1: The Conceptual Framework**

Women political representation and influence in domestic policies offers a clue, based on political participation in informal and formal extra-parliamentarian instances. Implementation is an integral part of political course of foreign policy. Foreign policy implementation is part of foreign policy decision-making. It is technical and administrative in nature as well as political.
Promote capacity-building for the leadership of women in decision-making at all levels of society in every realm of life will help women to participate in the implementation of foreign policy. Yet women are represented as the poorest of the poor rather than as existing throughout all levels of society, as well as being affected by race, age, ethnicity and other intersecting factors. Capacity building for gender analysis and gender mainstreaming in improves the implementation of foreign policy. In this regard, it presents two options: 1) to assign the responsibility of gender mainstreaming to a full time expert or appointed official who has gender expertise, or 2) to adapt its gender policy to sector wide approaches and provide the necessary gender training and tools to sector officials for effective implementation. Building gender capacity in the organization is key to preventing policy evaporation. Diversification of income generating activities by women groups and need for government, private organizations and community members to inculcate a cultural orientation that recognizes women and position in society.

Just like women in other patriarchal societies, the subordinate position which the women in implementation foreign policy are subjected to, predisposes them to various acts of gender-based discrimination. There is apparently a connection between the lack of women in leadership positions in general and the lack of women in diplomacy. This makes women not to participate in implementation of foreign policy fully. A gender-sensitive foreign policy can be defined as a policy built and implemented considering the potential gendered effects of its actions and aiming to alleviate any perceived situation of gender discrimination or violence with actions and specific policies.
Among other possible indicators of gender-sensitive foreign policies are the international agreements against gender discrimination and violence by which a certain government is bound, its political pronouncements over situations affecting women’s rights over the world, the active participation in intergovernmental discussions on gender governance and the application of gender mainstreaming in foreign aid/cooperation agreements (including south-south cooperation) in which it participates as donor, executor or receptor, as well as the application of gender mainstreaming policies by its peacekeeping forces in foreign countries.

2.3 Summary of the Literature Review

In these positions, they have been involved in shaping foreign policy on their country and also spearheaded diplomatic initiatives on behalf of their own countries. Kenya has also adopted a raft of legislation such as a third gender rule which demands an increased representation of women in both elected and appointed positions (Nzomo, 2013). Case in point is the introduction of a women representative positions and requirement that parties must prioritize nomination of the underrepresented gender in parliament and Senate. Since the adoption of third gender principle Kenya has witnessed improved the representation of women in parliament and in public service (Makinda et al., 2015). This improvement allows women to add their voice to Kenya’s international relations by contributing to parliamentary debates, committees and through legislation. Despite, this their contribution in foreign policy has not be covered in the research. This study endeavored to reduce this gap in research.
The above studies show that women have supported the implementation of foreign policy in other countries in various capacities. They also seem to suggest that women perform as well as men in performing these duties. In fact, they also made similar mistakes to men. This study will contribute to available understanding by looking at the performance of female leaders in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This section outlined how the study was undertaken. This includes the nature of the research design that guided the study, study area and the target population. The data collection procedure and the instruments that were applied to gather data are also described. The chapter also details how the validity and reliability of the instruments was enforced and finally, the ethical considerations that was observed in the study.

3.1 The Research Design

The study adopted an explanatory research design. The design describes the relationships that exist between the independent and dependent variables (Kothari, 2003). Further, explanatory studies establish the causal relationships between variables. The emphasis was on studying the situation or a problem in order to explain the relationships between variables as supported by Saunders et al. (2007).

3.2 The Study Area

The study was carried out in Nairobi that houses most of the headquarters to government institutions. Such institutions as are headquartered in Nairobi and are of interest for the study include the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, and diplomats.
3.3 Target Population

The study targeted senior employees from the Ministry of Foreign affairs, Ministry of Defense and female diplomats. As shown in Table 3.1, the total targeted population for the study was 121 elements.

Table 3.1: Target Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Defense</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomats</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research Data (2019)

3.4 Sampling Technique

Sampling means selecting a given number of subjects from a defined population as representative of that population. Any statements made about the sample should also be true of the population (Orodho, 2002). The study mainly used purposive sampling because the area of the research is specific and was mainly target individuals with relevant information on the participation of women in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy.

3.5 Sample Size

Due to the availability of the senior employees of the targeted institutions, the sample size taken was 50% from each institution. This gave a sample size of 60 subjects as shown in Table 3.2.
### Table 3.2 Sample Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Sampling Ratio</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Defense</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomats</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research Data (2018)

### 3.6 Data Collection

The data collection instrument preferred for the study was a questionnaire. Primary quantitative data was collected using a self-administered questionnaire containing both closed and open-ended questions. The choice of a questionnaire was underpinned by the fact that: questionnaires are helpful in maintaining participants’ privacy because participants’ responses can be anonymous or confidential. This is especially important in gathering sensitive information (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). The questionnaire was self-administered (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009), with emailing also being used to distribute questionnaires.

### 3.7 Pretesting of Data Instruments

According to Mugenda and Mugenda, (2003) pre-testing allows errors to be discovered before the actual collection of data begins and 10% of the sample size is considered adequate pilot study that is one university equating to ten purposively selected respondents perceived to be knowledgeable in procurement matters.
Researcher conducted a pilot test to ensure that there was validity and reliability of instrument using Cronbach’s alpha while conducting the research in order to obtain data that is consistent with the main objective.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

The validity of the data was guaranteed through the triangulation of data from different sources. Data from different sources was crosschecked to identify inconsistencies and reference made to the interviewees for clarifications. Reliability was guaranteed by undertaking a pilot study to determine if the data collection instruments were effective in data collection.

Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it is intended to measure or how truthful the research results are Joppe (2009). Research instrument is valid if it measures what it is supposed to measure and when the data collected through it accurately represents the respondents’ opinion (Amin, 2005). This was ascertained by professionals as the supervisor and lecturers in the department.

3.8.1 Reliability Test

In order to test the reliability of the questionnaires, the study carried out a pilot test to both questionnaires. The reliability of the questionnaires was tested by computing the Cronbach Alpha. The recommended value of 0.7 is used as a cut-off of reliability (Sekaran, 2009). The findings are indicated below
### Table 3.3: Summary of Reliability Coefficients for Variables of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Number of Statements</th>
<th>Cronbach Alpha</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decision Making</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.891</td>
<td>Reliable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Leadership</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.831</td>
<td>Reliable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity Building</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.765</td>
<td>Reliable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Participation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.761</td>
<td>Reliable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

The reliability data is showed in Table 4.1, the influence of women decision making on implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017 and the influence of women leadership on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy showed the highest levels of reliability at 0.891 and 0.831 respectively. The influence of women capacity building on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy had a reliability of 0.765; women’s political participation influences the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy 0.761 which was above the 0.700 measure that is recommended as evidence that the measurement items have a high measure of internal consistency for underlying constructs of the questionnaire. Data reliability played an important role towards enhancing generalization of gathered data. If the Cronbach’s alpha is high, the instrument is said to yield data that have high test reliability.

### 3.9 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher obtained a permit from The University. The permission was requested to conduct the research in the constituency. It is worth noting here that the replies was given to the officer in-charge, it may take a long time, in some cases and therefore may require her to follow up with telephone calls and by paying visits. The researcher met the respondents to
affirm his intention of carrying out the study from them, responsibility to the respondents, the significance of the study and the commitment required from them.

The data was collected using a self-administered questionnaire and through email. Where it was difficult for the respondents to complete the questionnaire immediately, the researcher left the questionnaires with the research assistance to pick them on a later date. In the course of piloting, the researcher visited the area of the study and administered the instruments.

3.10 Data Analysis

Data analysis was commenced in the field to avoid loss of any imperative information. Analysis of qualitative data was created in the order of the collected data. Data through interviews was tape recorded was transcribed, typed then analyzed thematically.

Secondary data was subjected to critical textual analysis and interpretation to test the relevance and accuracy of the document for the purpose of this study. The analyzed data was reported in form of narrative with the first-hand quotation from the primary data.

The regression model used in the study is as below:

\[ Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \epsilon \]

Where:

- \( Y \) = Implementation foreign policy (the dependent variable)
- \( \beta_0 \) = Constant Term (the Y-intercept)
- \( \beta_s \) = Beta coefficients
- \( X_1 \) = Decision making (first independent variable)
- \( X_2 \) = Leadership (second independent variable)
- \( X_3 \) = Capacity Building (third independent variable)
$X_4 =$ Political Participation (fourth independent variable)

$\mathcal{E} =$ error term

3.11 Ethical Consideration

In order to cover ethical issues in this study, the researcher provided a covering letter to the respondents to accompany the questionnaire that was used in the data gathering. The letter stated that the information and data gathered was to be used solely for academic purposes and that no individual/firm will be identifiable. This is important as the organisations might be in competition or certain information may be privilege. This also assisted in easing the purpose of the study. Further, the information will remain absolutely confidential and purely for academic purposes. Additionally, it was optional to all the respondents to identify themselves, and their organisations anywhere in the questionnaire.

The principle of voluntary participation was applied, and requires that people were not coerced into participating in the study. Closely related to the notion of voluntary participation is the requirement of informed consent. The study did not put participants in a situation where they are at risk of harm as a result of their participation.
CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the study findings which have been discussed in line with the objectives of the study and sub thematic areas as follows; questionnaire return rate, demographic characteristics highest level of education and role of the respondents in the project. Chapter four discusses themes from the objectives. The quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics where frequencies, weighted mean and percentages guided the researcher to interpret the data. Analysis of the qualitative data from the interview guide was also conducted.

4.1 Response Rate

Sixty (60) questionnaires were sent out to the field to the targeted respondents and one fifty (50) fully filled ones were returned. This represented a significant response rate of 85.40%, as summarised on Table 4.1. The response rate was good and adequate. According to (Barbie 1995) a response rate of over 70% and above was satisfactory for data analysis. A high response rate is preferable because the missing data is not random (Altman and Bland, 2007). There is no satisfactory statistical solution to deal with missing data that may not be random. Assuming an extreme bias in the responders is one suggested method of dealing with low survey response rates. A high response rate (>80%) from a small, random sample is preferable to a low response rate from a large sample (Evans, 1990).
Table 4.1: Return Rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Return Rate</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Returned</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not returned</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

4.2 Demographic characteristics of respondents

Demographic characteristics of the respondents were based on gender, age, years of experience, level of education and their position within the organization.

4.2.1 Distribution of Respondents by Gender

The study also sought to establish the gender representation in this area. The respondents were both male and female. Data pertaining gender was analyzed and presented in Table 4.2

Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

The results from the study as per the information above show that 80% of the respondents were female and 20% were male. As the study looked at the role of women in the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya between 2010 and 2017, it then means that a good number of women were available for the cause. Otherwise, it also shows that there
is a high number of men in key positions who would make the implementation of foreign policy be male dominated.

4.2.2 Distribution of respondents by age

The respondents were asked to disclose their age. Table 4.3 shows the study finding on the distribution of age of respondents.

**Table 4.3: Distribution of Age Group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-30 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 years</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 and above</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Researcher (2018)*

Table 4.3 shows that majority of the respondents were aged 31-40 years. This was followed by those who were aged 41 and above years represented by 44%. While those aged 21-30 years were represented by 8%. The age composition shows that most of the respondents were aged above 30 years and therefore had rich experiences, could also appreciate the importance of the study. Age in policy implementation is important where a mix of both young and old respondents should be balanced. This is to reflect to offer the best blend between the young generations and the older generations in foreign policy implementation. The results of the study reveal an older generation in foreign policy implementation.
4.2.3 Distribution of respondents by level of education

The researcher used education level to determine the literacy levels of the respondents which were represented by the degree of their highest formal education. Education level was also used to determine the initial skills one has to be able to handle their specific duties as shown in Table 4.4

Table 4.4: Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

Table 4.4 shows the respondents as per the education level, Education levels provided were University, College and Secondary. The researcher sought to examine education level as an indication of the respondents’ depth and understanding of the influence of women in implementation foreign policy; a case of Kenya between 2010 and 2017. When this was analyzed, it was found that 94% were university graduates, with 6% of the respondents having attained college level education. This depicts that most of the respondents were graduates and have the requisite skills level on the role of women in foreign policy implementation. From the analyzed data, we note that these are highly skilled people with theoretical and analytical skills which are essential in determining both sustainability and the ability to provide practical solutions that improve on the project quality. Education level is also an indication of and ability to apply information, ideas theories and formulas to achieve
goals and tasks. Education level was used to determine the initial skills one brings on board to perform a specific task.

4.2.4 Distribution of respondents as per the title

The study also sought the respondents’ job designations, and the results are as presented in Table 4.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

Table 4.5 shows the distribution of the respondents as per their role in the organization. Table 4.5 indicates that 58% of the respondents were managers, 38% were Supervisors and officers were at 4%. Manager requires involvement of qualified and skilled people to ensure the objectives are fully achieved; work plan is implemented as per the schedule and resources. The decision makers make decisions on influence of women in implementation foreign policy. Key stakeholders and office bearers are well and truly involved in the implementation of foreign policy as shown by the high number of managers who participated in the survey. Implementation of foreign policy, therefore, is driven by top ranking officials in the involved ministries, most of whom, for the study, were women.
4.3 Women Participation in implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy

The study sought to establish the role of women in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy. The respondents were both male and female. Data pertaining gender was analyzed and presented in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: Women Involvement in Foreign Policy Implementation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

The results from the study as per the information on table 4.6 show that 92% of the respondents revealed that women participate to a large extent in foreign policy implementations while 8% show that they disagree women are involved in foreign policy implementations.

The results show that women in Kenya are continuously being involved in diplomacy and foreign policy and follow in the footsteps of other developed countries like Sweden that require a gender balance in the foreign policy implementation framework. Despite diplomacy being an extensive research field, which does not problematize or acknowledge that most diplomats have been male, there are a few scholars who do focus on women in foreign policy (Jeffreys-Jones, 1995; Klingvall & Ström 2012; Neumann, 2008). These scholars claim that the foreign policy sphere has mainly been considered a place for men, and women have been excluded from holding an official position in this field (Crapol, 1987,

The respondents were asked to indicate the factors of consideration in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy from 2010 to 2017. The results are as presented in Table 4.7 below

**Table 4.7: Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women have experienced gradual empowerment which has enabled them to occupy positions that enable them to participate directly in the implementation of foreign policy</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy implementation mainly due to gender stereotypes, legal, economic and social-cultural conditions in which they face</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

The results on Table 4.7 show that the majority of the respondents indicated that foreign policy implementation mainly due to gender stereotypes, legal, economic and social-cultural conditions in which they face to a high extent with a mean of 3.97 while women have experienced gradual empowerment which has enabled them to occupy positions that enable them to participate directly in the implementation of foreign policy with a mean of 3.56. This shows that women have women are not fully given the mandate to participate in foreign policy implementation. This finding is in line with that of Crapol (1992) who states that women were not needed in elite class to influence foreign policy. Crapol continues to say
that women gender identity seemed to render them marginalized when it came to exercising influence on the actual policy.

4.3.1 Achievements that women have attained in the implementation of the Kenya’s foreign policy

Kenya has had the first foreign policy document set up in the current regime. This means that women have attained leadership and decision making skills in the implementation of the Kenya’s foreign policy. But through the document, policy makers would be able to assess if the pillars and strategies have been suitable in achieving the growth and interest needs of the country.

The respondents also indicated that women have learnt a lot in the two pillars of the Kenyan foreign policy stands out that are the economic diplomacy pillar and the peace diplomacy pillar; the others are subject to the two. As the government balances between the soft and hard politics, she has been able to achieve its some of its target. The changes in the security sector have led to some level of stability and this has made Kenya to investors and tourists in the country.

Women have achieved better equality levels as a requirement by the current Kenya’s constitution that advocates for the third gender rule, where no gender should have more than two thirds of all office bearers in public office. Though this is still in the implementation stages, it presents a major milestone for women in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policies.
4.4 Decision Making by Women and implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy between 2010 and 2017

The researcher sought to address the first objective that looked at the influence of decision making on implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. Table 4.8 presents the results.

Table 4.8: Decision Making and Implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy between 2010 and 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender responsive budgeting measures have helped to build women’s awareness about accountability and have enabled more responsive governance</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are now entering high-level decision making positions in the public sector</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women empowerment have contributed to their participation in decision-making roles in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The allocation of resources and responsibilities based on gender relations, in turn, affects institutional arrangements and practices such as, decision-making in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)
The results show that the majority of the respondents indicated that women participation in budgeting measures have helped to build accountability and have enabled more responsive governance to a high extent with a mean of 3.96. Women are now entering high-level decision making positions in the public sector to a moderately high rate with a mean of 3.00. Women empowerment have contributed to their participation in decision-making roles in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy from 2010 to 2017 to a moderately high rate with a mean of 2.96. The allocation of resources and responsibilities based on gender relations, in turn, affects institutional arrangements and practices such as, decision-making in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy from 2010 to 2017 to a high extent with a mean of 3.63. This shows that when women fully included in decision making of the foreign policy implementation, there will be a great improvement in the governance. Un Security Council Resolution 325 (2000) affirmed that there is need to include women in decision making. In 2006, the 50th session of the commission on the status concluded that there was a need to equal participation of women and men in decision making process. Moghadam and Senftova (2005) found out that without active participation of women in decision making at all levels of there will be no development.

4.5 Women Leadership and Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy from 2010 to 2017

Respondents at this level of the study were asked to rate women leadership and how this affected implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. Table 4.9 illustrates the research findings.
Table 4.9: Women Leadership and Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy between 2010 and 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>Mean score</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Women in leadership and Foreign Policy program analyzes how elevating the status of women and girls advances in foreign policy objectives, including prosperity, stability, and security</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women in leadership in Foreign policy is a goal oriented or problem oriented program by authoritative policymakers</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Management level in the organisation influences implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>2.2667</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having women in positions of power is critical not only in ensuring that diverse voices shape this critical area of policy, but also because it is part of a social construction of which identity groups are appropriate wielders of power</td>
<td>3.0333</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

From the respondents’ perspective, women in leadership and Foreign Policy program analyzes how elevating the status of women and girls advances in foreign policy objectives, including prosperity, stability, and security to a moderately high extent with a mean of 2.7. Women in leadership in Foreign policy is a goal oriented or problem oriented program by authoritative policymakers to a moderately high extent with a mean of 3.0. Women Management in the organization level influences implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy from 2010 to 2017 to a low extent rate of 2.2667. Having women in positions of power is
critical not only in ensuring that diverse voices shape this critical area of policy, but also because it is part of a social construction of which identity groups are appropriate wielders of power to a moderately high extent with a mean of 3.0333. From this findings one can say that women are great in leadership thus their participation in leadership will help to a great extent in implementing foreign policy. This findings contradict with that of Tuppurainen (2010) who states that women are too emotional and thus lack the capacity to reason and make a good leader. Durhan and Gurd (2005) is also against the findings where he state that despite the compassion of female leaders thousands of soldiers and civilians died in war during women leadership.

4.6 Women Capacity Building and Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy between 2010 and 2017

The researcher sought to address the objective that looked at Women capacity building on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. The Table 4.10 shows the results.
### Table 4.10: Women Capacity Building in Implementation of Kenya’s Foreign Policy between 2010 and 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Providing women training, education, incentive structures, and resources foreign aid can play a role in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>3.412</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementation of capacity-building actions should be a continuous, progressive and iterative process that is participatory, country-driven and consistent with implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That capacity-building is cross-cutting in nature and an integral part of enhanced action in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>3.2667</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women capacity building improves decision-making, including assistance for participation in international negotiations thus helps in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>3.0333</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

The study found out that majority at a mean of 3.412 of the respondents agreed to that, providing women with education, incentive structures, and resources foreign aid can play a role in implementation of Kenya’s foreign. That capacity-building is cross-cutting in nature and an integral part of enhanced action in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy to a
moderately high rate with a mean of 3.2667. Implementation of capacity-building actions should be a continuous, progressive and iterative process that is participatory, country-driven and consistent with implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy to a moderately high extent rate with a mean of 3.0. Respondents’ opinions were also sought at establishing women’s capacity building improves decision making, including assistance for participation in international negotiations thus helps in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy with a mean of 3.0333. This finding shows that when women are empowered and educated they will be of great help in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy. The findings concur with Beneria, Berik and Floro (2015) who believes that women empowerment is an important aspect of development in any society. They added that capacity building on women help them participate fully in the development of the country.

4.6 Women’s political participation influences the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

Respondents at this level of the study were asked to rate Women’s political participation influences the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. The Table 4.11 illustrates the research findings.
Table 4.11: Political participation by women and Kenya’s foreign policy implementation between 2010 and 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening the women political leadership influences women participation in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness of women’s participation in politics based on the different types of political engagement and the different participatory spaces the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political profile for women increases high-level of political discussions in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td>3.0667</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source; Researcher (2018)

The respondents as indicated by a mean of 2.9 agreed that strengthening the women political leadership influences women participation in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy. They also agreed that effectiveness of women’s participation in politics based on the different types of political engagement and the different participatory spaces the implementation of Kenya’s foreign a moderately high extent with a mean above 3.2. On opinions as to how political profile for women increases high-level of political discussions in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy with a mean of 3.0667. The findings shows that women participation in politics give them a high chance to participate in the
implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy. It’s in politics that they get a chance to discuss with their men counterparts in the implantation of the Kenyan policies. This finding is in line with the FIDA (2013) that political party is the most pivotal factors in the success or failure of women aspirants. It is part of the governmental process where decisions and policy are sanctioned. According to Coooper and Peksen (2014) decisions are made and exercised within the political field. So when women are involved in politics they will be able to participate in implementation of foreign policy.

4.7 Correlation Analysis

This section presents the correlation analysis results. Pearson correlation coefficient technique was used to analyse the data for the degrees of association between any two selected variables. According to the literature, correlation coefficient, r, of between 0.81 and 1.00 are considered to be very strong; between 0.61 and 0.80 are strong; between 0.41 and 0.60 are average; between 0.21 and 0.40 are weak; between 0.01 and 0.20 are very weak; and 0.00 shows no correlation (Hair et al., 2006). The main objective of the correlation analysis is the test of multi-collinearity between any of the variables under consideration, based on correlation coefficients that are above 0.80. It should be noted that correlation does not imply causality, and the situations presented are just but ideal situations. The results are as shown in Table 4.12.
Table 4.12: Correlation Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Decision making</th>
<th>Leadership</th>
<th>Capacity Building</th>
<th>Political Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.666**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity Building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.631**</td>
<td>.670**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Participation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.709**</td>
<td>.699**</td>
<td>.743**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher (2018)

There was a strong positive significant association between decision making and political participation with a correlation coefficient of 0.709 at 95% confidence level. This means that when there is an increase in women’s decision making by one unit (probably an increase in decision making budget), political participation by women in foreign policy implementation in Kenya increases by 0.709. Similarly, there was a strong positive significant correlation between leadership and political participation with a correlation coefficient of 0.699 at 95% confidence level. Capacity building and political participation also had a strong significant
level of association with a correlation coefficient of 0.743. Decision making and leadership also had a significant strong positive association as was supported by a correlation coefficient of 0.666 at 95% confidence level.

4.8 Regression Analysis

Regression analysis was applied to test the model and hence establish the relationship between the implementation of foreign policy (dependent variable) and the independent variables (decision making by women, women leadership, capacity building for women, and political participation by women).

Table 4.13 is a depiction of the summary output. The value of R shows the correlation coefficient between the combined independent variables and the dependent variable (though it does not indicate direction as it is a scalar quantity) with a magnitude of 0.796. As such, 59.4% of the changes in the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya can be explained by the four independent variables as indicated by the adjusted R². The difference between the R² and the adjusted R² gives the value of the error term for the study.

Table 4.13: Summary Output

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dimension0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.796a</td>
<td>0.633</td>
<td>0.30202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Decision making, Leadership, Capacity Building, Political Participation

Source: Researcher (2018)

Results in Table 4.14 show that the model used in the study is statistically significant as indicated by the F-value of 16.377, which is above the threshold of 2.5, thus indicating a
good model fit in the regression equation. Further, the model is reliable up to a confidence level of 96.79% as indicated by the significance $F$.

Table 4.14: Analysis of Variance

ANOVA\textsuperscript{b}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>$F$</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>5.976</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.494</td>
<td>16.377</td>
<td>.000\textsuperscript{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>3.466</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9.442</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Decision making, Leadership, Capacity Building, Political Participation

b. Dependent Variable: Implementation foreign policy

Source: Research Data (2018)
The established multiple linear regression equation becomes:

\[ Y = 6.165 - 0.348X_1 - 0.436X_2 + 0.711X_3 - 0.286X_4 \]

The study found that decision making, leadership, capacity building, political participation have significant influence on implementation foreign policy decision making \( \beta = -0.348, t = -4.289, p =<.000 \); leadership \( \beta = -0.436, t = -5.187, p =<.000^* \); capacity building \( \beta = 0.711, t = 6.593, p =<.000^* \); political participation \( \beta = 0.406, t = 5.445 \).

### 4.8.1 Hypotheses Testing

This was done using regression analysis in respect of each research objective and hypothesis as shown in the coefficients table (Table 4.11) above.
H₀₁: There was no significant relationship between decision making by women and the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

At 95% confidence level, decision making by women has a significant level of influence on the implementation of foreign policy, with a t-stat value of |4.289| against a threshold of |1.96|. This means that hypothesis one did not accurately predict the outcome of the study as there is a significant explanatory power of women decision making on the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya in the period under review, resulting in the rejection of null hypothesis one.

H₀₂: Women leadership did not affect the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

There was a significant effect of women leadership in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy at 95% confidence level, as was supported by a t-value of |5.187|. Thus implies that hypothesis two did not accurately predict the outcome of the study, leading to its rejection.

H₀₃: Capacity building by women played no role on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

Capacity building by women has a significant level of influence on the implementation of foreign policy at a significance level of 5%, with a t-stat value of |6.593| against a threshold of |1.96|. This means that hypothesis three did not accurately predict the outcome of the study as there is a significant explanatory power of women capacity building on the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya in the period under review, resulting in the rejection of null hypothesis three.
**H04: Women’s political participation did not influence the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017**

There was a significant influence of women’s political participation in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy at 95% confidence level, as was supported by a t-value of |3.42|. Thus implies that hypothesis four did not accurately predict the outcome of the study, leading to its rejection.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the summary of the objectives of the study, giving the conclusion and the recommendations for improving the implementation process of the project. The summary focused on the personal information from the respondents and the conclusions on the same respondents while recommendations were made seeking to assist in implementation of the effects.

5.2 Summary of Findings

In order to test the reliability of the questionnaires, the study carried out a pilot test to both questionnaires. The reliability data is showed in table 4.1, the influence of women decision making on implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017 and the influence of women leadership on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy showed the highest levels of reliability at 0.891 and 0.831 respectively

A total of 50 questionnaires were responded to and it is out of these questionnaires responses that the presentation of the general information and analysis was done. The found out from the respondents that Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade is mandated to pursue Kenya’s foreign policy and international trade affairs in accordance to the Constitution of Kenya, with the overarching objective of protecting, promoting and projecting the nation’s interests abroad

The successful implementation of the policy calls for a coherent and cross-sectoral approach and a coordinated response across all levels of government, private sector and other non-
state actors. Kenya has had the first foreign policy document set up in the current regime. This does not mean Kenya foreign policy operated in a vacuum. But through the document, policy makers would be able to assess if the pillars and strategies have been suitable in achieving the growth and interest needs of the country.

The study found out majority of the respondents indicated that Gender responsive budgeting measures have helped to build women’s awareness about accountability and have enabled more responsive governance. Women are now entering high-level decision making positions in the public sector. Women empowerment have contributed to their participation in decision-making roles in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017 to a moderately high rate with a mean of 2.9667. The allocation of resources and responsibilities based on gender relations, in turn, affects institutional arrangements and practices such as, decision-making in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017 to a high extent with a mean of 3.6333.

From the respondents’ perspective, the women in leadership and foreign policy program analyze how elevating the status of women and girls advances in foreign policy objectives, including prosperity, stability. Women in leadership in Foreign policy are a goal oriented or problem oriented program by authoritative policymakers.

The study sought information from the respondents on Women capacity building on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. The study found out that majority of the respondents agreed to moderately high extent that Providing women training, education, incentive structures, and resources foreign aid can play a role in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. The respondents as indicated by a mean
of 2.9 agreed that strengthening the women political leadership influences women participation in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017, Effectiveness of women’s participation in politics based on the different types of political engagement and the different participatory spaces the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017.

The respondents as indicated by a mean of 2.9 agreed that strengthening the women political leadership influences women participation in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017, Effectiveness of women’s participation in politics based on the different types of political engagement and the different participatory spaces the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017 to a moderately high extent with a mean above 3.2. On opinions as to how political profile for women increases high-level of political discussions in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017 with a mean of 3.0667.

5.3 Conclusion

The study concludes that Kenya’s foreign policy has been influenced by the first regime and incrementally it has been forced to adapt to new global phenomena that has occurred. Kenya stands to gain more if it implements fully all the policies it has come up with and ensuring that those policies has the full support from majority of the actors.

The study found that decision making, leadership, capacity building, political participation have significant influence on implementation foreign policy decision making $\beta = -.348$, $t = -4.289$, $p < .000$; leadership $\beta = -.436$, $t = -5.187$, $p < .000$; capacity building $\beta = .711$, $t = 6.593$, $p < .000$; political participation $\beta = .406$, $t = 5.445$. 

Creative mentoring of women who are suddenly thrust into positions of power without enough training and preparations should be undertaken. These should model a different type of politics characterized by the values of democratic governance where the women political leaders will have a covenant with some organized citizens’ groups or constituencies on an agreed transformative agenda and a close partnership with each other to ensure the implementation of their agenda with mutual accountabilities.

5.4 Recommendations

The study recommends on the establishing standing or ad hoc committees and other statutory bodies on gender equality and empowerment of women, with cross-party representation, to monitor the review and the implementation of existing laws and constitutional provisions, budgets and policies from a gender perspective, as well as recommendations

Ensure that national and sub-national mechanisms on gender equality and empowerment of women are provided with all the necessary resources for implementing their mandates. Ensure efficient collaboration and consultation among national mechanisms NGOs and women’s groups in the process of the formulation and implementation of policies.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

There is no doubt that there will be more and more extensive research on the subject at hand. The study suggestions for Further Research on challenges previous attempts to identify universal obstacles that affect all women in Kenya. Instead, the study shows that the barriers to entry and influence differ greatly depending on the position being held or sought, and the branch of government.
REFERENCES


Weisstein, N. (1993). Psychology constructs the female; or the fantasy life of the male psychologist (with some attention to the fantasies of his friends, the male biologist and the male anthropologist). *Feminism & Psychology, 3*(2), 194-210.


APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter from the University

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

Our Ref: C50/CTY/PT/29950/2014
DATE: 25th October, 2018

Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology
& Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100,
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR ABDIBASHIR ALINOOR IBRAHIM – REG. NO.
C50/CTY/PT/29950/2014

I write to introduce Mr. Abdibashir Alinoor Ibrahim who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for M.A degree programme in the Department of Conflict Resolution and International Relations.

Mr. Alinoor intends to conduct research for an M.A Project Proposal entitled, “The Influence of Women in Implementation of Foreign Policy; Case of Kenya Between 2010 and 2017”.

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]

PROF. PAUL OKEMO
DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

[Stamp]
Appendix II: Introduction Letter from the National Commission For Science, Technology And Innovation

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Tel: +254-20-2213471, 2241349, 3310571, 22219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: stdg@nacostii.go.ke
Website: www.nacostii.go.ke
When replying please quote

Ref: No. NACOSTI/P/18/46864/26619    Date: 2nd November, 2018

Abdihashir Alinoor Ibrahim
Kenyaatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “The influence of Women in implementation of foreign policy; Case of Kenya Between 2010 and 2017,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nairobi County for the period ending 1st November, 2019.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a copy of the final research report to the Commission within one year of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:
The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.
The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.
Appendix III: Permit from National Commission For Science, Technology and Innovation

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. ABDIBASHIR ALINOOR IBRAHIM
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 43844-100
Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct
research in Nairobi County

on the topic: THE INFLUENCE OF
WOMEN IN IMPLEMENTATION OF
FOREIGN POLICY; CASE OF KENYA
BETWEEN 2010 AND 2017

for the period ending:
1st November, 2019

Applicant's
Signature

Permit No: NACOSTI/P/18/46864/26619
Date Of Issue: 2nd November, 2018
Fee Received: Ksh 1000

National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science,
Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and
   specified period.
2. The License and any rights hereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before
   commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to
   further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
5. The Licensee does not give authority to transfer research materials.
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy
   of their final report within one year of completion of the research.
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the
   License including cancellation without prior notice.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
P.O. Box 38623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya
TEL: 020 409 7000, 0713 708787, 0733 404245
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

Republic of Kenya

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH LICENSE

Serial No.A 21643

CONDITIONS: see back page
Appendix IV: Questionnaire

I am undertaking a study on the contribution of women in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy. Because of your unique position as an expert in foreign policy we believe you possess the information required for this study. The information that you will provide will not be used for any other purpose other than this study. The research will treat the information with utmost professionalism and guarantees your confidentiality. We kindly request you to respond to the interview questions in the best way you can.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Please indicate your gender Male[ ] Female ([ ]

2. Age bracket (yrs)
   21-30 ( ) 31-40 ( ) 41 and above ( )

3. What is your highest level of education?
   Secondary [ ] College [ ] University [ ] Others [ ] specify…………………………………………………

4. What is your position at your work place?
   ........................................................................................................

SECTION B: THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN IN IMPLEMENTATION FOREIGN POLICY; A CASE OF KENYA BETWEEN 2010 AND 2017

Part 1; Kenya’s Foreign Policy

1) How would you describe Kenya’s foreign policy?
   ........................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................
2) Are women involved in foreign policy implementations?
   yes ( )  no ( )

3) Does your ministry have a policy to enhance increased participation of women in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………

4) Can you briefly explain how women participate in relation to the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………

5) What are the key issues that shape Kenya’s foreign policy implementation?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………

6) Using a scale 1-5, Please tick (✓) all as appropriate.
   5. Very high extent

   To what extent has the following factors are considered in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women have experienced gradual empowerment which has enabled them to occupy positions that enable them to participate directly in the implementation of foreign policy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The chief diplomat/ head of state employ three tools implementation of foreign policy: diplomacy, foreign relief and military force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign policy implementation mainly due to gender stereotypes, legal, economic and social-cultural conditions in which they face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7) What are some of the achievements that women have attained in the implementation of the Kenya’s foreign policy?

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Part 1; Decision making and implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

8) Using a scale 1-5, Please tick (✓) all as appropriate.


5. Very high extent

To what extent has the following factors on women decision making influence implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender responsive budgeting measures have helped to build women’s awareness about accountability and have enabled more responsive governance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are now entering high-level decision making positions in the public sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women empowerment have contributed to their participation in decision-making roles in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The allocation of resources and responsibilities based on gender relations, in turn, affects institutional arrangements and practices such as, decision-making in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part 2; women leadership and implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

9) Using a scale 1-5, Please tick (✓) all as appropriate.

5. Very high extent

To what extent has the following factors women leadership and implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Women in leadership and Foreign Policy program analyzes how elevating the status of women and girls advances in foreign policy objectives, including prosperity, stability, and security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Women in leadership in Foreign policy is a goal oriented or problem oriented program by authoritative policymakers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women Management level in the organization influences implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>Having women in positions of power is critical not only in ensuring that diverse voices shape this critical area of policy, but also because it is part of a social construction of which identity groups are appropriate wielders of power</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part 3; Women capacity building on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

10) Using a scale 1-5, Please tick (✓) all as appropriate.


What is the extent to which the following influence Women capacity building on the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Providing women training, education, incentive structures, and resources foreign aid can play a role in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Implementation of capacity-building actions should be a continuous, progressive and iterative process that is participatory, country-driven and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Factors Under Consideration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>consistent with implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>That capacity-building is cross-cutting in nature and an integral part of enhanced action in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Women capacity building improves decision-making, including assistance for participation in international negotiations thus helps in implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part 4: Women’s political participation influences the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017

11) Using a scale 1-5, Please tick (√) all as appropriate.


To what extent has Women’s political participation influences the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Under Consideration</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening the women political leadership influences women participation in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness of women’s participation in politics based on the different types of political engagement and the different participatory spaces the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political profile for women increases high-level of political discussions in the implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy between 2010 and 2017</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>