

**WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP AND MATTERS FOREIGN POLICY  
IN KENYA FROM THE YEAR 1963 TO 2017**

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research project to my parents, Mr. Ben Kakalukha and Madam Everlyn Ben for their words of inspiration, moral and financial support they tirelessly and endlessly offered me throughout my academic journey.

In addition, I dedicate it to my sisters; Carlyne and Keller and my brothers; Stanley and Kevin together with all my friends including Mathew whose endless words of advice and encouragement inspired me and gave me the stamina all through to completion of my research.

Thank you very much and may God bless you abundantly!

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In addition, I acknowledge my family and my trusted friend Mathew for being supportive in many ways including moral, financial, academically and their words of encouragement.

## **DECLARATION**

I Hildah Naliaka Kakalukha do hereby declare that this research proposal is my original work and has never been presented for a degree or diploma in Kenyatta University or any other university.

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## **ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS**

**AAWORD:** Association of African Women for Research and Development

**ANC:** Africa National Congress

**AU:** African Union

**CBS:** Chief of Association, the Order of the Burning Spear

**CCGD:** Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development

**CFFP:** Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy

**CJ:** Chief Justice

**COVAW (K):** Coalition on Violence against Women-Kenya

**EAC:** East African Community

**EACC:** Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission

**FA:** Foreign Affairs

**FPF:** Foreign Policy Formulation

**FP:** Foreign Policy

**GEWE:** Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment.

**IEBC:** Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

**ICGLR:** International Conference on the Great Lakes Region

**KDF:** Kenya Defence Force

**KEWOPA:** Kenya Women Parliamentary Association

**KWPC:** Kenya Women's Political Caucus

**MYWO:** Maendeleo ya Wanawake

**MBS:** Moran of the Order of the Burning Spear

**MFA:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**NACOSTI:** National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

**NCWK:** National Council of Women of Kenya

**NGOs:** Non- Governmental Organizations

**PSC:** Peace and Security Council

**UNDP:** United Nations Development Program

**UNSC:** United Nations Security Council

**UN:** United Nations

**USA:** United States of America

**WGDD:** Women, Gender and Development

**WPAK:** Women's Political Alliance of Kenya

**WSP-K:** Women's Shadow Parliament-Kenya

## **OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS**

### **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:**

The Positive steps taken by the government to increase the women representation and the minority in employment areas, education sector and culture from which they have been historically excluded.

### **DISPROPORTIONATE:**

Too small as compared to the other.

### **ENTRENCHED**

A belief firmly established and difficult or unlikely to change.

### **ENVOY:**

A person who is accredited such as an ambassador, to officially represent a government in its relations with other government or international organization.

### **EXTREMISM:**

An ideology that is considered to be far outside the mainstream attitudes of society.

### **GENDER EMPOWERMENT:**

These are below-above processes of transformation of gender and power relations, through individual or groups development of women's subordination awareness and building capacities to change them.

**GENDER EQUALITY:**

Refers to the same status enjoyed by females and males in terms of rights, responsibilities and opportunities, and that the interest, need and priorities of both the genders are taken into equal considerations regardless of whether one was born male or female.

**GENDER MAINSTREAMING:**

Organizational strategies to bringing gendered perspectives to all aspects of institutions' policies and activities through building gendered capacities and accountabilities.

**GENDER STEREOTYPES:**

Over generalization about the characteristics, differences, attributes, and roles an entire group based on gender.

**GLOBAL SOUTHS:**

African, Asian, Latin American and Middle Eastern countries.

**INFERIORITY COMPLEX:**

Basic feelings of inadequacies and insecurities, deriving from real or imagined physical or psychological deficiencies.

**MAPUTO PROTOCOL:**

The protocol to the Africa Charter on Humans and Peoples Right on African Women.

**MULTILATERAL:**

Having members or participation of several different countries.

**OBJECTIFICATION:**

Of female involving females being viewed primarily as objects of the males' sexual desires rather than whole persons.

**ROLE STEREOTYPING:**

Practices of attributing individual women to specific qualities, characteristics or roles for reasons only of her being a member of the women's social group.



## ABSTRACT

This study explored how participative and representative role of women influenced the foreign policy. The study sought to assess the influence women in executive and legislative positions had on Kenya's foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation between the year 1963 to 2017. The objectives were: to examine the role of women in the National government in Kenya from 1963 to 2017; to establish the contribution of women leaders in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Legislative Assembly in matters foreign policy ; to identify the obstacles and challenges women face in matters foreign policy in Kenya and to find out the possible remedies and mechanisms of empowering women to take up leadership position and effectively take part in matters foreign policy. Literature was reviewed on the role of women in foreign policy formulations and participation of women in leadership and political processes. Feminist International Relations (IR) theory was used to help unravel the means by which hegemonic masculinity was embedded in the field of international relations to examine the nature of women discrimination in the political and diplomatic appointments in Kenya. Descriptive research design was used with the aid of self-administered open-ended questionnaire from women leaders and interview-guided questionnaires from target informants. The study was carried out in the county government of Nairobi while a pilot study to establish reliability of instruments was conducted in Ruiru Sub-County of Kiambu County. The validity of the questionnaires was determined through previous studies and guidance from experts including the supervisor. The study used purposive sampling hence 64 influential women were randomly picked from the list of registered both serving and retired legislatures and diplomats from relevant offices as target population from which 50 were taken as a sample size. The study was a qualitative research hence content analysis was used for analyzing data. The study found out that after independence until after the 2010 referendum, there were very few women in leadership positions and similarly the women did not take part in foreign policy matters. After the 2013 as well as 2017 general elections, the women population in power increased and their efforts towards foreign policies begun to materialize. Some of their efforts were: their participation in unilateral and multilaterals, in diplomatic missions of the state, in security and negotiations and in advocacy for women and children's rights. The study concluded that ,women in executive and legislative leadership positions had not effectively taken part in foreign policy matters because of the harsh environment they still operated in, but if well trained and given a fair opportunity with less opposition from the society and their male colleagues, they had great potentials to contribute more in matters foreign policy and in return would lead to a peaceful state and peaceful co-existence, with recommendations of offering adequate training to women leaders on foreign policy matters as well as inclusion of more women in Defense and Foreign Relations Committee.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter discussed the introduction to the study by looking at background to the study, statement of the problem, study objectives, research questions, justification of the study, limitation and delimitation, conceptualized and theoretical frameworks.

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Women in leadership and their role in matters foreign policy had been a topic of discussion for decades because of the changes in family structure, principles of women, gender stereotyping and the fight for equality and women rights across the world Nations and States. Women taking up representative roles had been increasing as time goes by, including the women in leadership positions and parliamentary positions in countries (such as United States of America, Liberia, South Africa, Senegal, Namibia, Rwanda and recently Ethiopia).

The term Foreign policy was defined by scholars in different terms, even though they all brought out a more certain definition of, the activities and objectives of the state as it relates with other states. Hermann and Hermann (1989), defined Foreign Policy as “the purposeful action that results from the political level decision of an individual state” while Modelki (1962) defined foreign policy as “the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment”. The areas of Foreign policies matters or in other words diplomacy traditionally had been dominated by men. As of 2014, 85% the diplomats in the world were men (Towns and Niklasson 2017). The 1<sup>st</sup>

Women's Conference of ministers of foreign Affairs took place in 2018 in the Canadian state which had Ghanaian, Kenyan, Namibian, Rwanda and South African delegates with only Sweden and Canada as the only states committed to pursue a feminist foreign policy which sought to accord women chances to take part in making decisions, to act as state representatives in foreign countries and carry out the tough tasks related to the states diplomatic relations.

Close to the end of the nineteenth (19<sup>th</sup>) century, after the Second World War, USA came out as the world's super power thus assumed a new role in the international affairs. These changes triggered unmatched activism from the citizens. Due to these rebellions, a group of resolute women with shared political opinions made an effort to come up with a female foreign policy. Foreign policies were previously formulated and implemented by men, that less impacted on women. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the US has made enormous progress to protect the rights of women in addition to the support for women representations in the int'l arenas.

Historians recognized the contribution of women in American Foreign Policy as politicians, lobbyist, middle level government officials and even as wives of the head of states after realizing that women were effective leaders who add value to organizations. (Harris, Hilman, Bellinger and Canella 1998; R.D. Adler 2001; D.A. Carter, B.J. Simkins, and W.G. Simpson 2003; O.C. Richard 2000 and Richard et al 2007) Women that included, Margaret Smith (senator), Eleanor Dulls & Roosevelt, Jeane' Kirkpatrick, Albright Madeleine, Condoleezza Rice, Clinton Hillary among others contributed in making a big progress for US.

These women based their belief on opportunity, the idea that one can come from humble circumstances and do great things. Their policies were based on the fact that in order to pursue US interests, they first must listen to other countries rather than acting on their own. They advocated for policies that were designed to make United States more secure and world more

peaceful. They used their positions to advocate for the rights of women and general human rights (Verveer, Melanne, 2012). Some like Hillary Clinton led US diplomatic efforts in the Libyan military intervention as well as Arab Spring. Albright was a major player in Middle East peace missions; she campaigned for US to provide more military manpower and equipment in the Balkans during its prolonged conflict in the 1990s and also fought for the end of the scattering of atomic bombs Nuclear from former Soviet Union. Roosevelt advocated for democracy from below with the help of public diplomacy, which meant that the voices of the civic associations and ordinary citizens were considered.

In 2016, Kristina Lunz and Marissa Conway from the United Kingdom founded, The Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy (CFFP) which works on several projects to strengthen the UK's network, create awareness around Feminist Foreign Policy and advocacy for specific outcome of the Feminist Policy, whose main goal was to promote the inclusion of the marginalized groups, women in particular in the process of policy making in order to promote equality as well as improve the standard of living across the continents.

They advocated for consideration of all violence forms including that between nation states, within nations by state and non-state actors and interpersonal violence such as domestic and gender based violence when designing foreign policies. They advocated for prioritization of multilateral and other intergovernmental bodies and spaces such as the United Nations. They also advocated for the dialogue between the Global South thought leaders and nation states and that northern supremacy should not be tolerated. They greatly focused on foreign policies that align economic justice, ecological justice and human rights as core principles and one that seek to transform inequality within and between countries.

In Africa, the marginalization of women in leadership is a major issue in most researches as a result of the inequality in education sectors, in allocations of resources and the socio-cultural impediments that hinder the appointment of women in leadership positions. Despite these oppositions, some women, though a small percentage, in Africa had made several efforts to occupy high leadership roles within their states .Some notable examples being: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who became the 1<sup>st</sup> female head of state with her efforts towards the female gender empowerment in Africa and towards the stability of her country Liberia was recognized through her winning of the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize.

Other notable examples of female leaders in Africa includes:Slyvie Kiningi of Burundi (1993),Ivy Matsepe of South Africa (2005-2014),Rose Cassaburi Francine Rogombe of Gabon(2009),Agnes Monrque Ohsan Bellepeau of Mauritius (2012-2015),Joyce Hilda Banda of Malawi (2012-2014) and Catherine Samba of Central African Republic (2014-2015),who all served as presidents in acting capacity while Ameenah Gurib-Fakim of Mauritius (2015-2018) and Sahle-Work Zewde of Ethiopia (2018-present) as elected presidents.

In matters Foreign Policy, few women in Africa had also contributed effortlessly and effectively. In 2012 Dlamini Zuma became the 1<sup>st</sup> female to head the African Union, where she promoted greatly to security matters and trade within Africa and also shielded the African States against the external forces and influence from the European States. The First ladies also formed the Organization of African First Ladies (OAFLL) whose main goal was to promote and safeguard the health of women .Despite all these efforts by women, many Countries in Africa, South Africa being a good example where, the feminist policy had been scantily analyzed because of patriarchy and race that dominate women leaders in South Africa who were idealized as mothers and not political influencers (Goetz, 1998). High profile women appointees operated in very

harsh environment where they were outnumbered by men, President Cyril Ramaphosa appointed his cabinet within which the male were more than half therefore female were left with very few positions and women were excluded from making important decisions concerning South Africa's Foreign Policies. South Africa still had low numbers of female representatives in political positions as well as the executive and legislative decision making institutions despite the efforts and initiatives that had been made by the international regions on the women's rights in the country, in African countries and the worldwide.

Some of these laws policies and strategy included, The Women, Gender and Developments (WGDD) under the African Union (AU), which is mandated to lead, guide, defend and Coordinate the Africa Union efforts on gender equalities and developments matters and to promote the empowerment of women by making sure that African countries comply with its gender equality mission. The other ones included; the AUs Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women strategy (GEWE), the AUs Policy on Gender and African Union Agenda 2063, that were formed to ensure the voices of women were amplified and addressed their concerns in full through effectively implementing the legislation in place and ensuring proper financing of gender equality projects, focusing on the restoration of dignity, security and resilience by fighting violence directed to the female gender, and also advocated for the effective implementation of the Maputo protocol and proposal for rewriting of the African Narrative to include women contributions in the books of history.

The East African Community that was founded in 2000 had made efforts to contribute to women empowerment economically through trying to close the female and male gender difference in secondary and tertiary educational institutions and putting in place the skills development programs to enable the female gender to be equipped and match the requirements in the higher-

value-added institutions and through proper monitoring and implementing the 2017 East African Community Gender Equality and Devt. Bill. Also through Tariff Liberalization in the EAC export market to ensure women benefit fully from the international Trade. EAC also came up with EAC Gender Policy that was established under the its treaty in the Articles 5, chapter 3 (section e); 6 (section d); 121 and 122 that emphasizes mainstreaming of gender and respecting the rights of women as one of the fundamental principle governing it. Gender is also a sector prioritized in the 5<sup>th</sup> East African Community Development Strategy (2016/17-2020/2021).

There was also devt. of the Nation Action Plan (NAP's) responsible for implementing the UNSCR 1325. The Initiative Relating to Women, Peace and Security in the Great Lakes Region has put forward main legal instruments to protect the women's rights and to ensure their participation in politics including the Security, Stability & Developments in the Great Lake Regions pact, and the protocol on the prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence Against Women and Children (2006).

Kenya as a state had also put forward laws policies and strategies to ensure women participated in politics as well as in executive decision making institutions including the Policy on National Human Rights & Action Plan and draft on the National Policy Agenda, gender mainstreaming, affirmative action and gender responsive budgeting.

The researches that were being conducted sought to understand the way women leadership, contributions and inclusion affected diplomatic policies (Zamfirache, 2010), if it led to formation of foreign policies focused on "women issues" or policies that were less hostile and less threatening and whether having more women in leadership was mandatory to promote equality in terms of gender and women empowerment agendas and the oppression, obstacles and

challenges that women faced, for disempowerment of women was and had always been a major hindrance to development in many African countries and also around the world.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

The underrepresentation of women in leadership positions in Kenya was embedded in all the systems of governance, this was evident during the adoption of two-third gender rule bill under,( Article 81 of the Constitution of Kenya)which states that, “the electoral system shall comply with the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender”, which was first tabled in the Kenya’s parliament in October 19,2011 but was never put to first reading because of failure to build consensus, after which three more attempts were made but the parliament failed to enact the law because, while the 2010 Constitution gave the country formal equality, the conservation of the highest Court and Parliamentarians had ensured that legislative mechanisms for realization of the gender rule had not materialized. Patriarchical attitudes coupled with ignorance about constitutional imperatives still ruled in these institutions. It had been noted that at higher management level in both the executive and legislative leadership positions where policy issues are discussed, men occupied 54% of leadership positions while women occupied 23% (according to the Ministry of Labor Statistics 2019) .Underrepresentation of women in power and decision making in Kenya was also embedded in highest executive and administrative system, where according to (Economic Survey 2017), the percentage of women present was 25% compared to 75% men, in Defence and Foreign Relations, where according to (National Gender and Equality Commission 2016), the percentage of women present was 20% compared to 80% men and political arena where according to the survey the distribution of women in the National Assembly also stands at 20% compared to 80% men.



Despite the fact that women were being appointed to head policy making government institutions in Kenya, Ambassador Amina Mohammed, Ambassador Monica Juma and Raychelle Omamo as cabinet secretaries in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2013, 2018 and 2020 respectively and also the appointment of Racheal Omamu and Amb. Monica Juma as cabinet secretaries for Defense and Military production in 2013 and 2020 respectively, among other six(6) ministries, their role and contributions in drafting, formulating and implementing Kenya's foreign policy had eluded the attention of many researchers.

It was in line with the above mentioned factors that, the research sought to help fill the gap of the reason for underrepresentation of women in the executive and legislative leadership and matters foreign policy and to find out why the non-participation of women is an issue of concern together with finding a better solution to the issues. This was achieved by examining and assessing the role of Kenya Women in leadership in matters Foreign Policy from 1963 to 2017, so as to find out whether electing more women in government leads to formulation of effective foreign policies, whether the policies focuses only on women issues and whether the policies were less belligerent to promote friendly relations within and among states.

### **1.3 General objective of the study**

The general objective of the study was to examine the contributions of women executives and legislators in drafting, formulation and implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy from the year 1963 to 2017.

#### **1.3.1 Specific objectives were to:**

- i. Examine the role of women in the National government in Kenya since 1963 to 2017.
- ii. Establish the contribution of women leaders in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Legislative Assembly in matters foreign policy.
- iii. Identify the obstacles and challenges women in leadership face in matters foreign policy in Kenya.
- iv. Find out the possible remedies and mechanisms of empowering women to take up leadership position and effectively take part in matters foreign policy.

### **1.4 Research questions**

The research was conducted with the aid of following research questions;

- i. What roles had women played in the National government in Kenya since 1963 to 2017?
- ii. What contributions had women leaders in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Legislative Assembly made in matters foreign policy?
- iii. What were the obstacles and challenges women in leadership face in matters foreign policy in Kenya?
- iv. What were the possible remedies and mechanisms of empowering women to take up leadership position and effectively take part in matters foreign policy?

## **1.5 Study Premises**

The researcher assumed that:

- i. There had been very few elected women leaders in the national government and non-had occupied the highest executive positions that included the precedence.
- ii. Women in leadership had been denied majority roles and participation in drafting formulation and implementation and not much of their issues addressed in Kenya's Foreign Policy.
- iii. Women faced a lot of obstacles and challenges which was the reason why majority did not effectively participate much leadership roles and in matters foreign policy
- iv. Specific leadership positions should be set aside for women and also women should be made aware of their role and importance in matters pertaining the drafting, formulation and implementation of the foreign policies.

## **1.6 Significance and Justification**

### **1.6.1 Significance**

The research would benefit women in terms of their inclusion in the executive and legislative arm of government and therefore they will effectively take part in the drafting, formulating and implementing Kenya's Foreign Policy.

The government would also benefit from the research in the sense that the including Women in leadership and policy formulation leads to a state with less violent foreign policies with less intra/interstate violence and conflict because women in most cases rely more on peaceful settlement and less on military force to settle internal and external disputes.

Future researchers would benefit from this research by identifying the gaps in the research which then form the basis of their own research.

### **1.6.2 Justification**

The justification of the study topic on women was in accordance with the fact that women were underrepresented in the executive and legislative leadership positions as per the (Economic survey 2016) placing women in executive and administrative positions at 25% compared to 75% men while those in the legislative positions in the National Assembly at 20% compared to 80% men and the fact that they do not participate much in the formulation of the foreign policies for according to the National Gender and Equality Commission, the women in Defence and Foreign Relations committee occupy only 20% compared to 80% men yet seemingly there is lack of scholarship on internal and external efforts to include and engage more women in leadership and foreign policy formulation.

The research focused on the time frame from the year 1963, which is the year Kenya attained independence with responsibility power and ability to govern herself but will trace back to 1962 a year just before Kenya got independence to try to understand the position of women during the colonial rule and how it continued to unfold ever since then including 2010, the year the Kenyan constitution was last amended which saw the allocation of specific seats to women where Articles 27(8) stated that “the state shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of same gender & article 98 that called for reservation of forty seven (47) seats for the female gender in the National Assembly and sixteen (16) seats for the female gender in the senate” and also the fact that the constitution is the main instrument used in formulation of Kenya’s foreign policy, up to 2017, the year Kenya had its recent general elections.

The research also sought to help fill the gap of the reason for underrepresentation of women in the executive and legislative leadership and foreign policy formulation and to find out why

the non-participation of women is an issue of concern together with finding a better solution to the issues yet according to the Kenya Populations and Housing Census and 209 KPH Analytical Reports on Populations and Projections in 1969 the population of women was equal to men but the number has steadily increased in 1979,1989,1999 leveled in 2009 and by 2016 the population of women was higher than that of Men.

The research was conducted in the county government of Nairobi, Kenya's capital city because it was where the state house and the national assembly headquarters was located and also where the headquarters of the MFA, Defence, Immigration and other relevant departments was located. This enabled the study to be undertaken smoothly.

### **1.7 Scope of the study**

The research topic was on women in leadership and focused mainly on, the executive and legislative leadership roles in the national government and their contributions in drafting, formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

The research was conducted in the county government of Nairobi, mainly at the state house, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Immigration, the Judiciary, the National Intelligence Service and the Kenya Police.

The study focused on the time frame from the year 1963 when Kenya got independence to the year 2017 the year Kenya had its last general elections.

### **1.8 Limitations**

The study only focused on women executives and legislatures although ever since Kenya attained her independence in 1963, there had never been any female taking up the highest executive role of the president or the deputy president and women's role in policy formulations have been neglected, ignored or taken for granted yet there seemed to be

minimal improvement even after the last amendment of the constitution in 2010 where Articles 27(8) stated that “the state shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of same gender & article 98 that called for reservation of forty seven (47) seats for the female gender in the National Assembly and sixteen(16) seats for the female gender in the senate”.

The study was also limited to the time frame between the years 1963 to 2017 because Kenya attained independence in 1963 until 2017 Kenya had its recent general election. Within this period is when the constitution as the main instrument of foreign policy formulation was amended three times, the year 1981, the year 1992 and then the year 2010.

Majority of the target population were government employees and hence were not too willing to share the obstacles and challenges encountered for fear of victimization and for this reason the researcher was not able to acquire the audio from respondents and therefore entirely relied on the open ended self-administered and interview guided questionnaires from the respondents.

The target population in this case, the women in executive and legislative leadership position also paused as a limiting factor because of their busy schedule and getting an appointment with them required a lot of commitment. Access to the area of research and in this cases the state house and the national assembly, various departments and ministries was restricted due to Covid 19 restrictions of limited physical contacts therefore in this case the researcher was compelled to obtain information through phone calls, online platforms like emails and from secondary data.

## **1.9 Delimitations**

The research was conducted in Nairobi Central Division of the County Government of Nairobi, Kenya's capital city because, it was where the target population, located at different study areas that included; the state house , the national assembly , the headquarters of the MFA, Defence, Immigration and other relevant departments were stationed. This enabled the study to be undertaken smoothly.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

Chapter two of the study covered the review of the utilized literatures, international relations feminist theory, conceptual framework and research gap.

#### **2.1.1 Role of Women in Foreign Policy Formulation Globally**

The process of foreign policy formulation constitutes three stages: the initial drafting stage, the formulation stage and the implementation stage. In the earlier researches about women in diplomacy, the researches focused mainly on the influential hindrances of the ability of women to take part in the foreign policy formulation process. For instance: (Nancy E. McGlen and Sarkees, Meredith Reid 1993, Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008), these scholars cite three main factors affecting the ability of women to take part in policy formulation process. They begin with individual level factors that mainly focus on the personal life of women, the difficulties they encounter in combining both family and career life (Nancy E. McGlen and Sarkees, Meredith Reid 1993, Berkovitch 1990), and the natural factors where biologically women are depicted to be weaker gender compared to men.

Secondly, the scholars cite the society-level factors, where they argue that from the past to the present, the societies refuse to believe that women can lead effectively as men in areas dealing with the diplomatic relations within and among states (Nancy E. McGlen and Sarkees, Meredith Reid 1993). Thirdly they cite organizational-level factors where organizations blame and attach failures of women on their gender instead of blaming the person.



It is evident that most of these scholars focused majorly on the domestic level hindrances of the women involvement in diplomatic issues (Nancy E. McGlen and Sarkees, Meredith Reid 1993, Neumann 2008, Young 2004, Dobrowolsky and Hart 2003, Beveridge et al 2001, Berkovitch, 1990). Despite that, the scholars ignored to research on the attempts by the international community to include more women in the process of policy formulations. The literature discusses the importance of women engagement in foreign Affairs and cites the contributions given by the women in this area. (Nancy E. McGlen and Sarkees, Meredith Reid 1993, Kristin Hoganson 2005, Neumann 2008, Alexandra Dobrowolsky 2003)

Despite diplomacy being an extensive research field, many researchers did not focus on women in foreign policy although there were some who had attempted for instance, Jeffreys-Jones (1995); Astrom and Klingvall (2012) and B. Neumann (2008). Some researchers argued that there was exclusion of women in official positions in the field of Foreign Affairs (Enloe 1990, Edward P., Crapol 1987, Neumann 2008, J. Ann Tickner 1992; 2001, Sharp JA, et al 2002). "... military and Foreign Policy are areas of policy making least appropriate for women" (J. Ann Tickner 1992:3). Although it was illegal for women to take an active role in policy formulation in the past, they still contributed a lot in matters international relations and diplomacy. (Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008, Young 2004). The scholars argued that they offered their contribution not as official state representatives but as diplomats' wives. Contrary to other scholars, Jeffreys, Jones 1995, Enloe 1990 and Neumann 2008, stress on the fact that women's contributions were always ignored, an argument clearly cited in Enloe's book, *Banana, beaches and bases* (1990) which mainly talks of the women unpaid labor and I quote "*Government men depends on women's unpaid labor to carry on relations with their political counterparts. So long as the conventional politics of marriage prevailed, no government needed either to acknowledge or accommodate diplomatic wives and women*

*careerists .they could use marriage both to grease the wheels of men-to-men negotiations and to ensure that no women reached positions of influence” (Enloe 1990:123).*

With globalization rapidly increasing, international relations and diplomacy was becoming more and more important and therefore it was necessary to acknowledge all political spheres contribution since it affected the reasons for the importance of involving women in policy making.

Global politics was influenced by international actors therefore knowing their operations in promoting participation of women in foreign policy formulation is of great importance. Because of women’s underrepresentation in many international organizations as well as executive and legislative positions of particular individual state, it was vital to know the actions taken to improve the situation and to get an insight on the advantages of women inclusion in policy making. This research therefore helped fill in the gap of knowledge.

### **2.1.2 Women in high executive and legislative leadership positions**

Several international campaigns sought to increase participation of women in legislative and executive branches. Many scholars and researchers were also exploring other international factors that were important to the study, the most influential researchers in this area were Towns(2010) and Krook(2006:2009).The early researchers focused on two international campaigns: Quotas and suffrage that were explained extensively in the literatures of (M.L. Krook 2006;2009,Ann E. Towns 2010,Ramirez(1997),Keck and Sikkink (1998).Research on quotas focused on gender, which was an increased well known way of encouraging women to take part in politics,(Ann E. Towns(2010) and M.L. Krook(2006:2009),and legislative sex quotas demanding for the reservation of twenty to fifty percent slots for women legislators. UN Developments Programs (UNDP), the World Bank and the UN are international organizations that spearhead these international campaigns. The United Nations Women

Conference was also commonly mentioned in the earlier research for it was through the conference that women in the world gather to formulate strategies of achieving full partnership with men in all spheres of decision making (Amnesty et al 2007). In both campaigns for suffrage and quotas, the frames of injustice and inefficiency were frequently mentioned. For international campaigns, (Krook (2006) categorized the need for legislative sex quotas as injustice, inequality and unjust access to decision making positions. Quotas advocate claimed that the society with low level of women executive and legislative leadership positions had high level of corruption. This therefore led to slow productivity, slow economic growth and high poverty level (towns 2010).

### **2.1.3 Participation of women in political process**

Charlton (1984) argued that in almost all countries, women depended upon men in politics at all levels. She also noted that the local, national and international levels of dependence were related, therefore national state institutions were influenced by family or public spheres at local levels. Multinational Organizations expansion denoted that no country is immune to influences originating from without its borders. Therefore Charlton concluded that women had no institutionalized powers from local to international level compared to men, hence improvement at one level would not be effective for it would still be influenced by the other levels.

Gordon and Gordon (1996) argued that women in African societies were politically influential actors in pre-colonial period but during the colonial period African men gained political power and got advantage over women, ignoring and undermining the women. Europeans escalated these discrimination by only dealing with men in leadership and ignored women leaders. Moreover, commercial opportunities in agricultural sectors were provided to

men who later begun asserting their customary right to land and labor off their wives in order for them to accumulate more income.

#### **2.1.4 Barriers of women success in politics**

Kenworthy (1999), Wollack (2010) argued that financial strength and capital were of great essence in politics. They argued that women who were in employment and received salaries succeeded in politics because they were financially independent and were very confident with a lot of self-respect although, it was unfortunate that women had very low access to finance and capital and were therefore unable to cater for both official and unofficial costs of accessing party nominations and vying for elective posts.

Several scholars also identified lack of formal education as the biggest obstacle that hindered women from taking part in politics. According to Machaffey (1981) education was a tool for entrancing gender inequality and also aided in eradication of inequalities but in many African societies, women had less education opportunities than men. The mass media also had a greater influence in women politics for it had great influence in formulation of public opinions because of their capabilities of creating, disseminating and perpetuating stereotypes. The African media presented women as, war and violence victims unable to defend themselves but ignored or hardly recognized their success in military and Foreign Affairs.

The last aspect was the women preoccupation with domestic and family obligations increased household chores and the existing contradictory attitudes toward politics that prevented the women's participation in politics. Kariuki (2010) argued that communities in Kenya did not clearly state the place of women in the society. Women were expected to depend on the men in almost all aspects of life and therefore were not fit for leadership roles.

Many cultures in Kenya were primarily Patriachical, meaning women were not allowed to compete with men in politics which brings about the difference in gender but not because of

the sexual orientation. (Walby 1990) defined patriarchy as a social structure and practice whereby women were oppressed, exploited and dominated by men. The oppression of women in Kenya was embedded in all the systems of governance ,this was evident during the adoption of two-third gender rule, the motion failed because, while the 2010 constitution gave the country formal equality where Articles 27(8) stated that “the state shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of same gender & article 98 that called for reservation of forty seven (47) seats for the female gender in the National Assembly and sixteen (16) seats for the female gender in the senate”, the conservation of the highest court and parliamentarians had ensured that legislative mechanisms for realization of the gender rule had not materialized.

Patriarchical attitudes coupled with ignorance about constitutional imperatives still ruled in these institutions. It had been noted that at higher management level in both the executive and legislative leadership positions where policy issues are discussed, men occupied 54% of leadership positions while women occupied 23% (according to the Ministry of Labor Statistics 2019).

Underrepresentation of the female gender in power and decision making in Kenya was also embedded in highest executive and administrative system, where according to (Economic Survey 2017), the percentage of women present was 25% compared to 75% men, in Defence and Foreign Relations, where according to (National Gender and Equality Commission 2016), the percentage of women present was 20% compared to 80% men and political arena where according to the survey the distribution of women in the National Assembly also stands at 20% compared to 80% men.

## **2.2 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.2.1 Theoretical Framework**

The study used the Liberal Feminism branch of Feminist International Relations (IR) Theory. The proponents of this theory are Enloe's *Banana, Beaches and Bases* (1990), Ann Tickner, (1992); True (2001); Hutchings, (1999) because feminists focused on the social world's ways of thinking focusing on women rights that included: economic, sexual, reproductive, property and their right to vote. Feminists' approach to IR introduced gender as a key instrument for analyzing the interaction among states in the international politics and explicitly noted the gender biasness in International Relations; policy makers and decision-makers seemed assertive in dismissing the ideas of the women. Feminist IR theory also shined a light on social problems, trends, and issues that were otherwise overlooked or misidentified by the historically dominant male perspective as it focuses mainly on discrimination and exclusion on the basis of sex and gender, objectification, structural and economic inequality, power and oppression, and gender roles and stereotypes among others.

Additionally, the role of women in the creation and sustainability of the international politics had been ignored and taken for granted and seen as unworthy for study or investigation (Tickner, 1992; True 2001; Hutchings, 1999).

The feminist scholars and analysts reasoned and supposed that the lack of feminists' idea in the international politics had been for reasons of the thought that the field of politics be it regional or international was only reserved for the male gender. These meant that only the male gender and not female had the capability to deal with international politics issues and thus under these circumstances foreign policies actors and decision-makers were only men. (Enloe, 1993)

The liberal foreign policy focused on democracies and trade promotions and in being members within the institutions at the international level as cooperation mechanisms. They reasoned that states comprised of socially constructed identity and interest and that they were prone to change. The shared norms, ideas, interests and identity matter in the course of the explanation of a state's foreign policy behaviors like for instance, if the states that were democratic in nature, looked at themselves as states acting peacefully; they are probably expected to work together in corporation because they have a shared identity.

Feminist international relations theory scholars argued that exhaustive, integrated issues pertinent to IR could only be achieved when gender and women were incorporated in the analysis. In those occasions where topics including those of peace and conflicts are referred to with reference to the female, traditionally mainstreaming International Relations frame the discussions in a gender perspective where the women are affected victims, the peacemakers or pacifists. The gendered order, where the female and feminisms are in subordination to the male and masculinity dominates, and is very much encouraged. For instance, Francis Fukuyama argued that considering the nature of evolution in biology, women tend to behave more peacefully than the men and he added that in the competing system of the states where not all of them act peacefully, advanced and developing democratic feminine policies will be reliable.

Feminist IR theorists argued that the main challenge in conceptualization of security, war and conflict lies in the analysis and exposure of power relations with Patriarchical institutions (Enloe 2000; Kronsell 2012). In her ground breaking book titled, "*Bananas, Beaches and Bases*", Cynthia Enloe (2014) enquired for the where about of women are in Int'l politics. She dared the people to identify women at the international platforms and discover their positions as well as how they got there. Her theory examined the bases of different militaries, diplomatic and worldwide corporation in search of women roles within those areas. On the

other hand Tickner offered a more preferred definition of realists' power and security interpretation. She defined power in a feminist point of view that instead of the definition of power being the total controlling of one by another that's often linked with the masculine nature, she suggested the definition of Hannah Arendt's as the abilities of acting in agreement (Arendt 1969, p44). Tickner also attempted to redefine the security notion (Tickner 1988, 1997) that instead of security being understood as the energy and strengths offered by the military to protect the states, she instead suggested that it could be understood as having basic material needs.

However the weakness of the theory was that, the International Relations feminist scholars didn't identify the female gender with peaceful nature because their association with peaceful, idealistic and impractical nature had a long service in disempowering them, stating that their place is out of international politics. It was also to be known that, preferred futures are not feminine but those that have gender equality. The realist perspective was seen as a danger through the stereotyping that was, their viewing men as masculine (aggressive and strong) which made them more privileged, relative to the traits given to women as feminine (passive and weak)

The International Relation Feminist Theory was applied important in understanding how women ruled and to explain the reason as to why most women relied on peaceful ways of resolving disputes. The theory also aided in the analysis of the policies that were imposed to the male authorities that make their institutions more formal at the same time ignoring the females hence explaining the reasons for underrepresentation of women in executive and legislative leadership positions.

These were clearly evident in Kenya because from independence, despite the fact there were more women than men, at 51% and 49% respectively according to ( the Kenya Population

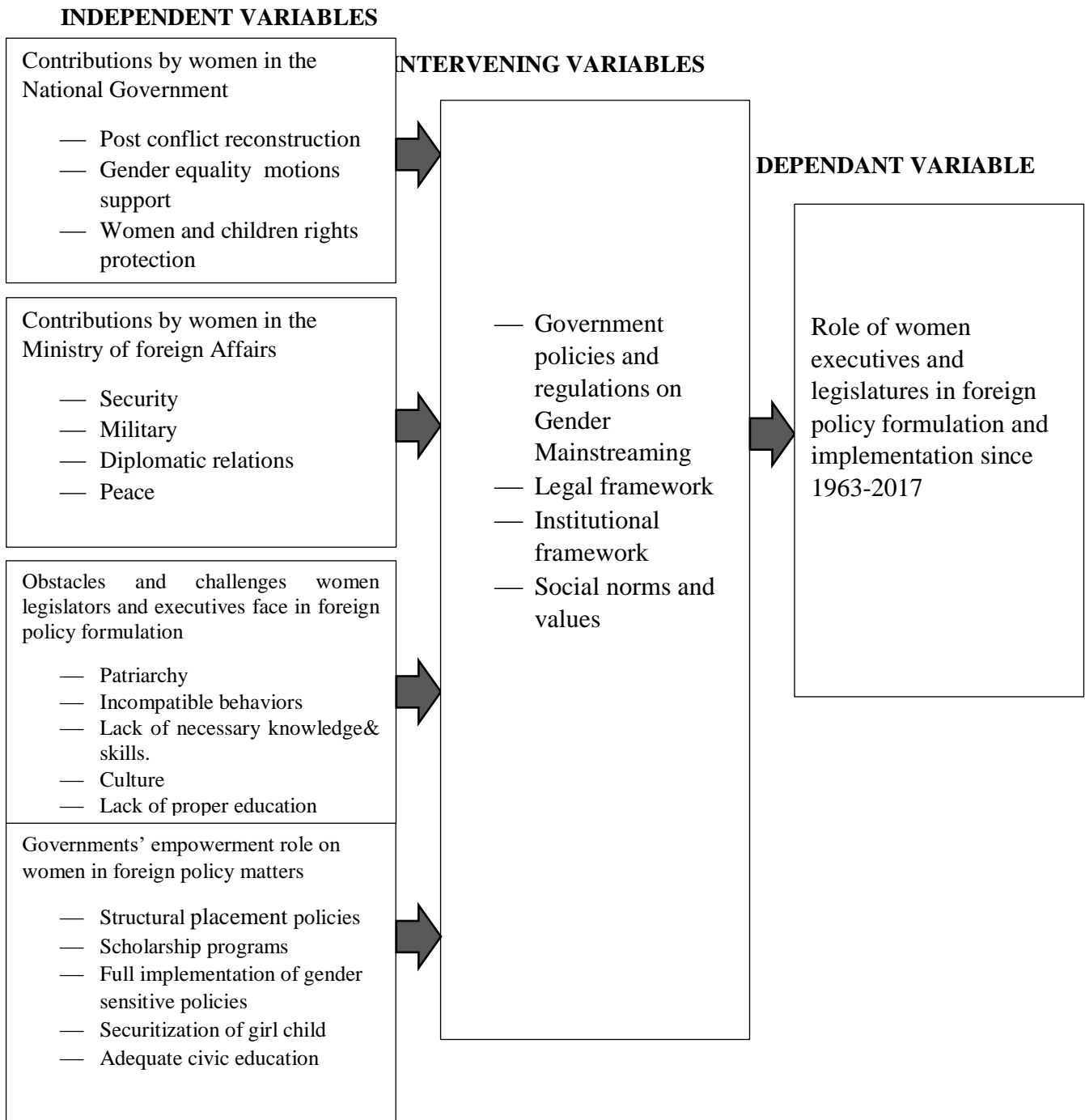


and Housing Census 2016, and 209 KPHC Analytical Report on Population Projections), there was still scarcity of women in areas involving political decision making processes, for according to the (Economic Survey 2017) sex distribution of legislatures, the total percentage of women present in the national assembly was 20% compared to 80% men as well as in the Defence and Foreign Relations (according to National Gender and Equality Commission). At the Executive and Administrative level the percentage of women is only 25% compared to 75% men while at the judiciary the percentage of women is 30% compared to 70% men, according to (Economic Survey 2017).

The theory was used for analysis and interpretation of the factors that led to women's exclusion and oppression in politics and important executive decision making areas like of the foreign policy formulation process including, the challenges and obstacles they faced together with the mechanism of women empowerment to encourage women to actively and effectively take up leadership roles and thus take part in foreign policy matters.

### 2.2.2 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework below represented a system of the relationship of variables that provided a logical view of the research problem



**Figure 2.1: Conceptual model for the role of women leaders in foreign policy formulation.**

**Source: Research data (2020)**

Contributions by women in the National Government towards the formation and implementation of Foreign Policies constituted their advocacy for women and children rights protection through championing for the inclusion of monthly council program on women and children agendas at the peace and security council and their effortless attempt to incorporate gender mainstreaming topics in all discussions that includes end of child marriages in the Marriage Act of 2014, The Matrimonial Properties Act 2013 and protection of education institutions through the National Human Rights Policy and Action Plan. Women groups such as KEWOPA that constituted the female members in the National Assembly actively participated in all the proceedings of the discussion of the two-third gender bill motion and presented it to the head of state as part of affirmative action and also through championing for the implementation of the Beijing platform for Action, an agenda for women's empowerment.

Women in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the other hand had been at the center stage in driving improvements and changes of the National Security Policy that resulted to the reduction of Kenya's Vulnerability to terrorist attacks, they also initiated works that led to development of the Kenya' counter terrorisms and violent extremisms strategy. Within the military the women advocated for the implementation of the 2017 gender policy that sought to promote conducive institutional environment for men and women in the defense. F.A cabinet secretary represented the county in the F.P matters and diplomatic relations as heads of directorates and ambassadors in missions at the international arenas.

Women faced various obstacles and challenges that hindered them from effectively taking part in policy formulations and implementation. Social-cultural impediments such as family ties that restricted woman from taking up assignment that kept them away from their families, lack of necessary knowledge and skills due to improper training on F.P matters as well as, inadequate briefing before F.P committee meetings rendered them ineffective. Lack of proper

education and training, for according to the economic survey 2017, the number of trained men stood at 70% while that of women is 30% yet the Foreign Service as well as high executive decision making institutions required highly educated and trained personnel. Patriarchical systems that tend to favor men, gave women limited access to appointing authority and limited fewer spaces in areas of politics, judicial, executive, administrative and foreign relations for according to National Gender and Equality Commission report, the number men in these institutions exceeded that of women by 60% .

Due to the many challenges and obstacles that women in leadership positions faced, the government was mandated to encourage and empower women to take up these executive and legislative roles as well as effectively take part in decision making. The government had a mandate to offer more training to women already in leadership positions because most of them were untrained and lacked the necessary knowledge & skills required in those positions. Government also needed to offer scholarship programs to women as well as continuous investment in the girl child education in order to reduce the education gap between the female and male. There was need for government to fully implement article 27(8) which states that “the state shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of same gender & article 98 that called for reservation of forty seven (47) seats for the female gender in the National Assembly and sixteen(16) seats for the female gender in the senate” as well as the United Nations Security Council resolution S/RES/1325 that emphasized on the importance of including women in matters peace. The government also had to ensure securitization of girl child as well as offer women and adequate civic education.

All the above mentioned factors were influenced by the intervening factors such as the legal institutions i.e. The National Human Rights Policy and Action plan; The Marriage Act 2014 and the Draft National Policy on Gender and Development and Article 27 of the constitution

among others, were laws and policies that guaranteed and ensured the government and other institutions defended the rights and equality of women and prevent discrimination and abuses directed towards women. The peacekeeping forces and the media had a duty to mainstream gender in all platforms as well as in foreign countries platforms. Institutions including; the executive, administrative, judicial and legislative had a duty to adhere to gender policies and ensure its implementation to the later. The society and the media had a responsibility of embracing the gender friendly values as well as changing the social norms that tend to stereotype the women, by working closely with women and encouraging them to compete and take part in political and decision making process and focusing on the strength and contributions of women rather than depicting them as victims of violence and oppression.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

Chapter three systematically provided the description of the research methods used in the study. It consists of, the research design, the targeted populations, the sampling size and technique, method of collecting data, method of analyzing data and the consideration of ethics. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the data analysis techniques used in the study and ethical issues which were observed in the course of the study.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

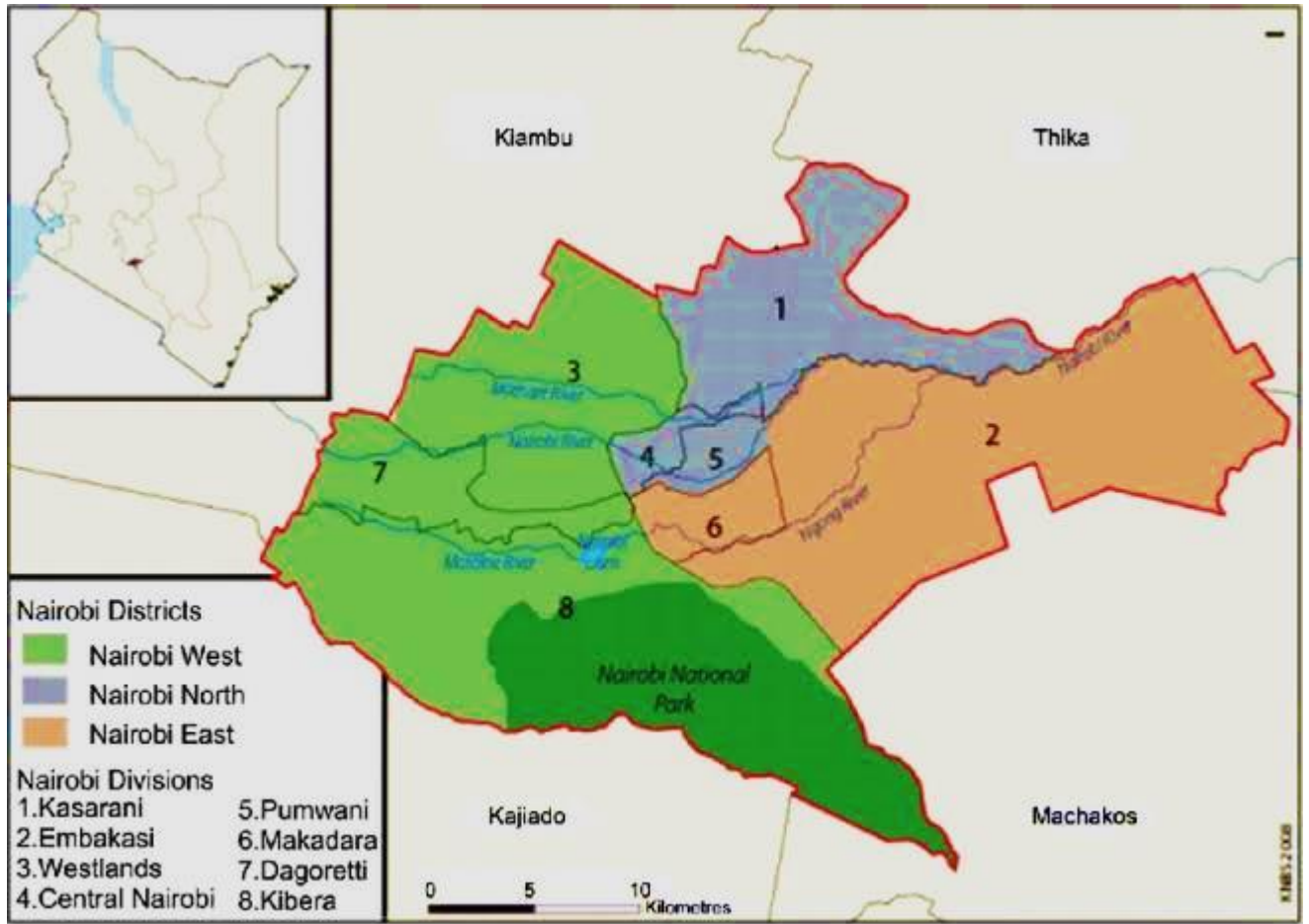
A research design refers to the framework, overall strategy or the plan for the study, chosen to combine the different units of the study in a logic and reasonable way, thus ensuring that the research problem is addressed in an effective manner. It composed of the outline for the data collection, measurement and analysis.

The study applied descriptive research design by gathering and describing by answering the how, what, when and where questions from the data collected. The study employed qualitative research design by collecting raw data through open ended self-administered and interview guided questionnaires. It determined the status of the role of women leaders in Foreign Policy Formulation because there was collection of raw data in order to answer the what, when, where and how study questions and verify the premises given concerning the role of the subjects under study in this case, the women in executive and legislative leadership position in the national government and their involvement in the formulation of Kenya's Foreign Policy and the report was given the way it was without altering, and also

historical research design which depended on secondary data in order to trace the history or the trend of how the women had been in executive leadership positions in Kenya and what their role were in Foreign Policy formulation from 1963 to 2017.

### **3.2 The Study Area**

The research was conducted in Nairobi at the Statehouse, the National Assembly and the various relevant ministerial and departmental headquarters mainly the Ministry of FA, Defence, Immigration, National Intelligence Service, Kenya Police and the Judiciary. This was because the National Government of the Republic of Kenya and the highest branch of the executive, consists of the Head of State, the Deputy Head of State and the Cabinet and is headquartered at the State House and the various legislative officials are located at the National Assembly, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Defence Ministry and other relevant departments mentioned above are mandated and responsible for formulation and implementation of the Country's Foreign Policy with the President as the Chief Diplomat and the Cabinet Secretary for Foreign Affairs together with that of Defence as Chief Advisors.



**Figure 3.1: Map of Nairobi County, Kenya**

**Source: Africa Guide Maps**

### **3.3 Target Population**

A population is the entire set of the relevant unit of analysis, or the data. The study targeted the Women in leadership positions in the Executive and Legislative assembly at the National Government in the county government of Nairobi. According to the statistics in the Government Registry year 2020, the total number of women leaders present in both the executive and legislative positions was 300. This was the researcher's target population.



### 3.3.1 Study population

The subjects under research were; the active, influential outgoing and vocal women that had been present in the highest executive position i.e. the presidency, and the National Government since the year 1963 to 2017 and the women present in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Defense Ministry, Immigration and other relevant ministries together with women in the Judiciary, Intelligence Service, Diplomats, Ambassadors, Defence and Foreign Relations Committee and other relevant institutions mainly those responsible in the foreign policy making process since the year 1963 to 2017 which gave a total number of approximately 64 women.

**Table 3.1 Study Population**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Cabinet Secretaries/Ministers	8	12.5
Female Diplomats	10	15.6
Female Ambassadors	10	15.6
Female Members of National Assembly	10	15.6
Judiciary	4	6.3
National Intelligence Service	4	6.3
Immigration	4	6.3
NGOs and Lobby groups	4	6.3
Key Informers(statehouse and Foreign relations Committee)	10	15.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Research Data (2020)**

### **3.4 Sampling Technique**

The study was a probability sample study and thus purposive sampling was used to get the representative data for analysis and report writing.

The first step in sampling was to specify the subjects of the study. The National Assembly, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Immigration, Judiciary and National Intelligence Service registry was used as the main sampling frame. A list of registered women leaders was obtained from the government registries of the specified departments then from the list, the researcher was able to randomly select the active, influential, outgoing and vocal women leaders as the target population. The participants of the research were selected using a random sampling process with the assistance from the supervisor. Out of an entity of 300 women from the government registries of the specified departments, there were 54 women leaders in the executive and legislative leadership positions in the national government, out of which 42 active, influential, outgoing and vocal women leaders based on their track record were selected as a sampling unit or size that exhaustively discussed the questions.

A sampling frame is the element's list from which samples are drawn and that is closely related to the population (Cooper, 2006). The sample frame was drawn from various key informants including those selected from the state house and Foreign Relations Committee. A total of 10 target informants that hold vast information on matters from policy were identified from the statehouse and Foreign Relations Committee register out of which 8 were randomly selected by the researcher as the research participants.

### **3.5 Sample Size**

Using purposive sampling technique, the researcher used 80% of the target population as sample size that gave a total of 42 out of the 54 women in executive and legislative

leadership positions and 8 out of the 10 identified male key informants from the state house and the Foreign Service Committee thus, a total sample size of 50 respondents consisting of ; 6 female Cabinet Secretaries/Ministers in the MFA and the Ministry of Defence both present and in the past,8 female diplomats and 8 female Ambassadors from various departments within the MFA,8 female members of the National Assembly consisting of members of parliament and Women Representatives,3 female members of the Judiciary,3 from the National Intelligence Service,3 from the department of Immigration and 3 from NGOs and Lobby Group as well as 8 male key informants.

**Table 3.2: Sample Size**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Sampling Ratio</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
Cabinet Secretaries/Ministers	8	0.8	6
Female Diplomats	10	0.8	8
Female Ambassadors	10	0.8	8
Female Members of National Assembly	10	0.8	8
Judiciary	4	0.8	3
National Intelligence Service	4	0.8	3
Immigration	4	0.8	3
NGOs and Lobby groups	4	0.8	3
Key Informers(Statehouse and Foreign relations Committee)	10	0.8	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>		<b>50</b>

**Source: Research Data (2020)**

### **3.6 Instruments of data collection**

The study was aided by the self-administered open-ended questionnaires from women in leadership positions and interview guided questionnaires from key informants to gather information and data from the target population. The questionnaire consisted of two parts. Part one dealt with demographic information including age, designation, level of education and criteria for selection in the leadership positions; part two was the respective positions held and the role played in foreign policy formulation and the last part gave room for suggestions, any improvements any problems encountered and general information on women in leadership positions and their role in foreign policy formulations.

The questionnaire choice was selected because they are more preferred and very helpful in maintaining participant's privacy since the questionnaire response can be anonymous or confidential which is of great essence while collecting or gathering very sensitive information(Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill,2009), like in this case the role of women in leadership, the challenges the women leaders face in their capacity as leaders and the government's role in empowering women tend to be very sensitive information.

### **3.7 Pretesting of research instruments**

A pilot study was conducted in Ruiru Sub-County of Kiambu County before the actual one by administering the oral questionnaire to few groups of women holding other leadership roles and responsibilities. This was for the reason of establishing if the oral questionnaires were to provide the information required for the success of the research, to assess and find out the obstacles that respondents would encounter when answering the questionnaire and to check if the questionnaires were clear and able to be understood easily.

### **3.8 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments**

Through conducting a pilot study the research tools were pre-tested to find out if the instruments of data collection were effective and also to be familiar with the process of collecting data in order to enhance their reliability.

Validity finds out if the research does measure that whatever it is intended to or the truth of the research results, Joppe (2009).

Content validity aided to check if the research questions were well represented in the oral questionnaire. In some case the supervisor also assisted to improve the instruments validity.

### **3.9 Data Collection procedures**

The researcher obtained permission from the University to conduct the research together with a request letter that aided the researcher to seek permission from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.

After obtaining the License from NACOSTI, the researcher then through an official letter informed the Office of the Governor Nairobi County, the National Metropolitan Services office, the County Education Director and the County Commissioner of the researcher's intention to carry out research within the County.

The researcher through Supervisor's aid, drafted the questionnaires together with a letter of request and there after proceeded to the relevant offices and handed the letter of request and self-administered questionnaire to the target respondents offices. The researcher then gave a maximum of two weeks for the respondents to fill in the questionnaire after which through a phone call or email the researcher was informed to go back and pick the questionnaires. In some cases due to Covid 19 restrictions, the answered questionnaires from the respondents were scanned and sent through the emails while other respondents preferred being sent the

questionnaires through their emails and likewise were able to fill in and return through the emails.

From the target informants, the researcher through phone calls, emails and official visit, scheduled a one on one interview with the respondents. After being granted appointment date, with the aid of interview guided questionnaires, the respondents were able to provide important and relevant information as they had been asked. Due to anonymity reasons the researcher did not record the conversation but instead filled in the interview guided questionnaires.

The method of collecting data involved analyzing the previous literature and the use of both written questionnaires and interview guided questionnaires from target informants. Both primary and secondary data sources were used so as to gather current information in the case of descriptive research design and the previous information in the case of historical research design.

Data was collected within a period of 2 months to completion and was analyzed by the researcher with the help of the supervisor .No research assistant was involved.

### **3.10 Data Analysis**

Content Analysis was used in the interpretation the qualitative data by counter checking the data and identifying themes that were in consistency with the research aim and objectives and to interpret information gathered from various sources such as personal interview guided questionnaires from target informants and written questionnaires. It was used to check the accuracy of the raw information from both the primary and secondary study sources with reference to research aim and objectives, research questions and research premises, after which the findings were interpreted and finally presented as a report.

### **3.11 Ethical considerations**

To assist in the elimination and control of ethics, the researcher ensured that the participation was done on the respondent's free will despite the fact that it caused the response rate to be lower that led to introduction of response biasness (McNamara, 1994).

The researcher ensured that the subjects under study remained anonymous and the information given was treated as confidential.

Before conducting the research permission was obtained from the Institution of Kenyatta University to carry out the research. Legal permission was also obtained from the legal body present at the location of research in order to avoid any conflict with the law and also permission from NACOSTI was granted as per the requirement of the institution.

All literature materials that were referred to in the study were acknowledged for avoidance of any plagiarism cases and the findings and results were presented without any alteration as a reflection of the actual data recorded during the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter of the study discussed both the qualitative and quantitative data analysis. It presented the findings discussed in line with study objectives and the sub thematic areas as follows; the rate of the questionnaire return, the demographic characteristics that consist of ,age gender, level of education, designation and criteria for the selection of respondents to their respective positions, the positions they hold presently or held in the past, the role they played in drafting, formulation and implementation of foreign policies, the obstacles and challenges faced in taking up leadership positions and policymaking and finally, mechanisms of empowering women to effectively take up leadership positions and effectively take part in foreign policy making.

The analysis was aided by use of frequencies, percentages, tables, graphs, content analysis and analysis of variance to guide the researcher in interpreting the data collected.

#### **4.1 Response Rate**

This study targeted a total of fifty (50) respondents that comprised majorly of women present in the policy making institutions and a few men who acted as target informants. Questionnaires were administered to the 50 respondents out of which, twenty eight (28) questionnaires were filled and returned together with positive feedback from five (5) key informants out of the eight (8) that were given the interview guided questionnaires .

This therefore gave a sixty six percent (66%) response rate of the total sample size and thirty four (34%) non response rate.



This was adequate enough for qualitative research data analysis and interpretation for according to Morton,Bandara,Robinson,and Carr (2012),a return rate approximating to 50% is suitable for analysis, 60% for most studies is considered good, 70-85% considered very good while a return rate above 85% is regarded as excellent.

**Table 4.1 Response Rate of the Total Sample Size**

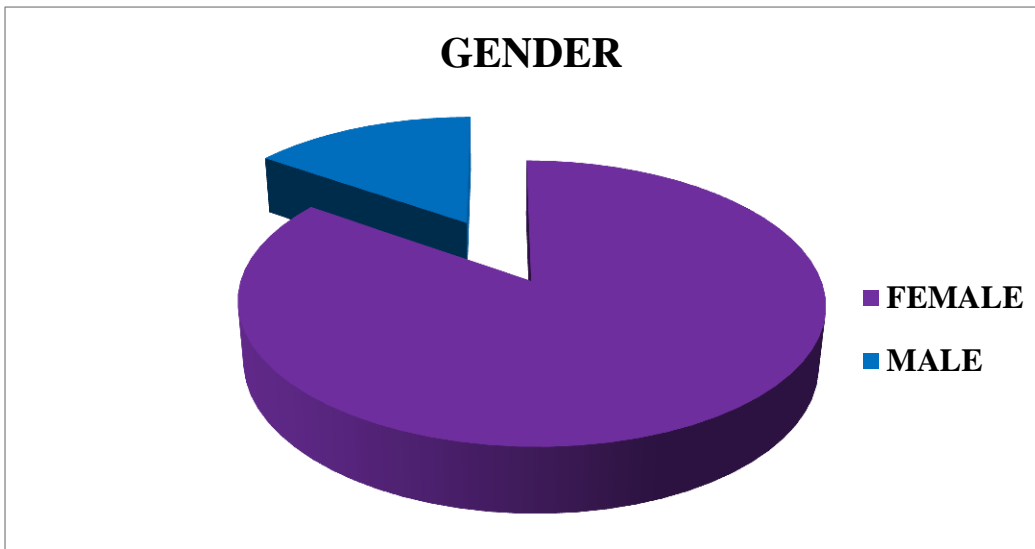
<b>Rates of the questionnaire and interview return</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Questionnaire Return Rate</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>Questionnaire Non-Return Rate</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Interview Response Rate</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Interview Non-Response Rate</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Research Data (2020)**

## **4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

### **4.2.1 Gender of the respondents**

The figure below indicates the responses of the respondents according to gender.



**Figure 4.1: Gender of the respondents**

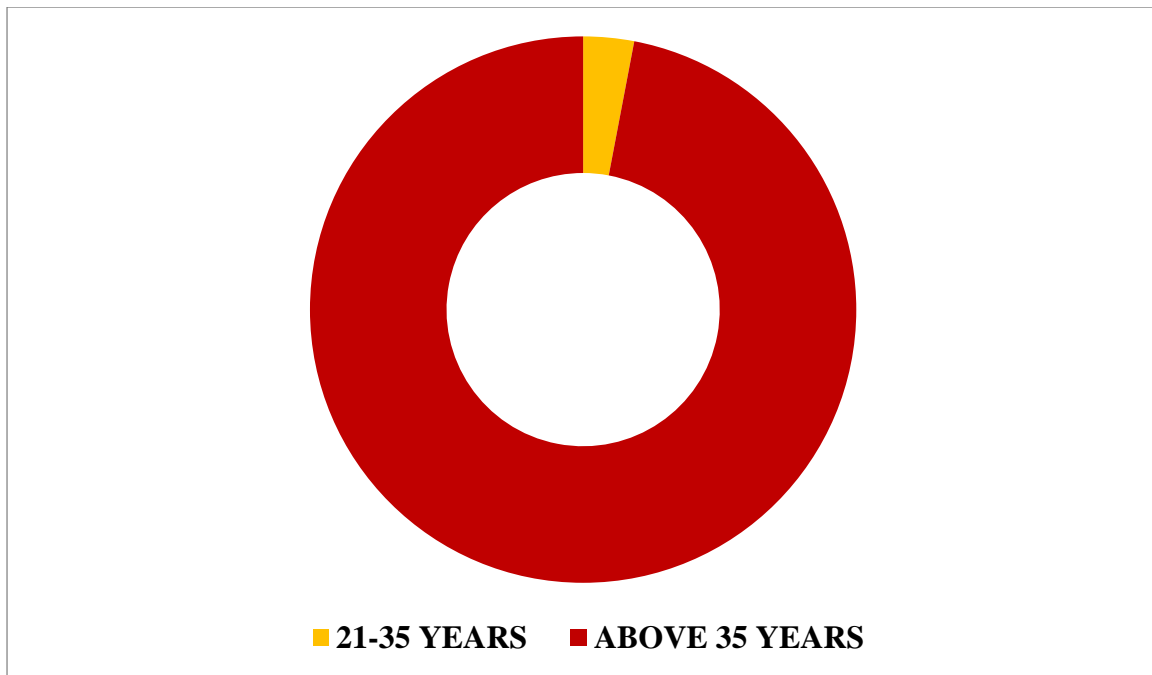
**Source: Research Data (2020)**

From the figure, the number of female respondents was 28 representing 84.8% while that of the male respondents was 5 representing 15.2 %.

The number of the respondents of the female gender was way above that of that of the male gender respondents because based on the topic of research, the research’s main target respondents were the women in the executive and legislative leadership positions in the national government and those present in the institutions involved in foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation. The researcher had to include few key male informants who had detailed knowledge on the topic under research as a way of getting diverse views and to avoid biased information from the same gender

#### **4.2.2 Age of the Respondents**

The figure below presents the age of the respondents;



**Figure 4.2 Ages of Respondents**

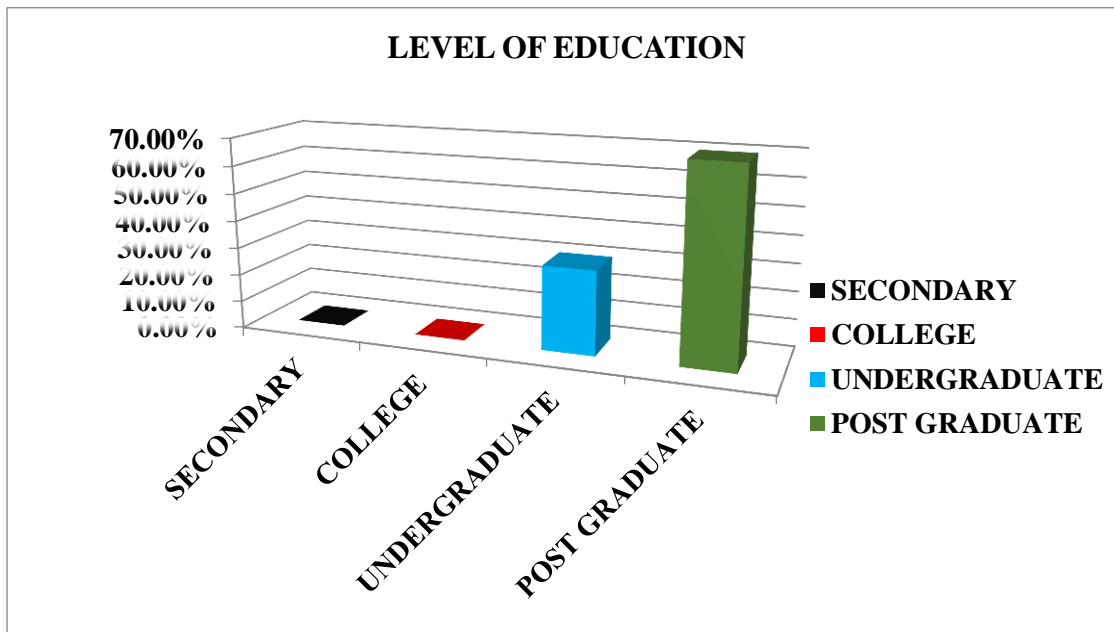
**Source: Research Data (2020)**

From the figure above, the study established that the majority of the respondents were aged above 35 years. A total of 32 out of 33 respondents representing 96.97% were above 35 years while only one respondent was aged between 21-35years.

The study therefore indicated that the majority women leaders in the executive and legislature as well as the foreign policy makers were above 35 years of age. This is so because the study found out that, it is only the women old enough and believed to be highly knowledgeable with necessary skills and experience that are allowed in those positions.

### 4.2.3 Level of Education of Respondents

The figure below shows the level of education of the respondents



**Figure 4.3 Level of Education**

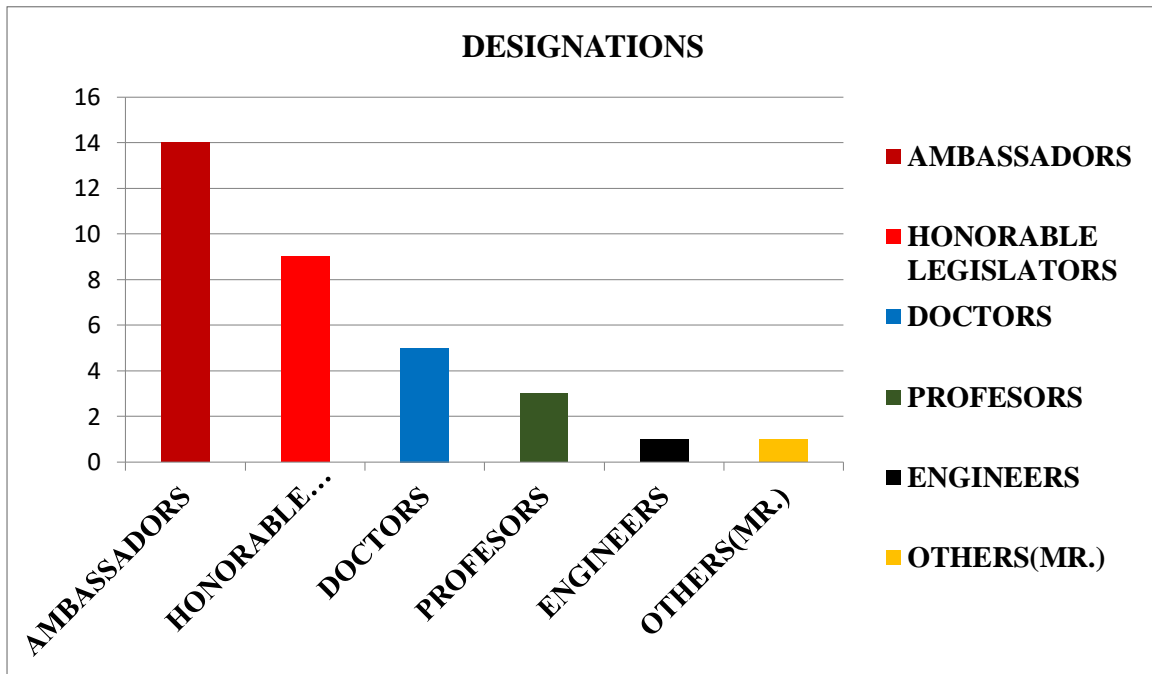
**Source: Research Data (2020)**

From the figure above, the study established that majority of the respondents had reached post graduate as their highest level of education. 20 out of the 33 respondents representing 69.7% had reached the post graduate level while 13 respondents representing 30.3% had reached undergraduate level and non-had reached college nor secondary level.

These therefore was an indication that only the educated women were allowed into the executive and legislative leadership positions as well as well as actors in the foreign policies making institutions because they are expected to have relevant knowledge and information and well equipped with enough skills to enable them to govern as well as take part in the drafting formulation and implementation of foreign policies.

#### 4.2.4 Designation of Respondents

The figure below shows the various designations of the respondents



**Figure 4.4: Designations**

**Source: Research Data (2020)**

From the figure above, the study established that the most of the respondents were ambassadors while other respondents held more than one designation. 14 respondents representing 42.4% were ambassadors, 9 respondents representing 27.3% were honorable, 5 respondents representing 15.2% were doctors, 3 respondents representing 9.1% were professors while 1 respondent representing 3.0% was an engineer and 1 other respondent among others.

The study found out that majority of the respondents involved in foreign policy matters hold or have once held ambassadorial positions as official envoys or representatives of the country in other states. This is so because by doing so they gather and acquire more information concerning the other states as well as discover much about the state and relations in which Kenya stands among other states and other important matters concerning diplomacy and international relations.

The numbers of honorable women legislators was also high because of the fact that a good number of respondents were members of the legislature in the national government and were therefore accorded the title honorable as a sign of respect for the position in power that they hold.

Others were professors, doctors and one engineer because majority of the respondents had gone up to the post graduate level of education as a necessity in their areas of specialization which made some of them key informers because of the vast knowledge they had and who provided very insightful comments on the topic of study.

Therefore the study concluded that the area of legislative leadership and that of foreign policy formulation required individuals that were learned and had necessary knowledge and skills basing on the designations that the respondents held.

### **4.3 Criteria for selection to the respective positions of the respondents**

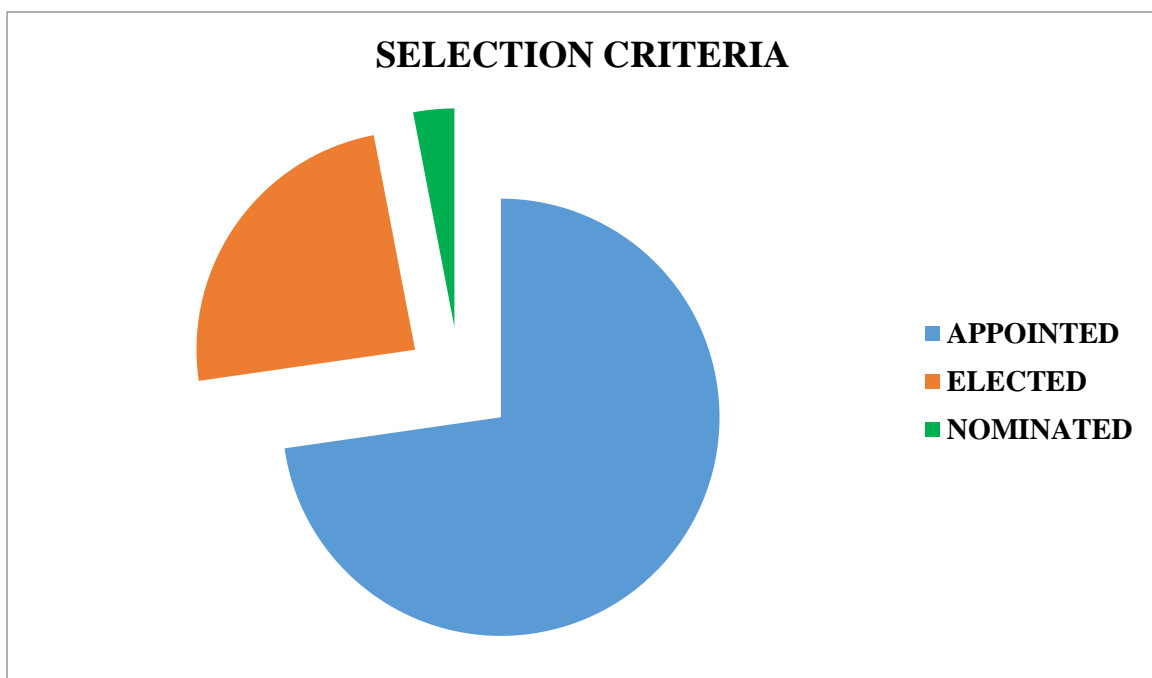
The study established that majority of the respondents were appointed to their positions. 24 respondents representing 72.7% were appointed, 8 respondents representing 24.2% were elected to their positions while only 1 respondent representing 3.0% was nominated.

This therefore indicates that most women that are in the institutions that are main actors in foreign policy formulation and implementation are appointed to their positions. Only those

that had the relevant knowledge, skills and expertise are vetted according to their qualifications then appointed by the relevant authorities to occupy the positions.

Those that were elected to their positions represented majorly the women in the legislature, that is, members of the national assembly including women representatives and members of parliament. There were a small number of the nominated women represented in the national assembly that took part in foreign policy matters as indicated by the least number of nominated women leaders among the respondents.

The figure below shows the various criteria that the respondents were selected to their various positions.

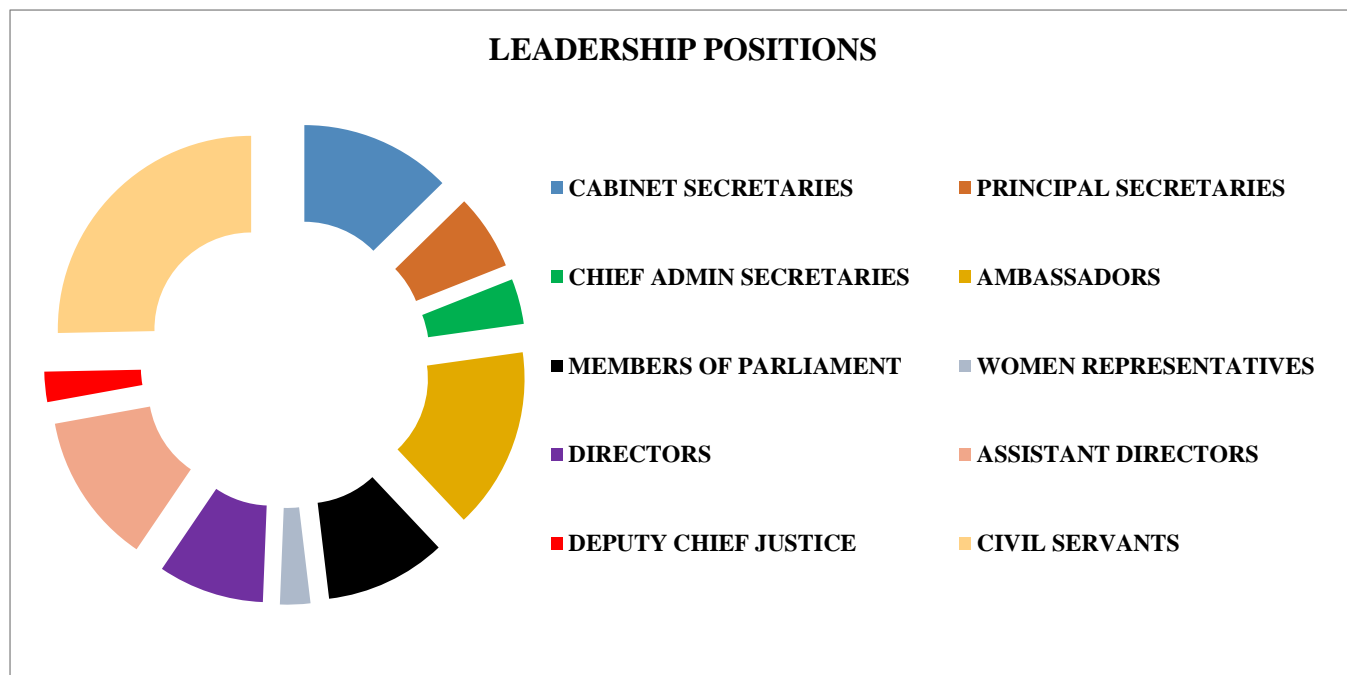


**Figure 4.5: Selection Criteria**

**Source: Research Data (2020)**

#### 4.4 Leadership Positions held by women in the national government presently and in the past.

The figure below shows the various leadership positions held by the respondents presently and in the past within the national government.



**Figure 4.6: Leadership positions**

**Source: Research Data 2020**

From the figure above, the study established that majority of the respondents were civil servants who served the county without any affiliation toward the political power. The study establishes that 20 respondents representing 60.6% were civil servants. The second common position was that of ambassadorship where 12 respondents representing 36.4% had once been ambassadors and others were ambassadors in their current positions. 10 respondents representing 30.3% had held or were holding the positions of Cabinet Secretary as well as that of Assistant Directors in various government departments. 8 respondents representing



24.2% were or were once members of parliament.7 respondents representing 21.2% were or were once directors in various government insitutions.5 respondents representing 15.2% were principal secretaries or had once held the position of permanent secretaries in the past while 3 respondents representing 9.1% were chief Administrative Secretaries ,2 respondents representing 6.1% had held positions of deputy chief justice currently and in the past as well as the Nairobi women representative position in the past and presently in the national government.

According to the study the highest executive position held by the women in the national government was the vice president’s office in the year 2003 where one woman served as minister in the office of the vice president and 2008 where a woman served as an asst. minister. No woman has served in the highest arm of government that comprises of the presidency and the vice presidency.

The study also found out that the women in the executive and legislative positions as well as female policy makers are very few compared to men and the fact that there is a rotation of the same positions occupied by nearly the same women with very few new individuals introduced to those positions.

A great number of women were civil servants which therefore limited them to take part in legislative or other political positions in the national government.

#### **4.5 Opinions on whether women had played a role in foreign policy formulation**

**Table 4.2: Respondents Opinions**

<b>Opinion</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>75.8%</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>24.2%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Research Data 2020**

According to the table above, the study established that majority of the respondents acknowledged that women had played a role in drafting formulation and implementation of foreign policies in Kenya. 25 respondents representing 75.8% acknowledged the women involvement in foreign policy matters while 8 respondents representing 24.2% refuted the fact that women had contributed towards the foreign policy matters.

The research found out that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that women have taken part in foreign policy drafting and formulation basing on the fact that there was a representation of women in the institutions of policy making but there was no specific policies that were mentioned of having been brought forward by those particular women in those policy making institutions.

The study also established that women had been advocating and working tirelessly toward the implementation of the existing foreign policies but their efforts had not been fully recognized because of their few representation in the institutions that are actors in foreign policy matters, that most of their efforts went un noticed, taken for granted and also the fact that men took credit for most of the many ideas that were brought forward by women leaders.

The study sought to find out the effectiveness of women in foreign policy matters.

The table below shows the opinions of respondents on whether women had been effective towards the drafting, formulation and implementation of foreign policies.

**Table 4.3: Women Foreign Policy Formulation Effectiveness**

<b>Opinion</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5.2%</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>84.9%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Research Data 2020**

According to the table, majority of the respondents felt that women had not effectively taken part in the drafting, formulation and implementation because they had not been given equal chances with men and most of their ideas have not been taken into consideration yet they strive and work effortlessly with equal capacity as men but not much of their contributions have been recognized and acknowledged yet.

## **4.6 Content Analysis**

This method of data analysis was used to determine the presence of similar concepts and themes from the data collected in order for them to be interpreted in consistent with the research aim and objectives.

### **4.6.1 The Role women in executive and legislative positions in the national government have played in drafting, formulation and implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy**

From the respondents the study established that over the years since before the independence in 1963, there were no women in corridors of neither power nor in executive and legislative leadership positions and that Kenya had a foreign policy that was not written and the policy makers were British men, in 1963 the women were given rights to vote. After the 1964 general election, in 1967 the first woman was appointed the Magistrate and in 1969 the first woman became a member of parliament. During the 1974 general elections only 1% of the women were elected to the national government, other few women including, Martha Karua, Linah Kilimo and Charity Ngilu appearing in ministerial positions but still had no record of contributions towards foreign policies; the head of state was the only person that had the mandate of formulating policies. All the general elections that followed saw less than 5% of women being elected into positions of power and other executive leadership positions including in 1982 when the first woman was appointed as the Judge of the high court, 1983 the first woman was appointed to head a parastatal, 1986 when the 1<sup>st</sup> woman was appointed

to senior diplomatic missions,1987 when the first woman was appointed permanent secretary,1995 the first woman appointed Cabinet Secretary and 1997 when the first woman vied for presidency, until the 2013 general elections under president Mwai Kibaki that came after the 2010 constitutional review that was approved by referendum that the number of elected and nominated women rose as well as executive women leaders ,the last general elections in 2017 ,the population of the female gender in the National Assembly rose to 19.5% with 6 women being appointed in the Cabinet Secretary positions and other executive leadership positions. These therefore meant that it is during the last 15 years that more women although few as compared to men were in the helm of leadership and hence took part in foreign policy matters. Their notable contributions had been at the ministerial and principal secretary level leading roles in giving policy directions example being Cabinet secretaries Hon Martha Karua, Charity Ngilu,Rabecca Nabutola,Hellen Sambili ,Amb Amina Mohammed, Monica Juma , Racheal Omamu, Margaret Kobia & Principal Secretaries Sally Kosgie,Wavinya Ndeti,Elizabeth Masha, as well as in the other institutions that are actors in the foreign policy formulation including Deputy CJ Nancy Barasa,Kalpana Rawal& Philomena Mwilu in the justice department, Racheal Shebesh & Esther Passaris as Nairobi women representatives as well as Hon Gladys Shollei, Naomi Shaban,Gladys Wanga and Cecily Mbarire as vocal women in the national assembly together with ambassadors Yvonne Khamati,Judy Wakhungu,Phyllis Kandie,Mwanamaka Mabruki, women have also been on the forefront in negotiating in multilaterals and unilateral, representing the country in foreign policy matters as heads of directorates and ambassadors in missions abroad, “women officers have been instrumental in the formulation, drafting and implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy as heads of directorates and ambassadors in missions abroad” said one respondent, “Amina Mohammed and Monica Juma as ministers, Sally Kosgei as permanent secretary for Rebecca Nabutola” said another, overseeing creation of multiagency approach in tackling

security challenges like in the recent time establishment of the African Union Network of the Women in Africa in Mediating and preventing conflicts (FEMWISE) that assists in management prevention, resolution and post-conflict peace building advocating for prevention and peaceful resolution of conflicts such as peaceful negotiation and humanitarian response in post conflict reconstruction, initiating works that resulted to the formulations of the Kenya's counter terrorisms and violent extremisms strategy, the female ambassadors that sit at the peace and security council advocate for inclusion of monthly council programs on women and children agendas and effortlessly attempting gender mainstreaming in all discussions that includes ending child marriages, protection of women rights and education institutions, advocating against Women and Gender based violence; the right to self-defense and state protection mainly championed by COVAW(K).

Women had also been at the center stage in driving improvements and changes of the national security policy that resulted to the reduction of Kenya vulnerability to terrorist attacks and also formation of women groups such as The Kenya Women's Political Caucus that launched the Women's political manifesto for the 2002 general elections that define women platforms for political participation and serves as a women's agenda and accountability tool for political aspirants as well as political parties.

The study also established that the women legislators through their organizations such as KWPC, WPAK, KEWOPA, WSP-K and CCGD have been at the center stage in engendering the National Budgets, Legislative works and Parliamentary governance by; sponsoring women friendly and gender related bills, establishing a parliamentary gender desk and developing gender materials for engendering parliamentary debates motions tabled in parliament.

From the study therefore it was found out that women did not effectively contribute much on the drafting and formulation of foreign policies but a lot of their input and contributions is towards the implementations of the existing foreign policies although most of their contributions went unrecognized because the men usually took credit on their behalf while others were not considered but neglected because of their few representation within the policy making institutions compared to the men.

#### **4.6.2 The importance of women involvement in foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation**

Most of the respondents were of the idea that; more women involvement in foreign policy matters would not only enrich the policies but also bring in new perspectives because more women meant more brainstorming that would give diverse ideas and more concrete policies, involvement of women would also enhance the women's role in peace and security process at national, regional and international level, "a better integration of gender issues and diversity especially in peace keeping operations and interventions" said one respondent as well as, "peace and security efforts are more sustainable when women are equal partners in the prevention of violent conflict and forging the lasting peace", said another respondents, it would lead to better integration of gender issues and diversity especially in peace keeping operations and interventions, more women cultivate to feminist foreign policies that prioritize gender equality, rights of women and other marginalized groups, more women training, more women selected in decision making functions as well as capacity building.

The other importance was that women had and shared common problems that could be addressed only by them working together with men towards a common goal, it was also suggested that efforts towards peace and security were more sustainable when women and men equally worked together in prevention of violent conflicts and forging lasting peace.

From the findings therefore the study found out that more women involvement in policy drafting formulation and implementation culminated into policies that majorly concentrate on women issues but also led to more peaceful co-existence within and among states for women concentrated more on peace and security and peaceful resolutions of disputes.

#### **4.6.3 Obstacles and challenges women executives and legislators face in foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation**

From the respondents, the study established several obstacles and challenges faced by women leaders and their involvement in matters foreign policy. It was noted that the obstacles and challenges varied from individual to individual. The obstacles in common were the social cultural impediments such as family ties that restricted women from taking up assignments that kept them away from their families yet they were mandated to take care of their husbands as well as children, “cultural believes that woman’s roles are limited to the family welfare”, one respondent said. The women also encounter obstacles in terms of capacity/professional qualifications because in the past, the number of women attaining higher education was limited according to the (economic survey 2017) that indicates that the number of trained men in decision making areas stands at more than 70% while that of women is at 25% hence very few women were entering the foreign service that requires women with higher education qualifications.

Another one was role stereotyping based on cultures belief system regarding attitudes and behaviors in the sense that women were perceived as irrational, weak and often making decisions based on their emotions. Women also had limited access to appointing authority that seemed always to favor men at the disadvantage of women, “underrepresentation of women in legislature is an obstacle to women in enacting laws” ,as was put by one respondent while another one said, “gender inequality has been a challenge since Kenyan

women executives have taken up few elective and nominative political positions in Kenya hence they encounter a challenge of voicing out their contributions in matters concerning fps due to low support from their counterparts in the government”, and limited political space for women because of the brutal and bullying nature of the male opponents. There was also societal discrimination of girls and women therefore led to women inferiority complex where women felt they were unable to appear in public in fear of embarrassment and shame.

There were several challenges that were raised by respondents too that includes; fewer women having skills and necessary exposure because of lack of proper training on foreign policy matters so as to enable them participate effectively in foreign policy drafting, formulation as well as implementation, “fewer women in leadership roles have the skills and necessary exposure to enable them participate in foreign policy processes”, said one respondent. Women also had a challenge of receiving inadequate briefings on foreign policy matters hence inadequate preparations during the foreign policy committee meetings.

The media had also greatly been blamed for toeing the Patriarchical line by failing to report on the achievements of women but instead focusing on the negatives and portraying women as weak species unable to govern on their own without the help from men.

There was also a challenge of inequality in power sharing at all the decision making levels hindering women from fp matters participation and also the fact that the women already in power fight to retain their positions, some have directly or indirectly had their aspirations thwarted due to the entrenched Patriarchical views within the society while others are given unfair dismissals i.e. after the January 2016 KDF operational failings in Somalia that left 170 Kenyan military personnel dead and a dozen taken hostage, a big population of the male politicians rallied behind the head of state for removal of the then Defence CS Raychelle Omamo, there was also unfair dismissal of Nancy Barasa in January 2012 as Deputy CJ after



she was told to resign by force following an altercation with the security guard at Nairobi's village market as well as former chief registrar of the Judiciary, Gladys Boss Shollei who was ordered to vacate her office after the alleged corruptions. Ambassador Monica Juma once fought an impeachment motion against her when she was the principal secretary in the ministry of FA.

The study therefore found out that women had the potential of becoming leaders in the executive and legislative positions and take part in foreign policy making but these dispropionate and the continuous attacking of the female gender raised concerns as the state slowly lost the women in the positions of leadership and the over whelming obstacles and challenges hindered and prevented women from effectively taking up the leadership positions as well as taking part in drafting, formulation and implementation of foreign policies.

#### **4.6.4 Possible remedies and mechanisms of empowering women to take up leadership position and effectively take part in matters foreign policy**

The study established various suggestions from the respondents on how the government could encourage more women participation in leadership as well as in foreign policy matters. They suggested that the government should offer more training to women already in leadership positions because most of them seemed to be less informed of what was required of them in those positions, "introduce proper training platforms of women on policy making", as put by one respondent as well as, "skills improvement through adequate training targeted at women at the helm of power", said another. Also that the government should empower girls through continuous investment in the girl child education to enable more women to reach the higher education level in order to be appointed to the policy making institutions that required high academic qualifications as well as scholarship programs for women in

diplomatic services, international relations, trade, among other institutions responsible for policy making. Also by facilitating the women groups that assisted in the development of feminist research and analysis to guide policy and action such as AAWORD.

They also suggested that the government should offer and mobilize adequate resource to the women at the state (national), regional and international level, “enough funding is a motivational factor to women gender groups, executives and legislators”, as put by one respondent.

Also by putting in place family friendly environment in areas like the party nominations, electoral campaigns and justice systems and regulation to enable women comfortably compete with men in general elections and by appointing more women in executive leadership posts, “empowering women by ensuring women had a seat at the table in peace-building, conflict prevention and mitigation”, as put by a respondent as well as, “putting in place family friendly environment and regulations to enable women comfortably carry out foreign policy functions”, as put by another respondent. Also through the strengthening and support for the legal groups for women such as FIDA-Kenya that challenges the discriminations and legal biasness against women.

There was need for government to fully implement the constitution, “full implementation of the 2010 Kenyan Constitution on 2/3 gender rule”, as put by one respondent as well as, “putting emphasis on the 2010 gender policy that seeks to advocate for affirmative action interventions targeting women to equalize both men and women opportunities”, as put by another respondent, where article 27(8) stated that, “the state shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of same gender & article 98 that called for reservation of forty seven (47) seats for the female gender in the National Assembly and sixteen (16) seats for

the female gender in the senate”, as well as the implementation of the united nations resolution S/RES/1325 that legally recognized that the vulnerably (women & children) are affected directly in armed conflict situations and hence are active contributors to the peace and security processes.

They also emphasized the need for the government to fully implement the 2017 gender policy of the Ministry of Defence that sought to promote conducive institutional environment for men and women and ensure accountability to the commitment present in the constitution of Kenya and also the full implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action which is an agenda for women empowerment aiming at accelerating the implementing of the Nairobi-Forward looking women’s strategy advancements and also focusing on removal of the hindrances to active participation of women at all areas through fully and equally sharing socially economically , culturally and politically decision makings.

Also there were suggestions that there was need for the registrar of political parties’ office, IEBC, “ ensure fairness and elimination of violence in electoral process for violent activities tend to discourage women from participating in electoral activities”, as put by one respondent, the Judiciary and Ethics & Anti-Corruption Commission to work with the civil societies organizations such as the 2012 National Women’s Charter-which is an accountability, access and Agenda setting tool for the realization of women’s constitutional gains, lobby groups, women organizations such as KEWOPA,WSP-K & CCGD,COVAW(K),agencies of security and the media to work in partnership and make sure gender equality is provided promoted and protected in politics and the electoral commission mandated to recognize the Maputo protocol, UNSCR1325 and the Convention on the Elimination of women’s discrimination.

In addition the respondents suggested that there should be a level playing field in politics, security, infrastructure and education to both men and women and continuous capacity building. There should also be securitization of the girl child and proper and adequate civic education offered to women.

Kenyan society with the support of the media and media groups such as AMWK, to work closely with women through gender mainstreaming in all platforms in the country to change the stereotypical nature accorded to women and encourage them to compete and participate in elections, political and decision making processes and lastly there is need for proper legislation on the laws that affect women including the affirmative action.

These therefore clearly indicated that despite the fact that there were a lot of measures in place for women empowerment, they had not been fully implemented and therefore there was need for the government, women, media, general public and other relevant institutions to work together to achieve these in order to encourage and empower women to not only take up leadership roles but also to effectively take part in foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter discussed the major findings summary on, the role women in leadership play in foreign policy drafting, formulating and implementing existing policies, drew the final conclusion of the study and gave the researcher's recommendations as well as suggestions for further studies.

#### **5.1 Summary of the Findings**

The study sought to examine the function Kenya women in executive and legislative leadership position play in drafting formulation and implementation of foreign policies since the year 1963 to 2017.

On examining the role of women in the executive and legislative position in the national government in Kenya since the year 1963 to the year 2017, the study found out that, before independence women were not recognized or allowed near corridors of power, the situation remained the same even after independence in 1963 under the leadership of the first president Jomo Kenyatta, during the 1<sup>st</sup> generation election in 1969, no woman was elected or nominated to the national government. It was only after 1974 general elections that 3 women an equivalent of 1% compared to men were elected into the national assembly.

During the 1979 general elections after the second president Daniel Moi took over power, the population of the female gender in the National Assembly increased to 2.4% the number remained less than 5% throughout the 1983, 1988, 1992 and 1997 general elections with only 3.6% of women elected and nominated to the national government. When the third president Mwai Kibaki took over power in 2002 the population of the female gender elected

to the National Assembly increased to 9.8%. After the 10<sup>th</sup> general elections in 2013 under the new constitution approved through a referendum in 2010, the number of elected women in the national assembly gradually increased. And finally the last general elections in 2017 making the 12<sup>th</sup> parliament under the 4<sup>th</sup> president Uhuru Kenyatta led to the number of female gender in the National Assembly increase to 19.5%. The study also established that throughout all the general elections since the first one in 1969 to the last general elections in Kenya there has never been any woman elected as head of state or deputy head of state meaning the highest executive leadership positions in Kenya, therefore the study concludes that despite provisions in the Kenyan Constitution of rights to equal opportunities in political spheres, the 2/3rd. gender rule, the senate requirements of 16 nominated women among other provisions, these requirements are yet to be met for the number of women in the legislature is still very low compared to the men.

On establishing the contributions of female leaders in the MFA and the legislative assembly in foreign policy formulation and implementation since 1963 to 2017, the study found out that even though there is an increased number of women in legislature and in the foreign policy formulation institutions, their contributions toward the drafting and formulation of policies had not yet been realized but only recognized as being at the helm of leadership within those institutions, most of their efforts had been directed towards the implementation of the existing policies especially towards the realization of the peace diplomacy pillar, in multilateralism, bilateral and regional integration through their advocacy for creation of multiagency to tackle security issues, their counter terrorism strategies & reforms to reduce Kenya's vulnerability to terror attacks & their continuous negotiations in unilateral and multilaterals. Their efforts were also directed towards implementation of women right through their advocacy on the inclusion of monthly council programs on women and children agendas and their effortless attempts to mainstream gender in all discussions that includes ending

early girl child marriages protection of women rights including equality and rights to education.

On identifying the obstacles and challenges women executives and legislatures face in foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation in Kenya, the study found out that women faced more obstacles and challenges compared to support, from both the government the society and various institutions that should otherwise be encouraging them. The women faced challenges from legal, institutional and social norms and values. It was found out that Kenya women spent a lot of time fighting to prove themselves in order to retain their positions because of the unhealthy competitions and opposition from men while others had their aspirations thwarted because of the Patriarchical views entrenched in the Kenyan constitution and the fact that appointing authorities tend to favor men at the disadvantage of women in power sharing and decision making levels.

The number of women attaining higher education was still very low yet according to the findings these institutions of legislation and policy making require educated women with necessary skills and knowledge in order to actively participate at the decision making levels which often caused women inferiority complex making them shy away from politics as well as having limited access to the appointing authorities.

There were many socio-cultural impediments such as family ties that require women to be family caregivers hence denying them time to attend to other issues like foreign policy matters and also the role stereotyping where the society believed that women were irrational and weak in nature hence could not take part in decision makings that sometimes require extreme measures.

Last but not least, on possible remedies and mechanisms of empowering women to take up leadership position and effectively take part in matters foreign policy ,the study found out

that there was need for all stakeholders that included; government and non-governmental institutions like the lobby and women groups, the legal and electoral institutions ,the media and the society to work towards the realizations of the provisions within the constitution on women rights, the United Nations resolution 1325 on women's rights, the 2017 gender policy on women in the Ministry of Defence, the Beijing platform for Action, the Maputo protocol and The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women as well as need more training through scholarships, exchange programs, seminars and conferences offered to the women already in the leadership positions so as to equip them with necessary knowledge and skills for them to be able to lead effectively and perform tasks as required within their positions.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The researcher concluded that since independence the number of women in the executive and legislative positions had been very low as compared to the men, despite the necessity within the 2010 constitution (affirmative action) that advocated for more women seats in areas of employment in the National Government. These relatively low numbers of women in power and leadership as well as their lack of necessary knowledge and skills due to improper training and education had significantly affected their effectiveness towards the drafting, formulation and implementation of foreign policies.

The study also concluded that despite the presence of a few women holding position in the institution involved in matters foreign policy, their contributions had been given very little consideration, others had been ignored and taken for granted while in other cases, men had taken credit for the contributions tabled by women, hence, making women to appear ineffective with very little contributions towards the foreign policy matters, a notion that was highly refuted by the respondents. Therefore it was evident that women in executive and



legislative leadership positions had not effectively taken part in foreign policy formulation matters because of the harsh environment they still operated in, but if well trained and given a fair opportunity with less opposition from the society and their male colleagues, they had great potentials to contribute more in matters foreign policy and in return leading to a peaceful state and peaceful co-existence with other states because women advocated more for policies less belligerent and equality between men and women.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

- ✚ The researcher recommended for inclusion of more women in Defence and foreign relations committees as well as adequate training of women especially those in the legislative positions for they appeared to have less skills and knowledge required in order to fully understand and effectively take part in foreign policy matters.
- ✚ The researcher also recommended that the media desist from depicting women as weak species for this made women to lack confidence in themselves and also made the society lack confidence in women and therefore paid little attention towards the contribution that women made in institutions including those involved in matters foreign policy.
- ✚ The researcher also recommended for emphasis from the government, society, lobby groups, NGOs and other stakeholders to empower the female gender through more scholarships, fight over discrimination, more funds allocation towards women groups like KEWOPA, in order for the number of women in leadership and legislative positions to increase for them to give moral support to each other which in turn would enable women to fairly and effectively take part in matters foreign policy.

#### **5.4 Suggestion for further Research**

Women and Foreign Policies was a very wide area and therefore there was still more to be researched on the same.

The researcher therefore suggested and encouraged more researchers to research on the areas of, what it entailed and was required of women in executives and legislative posts as well as Foreign Policy matters.

The researcher also suggested research on the shortcoming of having more women in power and policy making institutions as well as research on the contributions women had made in other institutions of policy making.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Approval Letter from the University

  
**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: [dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke](mailto:dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke) P.O. Box 43844, 00100  
NAIROBI, KENYA  
Tel. 810901 Ext. 4150

Website: [www.ku.ac.ke](http://www.ku.ac.ke) Internal Memo

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FROM: Dean, Graduate School DATE: 24<sup>th</sup> September, 2020

TO: Hildah Naliaka REF: S205/39239/2017  
C/o International Relations, Conflict  
& Strategic Studies Department


**SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROJECT PROPOSAL**

We acknowledge receipt of your revised Project Proposal as per our recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board at its meeting of 1<sup>st</sup> July, 2020, Entitled, "Kenya Women Parliamentarians and Foreign Policy Formulations from the Year 1963 to 2017".

You may now proceed with your Data Collection, Subject to Clearance with Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed Supervision Tracking Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the Progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

  
**ELIJAH MUTUA**  
**FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL**

C.c. Chairman, Department of International Relations, Conflict & Strategic Studies

Supervisors:

1. Dr. Joseph Wasonga  
C/o International Relations, Conflict  
& Strategic Studies Dept.  
Kenyatta University



**Appendix II: Research Permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.**

  
**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

  
**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Ref No: **190889** Date of Issue: **30/September/2020**

**RESEARCH LICENSE**




**This is to Certify that Ms.. HILDA NALIAKA KAKALUKHA of Kenyatta University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: KENYA WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS AND FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION FROM THE YEAR 1963 TO 2017 for the period ending : 30/September/2021.**

License No: **NACOSTI/P/20/6931**

**190889**  
Applicant Identification Number

*Walter Kimani*  
Director General  
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

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## **Appendix III: Appendix for questionnaire on the role of women in leadership and matters Foreign Policy.**

### **1.1 Questionnaire to the Respondents**

**Dear Respondent,**

I am conducting a research assessing the Role that Kenya women leaders play in Foreign Policy drafting, formulation and implementation since the year 1963 to the year 2017. You have been identified as a participant in the research by filling in the questionnaire the required information. Your identity will be concealed unless otherwise and the information provided will be strictly confidential and subject to copyright. Kindly maintain honesty as well as ensuring maximum accuracy of the information provided.

Thank you for participating

Hilda K. Naliaka

### **SECTION A (TICK WHERE APPROPRATE)**

#### **1. GENDER**

- i.** Female {  }
- ii.** Male {  }

#### **2. AGE**

- i.** 21-35 years {  }
- ii.** Above 35 years {  }

#### **3. LEVEL OF EDUCATION**

- i.** Secondary {  }
- ii.** College {  }
- iii.** University (Undergraduate) {  }

iv. Post Graduate { }

**4. DESIGNATION**

i. Ambassador { }

ii. Honorable { }

iii. Doctor { }

iv. Engineer { }

v. Professor { }

vi. Others: { }

**5. CRITERIA FOR SELECTION IN YOUR POSITION**

i. Appointed { }

ii. Elected { }

iii. Nominated { }

**SECTION B {PLEASE PROVIDE ACCURATE INFORMATION}**

1. What position/s did/do you hold in the past or presently in the National Government?

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2. If in the past, how long did you serve in your capacity as a leader?

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3. In your opinion have Kenyan women played a major role in foreign policy formulation since independence?

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4. How have the women played part in drafting, formulating or implementation of Kenya's Foreign policy?

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5. Identify any obstacles hindering Kenya women in the drafting, formulation and implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy?

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6. Explain briefly the challenges female executives and legislators face in Foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation process in the Parliament and executive offices in Kenya.

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7. Describe how more women involvement in Foreign Policy drafting, formulation and implementation would affect Kenya's foreign policy outcome.

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8. In your own views, do you think Kenya women have effectively taken part in Foreign Policy formulation as well as implementation?

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9. If NO, what mechanisms can be used to encourage women to take part in Foreign Policy formulation and implementation?

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10. What do you suggest should be done in order to effectively encourage and allow more women to take up executive and legislative leadership positions in Kenya?

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11. What can the government do to encourage more women players in Kenya’s foreign policymaking process- Explain

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**DATE**.....

**THANKS FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION**

## **Appendix IV: Key Informant Interview Schedule**

The following is a list of questions associated with the Kenya Women in Leadership and Foreign Policy Formulations from 1963 to 2017. The answers received from you are to be used for M.A Degree research purposes at the Department of International Relations, Conflict and Strategic Studies of Kenyatta University. Your honest contribution to this study will result to successful completion of this research project whose aim is to add value to the women's leadership in foreign formulations from 1963-2017. Your participation in this exercise is voluntary and it is my sincere assurance that your responses will be handled confidentially and not be used for any other purposes other than the academic for which I sought them. The following is a list of questions associated with women in leadership and foreign policy formulations from the year 1963-2017. The answers received will be used for post-graduate research purposes only.

### **MAENDELEO YA WANAWAKE (KEWOPA)**

1. As an agency with a supervisory role on women's empowerment, do you think Kenya has met its obligations under the two- third gender rule?
2. How would you rate Kenya's compliance with respect to gender mainstreaming?
3. Has the Constitution of Kenya 2010 helped in enhancing gender equality?
4. Any other comment on the Kenya women leaders in foreign policy formulations?
5. How do you see the future of the women in leadership in Kenya?

## **Key Informant Questionnaire Guide: Foreign Relations Committee and State House Secretariat**

1. Does the government have a national policy on women's integration in foreign policy?
2. How do you reconcile the competing interest of national foreign policy and gender equality?
3. How do you coordinate with other government departments such as the foreign affairs& Defence secretariat, Gender ministry and Labor Social Protection ministry?
4. Does the government of Kenya have a mechanism for capturing data of women who would be leaders in diplomatic positions?
5. What are some of the notable contributions of women in policy making in Kenya so far?
6. What obstacles and challenges do you face as officers in connection with the employment of women in legislative, executive or Foreign Service positions?
7. How do you see the future of women in policy making institutions in Kenya?
8. What role does the government do to empower women in foreign policy institutions?

**Thank you.**



## **Appendix V: Consent Form**

### **Title of the Research**

*‘Kenya Women in Leadership and Foreign Policy Formulations from the Year 1963 to 2017’*

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Hildah Naliaka Kakalukha REG.NO.S205/39239/2017 – School of Security, Diplomacy and Peace Studies and International Relations, Conflict and Strategic Studies of Kenyatta University. The results will contribute to the award of Master of Arts degree in International Relations and Diplomacy.

### **Purpose**

To examine women in leadership positions and find out their role in Foreign Policy Drafting, Formulation and Implementation since 1963 to 2017.

### **The Procedure**

As a voluntary participant in the study, the researcher shall ask you to do the following:

1. To fill a questionnaire that will take a maximum of two weeks
2. Attend a debriefing session that will take about one and a half hours

### **The relevance of the study findings to Participants and/or to the state**

The study will come up with recommendations for interventions and mechanisms for women empowerment in leaderships and decision making institutions.

### **Compensation for Participants**

Kindly note that there won't be any payment for participation in the study.

## **Confidentiality**

All efforts shall be put in place to make sure of confidentiality of any identification information obtained that is connected with this study. The participant's identity shall strictly remain confidential, at the conclusion of the study, all the information revealing the participant's identities shall not be included in the final report.

## **Potential Risks and Discomforts**

There may be some emotional discomforts because of past distressing experiences. These will be managed through debriefing sessions by the researcher.

**Thank You.**