

Women and Foreign Policy in Kenya from the Year 1963 To 2017.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how participative and representative role of women influences 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 executive and legislative positions in the National government in Kenya since the year 1963 to 2017; to establish the contribution of women leaders in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Legislative Assembly in foreign policy matters since 1963 to 2017; to identify the obstacles and challenges women executives and legislators face in foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation in Kenya and to assess the role of the government in, and other 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 is 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 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 unilaterals 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 have not effectively taken part in foreign policy matters because of the harsh environment they still operate in, but if well trained and given a fair opportunity with less opposition from the society and their male colleagues, they have great potentials to contribute more in matters foreign policy and in return leading 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 Defence and Foreign Relations Committee.

KEYWORDS: Women legislators, women executives, foreign policy, foreign policy drafting, foreign policy formulation and foreign policy implementation.

Date of Submission: 10-09-2021

Date of Acceptance: 26-09-2021

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Women in leadership and their role in Policy Formulation has been a topic of discussion for decades because of the recent 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 have 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 is defined by scholars in different terms, even though they all bring 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 1st 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 (19th) 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 21st 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 recognize 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 are 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 include, 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 its 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 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 have made several efforts to occupy high leadership roles within their states. Some notable examples being: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf who became the 1st 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 have also contributed effortlessly and effectively. In 2012 Dlamini Zuma became the 1st 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 (O AFL) 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 has been scantily analyzed because of patriarchy and race that dominate women leaders in South Africa who are idealized as mothers and not political influencers (Goetz, 1998). High profile women appointees operate in very harsh environment where they are outnumbered by men, President Cyril Ramaphosa appointed his cabinet within which the male are more than half therefore female are left with very few positions and women are excluded from making important decisions concerning South Africa's Foreign Policies, still have low numbers of female representatives in political positions as well as the executive and legislative decision making institutions despite the efforts and initiatives that have 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 includes, 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. Another ones include; the AUs Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women strategy (GEWE), the AUs Policy on Gender and African Union Agenda 2063 were formed to ensure the voices of women are amplified and addressing their concerns in full through effectively implementing the legislation in place and ensure 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 advocate for the effective implementing 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 has 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 5th 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 has also put forward laws policies and strategies to ensure women participate 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.

Recent researches being conducted seek to understand the way women leadership, contributions and inclusion affect diplomatic policies (Zamfirache, 2010), if it leads to formation of foreign policies focused on "women issues" or policies that are less hostile and less threatening and whether having more women in leadership is mandatory to promote equality in terms of gender and women empowerment agendas and the oppression, obstacles and challenges that women face for disempowerment of women is and has always been a major hindrance to development in many African countries and also around the world.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The oppression of women in Kenya is 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. Patriarchal attitudes coupled with ignorance about constitutional imperatives still rule 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 is 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 is in line with the above mentioned factors that the study sought to examine the division of labor in Kenya's executive and legislative leadership positions and aspects of gender inequalities defined by social categories of masculinity and femininity and women's role in highest decision making processes by doing an assessment on the role of Kenya Women Executives and Legislatures in Foreign Policy formulation 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 are less belligerent to promote friendly relations within and among states.

III. 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. The specific objectives were to: examine the role of women in executive and legislative position in the National government in Kenya since the year 1963 to the year 2017; establish the contribution of women leaders in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Legislative Assembly in foreign policy formulation and support since 1963 to 2017; identify the obstacles and challenges women executives and legislators face in foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation in Kenya; assess the role of the government in, and other mechanisms of empowering women to take up leadership position and effectively take part in matters foreign policy.

IV. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The research focused mainly on women in leadership positions and their role in foreign policy formulation 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 study also focused on the executive, for it is the highest arm of governance in Kenya led by the president who is also the chief diplomat, the legislature, which is composed of the members of parliament who are the law makers together with women representatives and also in the MFA and Ministry of Defence, for it is where the Foreign Policies are drafted and formulated before being handed over to the president for approval and later implementation.

V. DELIMITATIONS

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

VI. EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

a. Role of Women in Foreign Policy Formulation

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 do not focus on women in foreign policy although there are some who have attempted for instance, Jeffreys-Jones (1995); Astrom and Klingvall (2012) and B. Neumann (2008). Some researchers argue that there is 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 argue 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 are 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 is becoming more and more important and therefore it is necessary to acknowledge all political spheres contribution since it affects the reasons for the importance of involving women in policy making.

Global politics is 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 is 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 will help fill in the gap of knowledge.

b. Women in high executive and legislative leadership positions

Several international campaigns seek to increase participation of women in legislative and executive branches. Many scholars and researchers are also exploring other international factors that are important to the study, the most influential researchers in this area are Towns(2010) and Krook(2006:2009). The early researchers focus on two international campaigns: Quotas and suffrage that are explained extensively in the literatures of (M.L. Krook 2006;2009, Ann E. Towns 2010, Ramirez(1997), Keck and Sikkink (1998). Research on quotas focus on gender which is 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 Development Programs (UNDP), the World Bank and the UN are international organizations that spearhead these international campaigns. The United Nations Women Conference is also commonly mentioned in the earlier research for it is 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 are 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 claims that the society with low level of women executive and legislative leadership positions has high level of corruption. This therefore leads to slow productivity, slow economic growth and high poverty level (towns 2010).

c. Participation of women in political process

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

Gordon and Gordon (1996) argue 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.

d. Barriers of women success in politics

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

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

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

Many cultures in Kenya were primarily patriarchal, 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) defines patriarchy as a social structure and practice whereby women are oppressed, exploited and dominated by men. The oppression of women in Kenya is 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 has ensured that legislative mechanisms for realization of the gender rule has not materialized.

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

Underrepresentation of the female gender in power and decision making in Kenya is 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.

VII. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL LITERATURE REVIEW

a. Theoretical Framework

The study used the Feminist International Relations (IR) Theory. The proponents of this theory are Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (1990), Ann Tickner, (1992); True (2001); Hutchings, (1999). Feminists focus on the social world's ways of thinking focusing on women rights that includes: economic, sexual, reproductive, property and their right to vote. Feminists' approach to IR introduces 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 seem assertive in dismissing the ideas of the feminists.

Additionally, the role of women in the creation and sustainability of the international politics have 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 reason and suppose that the lack of feminists' idea in the international politics has 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 focuses on democracies and trade promotions and in being members within the institutions at the international level as cooperation mechanisms. They reason that states comprise of socially constructed identity and interest and that they are prone to change. The shared norms, ideas, interests and identity matter in the course of the explanation of a state's foreign behaviors like for instance, if the states that are democratic in nature, look 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 argue that exhaustive, integrated issues pertinent to IR can only be achieved when gender and women are 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 argues that considering the nature of evolution in biology, women tend to behave more peacefully than the men and he adds 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 argue that the main challenge in conceptualization of security, war and conflict lies in the analysis and exposure of power relations with patriarchal institutions (Enloe 2000; Kronsell 2012). In her ground breaking book titled, *"Bananas, Beaches and Bases"*, Cynthia Enloe (2014) enquires for the where about of women are in Int'l politics. She dares the people to identify women at the international platforms and discover their positions as well as how they got there. Her theory examines the bases of different militaries, diplomatic and worldwide corporation in search of women roles within those areas. On the other hand Tickner offers a more preferred definition of realists' power and security interpretation. She defines 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 suggests the definition of Hannah Arendt's as the abilities of acting in agreement (Arendt 1969, p44). Tickner also attempts 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 can be understood as having basic material needs.

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

The International Relation Feminist Theory is applied so as to analyze the policies that are imposed to the male authorities that make their institutions more formal at the same time ignoring the females.

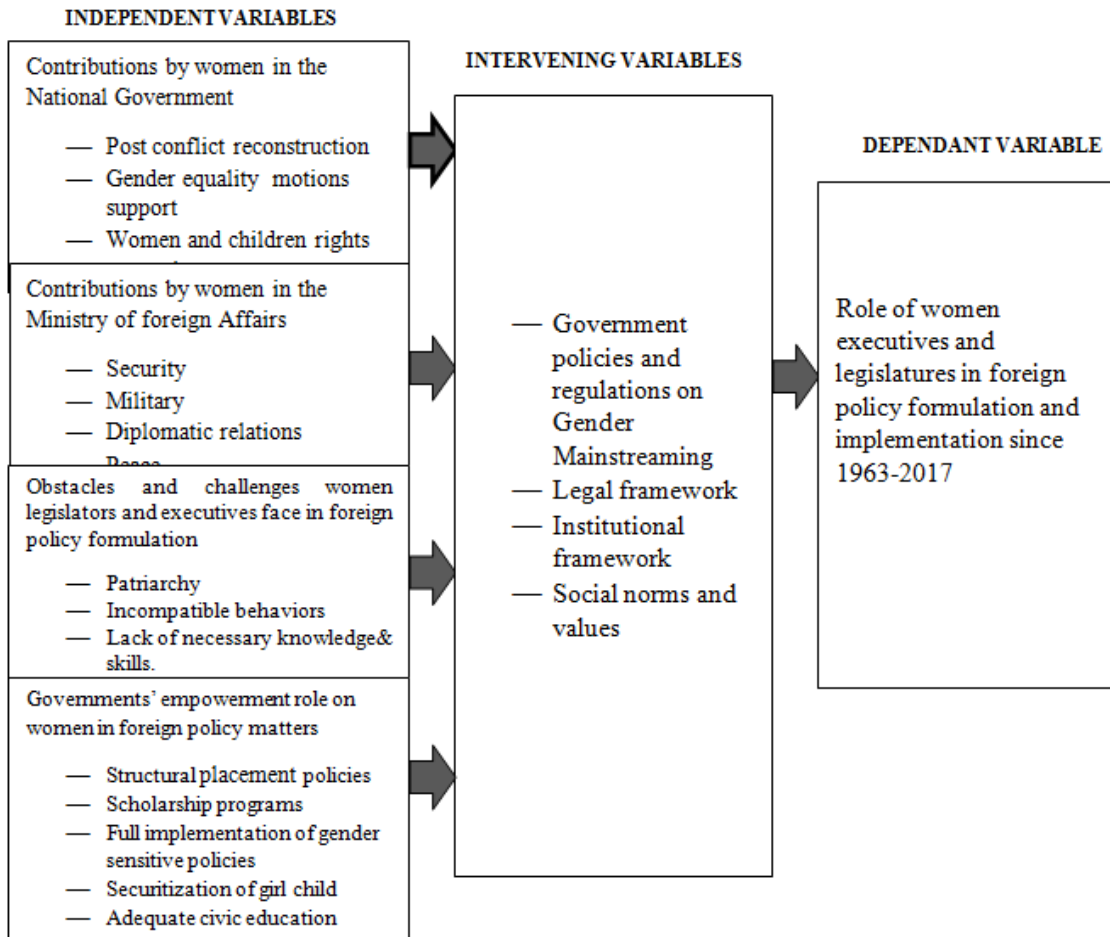
These are clearly evident in Kenya because from independence despite the fact there are more women than men at 51% and 49% respectively according to (the Kenya Population and Housing Census 2016, and 209 KPHC Analytical Report on Population Projections), there is still scarcity of women in areas involving political decision making processes for according to the (Economic Survey 2017) sex distribution of legislators, the total percentage of women present in the national assembly is 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 will be used for analysis and interpretation of the factors that lead 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 face 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.

b. Conceptual framework

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



Conceptual model for the role of women leaders in foreign policy formulation.

Methodology

The study applied descriptive research design which employed qualitative research design through semi structured questionnaires. The research 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 as the study area. The analysis unit was the women in executive and legislative leadership positions in the national government in Nairobi County. The subjects under research were; the influential 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. The study was a probability sample study and thus purposive sampling was used to get the representative data for analysis and report writing. 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 informers from the state house and the Foreign Service Committee.

The study was aided by the self-administered questionnaires from women in leadership positions and interview guided questionnaires from key informants to gather information and data from the target population. 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.

VIII. DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

A. Response Rate

This study targeted a total of fifty (50) respondents that comprised majorly of women present in the policy making institutions. 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 informers 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.

B. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

i. Gender of the respondents

The number of the respondents of the female gender was way above that of that of the male gender respondents because 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.

ii. Age of the Respondents

The study established that the majority of the respondents were aged above 35 years.

The study therefore indicates that the majority women leaders in the executive and legislature as well as the foreign policy makers are 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.

iii. Level of Education of Respondents

The study established that majority of the respondents had reached post graduate as their highest level of education.

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.

iv. Designation of Respondents

The study established that the most of the respondents were ambassadors while other respondents held more than one designation.

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.

v. Criteria for selection to the respective positions of the respondents

The study established that majority of the respondents were appointed to their positions. 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.

vi. Leadership positions

The study established that majority of the respondents were civil servants who served the county without any affiliation toward the political power. 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.

C. 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.

i. 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 1st 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, Rebecca Nambutola, 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 Wangari 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 Kosgie as permanent secretary for Rebecca Nambutola" 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 extremism 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 and finally women have been at the center stage in driving improvements and changes of the national security policy that resulted to the reduction of Kenya vulnerability to terrorists attacks.

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 go unrecognized because the men usually take credit on their behalf while others are not considered but neglected because of their few representation within the policy making institutions compared to the male gender.

ii. The importance of women involvement in foreign policy drafting, formulation and implementation

The study established the importance of involving women in the matters of foreign policy from the target population.

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 interfraction 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 Intefraction 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 have and share common problems that can be addressed only by them working together with men towards a common goal, it was also suggested that efforts towards peace and security are more sustainable when women and men equally work 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 culminates into policies that majorly concentrate on women issues but also leads to more peaceful co-existence within and among states for women concentrate more on peace and security and peaceful resolutions of disputes

iii. 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 restrict 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 leading to women inferiority complex where women felt they are 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 has also greatly been blamed for toeing the patriarchal 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 patriarchal 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 have the potential of becoming leaders in the executive and legislative positions and take part in foreign policy making but these disproporssionate and the continuous attacking of the female gender raises concerns as the state slowly loses the women in the positions of leadership and the over whelming obstacles and challenges hinder and prevent women from effectively taking up the leadership positions as well as take part in drafting, formulation and implementation of foreign policies.

iv. Government role and other mechanisms of empowering women and encouraging them to take up leadership positions and effectively take part in foreign policy matters

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 seem to be less informed of what is 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 require high academic qualifications as well as scholarship programs for women in diplomatic services ,international relations, trade, among other institutions responsible for policy making

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 have 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.

There is 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 recognizes 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 seeks 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 is 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, lobby groups, women organizations such as KEWOPA, 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 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 are a lot of measures in place for women empowerment they have not been fully implemented and therefore there is 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.

IX. CONCLUSION

The researcher concludes that since independence the number of women in the executive and legislative positions have been very low as compared to the men, despite the necessity within the 2010 constitution (affirmative action) that advocates 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 has significantly affected their effectiveness towards the drafting, formulation and implementation of foreign policies.

The study also concludes that despite the presence of a few women holding position in the institution involved in matters foreign policy, their contributions have been given very little consideration, others have been ignored and taken for granted while in other cases, men have 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 is evident that women in executive and legislative leadership positions have not effectively taken part in foreign policy formulation matters because of the harsh environment they still operate in, but if well trained and given a fair opportunity with less opposition from the society and their male colleagues, they have 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 advocate more for policies less belligerent and equality between men and women.

X. RECOMMENDATIONS

The researcher recommends 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 appear to have less skills and knowledge required in order to fully understand and effectively take part in foreign policy matters.

The researcher also recommends that the media desist from depicting women as weak species for this causes women to lack confidence in themselves and also makes the society lack confidence in women and therefore pay little attention towards the contribution that women make in institutions including those involved in matters foreign policy.

The researcher also recommends 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 will enable women to fairly and effectively take part in matters foreign policy.

XI. SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Women and Foreign Policies is a very wide area and therefore it goes without saying that there is still more to be researched on the same.

The researcher therefore suggests and encourages more researchers to research on the areas of what it entails and is required of women in executives and legislative posts as well as Foreign Policy matters.

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

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