

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

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ABSTRACT

Studies have been undertaken in different contexts on the role played by women in foreign implementation. The study is justified because in 2010, Kenya promulgated a new constitution which sought to remedy the gender inequality in public service. The influence of women in implementation foreign policy; a case of Kenya between 2010 and 2017. The study was guided by four specific objectives. To establish how women participate in decision making in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2010 and 2017, To establish the role of women leadership in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2010 and 2017, To assess the role of women capacity building in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2010 and 2017, To assess women's political participation influences the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. This study analyses literature review on studies that have examined the relationship between women and international politics and how the contribution of women in the implementation of foreign policy can be theorized. Literature was organized into three key themes. In the first section, the study analyzes what has been covered by researchers with regard to Participation of women in foreign policy and the role of women in the implementation of foreign policy. The study used a liberal feminist theory which is the primary theory used to assess the issues that affect women and their role of women in the international relations,

and neoliberalism theory which emphasizes that international relations entail diverse actors and issues. The study take used descriptive design and targeted experts in foreign policy especially women and officials from the ministry of foreign affairs. Therefore the respondents were selected purposively. Primary data was collected through interviews whereas secondary data was collected by analysing previous research, government reports and policies. The data collected in the study was analysed systematically through coding, thematic analysis and criticism and presented in form of detailed arguments. The study found that decision making, leadership, capacity building, political participation have significant influence on implementation foreign policy. decision making $\beta = -.348$, $t = -4.289$, $p < .000$: leadership $\beta = -.436$, $t = -5.187$, $p < .000$ *: capacity building $\beta = .711$, $t = 6.593$, $p < .000$ *: political participation $\beta = .406$, $t = 5.445$. The study concludes that Kenya's foreign policy has been influenced by the first regime and incrementally it has been forced to adapt to new global phenomena that has occurred. The study recommends on the establishing standing or ad hoc committees and other statutory bodies on gender equality and empowerment of women, with cross-party representation, to monitor the review and the implementation of existing laws and constitutional provisions, budgets and policies from a gender perspective, as well as recommendations.

Key Words: *women, implementation, foreign policy, Kenya*

INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy implementation refers to the process through which the decisions made by states are translated to reality through mechanisms such as diplomacy, war, sanctions, and alliances. This process involves individuals who have been authorized to act on behalf of their country. Sometimes, individuals, corporations and Non-Government organizations and other non-state actors may be involved. Over the years, questions have been raised on the role played by women in foreign policy implementation. The dominant argument is that not only is foreign policy process is elitist but has also has tended to be dominated by men (Tickner, 1992). Studies have suggested that women are not just outnumbered by men, they also wield less influence compared to men. This study analyzed if this is the case in Kenya.

Efforts to increase women's participation in foreign policy are not taking place in isolation. Multiple other international campaigns have sought to increase the numbers of women in legislatures, in the executive branch or as voters (Tickner, 2012). Criticism of the policy is mainly concentrated on a few recurring issues: the international resistance it is likely to meet, as parts of its agenda can be perceived as controversial (such as promotion of SRHR); the assumption that a Feminist Foreign Policy is equivalent to soft power and will be insufficient in tackling some pressing security issues; and the controversy between ideology and practice, meaning that feminism is inconsistent with some of Sweden's political practices, such as its arms export. That said, studies have shown that women have experienced gradual empowerment which has enabled them to occupy positions that enable them to participate directly in the implementation of foreign policy (Kimani & Kabila, 2013). With reference to this, scholars have argued that involvement of women in foreign policy is a reflection of ongoing women empowerment movement which intensified with the beginning of women conferences on women in 1970s (Kiamba, 2008). Since then countries, like Germany, Australia, and Britain have elected women as heads of state and government hence placing them at the helm of foreign policy formulation as well as implementation. Women also serve in ministries of foreign affairs in a number of states. These developments have been subject of research by a number of scholars focusing on issues such as women in power (Tickner, 2012), women in armed conflict (Enloe, 2014) and the nature of the foreign policy that is pursued by female leaders (Northrup, 1994). With regard to latter, some researchers have claimed that women have different cognitive and physiological attributes and that makes them pursue a foreign policy that is distinct from men (Durham and Gurd, 2005), whereas others like Keohane et al. (2010), have contested this argument, and insisted that is no significant distinction on the behavior of women in power compared to male leaders in similar positions.

Globally, there has been transformation about the role of women in the implementation of foreign policy. More awareness is being created with regard to incorporating gender perspectives in policymaking and the adoption of gender-inclusive approaches in the implementation of development-related goals in order to empower women (Akudo, 2012). The achievement of this goal is seen as the attainment of peace, justice and sustainable development. Woman

empowerment is measured by five dimensions that may be considered to represent the expansion of choice and freedom of women to make decisions, as well as to take the actions which are necessary to influence their life outcomes. These are: economic decision making, household decision making, freedom of movement, ownership of property, and political and social awareness. These dimensions are invoked based on the central meaning of women's empowerment, fundamental right of women in family, society and nationally from various literatures (Batliwala, 1995).

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

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

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

In Africa, the marginalization of women in leadership is a major issue in research. In their study, Lawless and Fox (2005) reveal that this marginalization is reinforced by the stark inequalities in access to education, control over resources, and prevalence of cultural restrictions that do not favor the election or appointment of women in powerful positions (Nzomo, 1997). Despite the cultural and structural barriers facing women in leadership, women have risen in a top leadership position in a number of cases. Sirleaf Johnson became the first democratically elected female head of state in Africa in 2005. Her immense contribution to the empowerment of women on the

continent, and her central role in stabilizing Liberia was recognized through a Nobel peace prize she was awarded in 2011 (Isbell & Jacobs, 2017). Africa has also experienced a number of women who served in an acting capacity especially during transition periods. These include Joyce Banda who served as acting president of Malawi between 2012 and 2014, Catherine Samba who served Central African Republic between 2014 and 2015, Rose Francine who served as acting president of Gabon in 2009, Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri of South Africa between 2005 and 2008, and Slyvie Kinigi who lead Burundi between 1993 and 1994. These leaders played an instrumental role in shaping their countries' engagements with the rest of the world. That notwithstanding there is a gap in knowledge on how such women shape foreign policies of their homeland.

Moreover, women in Africa have served in other positions where they are involved in the implementation of foreign policy. The AU elected Dlamini Zuma as the secretary general in 2012 hence becoming the first woman to head the AU. In her tenure, she promoted intra-African trade and unity of African States against external forces such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) (Hendricks, 2017). Through the Organization of African First Ladies (O AFL) African women are also playing a role in implementing the policy agenda of the AU in socio-economic issues such as healthcare. Quite a number of countries have also appointed women as ministers of foreign affairs whereas women are increasingly serving in the military where they take part in combatting the threat to their countries, peacekeeping and so forth.

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

Studies have also been undertaken on challenges that obstruct women from accessing elective and appointed positions. Moreover, a study by Gichuhi and Njeri (2016), indicate that women still face structural discrimination by emanating from practice, customs, and laws. Structural discrimination, demographic factors such as education, religion, and marital status have been shown to be inhibitors of effective participation of women in the political decision-making process (Khan, 2010). How these inhibitors impinge on the participation of women in foreign

policy but have not been evaluated in research. This study will attempt to close this gap in knowledge.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Foreign policy implementation is part of foreign policy decision-making. It is technical and administrative in nature as well as political. Implementation is an integral part of political course of foreign policy. It is part of the governmental process where decisions and policy are sanctioned. Implementation thus occupies an extensive but subtle area of concern in the part of foreign policy that is neither severely technical nor likely to be clearly detailed. Implementation of foreign policy depends on three factors; nature of a particular decision (Cuban Missile Crisis required a highly analysed decision), situation in which decisions are made and controls exercised within the political field (Clarke 1979). Familiar explanations of the "instruments of implementation" or the range of pressures from "pure coercion" "pure persuasion" are significant in themselves, but they do not define the practices of implementation as such: they are linked to the behavioural or organizational content of the strategy as opposed to its application.⁷ Foreign policymaking, unlike domestic policy, usually involves fewer people and less publicity. The heads of state serve as the chief diplomat and are tasked with executing the country's foreign policy. The chief diplomat/ head of state employ three tools to execute foreign policy: diplomacy, foreign relief and military force. States generally pursue diplomacy either unilaterally (States act alone, minus the assistance or approval of any other state), bilaterally (State collaborates with another state) or multilaterally (the State works in with many other states). Women in Kenya are underrepresented in decision-making positions. They also have less access to education, land, and employment. The untapped potential of women and girls is gaining greater attention in Kenya especially in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. The country's new Constitution, passed in 2010, provides a powerful framework for addressing gender equality. It marks a new beginning for women's rights in Kenya; seeking to remedy the traditional exclusion of women and promote their full involvement in every aspect of growth and development. Studies have shown that foreign policy as a study and practice is dominated by men. Yet, women are now being elected to head government with greater frequency and have a better chance of being appointed to foreign policy roles such as ministers, diplomats and so forth. Besides they enjoy better access to male-dominated roles such as the military which is involved in the implementation of foreign policy. In Kenya, the constitution has paved way for women to hold office in agencies that are involved in the implementation of foreign policy. However, their contribution and performance in this area have eluded the attention of researchers. This study undertakes to reduce this gap in knowledge. The study will attain this goal by evaluating the role played by women in the implementation of Kenya foreign policy, their level of participation and performance of women in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

GENERAL OBJECTIVE

The general objective of this study is to examine the influence of women in implementation foreign policy; a case of Kenya between 2010 and 2017

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

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

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Participation of Women in Foreign Policy

Over the years, a number of studies have been conducted on how women interact with international politics in different contexts. In these studies, a general consensus has coalesced around the argument that the number of women in foreign policy is increasing, albeit slowly and unevenly. That said, the dominant view that has emerged from these studies is that women are outsiders to the foreign policy decision making and implementation mainly due to gender stereotypes, legal, economic and social-cultural conditions in which they face (Benería, et al 2015). They also contend that men dominate decision-making structures in the legislature and executive and thus these institutions and their behavior are driven by male-centered worldview.

Because women are relatively excluded from positions of power in key organs that shape foreign policy including the military, diplomats and heads of states, studies that focus on contribution of women in international relations have tended to train their focus masculine constructions of international relations in these areas, and how these constructions suppress the participation of women in foreign policy (Tickner, 1992). There is also the view that in most cases women experience relations between states as victims rather than proponents (Enloe, 1989).

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

wealth, political office or other attributes that improve their closeness to centers of power. On the other hand, outsiders are those who acquire power as political appointees.

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

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

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

Secondly, Hermann and Kurtz (1995) observe the state of Israel occupies one of the most unstable regions in the world. The Middle East has witnessed some of the most longstanding conflicts that pit the State of Israel against her Arab neighbors. The primary cause of friction is the issue of Palestine. The establishment of Israel as a Jewish state in 1948 led to massive

displacement of Palestinians an issue which alarmed Arab countries. Since the Arab states have articulated their determination to restore Palestinian to their land. They also committed to restoring their dignity from the humiliation of the crushing defeat they have suffered in repeated wars with the state of Israel. These realities have made national security the central pillar of Israel foreign policy. Men bear the burden of defending the state of Israel from external threats and are rewarded with superior political and social standing vis-à-vis women.

Bearing these issues in mind, Barak and Sheffer (2006) have found that the role of women in Israel's foreign policy is seriously undercut by the prestige and honor attached to serving in the Israel Defense forces which have become a cherished symbol of Israel nationhood. As is often the case in many countries, military service is also a powerful catapult for launching political careers. Because of the limited participation of women in military services, this also limits their chances of excelling in the political arena and weakens their prospects of being appointed in diplomatic services. This study will evaluate if women in Kenya share a similar experience.

The above studies raise critical issues which are quite relevant to the study. However, they do not tell us much about how women are uninvolved in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy and factors that undercut or enhance their participation. This study will address these concerns

The Role of Women in the Implementation of Foreign Policy

Generally, scholars have come up with two ways in which women experience international relations. There are those that show that women experience international relations as protagonists or victims. Those scholars who hold that women experience relations between states as victims insist that the interstate relations are dominated by masculinity, whether one considers the policymakers or implementers.

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

That said, researchers have argued that women experience conflict in ways that are different from men because they are subject to gender hierarchies and inequalities that worsen their insecurity (Weber, 2006). Due to their inferior status, women are less adept at articulating and

acting upon their insecurity compared to men. McKay (2000), Claims that whether one look at social, economic, food, politics of health security, women and a young girl are always affected in more intensely, and also in ways that are different from men.

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

On the other hand, women are praised for being the voice of reason and drivers of peace in a conflict situation. For instance, Caprioli and Boyer (2001) claim that women work for peace while men wage wars. These opposing interests lead them to assign labels 'conflictual men' and 'cooperative women' to men and women respectively. However, in their study, Keohane et al. (2010) conclude that sex alone cannot be used to explain foreign policy pursued by women without understanding the circumstances under which female leaders they operate. If anything, even when women hold the position of leadership they are often outnumbered by men who also render their contribution to the foreign policy process.

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

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

That notwithstanding, Northrup (1994), make three key findings on the involvement of women in civil service and military. The study suggests that women are women perform as well as men when they hold positions of authority in both the civil service and in the military. The study also

reveals that women are as much likely to use force as men, although they do so for different reasons. Women tend to perceive force as necessary to defend their families, homes, and nations. This suggests that women are less likely to engage in wars of aggression as compared to men.

In their study, Bigio and Vogelstein (2016) have identified a number of ways in which women participate in foreign policy. Women's influential roles in families and communities give them a vantage point to detect a sign of impending conflict such as arm mobilization and weapons caches. In Kosovo, women were the first to voice concern when young men started mobilizing for war. Recent studies by the department of the state have revealed that women play a vital role in countering violent extremism and deradicalization within their families, communities, and societies. Involvement of women in deradicalization has proven to be more effective as compared to previous approaches which involved involving out elders and religious leaders who were mostly males.

A study conducted by Grotenhuis (2016) has suggested that women are central components of peacemaking. Their participation in the formal peace process as mediators, negotiators, witnesses, and signatories enhances the likelihood of peace and longevity of the agreements. This fact can be related to evidence of previous research which suggests that women are more collaborative and organize more effectively across cultural and sectarian fault lines. Wallström (2010) argues that women build stronger and more long-lasting networks than men, a factor which is crucial in peacemaking. This enables them to access information and networks that can place them at a vantage point to resolve conflicts. Moreover, women are viewed favorably as honest brokers by both men and women. Their presence at the negotiating table also enhances the breadth of the opinion which enhances the sustainability of the solution. This is partly because women have a unique perspective and tend to look beyond the cessation of hostility and political issues in conflict resolution. On the other hand, they tend to emphasize social issues which enable the societies to reconcile and recover.

Recently scholars have sought to uncover the unique contribution of female peacekeepers on the safety and development of women and girls' rights in the conflict-prone regions. A study by Hannum (2006) has established that whereas women still account for a small fraction of militaries in all countries, their role in peacekeeping operations is substantial. Female peacekeepers fulfill the same roles as male peacekeepers and with equal effectiveness. However, they make a unique contribution to the peacekeeping process. Their ability to network and reach out especially to women and its usefulness in preventing the outbreak of conflicts and responding effectively has also been demonstrated. What is more, female peacekeepers are better able to deal with concerns about the physical security challenges faced by women in the society.

A study on the effectiveness of female peacekeepers in 39 countries where women were involved in peacekeeping operations revealed that women were more likely to report incidences of gender-based violence involving military personnel in peacekeeping missions (Olsson & Johan Tejpar, 2009). Women are also less likely to use excessive force and are more likely to de-

escalate the situation in event of a conflict. Moreover, a visible presence of female peacekeepers in countries such as Liberia has been proven to empower girls and women to participate more actively in the affairs of their country. That said, female soldiers account for a small percentage of the peacekeepers.

There is also a growing evidence that intense involvement of women enhance post-conflict recovery and rebuilding (Samura, 2013). When women are involved in making decisions about the future of their country, this lays the foundation for a more just and equitable society. Post-conflict measures such as establishing the truth and drafting the post-conflict constitution are more successful if women are involved intensely (Maconachie, 2008). The involvement of women in Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) has also proven to quite successful in countries such as UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL).

Moreover, Olsson and Johan Tejpar (2009) reveal that adequate involvement of women in activities such as policing, teaching, healthcare, and provision of extension service in agriculture increase the quality of service delivery. Environmental studies have also suggested that women involvement is vital for communities to realize their commitments to the international environmental agreements. This study will elaborate on how female peacekeepers from Kenya have helped enhance the interests of women at the global stage. The above studies suggest that women have a unique role to play in foreign policy whether by pursuing a peaceful-inclined policy, increased networking or promoting peace building and post-conflict reconstruction. However, they do tell us how Kenyan diplomats and peacekeepers have displayed similar attributes in discharging their duties. This study will help reduce this gap in knowledge.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Liberal Feminism Theory

This study will employ the liberal feminism theory. Simply put, feminism is a movement that seeks to remedy the social, economic and political inequalities between men and women. The central argument that underpins the liberal feminism theory of international relations is that in its current form, foreign policy process is dominated by elite, male and mostly white practitioners (Tickner. &Sjoberg, 2013). Therefore, the nature of international politics is such that it advances the masculine inherent drive for dominance, power, and aggression.

Moreover, the feminist school of thought insists that the study of international relations itself is dominated by male scholars and researchers who focus their attention on the same issues as male practitioners (Collins, 2004). This effectively renders the study of IR patriarchal because it is blind to the contribution of women in international politics. That said, feminism perspective in international relations hold that women play an essential role in determining events in the international scene, both directly and indirectly. This theory will, therefore, provide a suitable framework to understand and explain the contribution of women to the conduct of Kenya's foreign policy.

There is no denying that the gender-based inequalities in the political realm have undergone gradual change. Increasingly, states are embracing women as heads of states, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defense and soldiers. Appointments and recruitments to these positions allow them to infuse their ideas in policy discourse and practice. In Africa women such as Dlamini Zuma, Ellen Sirleaf Johnson and Joyce Banda have occupied positions that allowed them to shape policy in Africa and beyond. In Kenya, the ministry of foreign affairs has been led by several female cabinet secretaries, whereas a third-gender rule is shaking up the gender equality in the recruitment to the security, public and electoral roles. Similarly, female social movement leaders such as Wangari Maathai have won the Nobel Peace Prize hence putting the country on the world map. Therefore women in Kenya are at a position where they are involved directly in shaping and implementing Kenya's foreign policy. Feminism theory provides an ideal framework to understand these changes and their ramifications on nature and the conduct of Kenya's foreign policy.

There are two points of contentions that mark the feminist theories. One school of thought has argued that the unique physiological and psychological nature of women makes them react differently from men (Weisstein, 1993). As we have already observed, scholars who have studied the behavior of female peacekeepers, diplomats and negotiators have shown that women are more collaborative, egalitarian and are way less aggressive than men (Olsson & Johan Tejpar, 2009). This suggests that they pursue a generally peaceful course in the conduct of foreign policy. It also implies that the increased quotas of female leaders in Kenya will compel the country to build a stronger relationship with other African countries and will see the country entrench its role in pacifying instabilities in the horn of Africa and great lakes region. The feminist theory will enable the study to understand and account or any differences in the conduct of foreign policy in Kenya.

A critical perspective has emerged through the works of Weber (2006); Northrup (1994) and Moser and Clark (2001). These scholars reject the assumptions that women are helpless bystanders in international relations. Instead, they insist that women play an active role in shaping the course of international politics by mobilizing their communities by propagating imagery of enemies to young children and hence socializing them into war culture. Beyond this, women also play an essential role in international relations through social movements, political leadership, soldiers and civil servants. In these positions, they are involved directly in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy.

Summarily, the feminist theory offers an effective framework through which the contribution of women in foreign policy can be analyzed. However, it has several weaknesses, first, its narrow focus on gender renders it ineffective to analyze other issues such as the role of institutions, diversity of issues and prospects for cooperation between men and women in foreign policy implementation. To fill this gap, the study will employ neoliberalism theory.

Neoliberalism Theory

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

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

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive survey design in examining women contribute to the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. Descriptive survey is found appropriate in collecting information about peoples' attitudes, opinions, habits or the variety of education on social issues (Orodho & Kombo 2003). Chandran, (2004), says that descriptive research studies are designed to obtain information concerning the current situation and other phenomena and wherever possible to draw valid conclusion from the facts discussed. This method was selected because the study is interested in developing an in-depth understanding of how women contribute to the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2010 and 2017. The descriptive survey is used to establish association between variables at a given point in time without attempting to change their behavior or conditions (Kothari 2004). This method is preferred because it allows for prudent comparison of the research findings. Descriptive survey attempts to describe or define a subject often by creating a profile of a group of problems, people or events through the collection of data and tabulation of the frequencies on research variables or their interaction as indicated.

Study Area

The study was carried out in Nairobi County, Kenya. This is justified because the population that was targeted by the study can be found here. Besides, key government institutions, experts and library facilities are plenty hence providing the best conditions to undertake the study. Other areas was considered if necessary.

Target Population

This study was target population was foreign policy especially women. The individuals who are relevant to this study include officials at the ministry of foreign affairs, current and former female CSs for Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministries and female diplomats.

Sampling Technique

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

Sample Size

The sampling technique is intended to promote representativeness of the target population. The study mainly targeted experts and officials from the ministry of foreign affairs, current and former female Cabinet Secretaries (CS) for Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministries and diplomats. A sample size of 60 respondents from the target population was targeted in the study. However, this sample size is not absolute but may vary depending on the availability of the targeted respondents.

Instruments of Data Collection

The data for this study was collected using a questionnaire. The questionnaire was contain close ended items and Likert scale. The study obtained primary data through questionnaire with which had open and closed ended questions. Secondary data mainly was obtained through content analysis of scholarly works both published and unpublished. It included books, journals, reports, internet material and, to some extent, the print media.

Pretesting of Data Instruments

According to Trochim (2006), Pretesting of data Instruments is a small-scale trial, where a few examinees take the test and comment on the mechanics of the test. In test development projects of all kinds, the trialing of new items is typically taken into Pilot Testing. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, (2003) pre-testing allows errors to be discovered before the actual collection of data begins and 10% of the sample size is considered adequate pilot study that is one university equating to ten purposively selected respondent perceived to be knowledgeable in procurement matters. Researcher conducted a pilot test to ensure that there was validity and reliability of instrument using Cronbach's alpha while conducting the research in order to obtain data that is consistent with the main objective.

Data Collection Procedure

The researcher obtained a permit from The University. The permission was requested to conduct the research in the constituency. It is worth noting here that the replies was given to the officer incharge, it may take a long time, in some cases and therefore may require her to follow up with telephone calls and by paying visits. The researcher met the respondents to affirm his intention of carrying out the study from them, responsibility to the respondents, the significance of the study and the commitment required from them. The data was collected using a self-administered questionnaire and through email. Nevertheless, where it proves difficult for the respondents to complete the questionnaire immediately, the researcher left them with the research assistance to pick on a later date. In the course of piloting, the researcher visited the area of the study and administers the instruments.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was commenced in the field to avoid loss of any imperative information. Analysis of qualitative data was created in the order of the collected data. Data through interviews was tape recorded was transcribed, typed then analyzed thematically. Secondary data was subjected to critical textual analysis and interpretation to test the relevance and accuracy of the document for the purpose of this study. The analyzed data was reported in form of narrative with the first-hand quotation from the primary data. The regression equation is:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + X_5 + \epsilon$$

Where: y = Implementation foreign policy; β_0 = Constant Term; β_1 = Beta coefficients; X_1 = Decision making; X_2 = Leadership; X_3 = Capacity Building; X_4 = Political Participation; ϵ = error term

RESEARCH RESULTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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INFERENCE STATISTICS

Correlation Analysis

The researcher conducted a Pearson correlation analysis to determine the relationship of the variables. The findings are indicated in subsequent sections.

Table 1: Correlation Analysis

		Decision Making	Leadership	Capacity Building	Political Participation
Decision Making	Pearson Correlation	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)				
	N	50			
Leadership	Pearson Correlation	.666**	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000			
	N	50	50		
Capacity Building	Pearson Correlation	.631**	.670**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		
	N	50	50	50	
Political Participation	Pearson Correlation	.709**	.699**	.843**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	50	50	50	50

The interpretation of results for the linear relationships in the study, for a weak correlation, “r” ranges from ± 0.10 to ± 0.29 ; in a moderate correlation, “r” ranges between ± 0.30 and ± 0.49 ; while in a strong correlation, “r” ranges from ± 0.5 and ± 0.9 .

The findings in Table 1 show that leadership and decision making had a Pearson correlation of 0.666, an indication of strong positive correlation between the variables. Capacity building and decision making had a Pearson correlation of 0.631, an indication of strong positive correlation between the variables. Political Participation and decision making had a Pearson correlation of 0.709, an indication of strong positive relationship between the variables.

Regression Analysis

The regression analysis is concerned with the distribution of the average value of one random variable as the other variables which need not be random are allowed to take different values. The regression model specifically connects the average values of y for various values of the x-variables. The regression model was as follows:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + e$$

Where: y = Implementation foreign policy; β_0 = Constant Term; β_1 = Beta coefficients; X_1 = Decision making; X_2 = Leadership; X_3 = Capacity Building; X_4 = Political Participation

Table 2: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
dimension0 1	.796 ^a	0.633	0.594	0.30202

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

Analysis in table 2 shows that the coefficient of determination (the percentage variation in the dependent variable being explained by the changes in the independent variables) R^2 equals 0.796 that is, Decision making, Leadership, Capacity Building, Political Participation practices leaving only 20.4 percent unexplained. The P- value of 0.000 (Less than 0.05) implies that the model of Implementation foreign policy is significant at the 5 percent significance.

Table 3: ANOVA^b

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	5.976	4	1.494	16.377	.000 ^a
	Residual	3.466	38	.091		
	Total	9.442	42			

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

b. Dependent Variable: Implementation foreign policy

ANOVA findings (P- value of 0.00) in table 3 show that there is correlation between the predictor's variables (Decision making, Leadership, Capacity Building, Political Participation). An F ratio is calculated which represents the variance between the groups, divided by the variance within the groups. A large F ratio indicates that there is more variability between the groups (caused by the independent variable) than there is within each group, referred to as the error term.

Table 4: Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	6.165	.705		8.746	.000
	Decision making	-.348	.081	-.489	-4.289	.000
	Leadership	-.436	.084	-.635	-5.187	.000
	Capacity Building	.711	.108	.754	6.593	.000
	Political Participation	-.286	.084	-.396	-3.420	.002

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

b. Dependent Variable: Implementation foreign policy and response variable (Implementation foreign policy).

A significant F test indicates that we can reject the null hypothesis which states that the population means are equal. The P value is 0.000 which is less than 0.005 significance level. The established multiple linear regression equation becomes:

$$Y = 6.165 - 0.348X_1 - 0.436X_2 + 0.711X_3 - 0.286X_4$$

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

RECOMMENDATIONS

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

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

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