INSTITUTE OF PEACE STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

HEKIMA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

A Constituent College of the Catholic University of Eastern Africa

Gender and Diplomacy In Africa: The Case of Kenya

A Thesis

By

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Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Masters of Arts in Peace Studies and International Relations

Nairobi, February 2020

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, except where stated by way of reference or acknowledgment, and has not been presented to any university for academic credit.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother Katerina Naoroi and my late father Philip Lepedo for going against cultural norms and practices and making it possible for me to receive an education.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AU   African Union

MAR   Data missing at random

MFA   Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MNAR   Data missing not at random

OAU   Organization of African Unity

UNEP   United Nations Environmental Programme

UNSC   United Nations Security Council

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis is the contribution of all those who supported me directly or indirectly during the completion of this thesis. I would like to express special appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Gaspar Sunhwa, sj whose valuable advice and constant motivation made it possible for me to achieve my goal. My gratitude also goes to my classmates and Mary (HIPSIR librarian) who gave me unwavering support. Finally my deepest appreciation goes to my family for encouraging me throughout my study.

ABSTRACT

This is a research on gender and diplomacy in Africa with a focus on Kenya. Kenya created the ministry of foreign affairs in 1964 with the responsibility to recruit competent men and women to implement Kenya's foreign policy goals. However, the gender gap in Kenya's Foreign Service is glaring especially in top ranking positions. This has been attributed to incompatibility of family obligations and demands of diplomacy. This study was concerned about how men and women diplomats experience their profession to unearth professional challenges that cause women to shun diplomacy profession. The study used cross-sectional research design utilizing questionnaire and interview methods. The results of the study show a moderate association between gender and perceptions of diplomacy being gender sensitive with male participants highly rating diplomacy as gender sensitive profession. Female participants reported frequent occurrence of unfair treatment from colleagues of the opposite sex, X^2 (2, N = 31) = 11.93, p = .003. The two finding point at highly patriarchal nature of Kenyan diplomacy. Other findings include moderate association between years of service and confidence occupying high positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and leading diplomatic missions. These finding would be beneficial to diplomats, women desiring to join diplomacy, policy makers at the ministry of foreign affairs, and scholars. As a consequence, the results of this study may offer guidance in the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and organizations that conduct diplomacy. I recommend that women with many years of service be increasingly promoted to positions of ambassadors to help bridge gender gap in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In fundamental terms, diplomacy is the art of achieving foreign policy goals. Foreign policy goals according to *Article 3 of The 1961 Vienna Convention* include representing sending state and protecting its interests in the host country; negotiating with the host state, gathering information using legal methods; and creating friendly relations between the sending and the host states. The field of diplomacy is traditionally a male domain and ambassadorial appointments are almost exclusively given to men. However, given the liberalization of world politics since the end of Cold War, more women are working in diplomacy.

Even with notable involvement of women in global, regional, and national governance, gender equality is far from being achieved. In the field of diplomacy men still dominate (Hartog, 2018). Women serving in various departments and agencies within ministry of foreign affairs are predominantly concentrated in junior and mid-level positions (Linse, 2004). Research demonstrates that women encounter "glass ceiling" in the "hiring and promotion" in diplomatic missions (Linse, 2004). Besides gender stereotypes, some women report inadequate skills necessary in the conduct of diplomacy (Linse, 2004).

Therefore, women empowerment socially, economically as well as politically as underscored in *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (2015) is critical to closing the gender gap in the field of diplomacy. Governments and all stakeholders must be committed and intentional about SDG goal 5, "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" (United Nations, Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, 2015). In 2017, women constituted a paltry 15% of world ambassadors (Towns and Niklasson, 2017). Moreover, there is tendency to send women ambassadors to soft spots or countries of low international status and men to that of high status. This shows that governments still don't hold much trust in women

ambassadorship despite convincing evidence that women ambassadors perform as good as men.

The study intended to compare education levels of men and women diplomats and its effect on their ability to perform diplomacy. It also seeks to compare how gender stereotypes affect a diplomats' ability to perform diplomacy. Moreover, this study looks at the family support accorded to male and female diplomats and compares their perceptions of their work environment.

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter one introduces the research study by providing the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose and objectives, justification and significance, the scope of the study, ethical considerations, theoretical framework and definition of terminologies. Chapter two provides a review of the literature with regard to the topic of research. Chapter three presents the research methodology employed while chapter four presents the data analysis and results of the study. Finally, chapter five offers the summary, conclusion and recommendations to governments, civil society, research institutions, and individual diplomats. In this thesis you will also find references read and used by the researcher to write this work as well as research instruments and research permits.

1.1: Background of the Study

Worldwide, the primary driver of states' foreign policy is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) with the head of state being the chief diplomat (Ibrahim and Hamasi, 2018). MFA is responsible for posting and distribution of diplomatic personnel (Berridge, 2010; Feltham, 2012). The ministry therefore has a coordinating function and is responsible for giving the government political advice and recommendations. Diplomats or Foreign Service officers

posted to foreign countries are expected to implement their sending state's foreign policy. Diplomacy has traditionally been a male domain and women diplomats were rarely appointed. The exclusion of women in this key policy-making area, as with other technical professions, largely goes unnoticed except by gender vigilantes. Underrepresentation of women in politics and by extension diplomacy stems from cultural, economic and political barriers that have confined women to private sphere. In most cultures gender norms demand women to remain home to care for families and communities and men to defend their communities and nations. Consequently, masculinity is ranked higher than feminityas men bear the security burden (Ibrahim and Hamasi, 2018) and politics came to be idolized with masculinity ((Meintjes, 2005; Nzomo, 1989; Ochwada, 1997; Oduol, 1993; Waylen, 2012). But in today's interconnected world, a state excludes women in decision-making processes and governing bodies at its own peril. In most countries women constitute half the population, and sometimes more. Moreover, women experience laws, policies and structures of governance differently (Ochwada, 1997) and, therefore, bring a unique perspective at decision making table. Many studies (Bigio and Vogelstein, 2016; Caprioli and Boyer, 2001; Keohane *et al*., 2010; Northrup, 1994) have found women tend to be more diplomatic and peace inclined and therefore less likely than men to be egoistic or even waging wars of aggression.

History of women involvement in diplomacy was traditionally in support of their male spouses working in Foreign Service. For instance, Gamarekian (1984) describes the role of wives to American Foreign Service officers as mainly to entertain visiting guests in embassies and consulates. They were expected "to show up at the teas, receptions and musicals, be on tap for visiting delegations, participate in educational and social welfare activities, play innkeeper for United States visitors and entertain graciously" (Gamarekian,

1984).

Today, the number of women diplomats is steadily increasing and there are more women ambassadors than any other time in history. The Nordic countries have the greatest propensity to appoint women ambassadors contributing 22% of global appointments (Towns and Niklasson, 2017). Other regions include Europe, the Americas, and Oceania with 18%, 17% and 17% of female in foreign services, respectively (Towns and Niklasson, 2017). However, no region is yet to achieve the 30% critical mass stipulated in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and only few countries have achieved 30% women ambassadors showing that diplomacy is still a male domain. Sweden is one of the countries that have made remarkable progress in achieving gender equality in diplomatic appointment. Since 2014 Sweden has pursued a feminist foreign policy and consequently made deliberate attempt to increase women serving in Foreign Service.

In Africa, diplomacy is not a new phenomenon. Long before the conquering and partitioning of the continent by European imperialists, "African kingdoms and states maintained their close relation through a peaceful negotiation of treaties and settlement of disputes" (Mohamed, 2015). The formation of Organization of African Union (OAU) in 1963 shifted African diplomacy to a higher gear becoming the lead organization in the negotiation and settlement of inter-state disputes between the new states. For example, OAU helped resolve border conflicts between Kenya and Somali, and Ethiopia and Somali, both instigated by Somali irredentist claims. It also helped self-determination of Zimbabwe and abolition of Apartheid in South Africa among other diplomatic successes (Mohamed, 2015). African diplomacy was crafted by leaders of newly independent states motivated by pan-Africanism. With men at the leadership helm of independent states and the struggle for self-determination, African diplomacy and OAU was a male club.

A paradigm shift occasioned by the end of cold-war power politics and the resultant eruption of intra-state armed conflicts in Africa led to a break from that traditional African diplomacy. The OAU was renamed the African Union (AU) departing from the long tradition of non-intervention in the internal affairs of member states to adopt a more proactive stance of intervention where serious violations of human rights occurred. AU now plays a key role in peacekeeping and peace building processes in states shackled and emerging from the shackles of armed conflicts. Women have played significant role in ending of conflicts and peace building activities in Africa. For instance, women were at the forefront of ending Liberian civil war and election of first woman president in Africa, Helen Johnson Sirleaf. In effect, there is greater involvement of women in African diplomacy and AU peace building activities.

Against the background, African states are increasingly sending out women diplomats, although, still lagging behind Europe and Americas. Impressively, African countries have higher tendency to send women diplomats to United States than other countries of the world (Sephocle, 2000). Sephocle (2000) expressed her admiration for African countries for sending the highest number of women diplomats in United States. Similarly, (Hartog, 2018) reported that at the time she was carrying out her study on women diplomats in Russia, five of the twelve women diplomats were from Africa. United States and Russia are the epitome of world powers and sending women diplomats in these countries is a great recognition of their abilities. In addition, in 2015 the AU celebrated Ambassador Kongit Sinegiorgis, the longest serving woman ambassador. Kongit Sinegiorgis from Ethiopia served in Ethiopian ministry of foreign affairs in different capacities for 52 years and 10 months (African Union, 2015). Other notable African women diplomats include Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma of South Africa who served as chairperson of the African Union

Commission, and Deputy United Nations Secretary-General Amina Mohammed of Nigeria. Hartog (2018) realized something unusual about women diplomats; that is, women ambassadors are somehow preferred where the goal is to build bridges or reactivate relationships.

Despite remarkable record of service achieved by women diplomats their entry and promotion through diplomatic ranks is invariably hurdled with gender-related challenges. Linse (2004) observed that women are less likely to be hired or promoted in diplomatic missions. The biases may be embedded in the culture and social fabric. It is unfortunate that gender discrimination lingers despite widespread acceptance and ratification of human rights instruments such as Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates equality of human beings in dignity and rights irrespective of race, gender, religion, or culture. It is the foundation upon which other international and domestic human rights instruments are built.

Kenya ratified important international frameworks championing for gender equality and non-discrimination of women including Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1990, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1984, and The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa in 2003. These instruments play a significant role in the improvement of equality and non-discrimination legislation and policy frameworks in Kenya.

Domestically, chapter four of the new constitution is dedicated to bill of rights and explicitly stipulates equality between women and men in treatment and access to political,

economic, and social opportunities. Article 27(3) states that "Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres." In addition, the constitution obliges the government to protect, promote, and fulfill rights of all including non-discrimination in employment. Clause 6 of article 27 states that "…the State shall take legislative and other measures, including affirmative action programmes and policies designed to redress any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination." In the profession of diplomacy the government of Kenya has been making effort to attract more women to join diplomacy. President Uhuru Kenyatta has appointed more women ambassadors than any other president in the history of the country. According to *Executive Order No. 1 of 2020,* Kenya's missions and consulates in 14 cities are headed by women. They include Paris, Los Angeles, Beijing, UNESCO, Stockholm, Rome, Kuwait, Pretoria, and Dakar, Senegal.

According to the former cabinet secretary for foreign affairs, Monica Juma, few Kenyan women are willing to take up high ranking diplomatic jobs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Mutambo, 2018). She attributes this to family obligations. Family and a career in diplomacy can sometimes be seen as impossible. One female diplomat interviewed by Caroline Linse said "If I were to give advice to a young woman thinking of becoming a diplomat, I would say that you need to choose between family and career" (Linse, 2004, p. 258). In the same study, other female diplomats reported that they had to work twice as hard as their men counterparts as they juggle work with family obligations.

That combined with other factors has resulted in the number of women ambassadors not meeting the 1/3 constitutional threshold. Ambassador Monica Juma, the former cabinet secretary for Ministry of Foreign Affairs attributes this to societal expectations of women as caregivers. She said in one of the AU forum that "her office has often struggled to

convince women to take up foreign service jobs because of the inherent belief in society that they have to take care of homes and raise children" (Mutambo, 2018).

In Kenya the process of ambassadorial appointments is classified and determinants of appointment only speculative in the public eye. However, since the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010 there is some level of public participation in the way of parliament vetting all ambassador appointments. Even with that a lot of information escapes the public eye and there is no public accessible database at the MFA with the names of all ambassadors that have served or serving in Kenya's missions abroad. In addition, the lack of a gender-mainstreaming policy within MFA may be undermining women entry and promotion to high ranking positions. Therefore, this study aimed at ascertaining if women diplomats experienced different challenges than their male counterparts that hinder their effective functioning in diplomacy.

1.2: The Statement of the Problem

Since independence of Kenya in 1963 and the subsequent creation of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1964 few women work in the Foreign Service and fewer have raised to the position of ambassador. To date the status quo remains, and there is little scientific information to explain this phenomenon in Kenya. Are women just not interested in the diplomacy profession or women diplomats experience their profession different than men? This study intended to compare and contrast the lived experiences of Kenyan male and female diplomats in their line of duty.

1.3: The purpose of the study

This study aimed at comparing and contrasting challenges encountered by women and men diplomats in their profession. The findings help to understand why women still shun diplomacy as a profession despite government encouraging them to. These findings have also helped propose practical strategies that can make diplomacy more attractive to women.

1.4: Objectives and Hypothesis

Specific Objectives are:

1. To examine how education level affects ability to perform in diplomacy between women and men diplomats

2. To find out the effect of years of service on diplomats ability to perform diplomacy

3. To investigate how gender stereotypes affect women and men diplomats in discharging their duties.

4. To find out how women and men diplomats perceive their work environment

5. To examine the extent of family support accorded women and men diplomats

1.5: Research Questions

1. How does education level affect ability to perform in diplomacy between women and men diplomats?

2. What is the effect of years of service on diplomat's ability to perform diplomacy?

3. How does gender stereotypes affect women and men diplomats in discharging their duties?

4. How do women and men diplomats perceive their work environment?

5. What is the extent of family support accorded women and men diplomats?

1.6: Justification and Significance of the study

Women have been recognized in the highest realms as making meaningful contribution to peace, security and development. The adoption of UN Security Council 1325 on women, peace and security was in this recognition (Kirby and Shepherd, 2016). In spite of that, women encounter peculiar challenges in their career as diplomats due to their gender (Sephocle, 2000). Most researches on gender and diplomacy have drawn participants from across the world for the purpose of generalizations of findings. Although that is important, critical analysis of a single case-country is equally important as domestic environment of states as well as foreign policy goals vary from country to country.

Gender analysis of implementers of foreign policy in Africa is largely under-researched; hence, a gender analysis of Kenyan diplomats implementation of foreign policy is timely. Kenya has ratified international and regional instruments protecting and promoting women rights and non-discrimination in employment. Most importantly, many domestic legislations and policies exist demanding gender mainstreaming in all government ministries. To the best of researcher's knowledge no outsider evaluation of the influence of gender on the profession of diplomacy among Kenyan diplomats in Kenya's MFA and other international organizations has been done. Therefore, this study will add to existing literature on gender and diplomacy and suggest areas of further research.

1.7: The scope of the Study

The study was done entirely in Nairobi County. Nairobi is the economic and political capital of Kenya housing all government of Kenya ministries including Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The researcher was therefore in a position to easily obtain data from all the relevant participants. In addition, Nairobi has many libraries which made it is easier to access and obtain secondary data. The study targeted Kenyan retired and current women and men diplomats of all ranks living in Nairobi at the time of the study.

1.8: Limitations of the study

The greatest pain point of this study was access to study subjects. Diplomacy is characterized with strict adherence to protocols and as a result getting through to high ranking officials with security detail and strict schedules required rigorous security checks and booking of appointments. In some instances, appointments would be postponed. To overcome this challenge, research assistant and the researcher adjusted to the convenience of the diplomats even conducting interviews outside office hours and on weekends. We were also amenable to leave behind questionnaires to those that requested to pick them at a later date. In the same vein, high ranking officers in the MFA were away in New York launching Kenya's bid for United Nations Security Council seat, or extremely busy supporting the same. To mitigate this limitation, I interviewed available officers irrespective of their job cadre with the assumption that they had equally good grasp of the workings of MFA at all levels.

1.9: Ethical considerations

Throughout this study the researcher fulfilled the special duty of protecting the rights and self-esteem of the participants by carrying out this research in accordance with ethical procedures. The researcher clarified the purpose of the research to all participants and allowed them to decide to participate or otherwise. Also, participants were given all the required facts in order to make informed choices about their participation. In addition, the researcher took considerable care to treat the information in a confidential manner by making sure that no questions indicated or implied the identity of the participants. The research was conducted in a professional manner with accurate recording and processing of the data, and without fabricating and falsifying the data with the understanding that it was for public consumption.

1.10: Theoretical Framework

Feminism is widely used to study topics relating to women such as this one. The concept of feminism is however, so broad that there is no universal definition of feminism and as such it has been theorized variably from the perspectives of psychology, sociology, international relations, and economics. In addition, feminism considered to be a response to women's lives and experiences and the varieties of feminisms reflects the changing and varied nature of women's experiences.

Some of the common strands of feminism are liberal feminism and Marxist feminism. Liberal feminism posits "a just society is a society that allows individuals to exercise their freedom and fulfill themselves" and as such, stresses "equality of opportunity" (Menoz, 2005) where all people are given equal chance to realize their full potential. Marxist feminism on the other hand, understands the stratification of women in the society in terms

of economic class. Women are therefore recognized as a "distinct economic class rather than individuals". Marxists feminists define oppression as "absence of choices" (Hooks, 1984, p. 5) and scientific analysis focuses on the connections between women's work status and their self-image. According to Turner and Maschi (2014), feminism encourages women to stand up and not only demand "broader social change," but also bring it to bear; "reclaim power to the extent possible in our society, build self-confidence and self-efficacy."

In the context of this study, the researcher will use liberal feminism as a lens to interpret gender perceptions of diplomacy as well as recruitment and promotion in Foreign Service. The theory is well suited to explain why societies demand human rights and a just society as it champions for equality of all individuals in access to opportunities including employment opportunities and freedom of every person to fulfill themselves. As such, a just society intended by liberal feminism must allow all people to exercise their freedom and fulfill themselves socially, economically and politically.

Liberal feminism derived from liberal philosophers including John Stuart Mill work, *The Subjection of Women*. Liberal feminist theory is based on the premise that women have been subjugated and exploited in society and tries to expose structures that cause and perpetuate oppression of women then offering mechanisms to change them. Feminists, however, do not strive for women liberation or empowerment at the detriment of men. In essence, feminism only advocates for equality of men and women in the social, political and economic spheres (Kandiyoti 1994 cited in Muhanna, 2013; Menoz, 2005). Themes commonly, explored in feminism theory include discrimination, stereotyping, objectification, especially sexual objectification, oppression and patriarchy. One of the perpetuators of women oppression addressed by liberal feminism is patriarchal traditions (Muhanna, 2013). Patriarchy confines women to the domestic realms as

transmitters of culture and demands them to be selfless wives and mothers, while relegating them to the margins of the polity. Femininity is traditionally associated with fragility and compassion while masculinity is associated with competence and power (Towns and Niklasson, 2017; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). These gender stereotypes have institutionalized women position to realms of charity and home making. Until recently, women were never appointed to positions that were perceived to portray power and demand high competency like diplomacy. Gender stereotypes are entrenched in the social and political structure and decades of feminist movements is yet to close the gap in gender inequality even in the most advanced of societies.

In our modern times, women across cultures are demanding "autonomy, equality and freedom" (Menoz, 2005) and to have control of their earnings to invest for the future. It is important to note that, equal rights for men and women should not be construed to mean disempowerment of men. Indeed, societies that acknowledge gender equality draw more social, political and economic benefits from women empowerment (Miyahara, 2018). Important milestones have been made towards achievement of gender parity across many nations. For instance, UN Women started He-for-She campaign in 2014 to drive up support for gender parity from men around the world. Presently, unprecedented numbers of women have joined the work force and penetrated male dominated realms such as politics and Foreign Service. However, the battle is far from over since, women are still subjugated in the public arena. They earn lower wages than men for equal positions and competence. Additionally, they are required much more to prove their competence for high positions.

1.10.1: Variables and their measurement criteria

Working in the field of diplomacy is dependent on many factors among them education level, years of experience, workplace environment, gender stereotypes, family support, and personal motivation. These are the variables that will be tested for their effect on women and men diplomats' ability to discharge their diplomatic duties.

The figure below shows the interaction between the independent and dependent variables.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework
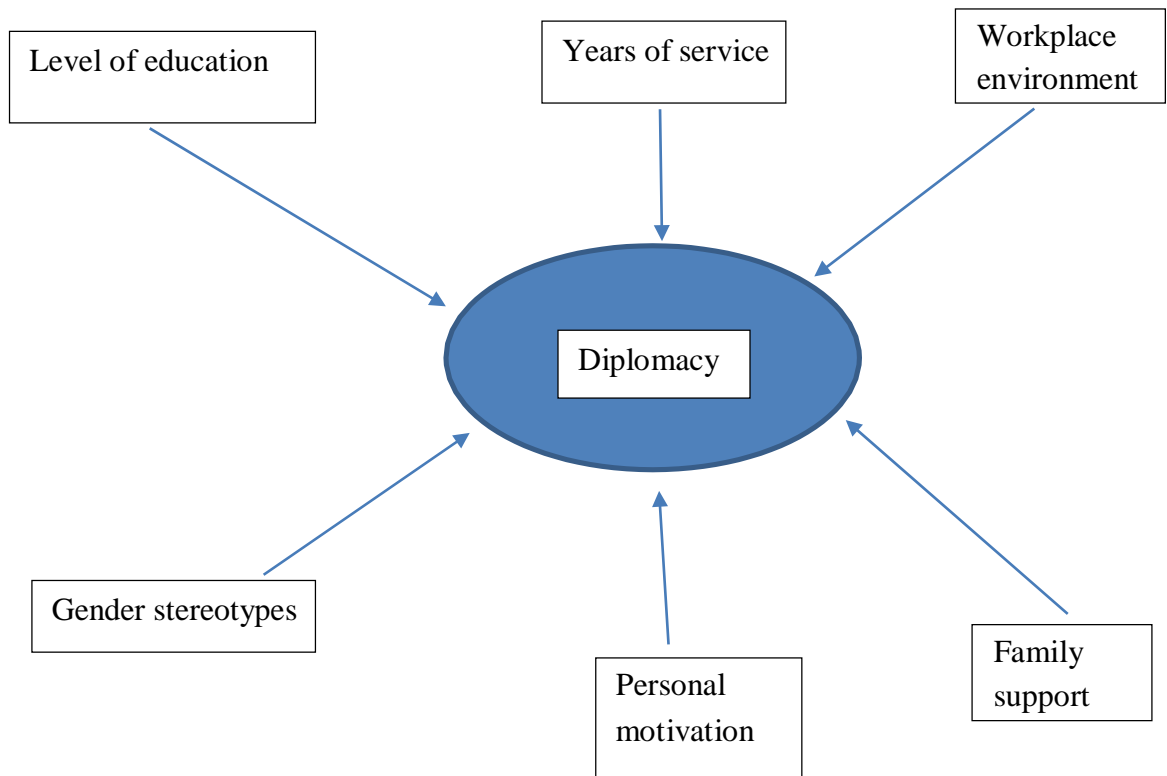
Source: Author

Level of education: will be measured with the highest level of education achieved including in progress.

Years of service: Will be measured with the cumulative years of work in Foreign Service both at home and abroad.

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Workplace environment: This will be measured using cultural norms, treatment by peers, reporting structures, job expectations, opportunities for career advancement.

Gender stereotypes: Will be measured using indicators of gender discrimination within missions and ministry of foreign affairs, and gender discrimination from other members of diplomatic corp

Personal motivation: will be measured using the level of interest in occupying management positions, and the highest diplomatic rank held.

Family Support: parenting, marital status, and family support for career path will be used as indicators.

1.11: Definition of terms

Diplomacy: Diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of states. It usually refers to international diplomacy; the conduct of international relations through intercession.

A diplomatic mission: or foreign mission is a group of people from one state present in another state to represent the sending state officially in the receiving state.

Diplomat: A diplomat is a person appointed by a state to conduct diplomacy with one or more other states or international organizations.

Foreign Service: Involvement in international diplomacy either residing in the home country or another country.

Foreign Service officers: The head of the mission and the members of the staff of the mission

Public Diplomacy is the public, interactive dimension of diplomacy; a key mechanism through which nation's foster mutual trust and productive and friendly relations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents literature related to the topic of study for the purpose of laying foundation for this study upon which the researcher hopes to build on. A lot of research has been done about diplomacy and gender. However, I focus on five sub-topics: first and foremost, history of diplomacy then delve into the profession and career of diplomacy; gender stereotypes around diplomacy; the environment that diplomats work in; the interaction between work and family; and finally look at Kenya Foreign Service.

2.1: Historical Background of Diplomacy

Diplomatic activities among communities have existed for many years. The realization of their interdependence forced communities to engage one another for political, economic, religious and strategic reasons (Atkinson, 2011). Generally, societies sent messengers or envoys to their unfriendly neighbors to prevent wars, terminate conflicts, and carry on peaceful relations necessary for economic interactions (Roberts, 2006). Rana (2013) in particular puts an emphasis on the role of messengers as being vital in improvement and realization of harmonious co-existence among communities. De Souza and France (2008) agree with Rana concerning the importance of negotiations and treaties in ancient societies' and how they have been responsible for sustaining balance of power rather than open rivalry.

In the 15th century, Italy became the first country in the world to send envoys to reside in other states for a definite period, now commonly known as a tour of diplomatic duty. As a rule, resident ambassadors and consuls operated as representatives of their respective governments in foreign states (Atkinson, 2011). By 1648 when the Treaty of Westphalia was signed, the idea of a foreign envoy residing in the host country became wide spread. By 1815, it was apparent that diplomatic service was recognized as a distinct branch

of the public service in each country. Over time states set up diplomatic institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Foreign Service as means by which international communication took place (Rana, 2005). Moreover, Nicolson (1950) confirmed that the greatest way to preserve world peace is through diplomacy which is facilitated by resident envoys.

Generally, diplomatic missions are staffed with officers deployed on foreign assignments abroad as agents through which a country's foreign policy is pursued and national interest achieved. The title diplomat applies to all persons appointed by national governments to conduct official negotiations, maintain political, economic and social relations on its behalf with a foreign country. In essence, their job is to build relations, by way of understanding cultures, gathering information and influencing decision-makers and consequently promoting national interests and keeping the world safe (Dhesi, 2014). By and large, diplomats manage their countries affairs and shape public opinion abroad.

It is common place for diplomats to be shuffled from time to time hence they are expected to be prepared to work anywhere they are placed, either for job or destination. Ordinarily, officers deployed on foreign assignments are usually allowed to relocate with their families to destination countries, except, of course, to countries that are considered unsafe or insecure. For most countries a tour of duty takes three to four years before they are moved to other stations. The diplomats and their spouses enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities while on tour of duty as additional means of their protection. Diplomatic privileges and immunity prohibits them from being subject to administrative, civil or criminal jurisdiction of the host state (Dvornyicsenko, 2017).

The responsibilities of diplomats can be summarized as threefold: To (1) keep their governments up-to-date on policy matters and the state-of-things in the host countries; (2)

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protect the lives of their citizens living in those countries; and (3) open markets for international trade abroad (Dorman, 2005). It can therefore be concluded that modern diplomats discharge their duties by means of soft power diplomacy otherwise called public diplomacy.

To be able to understand the interaction between diplomats and the host countries, it is particularly important to highlight the vital role of the Vienna Convention of 1961 in regulating the interactions of international bodies. As an important milestone in international relations, it recognizes sovereign equality of states, maintenance of international peace and security, as well as promoting friendly relations among nations. For this reason, the Convention spells out the functions of diplomatic missions as:

> Representing the sending state/organization in the receiving states; protecting the interests of the sending state and of its nationals within the limits permitted by International Law; Negotiating with the government of the receiving state; Gathering information on the receiving state and reporting to the sending government and Promoting friendly relations between states. (Article 3 of Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations 1961).

2.2: Diplomacy as Profession and Career.

Diplomacy can be described as the profession of Foreign Service (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011). Like all professions, certain skills are unique to it. Important skills that pertains to diplomacy are "negotiation, communication, persuasion, reporting, analysis, and management" (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011). The increasingly multipolar world order observed today demands more than before great negotiation skills to engage other actors in issues of interest with success. Moreover, multiplicity of actors in international relations somehow reduces the need for military power in achieving and securing national interests while elevating diplomacy. As such, in representing his/her state a diplomat "talks, listens, reports, analyzes, cajoles, persuades, threatens, debate, and above all negotiates"(Kopp Gillespie, 2011) using

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diplomatic, political, legal, economic, cultural, and military tools. Kopp and Gillespie (2011) contend that irrespective of states,' organizations', or individuals'' "history, culture, language, faith, politics, and economics" a diplomat must transcend these "to build trust, change attitudes, alter behaviour, and keep the peace". That is why entertainment is a tradition diplomats are not about to break away. Through entertainment diplomats create a conducive atmosphere to network and create necessary bridges to help in representing and negotiating their countries interests.

For a diplomat to perform well, ability to communicate properly with other actors is critical. A diplomat must know when to communicate honestly, ambiguously, and even to conceal true feelings and intentions about a matter (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011). Above all, tact is critical for successful diplomacy. Each situation is different and sometimes unique; hence tact will pick "the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation" (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011, p. 5).

The skills necessary in the practice of diplomacy can be learnt by anyone, and Kopp and Gillespie (2011) observed that "Most governments recognize that diplomatic skills are most surely gained through experience". Foreign Service is therefore open to people of all professional backgrounds in most countries. The institution of Foreign Service also accumulates years of experience and competencies which diplomats could make reference to in making decisions or guiding behavior.

Despite the overarching influence of experience on diplomats' performance, it is not uncommon for people without diplomatic experience to be appointed to high ranking positions like ambassadors. Many high ranking diplomats are political appointees rather than career diplomats. Kopp and Gillespie note that "Some of the best practitioners (and also some of the worst) are outsiders who start at the top" (2011, p. 6). Governments' value

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loyalty of diplomats, and this is the main driver of top level appointments. Career diplomats are considered apolitical and their loyalty to a regime may be called to question. It is commonplace for a change in regime to be followed by change in ambassadorial appointments in the bid to reward campaign magnates and ardent supporters. These political appointees are mainly sent to countries with rosy relations. For instance, America has tendency to send political appointees to Northern and Western Europe and Caribbean and restrains from doing so in central Asia (Taylor, 2016). Political appointees are also nearly never sent to Middle East. The tradition of political appointees to ambassadorial postings is deep in United States than other western countries like Canada and United Kingdom (McKelvey, 2013). In Germany the tendency is rare and only career diplomats are mandated to represent the president abroad. Likewise, in China the custom of rewarding political supporters with diplomatic obligations is alien. China relies on professional diplomats to conduct foreign relations with a mandatory retirement age of 65 for ambassadors (Jiangtao, 2018).

Unlike political appointees career diplomats have accumulated diverse portfolio of skills and competencies through years of work experience including foreign languages, understanding of other cultures as well as decision making processes and implementation of other countries. Nutter (2019) underlines two advantages of career diplomats especially in the high ranks like ambassadors over political appointees in US. Foreign service to be in their "ability to understand a country or a region well enough to detect diplomatic opportunities—for reaching peace, for expanding freedom, for creating markets, for strengthening ties with the United States— and the ability to turn these opportunities into successful policies". Consequently, career diplomats are preferred where relations are fragile and hence requiring high competencies to keep peace. For instance, in dealing with

relations with Middle East countries, USA has largely relied on career diplomats.

In Africa, ministries of foreign affairs are less structured than in established economies. The presidency takes the center stage in foreign policy decision making (Khadiagala and Lyons, 2001). The role of MFA is largely implementation or rubber stamping decisions by the executive (Mimiko and Mbada, 2014). Further, Foreign Service officers receive little government support in growing the necessary competencies to perform well in today's dynamic international stage. Nigeria's MFA, for example, is reported to be underfunded and staff undertrained creating unconducive professional environment (Enuka and Ojukwu, 2016). In addition, progression through diplomatic ranks is not structured and hence upward mobility is not necessarily tied to performance. These and many other challenges negatively affects diplomats' morale.

2.3: Gender stereotypes and diplomacy

Gender disparities are common across many professions. For instance, profession in the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) report of have sharp gender differences with men dominating these fields. Similarly, political positions are dominated by men. However, unlike in STEM where less involvement of women is an attribution of gender differences in academic strengths (Sossamon, 2018) in politics women involvement is hindered by structural inequalities. High among them is culture that associate power and strength with masculinity (Towns and Niklasson, 2017). Different cultures prescribe different norms and practices for men and women, but generally masculinity is associated with power, strength, domination, and sexual prowess (Towns and Niklasson, 2017). On the other hand, feminity is associated with subordination and weakness. Since politics including international relations is still associated with power, it is widely

stereotyped with masculine traits. Consequently, diplomacy, the art by which international relations are conducted, is also male dominated. Women only started to enter the field of diplomacy after 1945, and at the end of Cold War there was accelerated trajectory of appointing women into Foreign Service (Herndy, 1998; Towns and Niklasson, 2017), but still gender gap is far from getting closed.

In 2017, women constituted a paltry 15% of world ambassadors (Towns and Niklasson, 2017). Moreover, there is tendency to send women ambassadors to soft spots or countries of low international status and men to that of high status. This shows that governments still don't hold much trust in women ambassadorship despite convincing evidence that women ambassadors perform as good as men. The tendency to appoint men ambassadors is wired in the social norms and practices in individual country as well as in international norms. As a matter of fact, "association between men and power in international affairs" is widespread (Towns and Niklasson, 2017) and it flows from the structural hierarchy of the world system defined by countries' military and economic power (Towns and Niklasson, 2017).

Besides the dictate of structural hierarchy on propensity to send out or receive women ambassadors, the social norms of individual countries play a big role as well. For example, Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden) lead in gender equality rankings by World Economic Forum and the same send out the 35% women ambassadors, the highest in the world (Towns and Niklasson, 2017). Likewise, they receive the highest number of women ambassadors. In Asia and Middle East where women are more subordinated the propensity to appoint women ambassadors is 10% and 6%, respectively. Similarly they receive lowest number of female ambassadors. For instance, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kazakhstan, Iran, and South Korea have no women ambassadors. Likewise, the

dismal political empowerment of women in Russia reflects in its ambassador appointments where only 1% are women (Town and Niklasson, 2017).

2.4: Diplomatic Work Environment

In the sections above I have discussed in detail the gender relations of international relations. In this section I discuss the processes and procedures involved in achievement of foreign policy goals or diplomacy. Diplomats or Foreign Service officers posted to foreign countries are expected to implement their sending state's foreign policy. According to *Article 3 of The 1961 Vienna Convention,* diplomacy primarily involves four functions: representing sending state and protecting its interests in the host country; negotiating with the host state, gathering information using legal methods; and creating friendly relations between the sending and the host states.

Diplomacy has evolved through centuries to a complex process witnesses today. Technological, information, and social advances akin to the modern world have come up with new tools, modes, and actors for diplomacy. For instance, the introduction of modern transportation increased shuttle diplomacy; digitalization of communication increased the speed of sending and receiving information; and globalization has increased the spread of ideas as well as threats. Unlike ancient times and enlightenment era, diplomacy is no longer an exclusive domain of envoys nor is it carried out in the secrecy of diplomatic residences. Multilateral diplomacy now takes the centre stage in diplomacy, but still bilateral diplomacy is used.

Bilateral diplomacy is increasingly viewed as a wasteful display and has on many occasions been rendered inadequate to realize Foreign Service goals. Consequently, there has been a "decline of decision-making power for the diplomatic mission" and with it

"diplomatic dialogue" characterized by "diplomatic receptions and cocktail parties" (Bruns, 2016, p. 12). Notably, foreign missions have been facing budgetary reductions. For instance, "from 2010 to 2015, the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) faced budget cuts of 16 percent" while India cut back by 2.5% in 2016 (Bruns, 2016). With lean budgets to work with, splendid premises have lost attraction and mission premises in high-class localities are gradually replaced with "smaller premises or office towers" and diplomatic receptions can be held in "rented rooms in luxurious hotels" (Bruns, 2016).

In the modern day we are living, diplomacy has become very complex and talent is not enough to perform the broad spectrum of diplomatic responsibilities with success (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011). As a consequence, there is high attrition rate hence diplomacy is described as a revolving-door profession meaning that professionals enter and exit at equal speed (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011). Foreign Service officers should be "problem-solvers and quick thinkers" analyzing "people's thinking, their motives, pretty quickly" (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011, p. 168). They must be competent in "leadership, management, interpersonal skills, communication and foreign languages, intellectual skills, and substantive knowledge" (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011, p. 172). The competencies are accumulated over years working in diplomacy.

2.5: Interaction Between Foreign Service And Family

It is said that Foreign Service takes over family affairs perhaps more than any other career: gives children an international exposure; spouses may have to work alongside the diplomats; families constrained by unsafe duty stations and very often family relations get constrained in the process (Kopp Gillespie, 2011).

Generally, Foreign Affairs Ministries allow diplomats to be accompanied by their families,

although the decision to take the family or not is left to the diplomats' discretion. The marital status of Foreign Service Officers was considered important toward performance of diplomatic duties. In fact, they are said to be socially, and emotionally dependent on their spouses. Since the field of diplomacy is traditionally a male domain majority of diplomatic spouses are women. However, the cohort of male spouses is increasing with growing entry of women into Foreign Service. However, male spouses are at greater difficulty to decide to accompany their wives on foreign mission due to societal expectations (Braseby, 2010). The contribution of diplomats' spouses to achievement of foreign policy have long been recorded. Lord Tyrell, the British ambassador to Paris between 1928 and 1934, was of the opinion that many ambassadors "owed a great part of their personal success and the success of their best work to their wives" (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Historians, 1999, p. 27). Similarly, Lord Gore-Booth in 1974 made similar remarks as Lord Tyrell that "diplomacy is a partnership game *per excellence" and* a "good pair is worth considerably more than two individuals, and of the pair the wife has just as arduous a job as the husband" *(*Foreign and Commonwealth Office Historians, 1999, p. 21). For example, the spouses of ambassadors or heads of mission are involved in boosting the morale of families of staff at the mission, and that of their nationals residing in the host country (Colins, 1993). It is commonplace for diplomats to host receptions and cocktail parties in their private residences in pursuit of foreign policy goals, and their spouse play a leading role in putting them together. In essence, there is immense overlap of private and public space characteristic of Foreign Service.

2.6: Kenya's Foreign Service

Kenya has maintained contact with other countries through diplomats working in embassies and consulates since independence. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is responsible for maintaining cordial relations with other nations regionally and internationally as well as work closely with international organizations and multinational corporations to protect the interest of Kenya and mitigate its challenges. Presently, Kenya maintains 55 missions abroad and several honorary consuls.

Kenya's foreign policy goals are spelt out in foreign policy document of 2014. The document captures the aspiration of Kenya's developmental roadmap Vision 2030 and President Uhuru Kenyatta focus areas commonly known as the Big Four Agenda. Vision 2030 development agenda is driven by industrialization and infrastructure development. World Bank ranked Kenya a lower middle income country in 2014 (Business Daily, 2014). The Big Four agenda are focus development areas for President Uhuru Kenyatta; namely, universal healthcare, affordable housing, manufacturing, and food security. The focus of Kenya's foreign policy is to increase trade with African countries and beyond, attract investment, and maintain peace and security in the region. The MFA and the president are keen and persistent in pursuit of these goals as evidenced by the ongoing campaign for a seat in the UNSC, contesting for position of chair of African Union, and leading peace negotiations in troubled South Sudan and Somali, among others.

In effect, Kenya relies on her Foreign Service officers to promote and achieve her interest abroad. Consequently, MFA strives to build and maintain a competent workforce at home and abroad. There are two ways to enter Foreign Service in Kenya; recruitment by MFA and presidential appointment. Cadets is the main entry point. The ministry of foreign affairs recruits young Kenyans, commonly called cadets, and puts them through a three

month induction course. At the end of the course they are expected achieved a "clear sense of the mandate, scope of work, the required skills, knowledge and most importantly attitude necessary for them to optimize their contribution in the pursuit of Kenya's national interests in the international arena" (MFA Press, January 6, 2017).

Political appointees also undergo three months training at the Foreign Service academy covering topics like fine dining, "protocol in diplomatic service, rules and regulations for international relations" and communication (Kwamboka, 2018). These basic training mainly prepares them to handle their main tasks "to sell Kenya, protect Kenyan investments and look after the welfare of Kenyans" in their duty stations (Kwamboka, 2018). A significant number of ambassador positions in Kenya are taken up by appointees largely political allies to the executive. For example, in early 2018 president Uhuru Kenyatta appointed several former cabinet secretaries as ambassadors. Dan Kazungu to Tanzania, Hassan Wario to Austria (he was later rejected by Austria), Willy Bett to India, Judy Wakhungu to France, Sicily Kariuki as Kenya UN representative to Geneva, Jacob Kaimenyi to UNESCO, and Phylis Kandie to Belgium and European Union (Kwamboka, 2018).

After induction and commencement of service, Foreign Service officers need to put great effort at acquiring critical skills and expertise to perform well. Top in the list of critical skills is foreign language proficiency. However, Kenya's MFA does not strictly follow through to ensure diplomats acquire necessary foreign language competencies and it's never a mandatory requirement in sending out diplomats. As a matter of fact, there are reports that some Foreign Service officers do not know the official languages of their duty stations (Kenya Citizen TV, 2019). However, in countries like US. foreign languages are equated to "tanks and rifles for military officers" (Kopp and Gillespie, 2011).

That culture, however, might be changing as new recruits are encouraged to take foreign language and acquire other high value skills like analytical and negotiation skills (Republic of Kenya Ministry of foreign affairs, 2017). Today, working in Kenya's Foreign Service is not as arduous as it was in the past where Foreign Service officers did not go through induction and were only trained on the job and occasionally sent for training in various institutions of learning and training. UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) has been on the forefront in providing Kenyan diplomats with necessary training to promote and protect their country's interest (UNDP Kenya, 2019). Today, the government has established a Foreign Service academy that partners with other government institutions including Universities in training newly recruited service men and offer continuous capacity enhancement to serving officers (Mutambo, 2015).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides the methodology and design used to carry out the study and analyze data. It begins with a description of the research design, methods and instrument. Secondly, describes the population and the target group; thirdly, defines the sample size and the sampling procedures; fourthly, describe the data collection instruments and procedures, and finally, lays down the data analysis procedures.

3.1: Research Design, Methods and Instruments

The aim of this study was to compare and contrast challenges encountered by women and men diplomats in their profession. In essence, therefore, this was an exploratory research. Cross-sectional research design was used and both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed. Cross-sectional study according to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012) is collection of data about a phenomenon at one point in time. It is preferred where time constraints are experienced as was the case in this study. A cross-sectional study, therefore, gives a snapshot of a phenomenon at a specific point in time.

Qualitative methods are those research methods that yield text data such as interviews. In this study the researcher used structured interviews to collect qualitative data. Quantitative data on the other hand refers to numeric data and in this case was gathered through questionnaires with closed-ended questions. Questionnaires were filled through face-to-face interviews which helped in clarification of questions and increased response rate. In addition, diplomats are busy professionals guided by a strict code of conduct. Administering the questionnaires through face-to-face interviews helped array possible fears about the information gathered. For example, some diplomats would quickly decline participation hinting that they are unauthorized to talk on behalf of the ministry.

3.2: Population and Sampling

The study population was Kenyans who have worked with MFA and other organizations as diplomats, including the retired. The expected sample size was 50 male and female diplomats. 45 participants from both genders were targeted for responding to questionnaire and 5 women diplomats for structured interviews. The sampling method used was snowball sampling method. Snowball sampling is a non-random sampling method that involves identification of few subjects who then identify others that meet the characteristics, and so on. This sampling method was preferred as diplomats are a tightly knit, high ranking group of professionals usually hard to access due to bureaucratic protocols. Even with that, the study was challenged with low response rate occasioned the busy schedules of diplomats and personal decision not to participate. Many diplomats working at the MFA were most unavailable as at the time of the study the MFA was busy launching campaign for Kenya to secure a non-permanent seat at United Nations Security Council. As a result, the researcher was only able to attain 38 questionnaires out of the expected 45. The targeted number of interviews was however attained.

3.3: Field Data Collection Process

The researcher developed a work plan detailing the period of data collection and recruited and trained a research assistant to help with data collection and entry into statistical software. The study was conducted systematically and in adherence to ethical procedures. First and foremost, the researcher acquired a college permit to collect data which was in turn used to secure government permit from National Commission For Science, Technology and Innovation. Securing the permits enabled carrying out data collection unhindered, however, not without challenges. The main challenge encountered during data collection

was accessing the subjects as the activity coincided with Kenya's launch of United Nations Security Council bid at the UN General Assembly in New York. As a consequence, top management level diplomats were away or extremely busy to participate in the study. As a matter of fact the entire staff at the MFA Nairobi was engaged. I overcame this challenge by being highly flexible while demanding the same from my research assistant; often, accepting to conduct interviews during short breaks in between office hours or outside office hours including weekends. This meant several changes on the work plan developed at the start of the study. Information from structured interviews was recorded through note taking.

3.4: Research Site and Time Frame

The study was conducted in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. It is where the ministry of foreign affairs is situated together with other international organizations including United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP). Data collection commenced in October 2019 to December 2019.

3.5: Reliability and Validity

To ensure reliability of data collected interviews were conducted in a structured manner meaning that all subjects were interviewed using a standard sequencing of questions. For validity of testing, indicators of measures were identified beforehand to provide others with an idea of how variables were measured. Further, being that appointments into diplomatic missions many times are political in nature rather than on merit, there was a risk of respondents answering questions in a "politically-correct" manner to safeguard their jobs. To control for this error the confidentiality and anonymity of subjects was ensured throughout the research process.

3.6: Data Analysis Techniques

Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS version 23 and qualitative data through thematic analysis. Numerical data was analyzed using measures of central tendency and Chi Square and results presented through pie charts, frequency table, bar charts, and p value. On the other hand, thematic analysis helped identify patterns and therefore casting more light on numeric results.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter I present the findings of the research and unpack them in the light of the liberal feminism theory. It is important to restate at this point the statement of the problem that motivated me to conduct this research. Kenyan women diplomats are few and especially those working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). This has been blamed on women unwillingness to take up diplomatic duties especially high ranking positions in the MFA due to family obligations. However, I observed that most top ranking Foreign Service officers in Kenya like ambassadors are in their mid-fifties and sixties. It is more likely that people in this age group are through with parenting and hence family should no longer be a hindrance. Why, then, are women still underrepresented in diplomacy? Therefore, the objective of this study was to explore barriers encountered by women diplomats working in the field of diplomacy. To achieve that, I collected data from both male and female diplomats with the aim of comparing and contrasting opinions across both genders and achieve deeper understanding of the problem.

In the following sections data has been presented in frequency tables, charts, and chi-square tables with inferences offered. The alpha value (p) for Chi-square test is .05 while the strength of association was established using Cramer's V.

4.1: Demographics

Beside questions meant to answer research questions, the questionnaire also collected demographic data of the survey participants. Below is a quick snapshot of the demographic characteristics of study sample.

The gender composition comprised of 22 male (57.9%) and 14 female (36.8%) participants. Two respondents (5.3%) did not indicate their gender. I assumed the

nonresponse by the two respondents to be a problem of data missing at random (MAR). MAR according to Schafer and Graham (2002) is data missing from a survey item due to individual characteristics of a respondent rather than the value of the item itself. I assumed the respondents left the gender unindicated because they did not define themselves by any of the two provided categories (male and female). Upon this assumption and in consideration of the limitations that list wise deletion of the data on the entire data set (small sample size of 38), I decided to maintain the data of both respondents and indicate their gender as unindicated. To my discretion even with provision of other gender categories like transgender and gay –there are other gender names unnamed here- it would have been difficult for the respondents to truly classify themselves in these groups as the LGBT community is largely closed in Kenya especially in civil service. As a matter of fact, the government of Kenya has always categorized gender in the traditional sense of male and female and only in 2019 national census did a third group (intersex) get incorporated (Taliah, 2019).

Figure 2: Gender composition pie chart
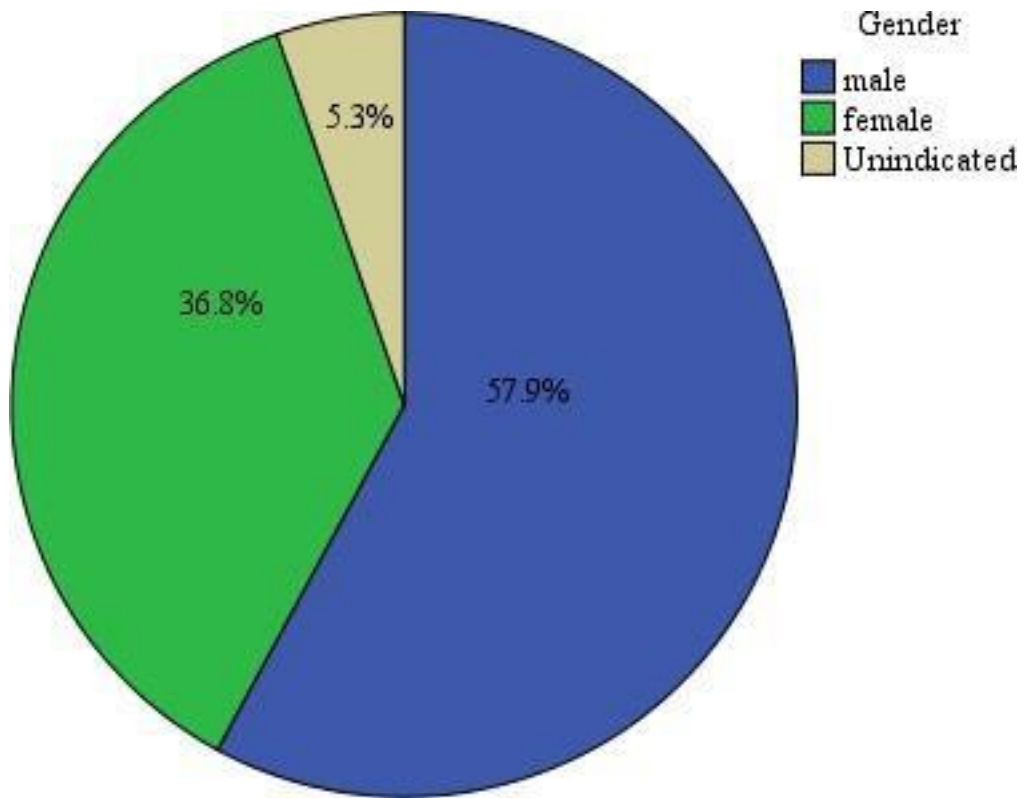
The gender composition of the sample is typical of the field of diplomacy which is still male dominated. The researcher did not attempt to balance the gender composition of the sample, but purely gathered information from participants referred by other participants (snowball sampling).

In terms of age, the sample was distributed as shown by the bar graph below.

Figure 3: Age distribution of the questionnaire sample.


Age composition of questionnaire respondents
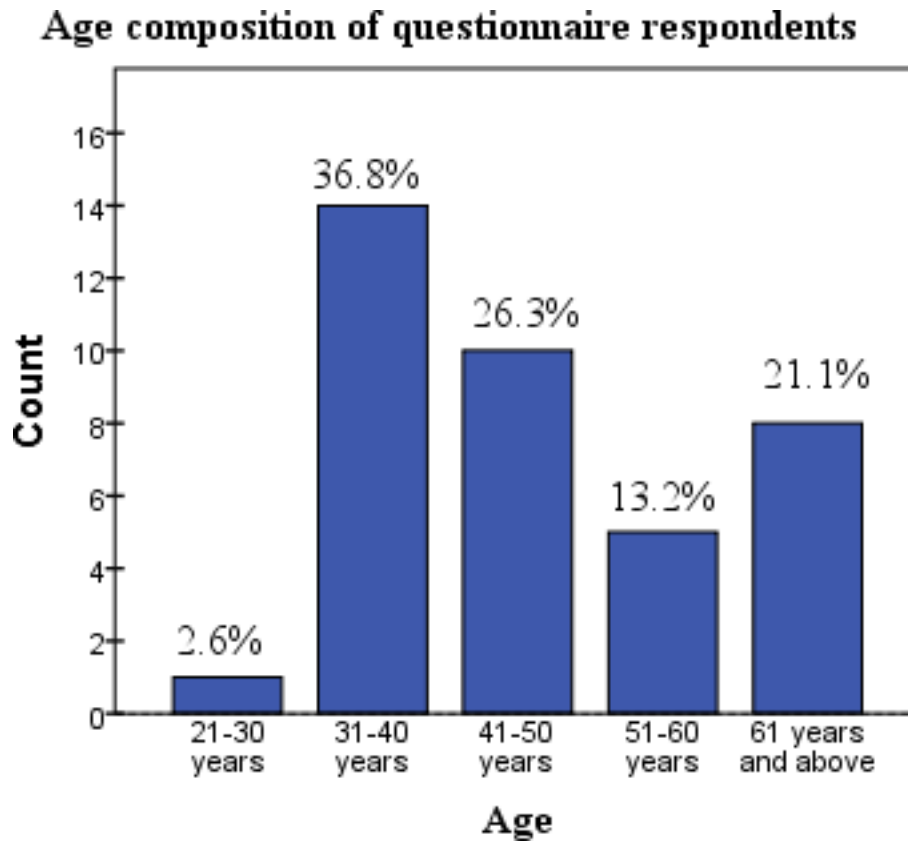
Majority of diplomats (14) who participated in the study were aged between 31-40 years. It is also the age of majority for MFA Foreign Service officers as shown in the next figure.

Figure 4: Age distribution of MFA officers and their employment status

MFA Employment status of diplomats

Most MFA officers are aged 31-40 years
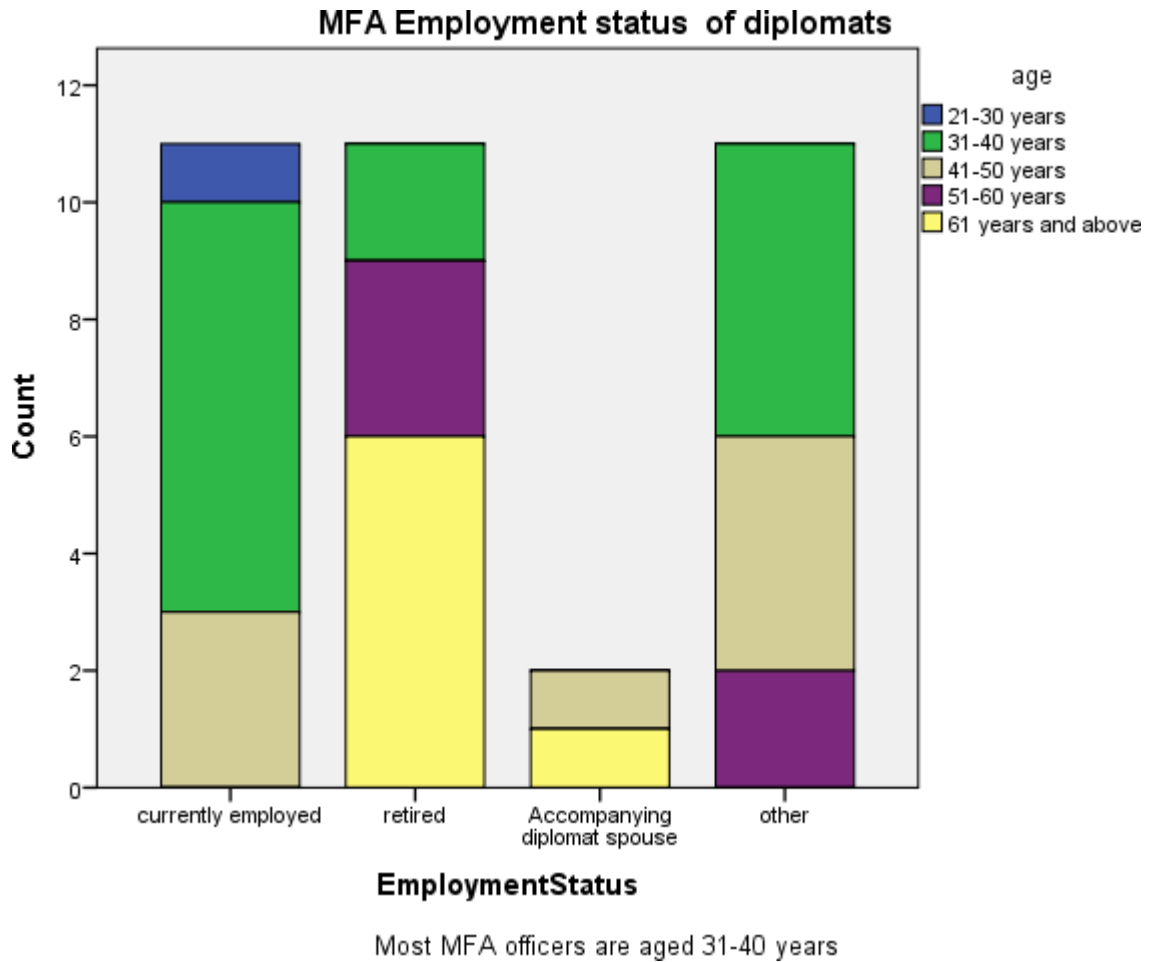
I also collected data on the marital status of diplomats as family is a critical backbone for Foreign Service. Marital status of respondents were as depicted by the bar chart below. 30 participants were married therefore, spouses are a primary support system.

Figure 5: Marital status bar chart
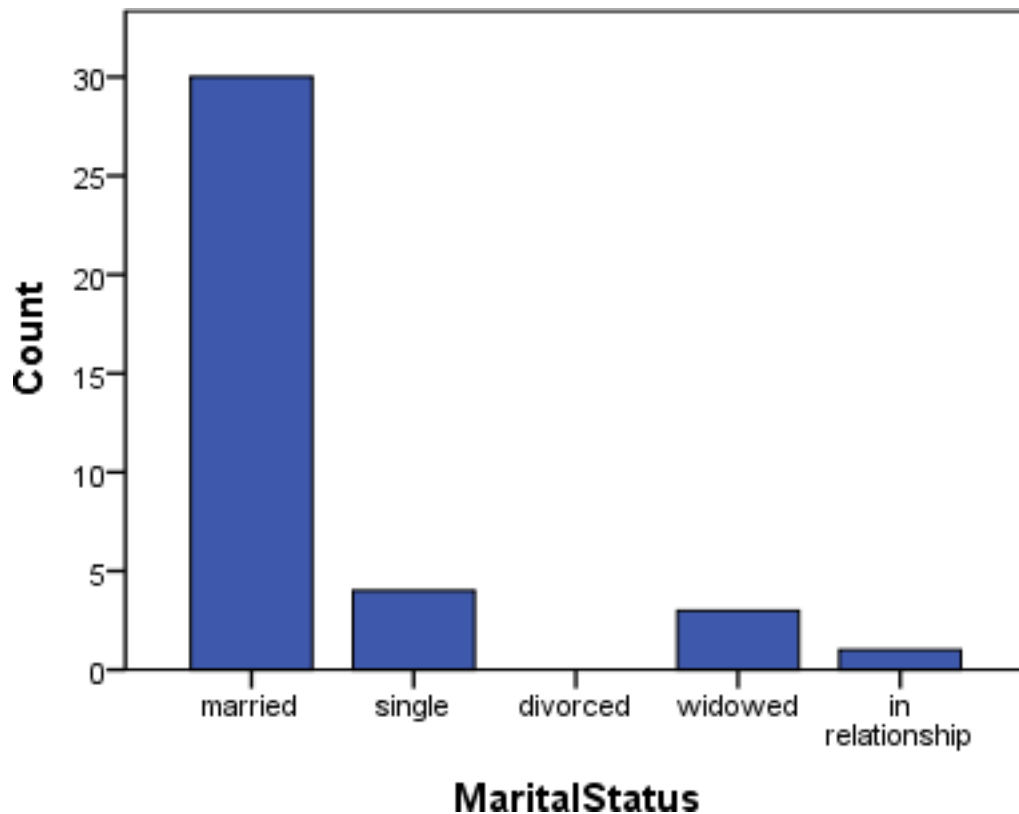
With that demographic view of the sample, I now delve into answering the research questions.

4.2: Research Question One: How does education level affect diplomacy?

This research question sought to establish if education of diplomats affects their conduct of diplomacy. To answer this question I asked study respondents to answer the following questions.

i.   Highest level of education?

To this question respondents answered as shown in the frequency table below.

Table 1: Education level of diplomats

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid bachelors degree	8	21.1	21.1
postgraduate degree	29	76.3	97.4
Doctorate	1	2.6	100.0
Total	38	100.0	

High education status is highly valued by diplomats as indicated by 76.3% attainment of postgraduate degree and all respondents having at least a bachelor's degree.

ii.   How would education affect your performance in Foreign Service?

The table below shows frequency of participants' responses about effect of education on their performance in Foreign Service.

Table 2: Effect of education on performance in Foreign Service.

FS performance Education

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid never affect	1	2.8	2.8
somewhat affects	12	33.3	36.1
highly affects	23	63.9	100.0
Total	36	100.0	

23 respondents (63.9%) rated education's influence on their performance in Foreign Service highly, and 35 participants (97.2%) affirmed – frequencies of responses "somewhat affects" and "highly affects" - that education affected performance in Foreign Service. However, two respondents did not answer the question on the effect of education on diplomacy. Both respondents were accompanying spouses. The two respondents also did not answer most of the other questions and my assumption was that they were not well informed about the workings of diplomacy and the ministry of foreign affairs. This presented a type of missing data called missing not at random (MNAR) (Finch, 2010). To address this challenge I completely deleted their data and not used it in answering research questions hence the change in number of subjects to 36 in the rest of the analysis. However, they were included in the demographic presentations of the sample (gender, education, marital status and age).

  iii.   Thirdly, I investigated for relationship between education level and confidence in carrying out diplomatic duties.

To achieve this I performed a chi-square test on confidence leading diplomatic delegation, occupying high positions in the MFA, briefing the media, and serving abroad.

The results revealed moderate association between education level and serving abroad X^2 (4, $N = 36$) = 9.93, $p = .042$. The strength of association was established using Cramer's V (0.37). Holding a postgraduate degree is more likely to increase confidence in serving abroad. However there was no relationship between education level and confidence leading a diplomatic delegation, occupying high positions in the MFA or briefing the media.

Table 3: Effect of education level on confidence serving abroad.

Education * Confidence Serving Abroad Cross tabulation

| | | | Confidence Serving Abroad | | | |
			not sure	comfortable	very comfortable	Total
education	bachelors degree	Count	1	3	2	6
		Expected Count	.7	2.0	3.3	6.0
	postgraduate degree	Count	2	9	18	29
		Expected Count	3.2	9.7	16.1	29.0
	Doctorate	Count	1	0	0	1
		Expected Count	.1	.3	.6	1.0
Total		Count	4	12	20	36
		Expected Count	4.0	12.0	20.0	36.0

Association between education level and serving abroad could be due to propensity of new Foreign Service officers quickly upgrading their studies mainly by pursuing master's degrees related to their new profession. Entry into Foreign Service is open to all professions and not limited background in studies related to diplomacy and international relations. However, serving in a foreign assignment requires good understanding of regional dynamics, internal politics, and decision making processes of the host countries (Kopp and Gillespie 2011) that is mainly acquired through experience. However, education background in diplomacy and international relations or related fields equips one with good

foundational understanding into the workings of states and international relations.

4.3: Research Question Two: What is the effect of years of service on diplomat's ability to perform diplomacy?

This research question was answered by asking respondents to rate effect of years of experience on performance in Foreign Service. In addition, a chi-square test to find out relationship between years of service as a diplomat and confidence performing diplomatic duties was performed.

On the question of effect of experience on ability to perform in Foreign Service, participants were asked to rate the effect of experience on their performance in Foreign Service on a scale of 5 (1= Never affects, 2= Affects a little, 3= Not sure, 4= Somewhat affects, 5= Highly affects).

Figure 6: The effect of experience on performance in Foreign Service

FSperformanceExperience
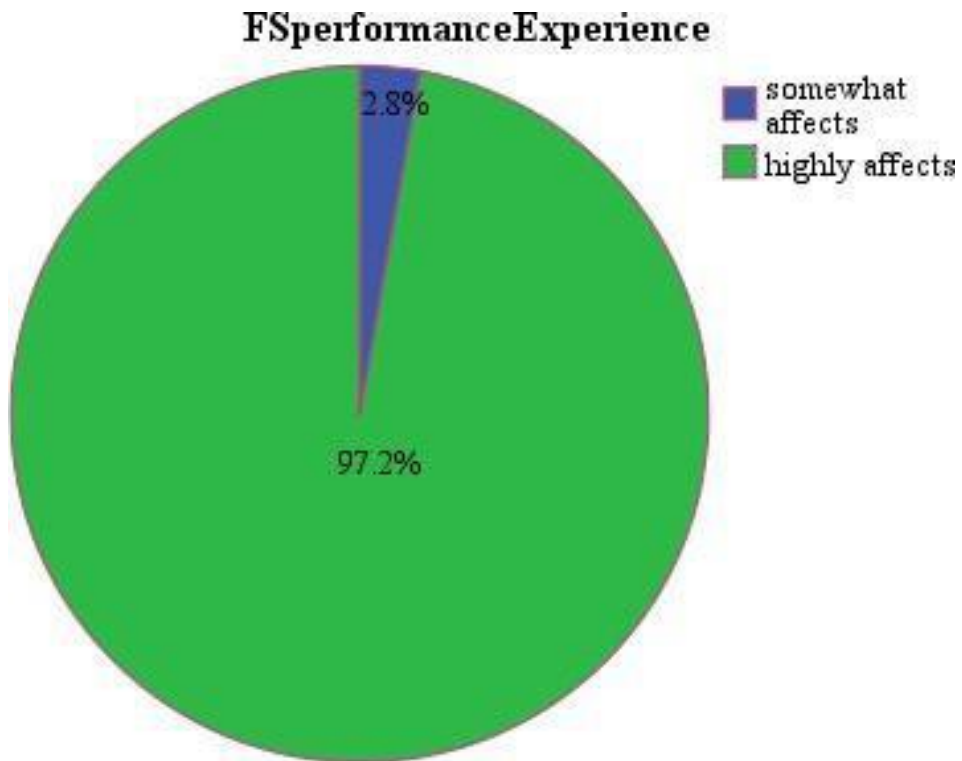
The pie chart indicates that all respondents agreed that years of experience in diplomacy affects performance in Foreign Service. These results agrees with existing literature that found direct correlation between years of experience and a diplomat's job performance (Haglund, 2015; Kopp and Gillespie, 2011). That expertise accumulated through years of service contributes directly to career diplomats outshining political appointees at individual level job performance (Haglund, 2015). Substantive knowledge and skills such as language proficiency, understanding of history, culture, and interests of different countries valuable in diplomacy are acquired with years of service.

To establish presence of association between years of experience and confidence in leading diplomatic mission, occupying high positions in the MFA, briefing media, and

serving abroad, I performed a chi-square test. The results indicated moderate relationship between years of experience and confidence leading a diplomatic mission X^2 (9, $N = 36$) = 24.79, $p = .003$. A moderate relationship was also found between years of experience and confidence occupying high positions in the MFA X^2 (9, $N = 36$) = 25.25, $p = .003$.

Figure 7 depicts how diplomats of different years of experience rated their confidence leading a diplomatic mission.

Figure 7: Years of experience versus confidence leading a diplomatic mission

Experience Versus Confidence leading diplomatic mission
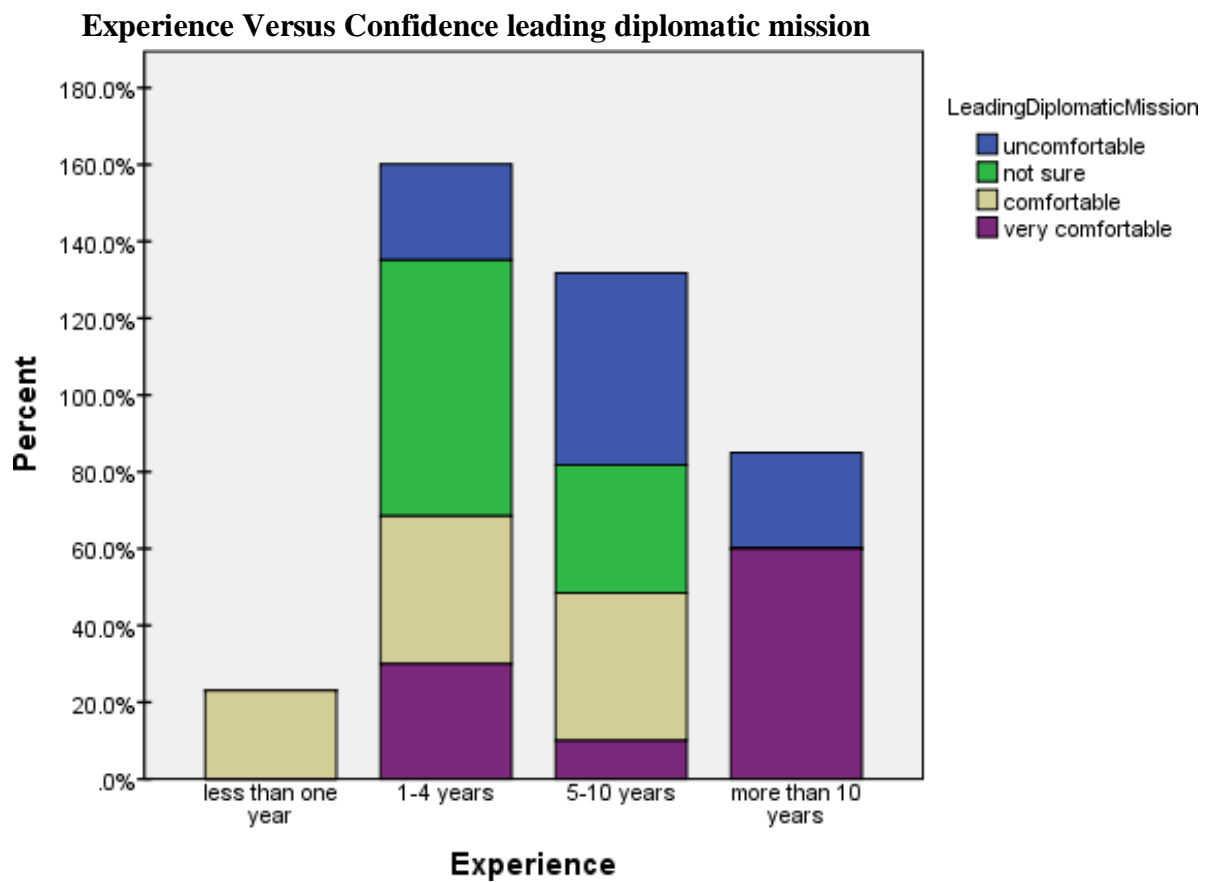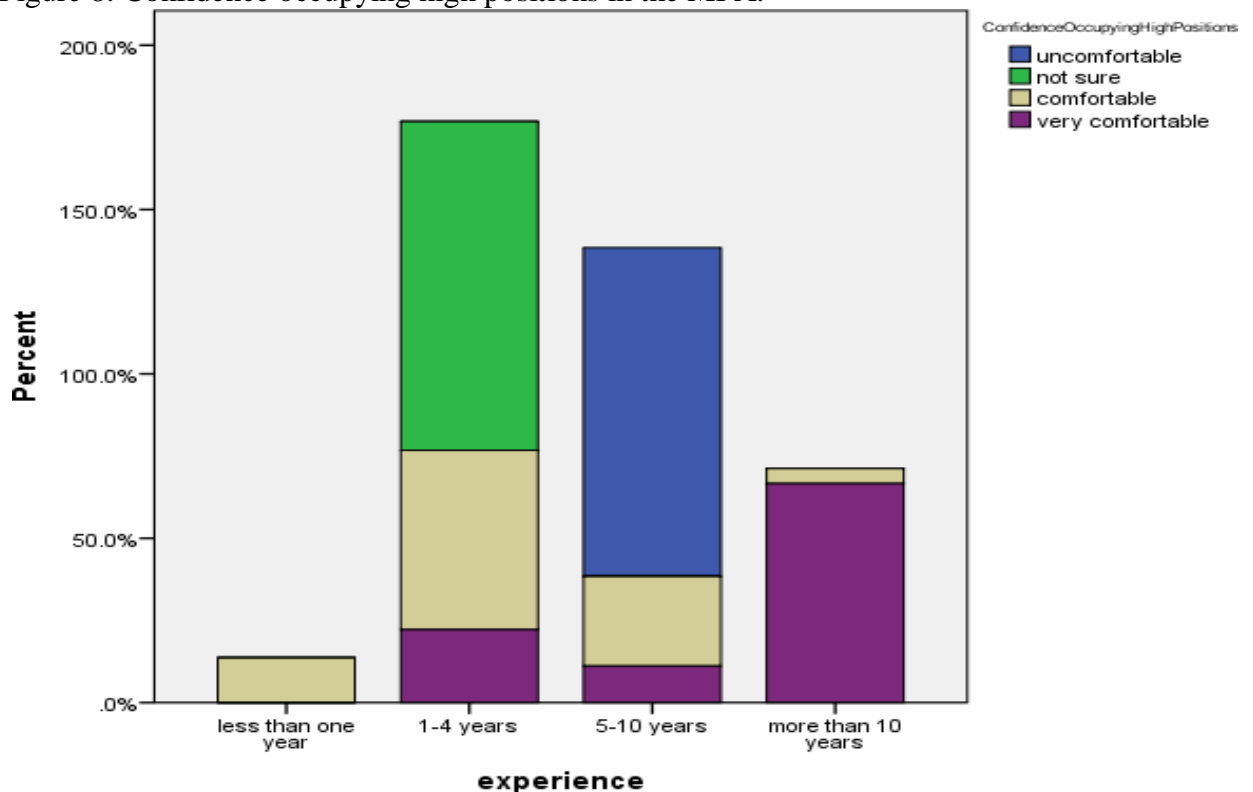

Diplomats with more than ten years of experience were most comfortable leading a diplomatic mission followed by 1-4years experience. It is not clear why entry level diplomats felt more confident than mid-level diplomats. Perhaps it could be new comers' naivety as also respondents with less than a year experience rated themselves as comfortable.

At less than five years' experience one may not comprehend the effort and expertise that go into the role or even its intensity. It is also in that group that majority were unsure of themselves perhaps for same lack of good understanding of the role. It is more puzzling that the highest number of mid-career diplomats are uncomfortable leading a diplomatic mission. More research is required to understand and answer that puzzle. However, it could be due to in-depth knowledge of the intensity and burden that comes with

leading a diplomatic mission so much so that they would not envy the responsibility. On the other hand, diplomats with more than ten years of experience are already in top management and experienced first-hand leading a mission which has built or otherwise shattered their confidence.

A similar pattern is seen for responses about confidence occupying high positions in the MFA as shown in figure 8.

Figure 8: Confidence occupying high positions in the MFA.

Diplomats with more than ten years of experience are most confident occupying high positions in the MFA. High level positions are top management positions including ambassadorship. 5-10 years experienced diplomats are most uncomfortable taking up high positions in the ministry of foreign affairs and those with less than five years of experience are most unsure.

There was no association found between years of experience and briefing the media, and serving abroad.

4.4: Research Question Three: How does gender affect diplomats in discharging their duties?

Diplomacy is a male dominated profession. As a result, I wanted to find out how gender affects Kenyan diplomats in their practice of diplomacy. From the demographic analysis of the sample, I already established that male diplomats are significantly more than female diplomats. To answer the question of effect of gender on job performance I cross tabulated gender and confidence leading diplomatic mission, occupying high positions in the MFA, briefing media, and serving abroad. I also asked participants if they had ever questioned their ability to perform well in Foreign Service.

The results of cross tabulation indicated moderate association between gender and occupying high positions in the MFA, X^2 (6, $N = 36$) = 15.48, $p = .01$. Male diplomats expressed greater confidence than female diplomats. No association was found between gender and the other three variables. The lack of confidence in occupying high positions in the MFA among women diplomats could stem from male dominance in top level appointments like ambassadorship and hence could be lonely for a woman working at that

level. In addition, politics play a huge role in top management appointments and in the same way ambassadors inescapably get involved in politics. Therefore, women diplomats could feel more uncomfortable holding high ranking positions for uncertainty in navigating political murky waters. However, President Uhuru Kenyatta has appointed more women ambassadors than any other president before him and perhaps this will help boost confidence of women diplomats. This inference is supported by views of one woman interviewee about women appointment to top management positions including ambassadorship.

> Top management positions are mostly reserved for our male counterparts. However, political considerations far outweigh the gender equality consideration and persuasion. That notwithstanding the government has given a significant number of women such ambassadorial opportunities – the likes of Monica Juma and Amina Mohamed. Even though it's still a male dominated profession. (Interview).

Likewise, women were less interested in occupying high position in the MFA. Interest in holding high positions in MFA was found to be moderately associated with gender, $p= 0.001$ for top management positions at home and abroad.

When asked if they ever questioned their ability to perform well in Foreign Service, 14 participants (38.9%) said never, 17 (47.2%) said rarely, and 5 (13.9%) sometimes questioned their ability to perform in Foreign Service. However, perceptions of ability to perform were not gender related, $p=0.96$; yet, participants perceived diplomacy to be gender sensitive, and a moderate association was found between gender and perceptions of diplomacy being a gender sensitive profession, $X^2 (8, N = 36) = 24.25, p = .002$.

Figure 9: Confidence in ability to perform in Foreign Service.
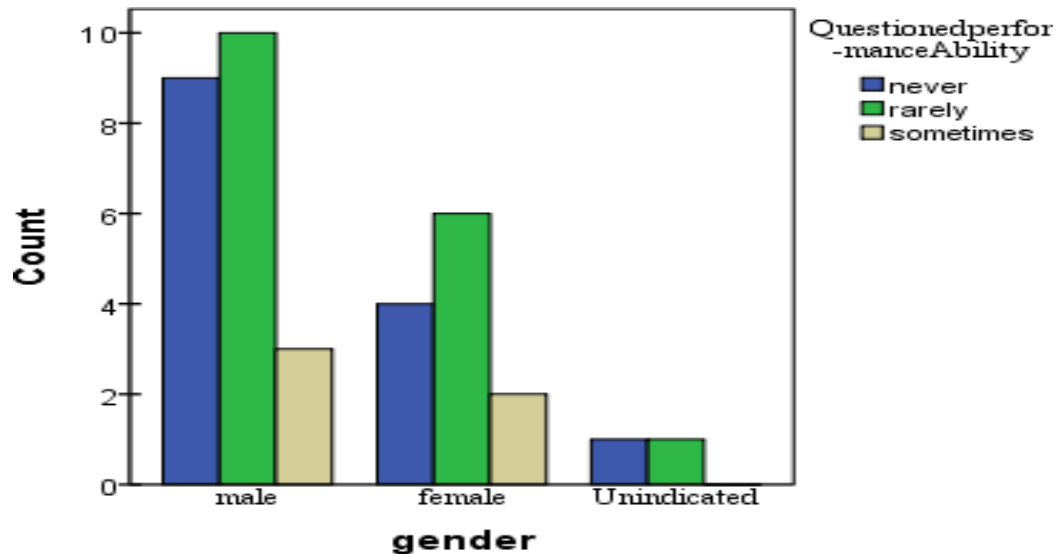
4.5: Research Question Four: To find out how women and men diplomats perceive their work environment

This research question was intended to compare and contrast perceptions about work environment between female and male diplomats. To answer this research question, participants were asked to indicate how frequent they experienced unfair treatment by the host country, limited movement due to cultural norms, unfair treatment from other members of diplomatic corp, unclear reporting structure, unclear job expectations, and unfair treatment from colleagues of the opposite sex. The most frequently reported challenge was unclear reporting structures (43.3%) followed by unclear job expectations at 32.3%. 19.4% reported receiving unfair treatment by the host country. The least encountered challenges were unfair treatment by other members of diplomatic corp, unfair treatment from colleagues of the opposite sex, and limited movement due to cultural norms.

However, when cross tabulated against gender a weak association was found

between gender and unfair treatment from colleagues of the opposite sex, X^2 (4, N = 36) = 10.86, p = .02. Seven women diplomats (50%) reported experiencing unfair treatment from colleagues of the opposite sex at least once against 10% of male diplomats.

When asked about the progress through diplomatic ranks, majority (50%) termed the progress moderate. Other opinions include 22.2% saying it is slow, 16.7% unsure, 2.8% very slow and 8.3% fast. This sharp variation in opinions could be a pointer to unstructured process of upward mobility. This was confirmed by one interviewee when asked about measures taken by MFA to increase women applicants for top management positions. The government has had certain job opportunities specifically open to women. However, when it comes to top management positions politics has a big hand to play in it all. Furthermore, there are no/little criteria employed to ensure and guarantee upward mobility especially for women. (Interview)

I also inquired from participants about their opinions over common stereotypes associated with diplomacy. Diplomacy is commonly regarded a gender sensitive career and Kenyan diplomats agree albeit with varying intensity. A moderate relationship was found between gender and perception of diplomacy being gender sensitive, X^2 (8, N = 36) = 24.25, p = .02. 11 out 12 female diplomats agreed in some way that diplomacy is gender sensitive as compared to 68.1% male diplomats (15 out of 22). However, more than twice as more male diplomats (10 in number) tend to highly affirm – high affirmation includes "agree" and "strongly agree" - that diplomacy is gender sensitive as female diplomats (4 in number). Also, all female participants agreed in some way that women diplomats must work extra hard to prove themselves against 81.8% male. Information gathered from interviews echo these findings. When I asked five women diplomats if it was harder for women to carry out certain duties than for men, four of them remarked that both women and men diplomats are

50

bound by same job expectation and face same challenges. However, one observed that

women encounter gender related challenges that make it harder to discharge some duties.

Here is what she said:

> Yes, it is. This is not to say that women are not capable of performing the duties. A woman deals with a lot of encumbrances in her daily work place from sexism, misogyny and a society that generally perceives us inept. However, if the playing field were to be leveled, women will be performing much better because diplomacy is something that comes naturally to us. (Interview)

The tendency for women diplomats to work extra hard to prove themselves stem

from having to juggle family responsibilities and work, as well as cultural barrier that

subordinate women to men. This was revealed from analysis of qualitative data collected

from interviews with five women diplomats. One of the interviewee said:

> There is nothing different. The same demands meted on a man would be the same made on a woman. However, a woman is multi-dimensional character as opposed to a male. Therefore there are so many things that interact outside the diplomatic environment that makes it harder for a woman; most predominantly familial. (Interview)

Yet, another remarked:

> There are certain factors that affect diplomats differently. Certain countries in general are more comfortable dealing with male diplomats especially the Muslim dominated countries. Cultural consideration of one country are quite a hindrance to effective communication if they are condescending to women folk. (Interview).

I also queried if the government of Kenya has done enough to facilitate appointment

of women in Foreign Service. The cabinet secretary for foreign affairs Ambassador Monica

Juma remarked that the ministry was encouraging women diplomats to take up

ambassadorship positions. However, only 50% of female diplomats exhibited some level of

agreement that the government had done enough to facilitate appointment of women into

Foreign Service compared to 63.6% male diplomats. This shows that the government has a

lot to do to bridge the gender gap in MFA.

4.6: Research Question Five: What is the extent of family support accorded women and men diplomats?

Family support is important for good individual job performance especially for diplomats. To find out the level of family support accorded male and female diplomats I asked participants to rate their family support for their career as diplomat before and after entry into Foreign Service. Figure 10 and 11 show the level of family support for diplomats before and after entry into Foreign Service, respectively.

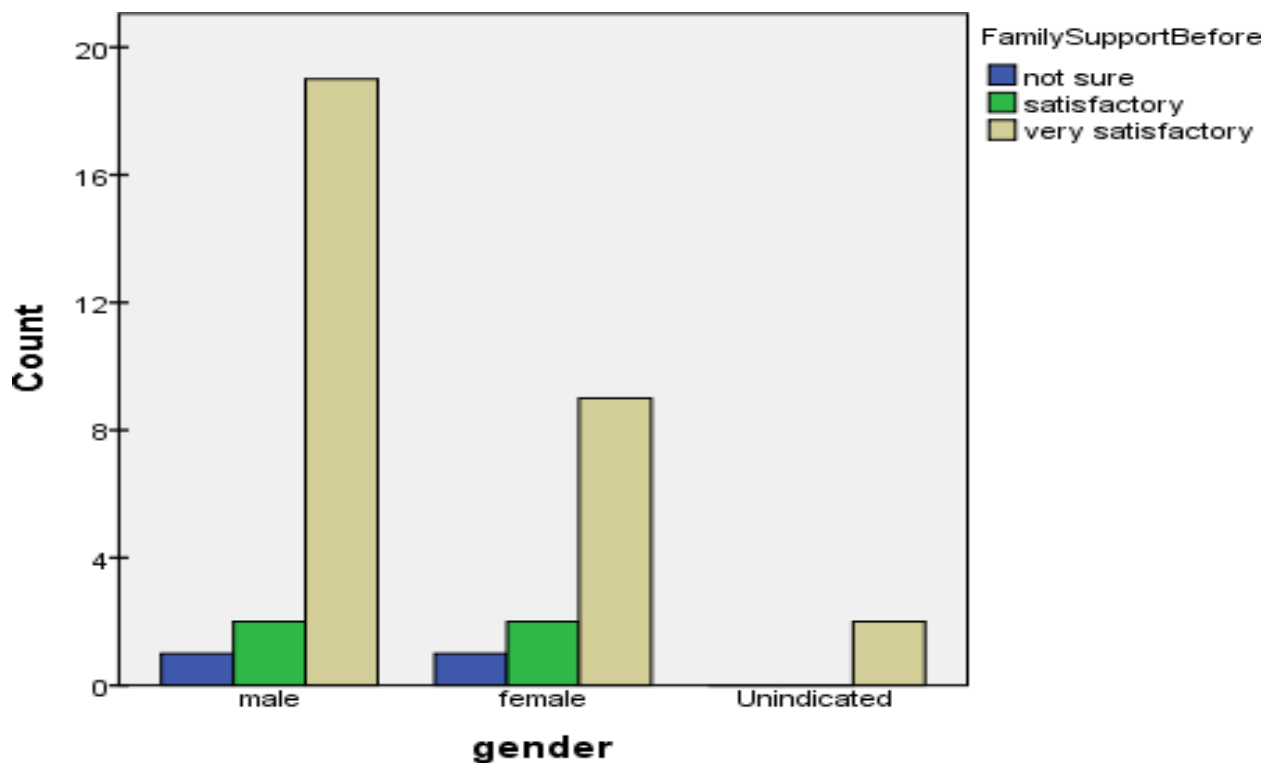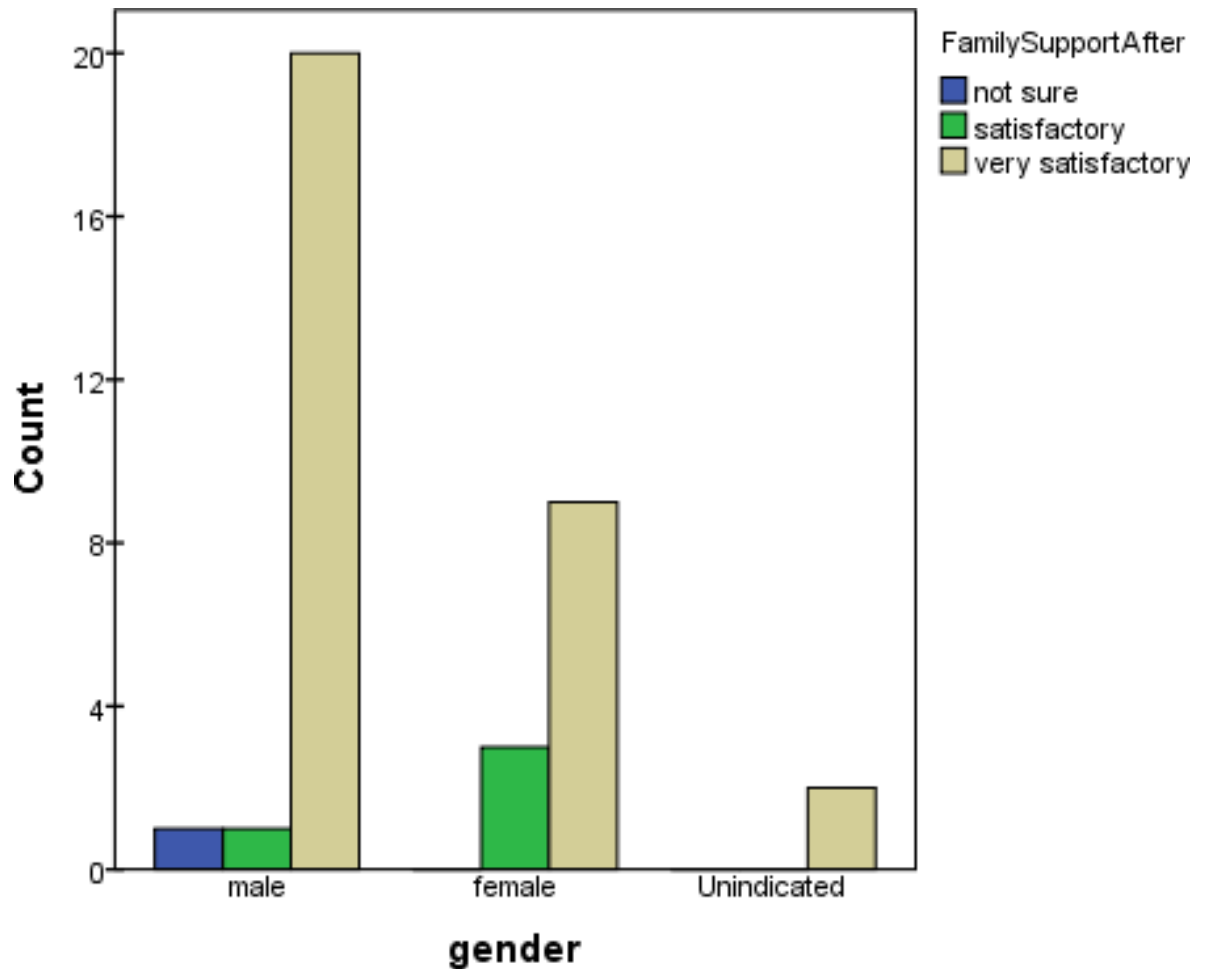Figure 10: Family support before entry into Foreign Service

Figure 11: Family support after entry into Foreign Service

Both female and male diplomats reported to enjoy positive family support before and after joining Foreign Service. Therefore, despite diplomacy being male dominated women desiring to join Foreign Service should not be afraid of not receiving positive family support. In addition, both female and male diplomats would be mindful of their spouse and children when considering Foreign Service abroad as depicted in figure 11 and 12, respectively.

Figure 12: Spouse would affect decision to serve abroad
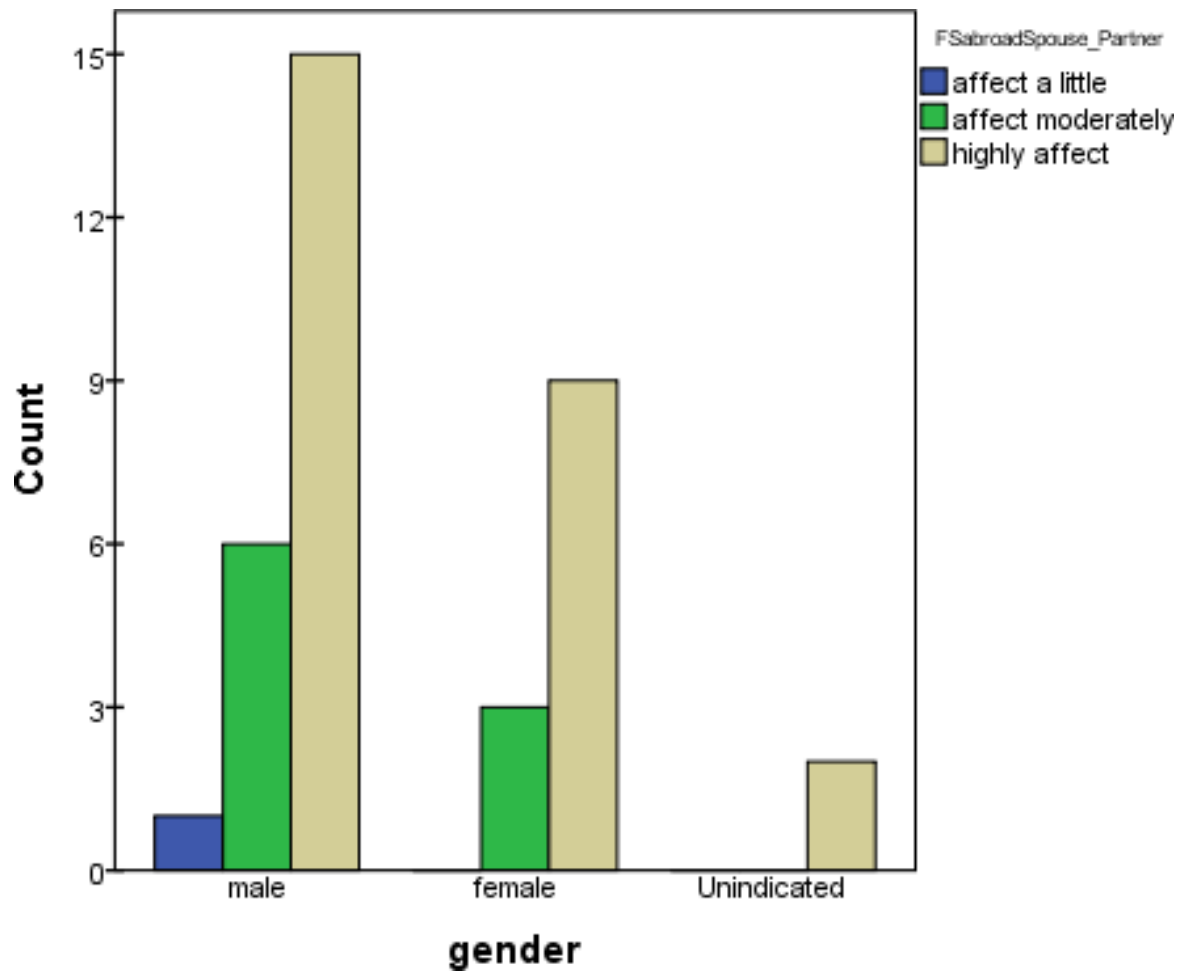
All diplomats confirmed the central place of their spouse in making decision to serve abroad by affirming that a spouse would influence decision to serve abroad. 26 participants (72.2%) rated that a spouse would highly affect decision to serve abroad while 25% and 2.8% rated moderate and low influence, respectively. 9 out of 12 female participants rated that a spouse would highly influence decision to serve abroad and only three rated moderately. In comparison, 15 out of 22 male participants rated spouse influence only high

and 6 moderately. This means a spouse support may influence a diplomat's performance during a foreign assignment or tour of duty.

Similarly, children are factored in the decision to serve abroad. However, for male diplomats children do not affect as much as the spouse with only 9 (down from 15 for spouse) of them rating high the influence of children in the decision to serve abroad. On the contrary, female diplomats are equally mindful (9 rated children influence high) of their children as with their spouse in deciding to serve abroad.

Figure 13: Children would affect decision to serve abroad.
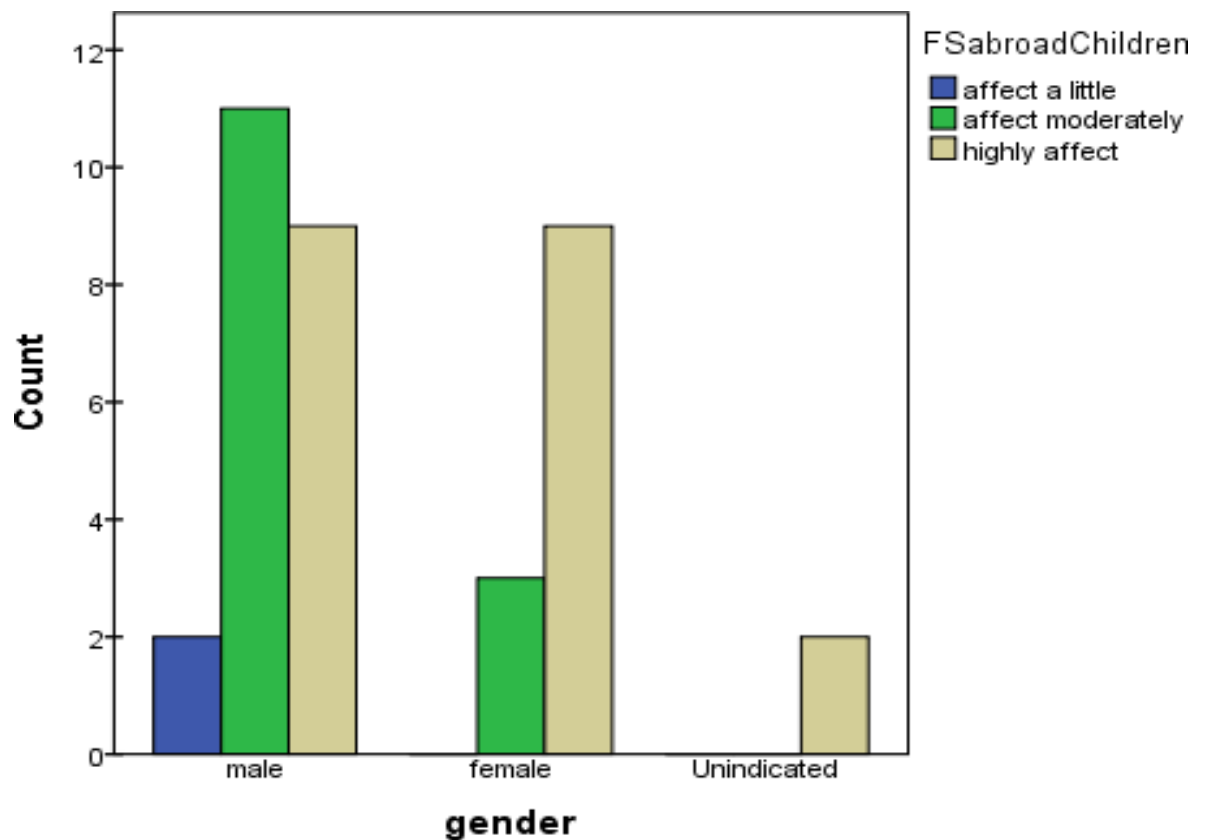
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter I summarize the finding of my study, draw conclusion and make recommendations for individual diplomats, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, government of Kenya, and research institutions.

5.1: Summary

Kenyan diplomats are highly educated with majority holding postgraduate degree. The academic excellence cuts across the years of experience with entry level diplomats holding equal academic qualifications as high level diplomats. A moderate association found between education level and serving abroad points at importance high education standards in implementing Foreign Service goals in foreign lands. Although academic achievement was highly reported to be important for good performance in Foreign Service, it is not associated with confidence in performing diplomatic duties like leading a diplomatic mission and briefing the media and serving in MFA top level positions.

One the other hand, years of service were moderately associated with confidence occupying high positions in the MFA and leading a diplomatic mission. Gender also influenced confidence and interest occupying high position in the MFA with women being less confident than men. This could be due to the tradition of appointing men to these positions leaving women without the necessary exposure to build their confidence. In addition, top management positions in the MFA are most influenced by politics hence most accessible to politically connected individuals. Women diplomats generally lack these political networks besides their male diplomats significantly taking advantage of their gender to treat them unfairly. This presents a structural inequality disadvantaging women

in diplomacy. Such structural inequalities must be dealt if gender gap in the MFA is to be bridged.

Except for challenges related to their gender, women diplomats nearly face similar challenges as male diplomats. Basically, female diplomats deal with a lot more challenges than their male counterparts. As one female interviewee put it, "A woman deals with a lot of encumbrances in her daily work place from sexism, misogyny and a society that generally perceives us inept". Consequently, most study participants agree in some way that diplomacy is gender sensitive and that women have to work extra hard to prove themselves; hence, a moderate relationship between gender and perceptions of diplomacy being gender sensitive was found. Unsurprisingly, male participants rated highest in perceiving diplomacy as gender sensitive thus indicating that long recorded perceptions on diplomacy as a male club still persist. In the same token, an association was found (albeit weak) between gender and unfair treatment from colleagues of the opposite sex, X^2 (4, N = 36) = 10.86, p = .02 where more female participants reported experiencing unfair treatment from colleagues of the opposite sex. Essentially, when male diplomats perceive diplomacy to be a male domain there is a high likelihood of condescending their female colleagues. Such perceptions are entrenched in patriarchy, and according to feminists it is one of the greatest hindrance to gender equality.

By and large, the work environment posed similar challenges for both female and male diplomats as there was no association between gender and unfair treatment by the host country, freedom of movement due to cultural norms, unfair treatment from other members of diplomatic corp, unclear reporting structure and unclear job expectations. Unclear reporting structure and job expectations were cited to be most frequently occurring work

related challenges. These challenges are not only experienced in developing countries like Kenya but were also observed in American embassies resulting from "multiple layers of authority" (Haglund, 2015).

Finally, both female and male diplomats enjoy cordial family support for their profession. The diplomats are also well mindful of their family and affirm highly that they would consider their spouses and children in making decisions about serving abroad.

5.2: Conclusions

In conclusion, Kenyan women diplomats encounter many challenges similar to those encountered by male diplomats. However, women diplomats face peculiar challenges by virtue of their gender. The gender gap in the Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs particularly in top management is still big. In addition, long standing stereotypes around diplomacy are still thriving among Kenyan diplomats including diplomacy being a gender sensitive career and that female diplomats have to work twice as hard to prove their competence. Further, sexism and lack of structured formula for upward mobility through diplomatic ranks demoralizes hardworking careerists causing loss of valuable talents. Under such conditions, women diplomats bear the greatest blunt due to gender disparity. They are less likely to be considered for promotion despite having requisite qualifications and expertise. As a consequence, women diplomats are not as confident as their male counterparts about occupying high positions in the MFA. In the light of liberal feminism, gender inequality persisting in Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs roots in the patriarchal nature of the Kenyan society. Women are still ranked below men in political leadership. Women must therefore stand up and demand substantive representation of women in all government appointments

including ambassadors. As things stand presently, only 14 out 61 missions and consulates are headed by women which falls below the 30% constitutional threshold.

Despite the peculiar challenges encountered by women diplomats purely because of their gender, they perform as good as the male diplomats. The bottom line, however, is that women diplomats must be prepared to work harder to prove their competence.

5.3: Recommendations

5.3.1: Recommendations to individual diplomats

I recommend the following for individual diplomats and people interested in diplomacy. Since gender has no association with performance in Foreign Service, women desiring to join the Foreign Service should do so at any available opportunity. Likewise female diplomats should not fear failure because of their gender, but seize any opportunity to progress through diplomatic ranks.

Male diplomats should encourage their female counterparts to apply and compete for top management positions in the MFA rather than unfairly exploit them.

5.3.2: Recommendations to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

i.   Implement gender mainstreaming policy to close the gender gap and increase women in top management.

ii.   Define criteria, structure the mobility up diplomatic ranks and adhere to them when carrying out performance appraisal and promotion.

iii. Streamline job expectations and reporting structures

5.3.3: Recommendations to the government

i. Reserve more ambassador appointments for career diplomats

ii. Appoint female and male ambassadors on 50:50 basis to bridge gender gap in ambassadorship appointments

5.3.4: Recommendations to research institutions

Conduct further research on:

i. Why female diplomats are less confident occupying high positions in the MFA.

ii. Measures taken by MFA to combat sexism at work

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Demographics

Please **Tick** your age category.

i. **Age Bracket** 21-30 {   } 31-40{   }, 41-50{   }, 51-60{   }, 61 and above {   }.

ii. **Gender:** Male [ ]   Female [ ]

iii.   Marital status:

Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed	In a relationship

iv. **Highest** level of education

Secondary school	College diploma	Bachelors degree	Postgraduate degree	PhD	Other

1. How long have you worked as a diplomat?

Less than 1 year	1-4 years	5-10 years	More than 10 years

2. Current status of employment with the ministry of foreign affairs

Currently employed	Retired	Accompanying diplomat spouse

2 (a). If currently employed what is your position?

Ambassador

Envoy/minister

Charge d'affaires

Ministerial attaché

Others (Please describe) _____

2(b). What is the management level of your current position?

Top level	Mid-level	Junior level

2(c). If retired, what was your level of management at the time of retirement?

Top level	Mid-level	Junior level

3. Have you worked in missions abroad?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

4. Rate support from the ministry of foreign affairs in discharging your duties

Support	Very unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Not sure	Satisfactory	Very satisfactory
Training on organizational culture					
Training about the position					
Education for children					

5. Rate family support for your career as diplomat

Support	Very unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Not sure	Satisfactory	Very satisfactory
Before entry into foreign service					
After entry into foreign service					
Current assignment					

6. Rate your confidence in the following areas

Area	Very uncomfortable	Uncomfortable	Not sure	Comfortable	Very comfortable
Occupying highest level positions in MFA					
Leading a diplomatic delegation					
Briefing the media					
Serving abroad					

7. If you were to consider Foreign Service abroad how much would the following factors affect the decision?

Factors	No affect	Affect a little	Not sure	Affect moderately	Highly affect
Spouse/partner					
Children					
Career					

progression					
Culture of host country					
Security in host country					

8. How is progress through the diplomatic ranks?

No progress	Very slow	Slow	Not sure	Moderate	Fast	Very Fast

9. What would be your interest in occupying these management levels in Foreign Service?

Management Levels	No interest	Little interest	Not sure	Somewhat interested	Very interested
Junior level at home					
Junior level abroad					
Mid-level at home					
Mid-level abroad					

Top-level at home				
Top-level abroad				

10. How would the following factors affect your performance in Foreign Service?

Factors	Never affect	Rarely affects	Not sure	Somewhat affects	Highly affects
Education level					
Years of experience					
Gender					
Religion					
Marital status					
Parenting (0- 17yrs children)					

11. Have you encountered these challenges in your career as diplomat?

Challenges	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always
Unfair treatment by the host country					
Limited freedom of movement due to cultural norms					
Unfair treatment from other members of diplomatic corp					
Unclear reporting structure					
Unclear job expectations					
Unfair treatment from colleagues of the opposite sex					

12. Have you ever questioned your ability to perform well in Foreign Service?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always

13. Diplomacy is a gender sensitive career?

Don't agree	Slightly agree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree

14. Women diplomats must work extra hard to prove themselves?

Don't agree	Slightly agree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree

15. The government of Kenya has done enough to facilitate appointment of women in

Foreign Service

Don't agree	Slightly agree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree

16. Would you advice a young woman to join Foreign Service?

Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]   Don't know   [ ]   Not sure   [ ]

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

(The questions will be interviewed to currently employed diplomats (5 women)

1. Is there anything in the design of the diplomatic environment that could affect women and men differently?

2. Is it harder for women to carry out certain duties than for men?

3. What measures are being carried out by the ministry of foreign affairs to increase the number of women applicants for top management positions, including ambassador roles?

4. What advice would you give a woman considering working as a diplomat?

APPENDIX 3: NACOSTI Research Permit

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NACOSTI

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH LICENSE
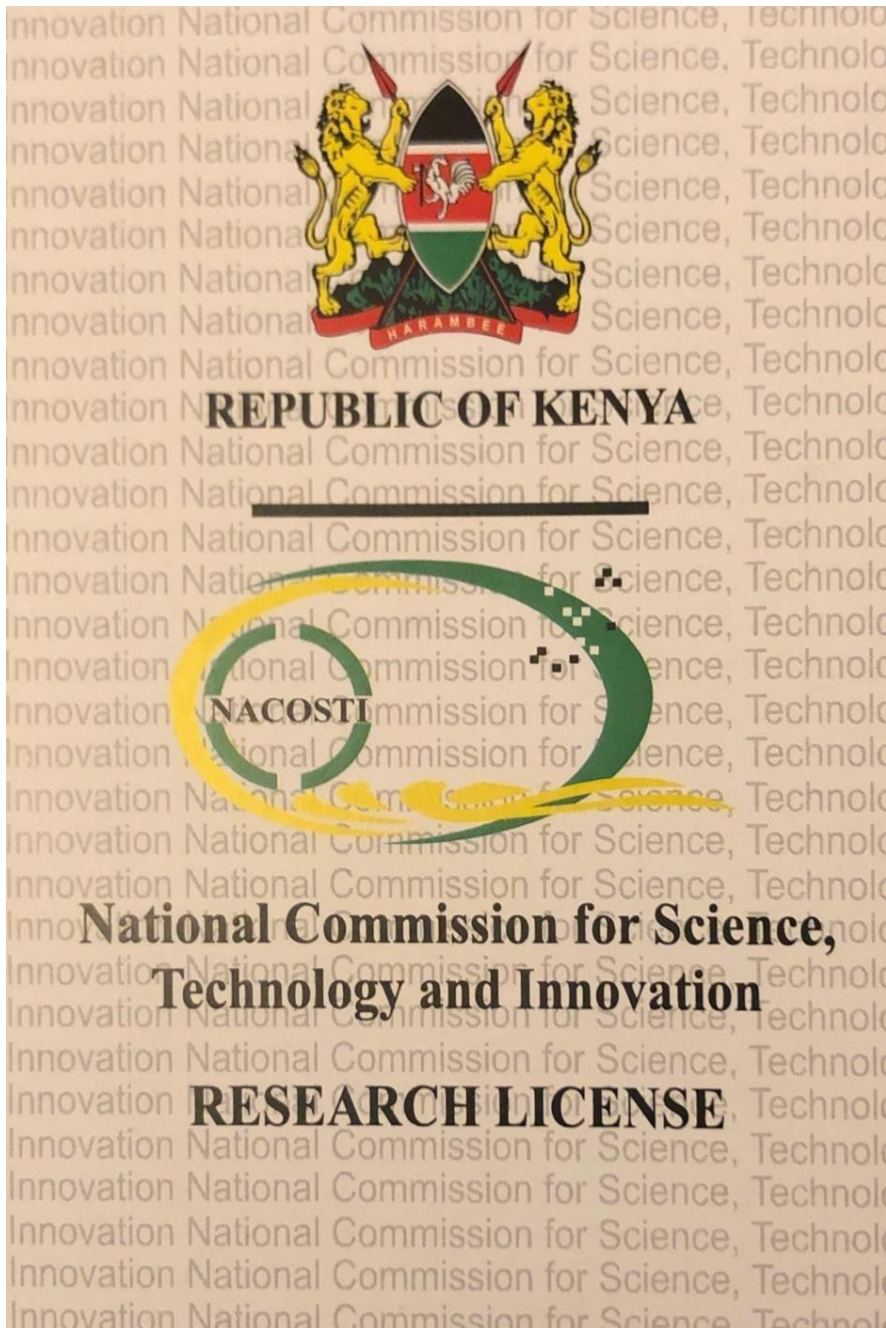
THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. JOSEPHINE LUKA HUQA
**of HEKIMA INSTITUTE OF PEACE
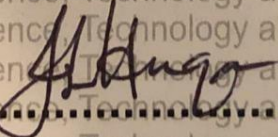STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, 9248-100 Nairobi,has been
permitted to conduct research in**
Nairobi County

**on the topic: *THE ROLE OF DIPLOMATIC
SPOUSES IN IMPLEMENTATION OF
FOREIGN POLICY: ANALYSIS OF
DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN KENYA.***

for the period ending:
14th December,2019

....

*Applicant's
Signature*

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/47426/27091
Date Of Issue : 14th December,2018
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

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

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
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