KENYA'S MUSLIM WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE: A CASE STUDY OF MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY

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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has, to the best of knowledge not been submitted to any academic institution for examination.

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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

The thesis has been submitted with my approval as the Moi University Supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, who taught me the value of handwork, the lecturers and management of Moi University whose support and understanding was eminent for my research project.

God bless you all.

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I acknowledge by sincere appreciation all the guidance, support and direction to this work by my Supervisors who have led to the success of this work. Secondly, I want to thank my fellow course mates and colleagues at work for their encouragement and support during this period of studies. Thirdly, I also acknowledge the entire staff and management of Moi University who through permission allowed me and guided me through valuable documents to gather information from their Library. Lastly, I want to appreciate my husband and children for their tolerance as they missed my home presence during this study. To all I say, may more blessings abound your way for moral support as God bless you all.

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the study was to examine Kenya's Muslim Women Participation in Diplomatic Service: A Case Study of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was backed by specific study objectives which sought; to assess how to encourage Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy, to analyze the influence of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy, and finding out the factors hindering participation of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy. The theoretical leaning by the study was dualistic in nature. It was underpinned by the following two theories; Gender equality theory and dialogic feminist theory. The former is a theory with composite effects in nature, one being gender role and others being; socioeconomic development, gender-egalitarian attitudes, cultural and political traditions, and institutional design factors. The second, dialogic feminist theory anchors itself on the fact that women issues must be subjected to society processes of participation. Professor Walter W. Foskett propones the second theory, whereas the proponents of gender equality theory include; Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel. The proponents of gender equality theory argue that the comparison of factors across different stages of gender equality will enrich understanding of the roles of economic development, cultural change, historical legacies and institutional designs in empowering women. The study used descriptive research design, while relying on simple random sampling technique in selecting the sample for this study. The target population comprised management staff employed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs composed of the 210 as sample size. The researcher used questionnaire to collect data from the respondents. Thematic analysis was embraced data analysis. In addition, quantitative data collected was analyzed statistically by the help of the Statistical Package for Social Scientist (SPSS version 22). The research project findings were discussed thematically in summary from whence the study recommends that the Muslims religious leaders need to review the Islamic teachings that deny women and girls and girls their rights in order to improve participation centripetally while at the same time the government should put up measures that will ensure generally women participate in publics service and specifically in diplomacy. With good policies and combined efforts/ strategies, the challenges that deter the level of participation of Muslim women in diplomacy will be finally dealt with.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0   Introduction

The study sought to examine the involvement of Kenya Muslim women participation in diplomacy; case of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This chapter covers the fundamental aspects of research project including; the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study both the general and specific, research questions, the significance of the study, scope of the study, theoretical framework, and study limitations.

1.1 Background of the Study

Women participation in diplomacy and by extension a critical look at Kenya's Muslim women specifically is a subject that widely vents into gender issues contemporarily. In this case, it borders on their responsiveness, their resolve to participate, and much more encouraged by their representation in politics. The three define participation which now becomes an outcome. Kenya's Muslim women participation is not an isolated area with no connection to other governance and public issues, they are interconnected. In fact it is full of a study gap that this research project fills up.

According to FIDA (2013), the most recent Kenyan census indicates that women comprise over 50 percent of the Kenyan population. However, the participation of women in the electoral process does not reflect this demographic reality. The reasons behind this disparity have complex historical and cultural elements, which were never

given due focus in building the nation. Kenya is a largely patriarchal society, which has contributed to women's subjugation in both the private and public spheres. Women have historically taken a secondary position to men, and this tradition is manifested in the practices, policies, and laws of the country. In the past, women have faced several challenges, and the exclusion of women from electoral and political processes is no exception. Despite the constitutional provisions outlawing discrimination on the basis of gender, women continue to suffer setbacks whenever they seek not only elective, but also appointive, positions in Kenya. It is evident that, if we are to achieve equality and equity between men and women and enable women to realize their full potential, women must be fully involved in political life. The most recent census determined that women make up 52 percent of the population, but women's representation in political life has yet to reach any meaningful ratio vis-a-vis their proportion of the nation.

A half billion Muslim women inhabit approximately forty-five Muslim majority countries, and another thirty or more countries have significant Muslim minorities including countries in the developed West. According to Abusharaf (2006), Muslim women have come to live under an extremely conservative patriarchal gender-based system that embraces Islam and Shari'a in its most reactionary and intransigent form regarding Muslim women, e.g., Iran, Sudan, and Northern Nigeria. Many other Muslim women live in majority Islamic countries where Shari'a is greatly modified, i.e., Kenya, Ghana, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines. In majority Islamic societies Muslim women are striving not only to attain basic human needs and rights, Muslim women are using Islam to demand gender equality via a more liberal reading of the Holy Qur'an and Islamic

jurisprudence, new civil liberties, and new relationships to the outside world (Afary, 2004).

Gender equality and the empowerment of women is one of the eight goals of the United Nations Millennium Declaration. One commonly used measure of progress in this area is the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments. As of 2013, this proportion was 21.2 percent, and only 34 countries – of which 18 were developing countries – had met the United Nations 1990 target of 30 percent or more in national legislative seats (Andibo, 2013).

Even in developed countries women are still vastly outnumbered by men in the senior levels of diplomacy, as in so many other professions. It is true that few would now assert, in a way that was once common, that women are in principle unable to take up any diplomatic role. Even Iran and Saudi Arabia have appointed female ambassadors, and three women have ably filled the crucial post of US Secretary of State. But ambassadors are most commonly accompanied men relying to varying degrees on unpaid wives to manage their social obligations, although most foreign ministries would not openly call for such an arrangement (Moran, 1992).

A more diverse workforce brings a broader skill set and a greater pool of competent people. This is essential in an era where the diplomatic toolbox seems inadequate to resolve problems like Syria's conflict, or the spread of Islamic State. Women in ambassadorial roles in what would seem to be the most challenging locations point out that, while their job and their contribution are basically the same as their male

colleagues', they can also contribute in ways that men cannot. In the British Diplomatic Service women are over-represented in the most junior administrative roles, amount to just 29.8% of senior management and represent a mere 49 of 267 heads of British diplomatic missions abroad. The proportion of women trails off by grade in a more or less linear correlation until you get to the very, very top, where there are none. Foreign ministries and international organizations must endeavor to make the kind of systemic change that will lead to as many women as men at all levels. This means at a minimum dismantling stereotypes, providing flexible career structures and working arrangements so that women and men can all pursue their careers while enjoying the rest of their lives and providing coaching and development to encourage women to realize their potential. Only then can we create a new leadership identity, fit to address global challenges in a broad and creative way.

Women, with few exceptions, have had no place in history as diplomats. Those rising to positions of leadership inherited tribes, states, kingdoms or monarchies (Eagly and Carli, 2007). In such cases the legitimacy of the woman occupying the leadership position was largely a function of legal inheritance rather than a result of personal quest or compelling vision to shape her state or nation. Even today, in many institutions, women attainment of leadership positions has been facilitated by affirmative action and employment equity policies, thus creating the perception that one was 'let in' and even the most capable women are viewed with suspicion (Nwankwo, 1996). Despite years of progress by women in the workplace and the many efforts made to ensure that women representation is achieved at all levels, they are still underrepresented in many

government and non-governmental organizations, particularly in positions of power and decision making (Delay Ray, 2005). Historically, diplomacy has carried the notion of masculinity and the belief that men make better leaders than women. The societal conventions regarding gender and diplomacy traditionally exclude women and top leadership is viewed as a masculine domain (Kiamba, 2008). In the men dominated societies, male leadership style predominates and is regarded as more acceptable. Stereotypes of how women lead have made it difficult for women to access or even stay in diplomatic positions. Gender stereotypes are based on the assumption that women lack the attributes, abilities and motivation for leadership roles. Behaviors such as emotionality, dependency, and sensitivity associated with the female stereotype are perceived as incompatible with the requirements of diplomacy and leadership.

Studies have shown that people associate women and men with different traits and link men with more traits that connote leadership (Eagly and Carli, 2007). Women are associated with communal qualities which convey concern for the compassionate treatment of others. Men are associated with agentic qualities which convey assertion and control. Society has socialized women to become nurturing, likeable, gentle, compassionate, soft spoken, warm, yielding, selfless, and dependent rather than ambitious, aggressive, dominant, self-reliant, strong, individualistic and independent. These attributes are opposite of what is expected of a leader. Growe and Montgomery (2000) opine that compared to men, women receive little support or no encouragement for seeking leadership positions. Besides, leadership positions require hard work, long hours and are stressful for women. This burden is added to their childcare, home care

and family responsibility. Women are less likely than men to participate in upper level administration. There is some kind of "success avoidance" by women that influence leadership ability or interest in leadership position (Nwankwo, 1996). Moreover, women are more or less persecuted for seeking executive positions due to society's attitude towards appropriate male and female roles (Eagly and Carli, 2007).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Looking at the global statistics, there is a indication of lesser participation of women in the good offices (diplomacy). The number of women in senior diplomatic positions is seriously underrepresented, and women are still struggling to break into the diplomatic hierarchy without settling for a compromise. Over time, since the beginning of U.S.A. diplomatic relations, only 9% of over 4,600 diplomats have been women. Currently, about a third (36%) of assigned American ambassadors are women (Zainulbhai 2016). It took the United Kingdom 191 years to finally appoint the first female Head of Mission, and in 2010, women fill only 21.8% of senior management positions from 260 diplomatic missions (Rahman 2011).

In Kenya women have been struggling for participation in politics and public life. Even with the third rule enshrined in Kenya constitution and having 47 position designated women are still under represented in the Kenya political field (Tundi 2015). Kenyan Muslim women perceive themselves as a marginalized lot in terms of participation in the public sphere. According to Faki (2010) on her study on Kenyan Muslim women observed that public sphere is reserved for men where women are rarely involved

especially at middle and senior level management .The Kenyan Muslim women are considered best fit for family matters (Faki 2010). This is replicated even in the diplomacy which has been a male dominated public enterprise. Currently (GOK, 2017), Kenya has 49 embassies and high commissions abroad as well as 17 consulates and other representations. Out of all 66 diplomats there are 18 women and only one is a Muslim woman. This research will seek to examine the involvement of the Kenya's Muslim women in diplomacy.

1.3 General Objective

The main objective of the study was to examine Kenya's Muslim Women Participation in Diplomatic Service: A Case Study of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

i)   To assess how to encourage Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy.

ii) To analyze the influence of Kenyan Muslim participation women in diplomacy.

iii) To find out factors hindering participation of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy.

1.4 Research Questions

i)   To what extent do Kenya's Muslim Women Participate in Diplomatic Service, case of Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

ii) How can Kenyan Muslim women be encouraged to participate in diplomacy?

iii) What is the influence of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy?

iv) What factors hinder participation of Kenyan Muslim women in diplomacy

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of the study can be seen from many angles. First, the government can use the findings of the study to develop policies that can tackle the problem of gender disparity in diplomacy. Scholars can use the findings of this study as a basis for further investigation and subsequent research on Muslim women issues. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs can use the findings of the study to attract more women to diplomatic assignments. The study adds to the much needed information on Muslim and diplomatic leadership. In addition, the recommendations of the study can help the career women to "break the glass ceiling" and move up the ladder of leadership in diplomacy from where they can address women issues more appropriately. The glass ceiling is a metaphor for an invisible barrier that prevents ambitious women from moving up the organizational hierarchy.

1.6   Scope of the Study

The scope of this project was limited by focusing on the subject theme which breaks down to subject scope of Kenya's Muslim participation in diplomacy, and by casing it around ministry of Foreign Affairs, the scope moves further to bear bureaucratic structure in its analysis. The two approaches worked well to help the researcher to direct the project in this narrow yet important perspective for addition of knowledge.

1.7   Theoretical Framework

This study was underpinned by the following two theories; Gender equality theory and dialogic feminist theory. The former is a theory with composite effects in nature, one being gender role and others being; socioeconomic development, gender-egalitarian attitudes, cultural and political traditions, and institutional design factors. The second, dialogic feminist theory anchors itself on the fact that women issues must be subjected to society processes of participation.

According to Professor Walter W. Foskett, in his description of the feminist dialogic approach; he suggests it offers highlights of several important ideas. First, the goal of a system of participation in constitution making is not simple aggregation of interests; it is to create a process of dialogue in which all voices contribute to the ultimate outcome. This goal not only requires the participation of women, it also requires that we design the types of processes that will encourage all of the participants to approach the task with openness to the dialogue. Second, no single form of participation or dialogue is going to be sufficient. Every actual dialogue suffers from defects that interfere with its ability to serve as a good mechanism for the expression of women's voices (Foskett, 2015).

As a result, he suggests we should not be looking for a single model of some ideal (or even best practical) way of structuring participation. Instead, we should be looking at the process of constitution-making as a system and trying to design it so that it includes a wide range of participatory mechanisms in which the defects of one mechanism can be

offset by the strengths of another. And, in thinking about this system, we need to keep in mind that it is not enough to ensure that women are present when the dialogue is taking place; we need to be attentive to the power dynamics that determine who is heard within dialogic venues and not just to the power dynamics that determine who is there. Third, we need to re-imagine the meaning of representation in order to provide real voice for women. No constitutional process, however participatory, will include all of the women within a country: some form of representation is a necessary mechanism for communicating women's perspectives within the constitutional process.

The proponents of gender equality theory are Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel. According to the following studies, Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel 2002; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; and Welzel 2003; the above factors may figure prominently in explanations of women's increasing empowerment. They (proponents) argue that the comparison of these factors across different stages of gender equality will enrich understanding of the roles of economic development, cultural change, historical legacies and institutional designs in empowering women. The gender role is an attribute of gender equality yet it is much spoken of by many feminists. Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationship between men and women, girls and boys (Hannan, 2001). The attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learnt through the socialization process. Hannan (2001) further explains that gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. In other words gender refers to roles, responsibilities, opportunities, privileges and expectations ascribed to

males and female by the society. A gender role therefore is a set of social and behavioral norms that are generally considered appropriate for either a man or a woman in a social or interpersonal relationship.

The role itself uses gender stereotypes and gender role socialization as explanatory concepts (Klenke, 1996). Stereotypes are descriptive shortcuts applied to categories of people, women and men, blacks and whites, poor and rich. They rest on oversimplified generalizations leading to categorized judgments about people. Although stereotypes may often be based on a grain of truth, in reality, they more often conceal than they reveal. Gender stereotypes are based on the assumption that women lack the attributes, abilities, skill and motivation required for leadership roles (Klenke, 1996). The stereotypes imply that with respect to leadership abilities, men are better and fit for the leadership role than women. Women are associated with communal qualities which convey a concern for the passionate treatment of others.

This includes being especially affectionate, helpful, friendly, kind and sympathetic as well, as interpersonally sensitive, gentle and soft spoken (Eagly and Carli, 2007). Behaviors such as emotionality, dependency and sensitivity associated with female gender stereotypes are perceived as incompatible with requirements for leadership. Men are associated with agentic qualities which convey assertion and control. This includes being aggressive, dominant, ambitious, self confident, forceful as well as self – reliant and individualistic. These agentic qualities are also associated, in most people minds, with effective leadership (Eagly and Carli, 2001), perhaps because of a long history of

male domination of leadership roles. This has made it difficult to separate the leader qualities and the male qualities of association.

This role attribute though faintly referred by others as theory implies male are stereotyped as the locus of power and authority in the Quran both in the family and communality which advocates for male superiority over women and assumes that only men should be the leaders (Arkoun 1994). This is a fact Muhammad al-Ghazzali asserts that the concept "of the supposed inferiority of a woman as such in Islam is pure fiction and should be completely disregarded". He goes on and gives these verses from Quran to support his argument "Every soul will be (held) in pledge for its deeds" (74:38) and "…so their Lord accepted their prayers, (saying): I will not suffer to be lost the work of any of you whether male or female. You proceed one from another…" (3:195). The Qur'an acknowledges the differences between men and women; yet the Qur'an is explicit in identifying that men and women are different but equal (Davis, 2006; Dickens, 1998) and complementary roles of men and women (Roald, 2001). Hence we may conclude that the though most Muslim consider the role of leadership to be of men and uses Quran to support it is only friction and it is used by men and those who want to deny women leadership positions.

1.8   Study Limitations

The study limitations included availability of time out of tedious work schedule, it also involved balancing time with the family, work, and studies. It also involved sparing time for library to carry out research and discuss school work. The researcher was prepared to apportion time for all.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

The study looked at the issues related to Kenya's Muslim women participation in diplomacy, case of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this chapter, the literature is reviewed on the basis of the study objectives as outlined below;

i.   Examining Kenya's Muslim Women Participation in Diplomatic Service: A Case Study of Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

ii.   Assessing how to encourage Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy,

iii.   Analyzing the influence of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy, and

iv.   Finding out factors hindering participation of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy.

In the end, scholarly material relevant to each was arranged and ordered on this guideline.

2.1   Kenya's Muslim Women Participation in Diplomatic Service: A Case Study of Ministry of Foreign Affairs

According to Eagly and Carli (2001), Islamists... most often have used women as markers of cultural authenticity or, alternately, the decadent and immorality (jāhiliyya)

of the community. In a study conducted by Marty Riesbrodt, he concludes, "…what fundamentalist cannot prevent in the way of structural transformation they attempt to impose symbolically. It is clear that "the control of female sexuality looms large in the language employed by fundamentalists" and to a greater extent, experienced by women living under its sway. Feminist organizations have warned that Islamist [Islamic fundamentalist] power-sharing would, in fact, reverse the educational and social gains of the post independence period, remove women from public life, and again restrict their roles solely to that of wife and mother. In short, the issue of women's status has become one of the most significant identifiers of Islamic fundamentalist ideology.

Feminism has experienced widespread growth in the Muslim world with numerous groups emerging in response to changes throughout the region. Specifically, liberal feminism and Islamic feminism are two such movements that have emerged in response to Islamic fundamentalist ideologies. These movements have grown out of the changes in the political opportunity structures: in some cases from the increases in access or freedom and in other instances, from the repression of their rights. Liberal feminism is concerned with the legal changes and has emerged with its own mobilizing structures and its own means of framing the "woman question (Summers, 2003). Islamic feminism seeks to redefine the understanding of the rights and roles of Muslim women from their own perspective, instead of what they see as the male-dominated interpretation of Islam's sacred texts and traditions. Islamic feminism is framing the issue in terms of what they feel is a patriarchic, misogynistic interpretation of Islam that deprives them of what they believe Islam really provides.

The "women question" has once again come to the forefront as a major issue in determining the course of Islam in today's world. This is nothing new to the Muslim world as "the 'women question' presents the most consistent point of contention between traditional and modern society, and one that continually emerges despite attempts to avoid or shelve the issue. Both Islamists and Arab nationalists more specifically, have engaged the issue of women's role and status throughout their history (Klenke, 1996). One scholar notes, "One of the most striking features of Islamist movements throughout the Arab world is their preoccupation with the 'women question.'" The rights of women and the roles they play are central to the Islamists' agenda. Today, the "women question" is at the crux of the conflict between the Islamists and the greater public sphere of the Muslim world (Singh and Shahabudin, 2000).

Most of the already existing research about women in diplomacy explores the factors that influence women's ability to enter into foreign policy (Neumann 2008). The scholarship points to three general sets of factors that affect women's ability to enter foreign affairs. The first of these three sets of factors is individual-level factors, for example the difficulties women face in combining family life with a demanding and time consuming career (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993, Berkovitch 2014). Biological factors are also included i.e. that women are seen to be weak leaders by nature. The second set of factors are society-level ones, where "society continues to doubt that women can be equally as effective as men in leadership positions that involve direct dealing with other nations or other nationals" (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993: 299).

The third set of factors is organizational, where organizations themselves put the failure of women on their gender rather than the person (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993).

Muslim women are highly affected at all the three levels of factors which mostly are religion and cultural based. Ramadan (2009) outlines some of the restrictions by Islam on women when working outside home.

1. The responsibility of her been a wife and mother should be of first priority and employment should not interfere with it.

2. The employment should not be the cause of family friction and she should seek the consent of the husband or guardian if not married.

3. A woman should try to seek employment in positions which require a woman's special skills, or which relate to the needs of women and children, such as teaching, nursing other women, midwifery, medicine with specialization's like pediatrics or obstetrics-gynecology

Fernea's (1998) pointed out some variations in women leadership from country to country and state to state – from full political rights to limited rights. Some Muslims believe that the Qur'an specifically forbids women from participating publicly in political life; others claim that women are too emotional and thus lack the capacity to reason and make intelligent political decisions. Tuppurainen (2010) it is true that Muslim women's movements are naturally restricted by family commitments, but other major constraints are caused by deep-rooted Islam cultural prejudice that inhibits women's freedom to work for gain, practice a profession and move about freely in society. Engineer (1992) observed that until recently patriarchal laws prohibited Muslim

women from entering the work field under the guise of protecting women's morality or because of women's perceived physical limitations. Faki (2012) in Kenya one of the ethical issue touching on Kenyan Muslim women's appearance on media is the notion of nudity, of the body and voice. It is viewed as despicable for a married woman to stand on a public platform and deliver a speech.

Although Kenya (FIDA, 2013) can be considered a democracy that holds periodic elections, the country's performance on women's representation has been dismal compared with her East African neighbours. In the 10th Parliament (2008-2013), women comprised only 9.8 percent of the parliament, compared with Rwanda's 56 percent, Tanzania's 36 percent, Uganda's 35 percent, and Burundi's 30 percent. Overall, Kenya is 10 percent below the EAC's regional average of 20 percent representation of women in parliament. Since Kenya attained her independence in 1963, women have not fared well in elective politics. In fact, Kenya's first parliament did not even have a nominated women representative, and the first woman to be elected as a Member of Parliament, Ms. Grace Onyango, got elected in the second General Election in 1969 to represent Kisumu Town constituency. The dismal statistics from 2007 were, in fact, Kenya's best performance since independence and before the 2013 elections. It is quite astonishing to note that, between 1963 and 2012, Kenyan voters' elected only 50 women to Parliament; indeed, this figure is actually lower as it includes those who were re-elected. Women have only fared better in the lower level offices, such as local authorities. In the competition for higher office, such as the Presidency and the National Assembly, both of

which command greater resources and respect, women's performance has been notably limited.

An analysis according to the above document of women's participation in the political process by examining the number of women who occupy cabinet positions after being elected or nominated to parliament reveals that women have been the minority in Kenya's cabinets. Since Kenya's independence, there was no female in the cabinet until 1974 when Dr. Julia Ojiambo was appointed an Assistant Minister for Housing and Social Services; and in 1995, the first woman, Hon. Nyiva Mwendwa, was appointed to the cabinet and served until 1998. However, the trend improved in the 9th Parliament when the NARC government came to power in 2002 and appointed seven women to cabinet positions, including three cabinet ministers and four assistant ministers.

The Kriegler report (IREC, 2007) noted that one of the features that characterized undemocratic elections in Kenya was the use of "sexist tactics and violence to keep women out of the race." This scheme has obviously succeeded in discouraging women from participation in political processes. The same report went on to conclude that, "owing to many reasons, including violence during party nominations, there were few women candidates." Thus, in highly patriarchal and traditional societies, such as Kenya, women seeking leadership positions are often discriminated against and view politics as hostile and aggressive. Traditionally, women have faced several barriers. Perhaps (FIDA, 2013), two main reasons account for women's exclusion from higher elective offices: 1) Kenya's patriarchal culture, and 2) its electoral system. Kenya's political contests require an enormous outlay of social capital, yet the processes of economic,

cultural, and political capital accumulation still favour men more than women, regardless of men's ethnic, religious, or class divisions. Moreover, the First-Past–the-Post (Single-Member District) electoral system has produced an overly adversarial and violence-prone political contest, which often favours men who can hire and retain violent gangs and run nocturnal campaigns

2.2   How to encourage Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy

Dealing with equality issue includes many action plans by serious governments as it encourages women participation. Part of it is legislation through legal frameworks relevant to women.

The legal and policy framework related to equality in Kenya (ROK, 2017), in order to assess its adequacy to address the patterns of discrimination and inequalities highlighted in the preceding part. It addresses both the international legal obligations of the state and the domestic legal and policy framework. In respect of domestic law, it examines the Constitution of Kenya, specific anti-discrimination laws, and non-discrimination provisions in other areas of law. In recent years, there have been a number of major improvements to the legal and policy framework with regards to discrimination in Kenya. The introduction of a new Constitution in 2010, with a strong focus on equality, a much improved right to non-discrimination, and special provisions on the protection of rights for particular groups vulnerable to discrimination. However, a number of serious problems persist. First, a number of discriminatory legal provisions and provisions which are open to discriminatory interpretation remain in force, there are gaps in legal protection, both with regards to the absence of legislation prohibiting all forms of

discrimination, there are a number of inconsistencies between provisions in different laws, notably in the field of employment., and there is a significant problem with the poor implementation and enforcement of existing laws.

The bigger issue is not only Kenya's Muslim women participation but it encompasses the aggregate women participation in general. Encouraging Muslim women means encouraging women as a whole using all relevant protocols available. Kenya has made a reservation limiting the application of the ICESCR, regarding Article 10(2) which requires that states make provision for paid maternity leave. Despite this new provision, the government has not withdrawn its reservation. In 2008, CESCR re-iterated its recommendation that Kenya do so and recommended the adoption of International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions 103 and 183 which concern maternity leave provision.

Women continue to experience significant discrimination related to their participation in public and political life in most domains of the public sphere and in all geographical regions. For example, The European Commission recently acknowledged that, "Across the EU, women are still largely outnumbered by men in positions of responsibility in all fields (Andibo, 2012). The reasons for the under-representation of women in power and decision-making are multifaceted and complex". There are significant barriers to women's participation in public and political life that stem from economic, social and cultural issues, as well as from negative stereotypes about women and entrenched gender roles (Neumann 2008).

One key issue, when conceptualizing gender discrimination within the public sphere, is the issue of how public and private space is differently gendered. For over two decades, feminist scholars have been working to dismantle the divide between public and private space. The public sphere has traditionally been a domain for men, stating that across virtually all cultures, is socialized to see politics as a legitimate sphere for them to act in (Singh and Shahabudin, 2000). While at the international level, there is increasing consensus about the obligations of States to address the barriers to women's full and active participation in the public sphere; at the domestic level, there is still progress to be made in advancing women's equality in this domain. National legislation and constitutions adversely affect women's participation in public and political life in some states by limiting women's participation through exclusionary or discriminatory clauses, thus restricting women's ability to fully engage in the public sphere (Klenke, 1996).

The indivisibility of women's human rights underpins women's participation in public and political life. The issue of gender equality in political and public life cannot be considered in isolation, as women aspiring to participate in political and public life continue to face complex barriers related to the attainment of their full range of human rights, such as social, economic, cultural, family, health and safety rights. Social policy, labour market policy, gender equality policy, family policy and economic policy are all elements related and dependent of each other. The indivisibility of these rights is made evident, for example, when analyzing the continuing financial crisis in Europe, which has significantly impacted women's participation in national parliaments and gender equality issues in political policy (Singh and Shahabudin, 2000).

Another important theme is how entrenched gender roles and negative stereotyping can act as a persistent practical hurdle to women's participation in political and public life. Entrenched gender roles and stereotypes serve to reinforce discrimination against women through the persistence of harmful norms, practices and traditions, and patriarchal attitudes regarding the roles, responsibility and identities of women and men in all spheres of life (Singh and Shahabudin, 2000). For example, the disproportionate burden on women of child-rearing and family responsibilities hinders progress in women's participation in political and public life in many geographical regions. This may be because ''typically, institutions in the public domain were established on the assumption that those who worked in them had few or no domestic responsibilities. This phenomenon is identified as the "sexual division of labor, which is reflected in the lack of an equitable division of labor in the family. This has a significant impact on women, since the options to balance work and family responsibilities are still very restricted.

Tuppurainen (2010), observed women who were able to overcome the challenges hindering Muslim women and basically all women from public life were mothers, wives or daughters of important political leaders. Been family members with male politician leaders gave women the experience and opportunity necessary for a career in politics (Waylen 1996). Besides levels of education, experience, and confidence, these women are from middle and upper class families in which they have had access to economic resources and could utilize the labour of servants to free themselves from their domestic responsibilities. Linda Richter (1991) argues that among the factors which enable Muslim women to reach leadership positions are: elite status; high levels of female

participation in the movements' struggling for independence; and crucially important, links to politically prominent male relatives.

Kenya is a country that is currently undergoing an important but challenging political transition, which is likely to shape and determine the nature and culture of governance institutions and processes that are being crafted through the constitutional implementation process now under way (Eagly and Carli, 2001). The Women's agenda is part of this process. As noted above, the emerging trend in the implementation process has to date been uninspiring and calls for vigilance by the feminist groups that fought so hard and struggled for so long to have key gender provisions ingrained in the Bill of Rights. Some of these gains can be lost or indefinitely delayed during the enactment of legislations, and hence will require close collaboration between women in civil society and those in Parliament to protect and advance the gender agenda through the provisions of this new constitution (Eagly and Carli, 2001).

Just as the return to political pluralism in Kenya in 1991 did not alter the prevailing undemocratic structures and culture or facilitate women's access to institutions of governance, the new constitutional dispensation on its own cannot guarantee that a gender agenda will be advanced. Even with the envisaged increased numbers of women in decision-making through AA, the State remains gendered, and does not automatically alter the dominant male culture in governance structures (Summers,2003) .the distribution of political power between men and women. While acknowledging the achievements women have made in the past decade towards enacting gender friendly laws, it is also the case that women within and outside do not only always act in unison

in support of women related issues. Party politics and the growing ethnic identities sometimes constrain the development and support of a common strategy on key gender issues. These challenges cannot be resolved by the provisions of the new constitution but they could dilute the potential effectiveness of the anticipated increase in numerical strength of female MPs in the post 2012 Parliament (Berkovitch 2014).

In most states and regions women do not enjoy equal rights and opportunities with men in employment. According to the World Bank, in practice women are generally underrepresented in the labor force, they are paid less than men, in most cases for equal work even in differentiated areas of employment referred to as feminine (World Bank 1996). Interestingly, one meta-analysis (Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani, 1995) found that male and female leaders did not differ in participation effectiveness. The challenges faced by the women in these areas vary, but all over the world, women constitute a disadvantaged class (UNESCO 2000). It is in this light that encouraging women participation in the decision making process in community projects can be an effective strategy for enhancing an organization's overall performance and effectiveness in addressing global issues including the economy and cooperation (Appold, Siengthai, and Karsarda, 1998).

2.3   The influence of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy

Rolland (2015) points it is surprising to consider that Muslim-majority countries such as Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Senegal, Bangladesh, Turkey, Indonesia, and Pakistan have all had

female political leaders at the highest levels of government. Bangladesh has had a female political leader since 1991, alternating between Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina. Even though Muslim women, especially in certain Middle Eastern countries, face difficulties participating politically, every American should know that Muslim women do play active roles in formal politics, and female Muslim political leaders have a large influence on the world they live in. Studying Muslim women comes with responsibilities. One must remember to consider the wide range of historical, cultural, societal, and religious concepts when discussing Muslim women and analyzing their role and participation in the greater world community. Muslim women are often thought of as marginalized, excluded, discriminated against, and/or abused. Portrayals in the media of Muslim women suffering abuse at the hands of religiously fanatic men give the idea that Muslim women have no agency or ability to resist this use of religion as a tool. Formal politics represent a theater that does not seem to allow any rights to Muslim women.

While (Sunday Times, 2009) observe critically that European culture was strict and disempowered women for an extensive period of time, it has grown to become more secular and less restrictive on women. While there have been strides made by Arab Middle Eastern countries to empower women politically (such as the election of the first woman mayor of Baghdad in 2015), the election of female leaders has lagged behind both Europe and Southeast Asia. However, this is a result of culture and other factors rather than religion.

When culture of tolerance is developed through religion, it will be easy for women to make much more influence in the society where they belong. Kenyan Muslim women may need to learn from other core traditional Muslim countries on how women participation has been entrenched. It needs to be looked at in two fronts; what the government ought to do, which on knowing the state does not control religion hence cannot dictate how Muslims carry their cultural practices but to provide conditions and to make them feel belongingness. On the other hand, starting from the Muslims affecting their cultural barriers in a centripetal approach may produce better results since it gives them power from within to compete in the wider statecraft. This has worked and not the other way.

In Bangladesh (Bennett 2010), Bennett notes that the religion-culture dynamic and its place in history allows people to be more tolerant, open, and pluralist, which in turn supports women's rights and empowerment. Hindus and Muslims were culturally close, which allowed for a more cultural view and not a strictly religious view of Islam (144). In addition, women have enjoyed rights throughout history. Women started their own businesses, took part in the independence struggle, and some enjoyed political office before Khaleda or Hasina became party leaders. While Arab countries do support women's rights to varying degrees, Bangladeshi identity provides a more open arena for women to promote rights, led by the two primary political leaders. While religion plays a role in Bangladeshi identity, culture, ties to the familial and private sphere, and a traditional patriarchal system play more of a role than religion does (Panday 2008). When considering Muslim women political heads, one must consider the prevalence of

Islamic political parties. While these parties can foster a more democratic society, they may also limit women's participation or advocate strict, limited roles for women. In order to understand how these women rose to power, one must understand the role that Islamic parties have played.

The influence of women – Muslim women and their participation is also a global syndrome and the fast turnaround will automatically have effects on their participation in diplomacy locally in Kenya. Gibson (2014) asserts, the study of Islam by Western thinkers is still far from complete. Like any relatively new topic of study, the more extensive the knowledge, the more a society can make sense of the unknown. While Islamic politics and traditions have been studied for decades, there is one major component that has been severely limited and all too often ignored: the study of women and their role in Islamic culture. Throughout the twentieth century and still today, the West has come to recognize the important role women play in society. With a strong awareness of that role, it would seem that the study of women in Islamic society would be a natural subject to explore, yet the topic has been considered of low priority and remains underdeveloped. Immediately two types of leadership that are currently under popular scrutiny in the United States come to mind: women as business leaders (e.g., Yahoo! Chief Executive Officer Marissa Mayer) and women as political leaders (e.g., former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton). Both of these potentially high-powered and prominent roles would be interesting to compare and contrast to those seen (or not seen) in Islamic culture.

Just as Islam in general has been assigned a specific image in Western media, the Muslim woman has also been assigned a specific image. Hers is one of mystery and helpless submission to her culture. As Therese Saliba noted, the image of the veiled woman is often used "to depict Islam in general…as the enemy of Muslim women and cover over complex relations of power that define…Muslim women's agency." This image assumes that these women have not been given and are unable to make decisions about their own lifestyles and that they are a victim of their surroundings. While this may be true in some cases, it is unwise to blindly apply this image to millions of women and ignore the more varied reality. Popular novels that feature Muslim women, such as Tahar Ben Jelloun's The Sand Child (Saliba, 2002) and The Sacred Night, (Jelloun, 1987) often promote ideas of a barbaric culture that purposely harms and suppresses women.

In addition to not applying the popular image of the veiled woman to all Muslim women, it is also important not to strictly apply the standards and goals of Western feminism in a non-Western context. Western feminism is often based in secularism, which will inherently not be found in Islamic politics that demand "that their government and laws adhere to religious teachings (Jelen and Wilcox, 2002)." Muslims must also come out and clear their own image. The different worldview of Muslim women is the stigma Western feminists attach to tradition. Often times, "the discourse on tradition versus modernity assumes that traditions are static, unchanging and therefore confining to women, whereas modernity is progressive and necessarily liberating (Jelloun, 2002)."

Islamist women's increased political participation is an observable pattern when we look at how Islamist women have increasingly been involved in election campaigns and political demonstrations in Egypt and other Arab countries over the last decade, and how some have even ran as candidates representing Islamist movements in elections (see Abdellatif and Ottaway 2007). The right of political participation is a root right in a democracy, argues Chandhoke, because it "paves the way for the struggle for and the grant of other rights" (2009: 27-28).

2.4   Factors Hindering Participation of Kenyan Muslim Women Participation in Diplomacy

A number of factors hinder participation of women in diplomacy (politics generally). The factors can be level of education and effect of culture. Broadly, they can be viewed from the gender equality theory that was discussed in the theoretical framework. Of course others are process based, which the other theory call dialogic theory.

Education and training of girls and women is a human right and an essential element for the full enjoyment of all other social, economic, cultural and political rights. The Millennium development goals (2000), and the Beijing Platform have consistently placed emphasis on the importance of education in promoting gender equality and the advancement of women. Evidence for past educational experiences being related to future decision making and managerial success has been provided by Howard (1986). Lindsey, Homes, and McCall (1991) also reported that educational experiences were the most frequently cited events in one's life that helped contribute to successful leadership

development. Spivak (1999) argued that if micro-credits were remitted to women without structural investments such as education and health systems for the poor, the exploitation of women will only increase. Gendered structures which in the end account for women's more reliable repayment behaviours compared to men are directly linked to women's well being.

Considerable evidence has been accumulated supporting the impact of training and developmental experiences in enhancing women participation in development (Reichard and Avolio, 2005). Like Reichard and Avolio reported on a comprehensive Meta analysis of the women participation in development literature that formal training programs were effective in positively improving women in leadership. The effects of developmental interventions were consistent across all styles of leadership training, including participative, directive, transactional and transformational.

In the education sector in Kenya, the level of education has been emphasized on the heads of institutions. The Sessional Paper No. 6 (1988), on education and manpower training for the next Decade and beyond, states in view of the crucial role of heads of institutions that the government will ensure that those appointed as decision makers have appropriate academic qualification experience, ability, competence, integrity and initiative). It is the culture of a society that provides a framework within which its members must operate and the standard to which they must explain values and ideology that form much of the content in which the socialization process shape occupational and social life. Depending (Eagly et'al, 2002) on their social class, race and sex, specific type of the work are encouraged, tolerated or tabooed. Despite the incidental evidence of

women leadership growth in the developed countries, biases toward women in decision making positions persist. They "do not enjoy the same opportunities as men due to a number of deep-rooted discriminatory socio-cultural values and traditions".

Furthermore, regarding culture, Lindsey et al. (1991) argued that cultures may foster perceptual schemas regarding leadership on organizational and national levels of analysis. Culture is one external constraint impacting people's perception of decision making. House and Aditya, asserted, "Knowledge of culture-specific and universal aspects of it will help to better understand the scope of cultural influences on leadership and leader-related variables" (p. 438). In the patriarchal culture of Pakistan, women receive little support to become business leaders in a society that believes women belong in the home. Hoodfar reviewed the transformations in Muslim societies in Iran, in which women refugees exposed to nontraditional education systems became empowered personally and in their communities.

Cultural barriers for women limit the economic growth and sustainability for these countries. Within the United States, the Appalachian culture offers a unique population that stereotypes women's role as "barefoot and pregnant" and "hillbilly" (MDG, 2000). These characteristics make the area sound more like a developing country than a thriving economy area where female leaders persevere and thrive. Across the world, current research demonstrates the desire to better understand the limiting influences on women leaders within specific cultures. Similarly, situational leadership models emphasize culture as a critical factor related to leadership within specific populations, such as women. In the context of academics, one recent study examined "women's progress

towards reaching the top level profession in academia in which very few women compared to men can in any case expect to reach". Studying the affect of critical life events in different contextual environments and cultures furthers our understanding of their effects on women's leadership influence.

The UNESCO report (2000) asserts that, it is now generally accepted that the future of the Africa continent will depend on the establishment of a new relationship between sexes in the overall economic process hence the concept of cultural adjustment. Cultural adjustment applies to all social –cultural values which govern the very notions of relationship between men and women in society. Cultural adjustment was effected mainly by making man and women aware of loss to society discrimination on the ground of sex because of savaged cultures. Despite the international human rights law guaranteeing all people equal rights irrespective of their sex, race, and caste, in many societies due to culture, women are denied equal rights with men to land property, promotion, mobility, education, employment opportunities, shelter and control and care for the health of their own bodies and their reproductive functions. One of the most common reasons presented in the literature for the under representation of women in decision making is negative perception of women leadership (Tyree, 1995). Schein (1989) suggests that the culture of sex role stereotyping which privileges the male is a fundamental barrier to women opportunities in management. It does this by creating occupational sex typing which associates management with being male.

Despite diplomacy being an extensive research field, there are a few scholars who do focus on women in foreign policy (e.g. Jeffreys-Jones 1995; Klingvall and Ström 2012; Neumann 2008). These scholars claim that the foreign policy sphere has mainly been considered a place for men, and women have been excluded from holding an official position in this field (Crapol 1987, Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008, Tickner 1992; 2001)...…military and foreign policy are arenas of policy-making least appropriate for women" (Tickner 1992: 3). Regardless of these scholars been few none which have being done for Kenyan Muslim women in diplomacy which this study focus on.

Women have always played an important role in diplomacy and international relations (Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008, Youngs 2004). However, this previous research shows that womens role has been as wives of these important men (diplomat wives), not officially as representatives for the state (Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008). Women have not been the official decision makers, but they have nonetheless been an important part of the diplomatic process (Jeffreys-Jones 1995, Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008). These studies focused on women been wives to diplomats hence not official decision maker. This study seeks to fill the gap where the women are the diplomats themselves as officer.

Faki (2012) on her study on Kenyan Muslim women in media and politics outlined factors which influences Kenyan Muslim woman in leadership. These factors included the religion and education where both hinder the woman from the leadership. This study will seek to focus beyond the factors influencing Kenyan Muslim woman and in diplomacy centre

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter forms the research methodology and discusses the methodological and research approaches that were used in the study. In particular, the chapter looks at the research design, the sample and sampling procedures, data collection instruments, data collection methods and the data collection techniques that were used to meet the research objectives. The chapter also outlines the validity and reliability of the study and data Analysis.

3.2 Research Design

According to Gerhard (2004), a research design is way a study is designed or the method used to carry out the research. Design involves planning, organizing, collection and analysis of data to provide information and also solutions to the existing problem of the study. The study used descriptive research design. It helped in providing answers to the questions of who, what, when, where, and how associated with a particular research problem; a descriptive study cannot conclusively ascertain answers to why. Descriptive research is used to obtain information concerning the current status of the phenomena and to describe "what exists" with respect to variables or conditions in a situation. The goal of the descriptive study is to offer the researcher a profile or to describe aspects of

phenomenon of interest from an individual/organizational industry oriented and other perception.

3.3 Target Population

The target population composed of the 210 management staffs employed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For purpose of this study the target population was stratified through top level, middle level and low level management.

Table 3.1: Target Population

Management levels	Population (Frequency)	Percentage %
Top management	26	11
Middle Level Management	79	38
Lower level management	109	51
Total	201	100

Source: Researcher, 2018

3.4 Sample and Sampling Technique

According to Kothari (2004) a sample is a collection unit from the universe to represent it. Orodho and Kombo (2002) states that the word 'sample' refers to the subset of a population of elements drawn from a larger population. A sample is needed because a study that is insufficiently precise is a waste of time and money. Cooper and Schindler (2006) argue that if well chosen, samples of about 10% of a population can often give good reliability. Stratified random sampling technique was used to select a sample of 20% (42 respondents). The study selected a section and particularly the staffs who

included departmental heads, assistant departmental heads and lower cadre staffs like the supervisors, accounts and other officers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Table 3.2: Sample Size

Sections	Population (Frequency)	Sample Ratio	Sample
Top management	26	0.2	5
Middle Level Management	79	0.2	16
Lower level management	109	0.2	22
Total	**201**	**0.2**	**42**

Source: Researcher, 2018

Simple random sampling technique was applied in selecting the sample for this study. A simple random sample is a subset of respondents chosen from a larger population. Each respondent is chosen randomly and entirely by chance, such that each has the same probability of being chosen (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). All members of the target population were given unique identifying numbers and these numbers were used to generate a sample randomly. Simple random sampling allows one to draw externally valid conclusions about the entire population based on the sample. Its advantages are that it is free of classification error, and it requires minimum advance knowledge of the population.

3.5 Data Collection

Collis and Hussey (2003) posit that any data needed for a study can only be collected either as secondary data or as primary data. Primary data is that which is collected at source while secondary data is that which is already in existence. For purposes of meeting the research objectives, primary data was used. The study adopted the use of questionnaire document analysis as the main research instrument and interview guide.

3.6 Data Analysis

The research adopted both quantitative and qualitative approaches, implying that descriptive will be employed. Thematic analysis was embraced for reviewing scholarly data and analysis based on objectives. In addition, quantitative data collected was analyzed statistically by the help of the Statistical Package for Social Scientist (SPSS version 22) before being subjected to thematic analysis. All qualitative data gathered during the study was analyzed through content analysis and presented descriptively. Microsoft Excel 2008 was used to generate charts from the data analyzed by SPSS (version 22). The results of the study were presented in tables, graphs and pie charts.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The study was conducted to examine the involvement of the Kenya's Muslim women in diplomacy using a case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This chapter presents the findings of this study. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section outlines the respondents' characteristics while the second section presents the findings of the study. Overall, the research project presentation, discussion, and analysis in this chapter take the format of thematic approach which covers additional relevant questions in the questionnaire that builds on the major themes.

4.2 Brief Overview of the Respondents

4.2.1 Response Rate

The researcher aimed at using a representative sample of 42 respondents to represent the Kenyan Muslim women working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Forty two questionnaires were administered. Forty questionnaires were returned. However, only39 questionnaires were considered for analysis in this study since one questionnaire was less than 50% complete.. This presented a response rate of 92.9% which is more than adequate for analysis and reporting of results (Mugenda and Mugenda 2003).

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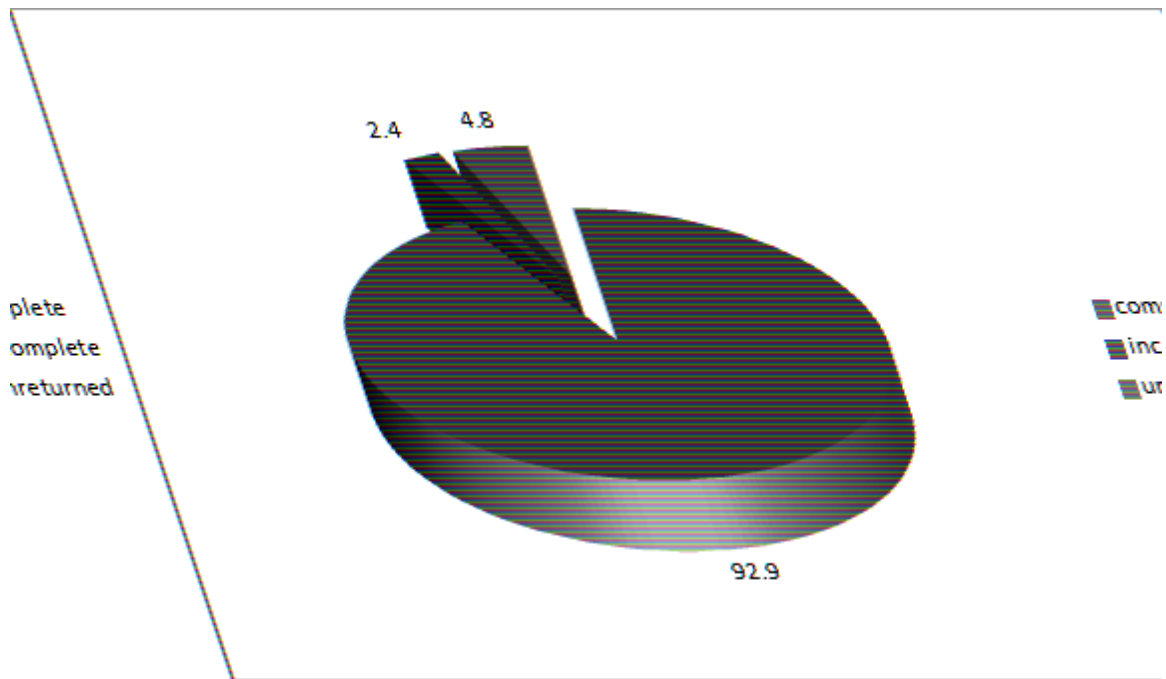
Figure 4.1: Questionnaire response rate (Source: Researcher, 2018)

4.2.2 Respondents' Age

The respondents were asked to indicate their age. Table 4.1 shows the age distribution of the respondents.

Table 4.3: Respondents' age

Age group	Frequency	Percent
Below 21	3	7.7
21 to 30	14	35.9
31 to 40	10	25.6
41 to 50	6	15.4
51 to 60	4	10.3
Above 60	2	5.1
Total	**39**	**100.0**

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

Results in Table 4.1 shows that more than half of the respondents 69.2% were 40 years old. Specifically, majority (35%) of the respondents were aged between 21 to 30 years, 25.6% were aged between 31 and 40 years while only 7.7% had less that 21 years. Results also showed that 10.3% of the respondents were aged between 51 and 60 years while only 5.1% were above 60 years old. . This indicates that Muslim women working at MFAs are relatively young. This finding is consistent with the fact that young people below 30 constitute the largest segment of Kenya's population. Reports such as United Nations Population Fund (NFPA-Kenya, 2012) indicate that seventy-five per cent of Kenya's population is less than 30 years of age, and this may explain the age distribution.

4.2.3: Respondents' Highest Level of Education

The respondents were also asked to indicate their level of education. Respondents who took part in this study had varying levels of education as shown in Table 4.2

Table 4.4: Respondents' highest levels of education

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Tertiary level	11	28.2
Bachelor degree	20	51.3
Masters Degree	6	15.4
Above master	2	5.1
Total	**39**	**100.0**

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

Table 4.2 reveals that majority (51.3%) of respondents had attained education up to degree level while 28.2% had attained education up to either certificate or diploma level. Results also reveal that 15.4% of the respondents had Masters Degree while only 5.1% had a doctorate degree. These finding indicates that the level of education among Muslim women employees at the ministry of foreign affair is relatively high.

4.2.4: Working Period at MFA

Respondents were required to state how many years they had worked in the ministry of the foreign affairs prior to the date of the study. This information is summarized in Figure 4.2 below.
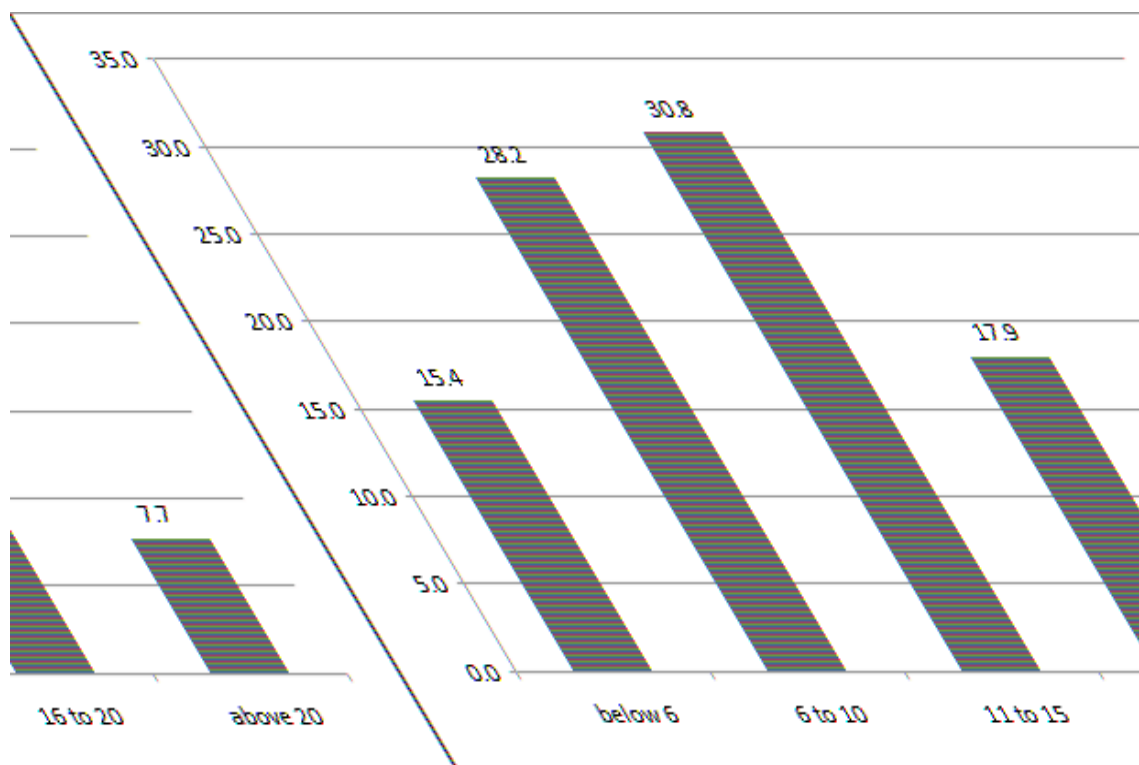
Figure 4.2: Working period at MFA (Source: Researcher, 2018)

The information in Figure 4.2 indicates that more than a half (56.4%) of the respondents had worked in this ministry for more than ten years and only 15.4% had worked there for less than six years. This finding indicates that the respondents in this study are very familiar with the issues Muslim women working in this ministry face. A study by Lewis (1999) indicates that length of stay at a particular locale or station greatly determines the level of knowledge one has about the various sub-components in organizations.

4.2.5 Number of Countries Served

The researcher requested respondents to indicate the number of countries they had ever served, including the motherland. Table 4.3 summarizes this information.

Table 4.5: Number of countries respondents ever served

Number of Countries	Frequency	Percentage
1	7	17.9
2	14	35.9
3	10	25.6
4	5	12.8
Above 4	3	7.7
Total	**39**	**100**

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

Table 4.3 shows that slightly over a third of the respondents' had worked in two countries while only 7.7% had worked in over four countries. Majority 53.8% of the participants had worked in two or one country. This may be attributed to the fact that 64.4% of the total respondents had worked in this ministry for period not exceeding 15 years.

4.3 Kenyan Muslim Women Participation in Diplomacy

The first objective of the study was to analyze the level of participation of Kenyan Muslim women in diplomacy. The study looked into various variables such as level of women and in particular Muslim women participating in diplomacy and discrimination of Muslim women in diplomacy in both their tenure and during job entrance process.

4.3.1 Number of Women Working in Diplomacy

The respondents were requested to give their views on the number of women working in diplomacy compared with men considering all other factors such as level of education, experiences, and working period. The findings are presented in the table 4.4 below.

Table 4.6: Number of women working in diplomacy

Management levels		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High
Top management	Frequency	6	17	9	1	
⬜	Percent	18.2	51.5	27.3	3.0	
Middle level	Frequency		10	18	6	⬜
⬜	Percent		29.4	52.9	17.6	
Lower level	Frequency		6	18	8	1
	Percent		18.2	54.5	24.2	3.0

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

The findings in table 4.4 show that 51.5% of the respondents recorded that the number of the women at top management is low compared to that of men. At the middle level management, results showed that majority (52.9%) of the respondents indicated that women are moderate compared to that of men. Further, results also showed that majority (54.5%) of the respondents recorded that the number of women working in diplomacy was moderate in the lower level of management. This is an indicator that the number of women compared to that of men working in diplomacy increase with decrease in the level of management.

4.3.2: Kenyan Muslim Women Working in Diplomacy

The respondents were requested to give their views on the number of Muslim women working in diplomacy compared to non-Muslim women considering all other factors such as level of education, experiences, and working period. The findings are presented in the figure 4.3.
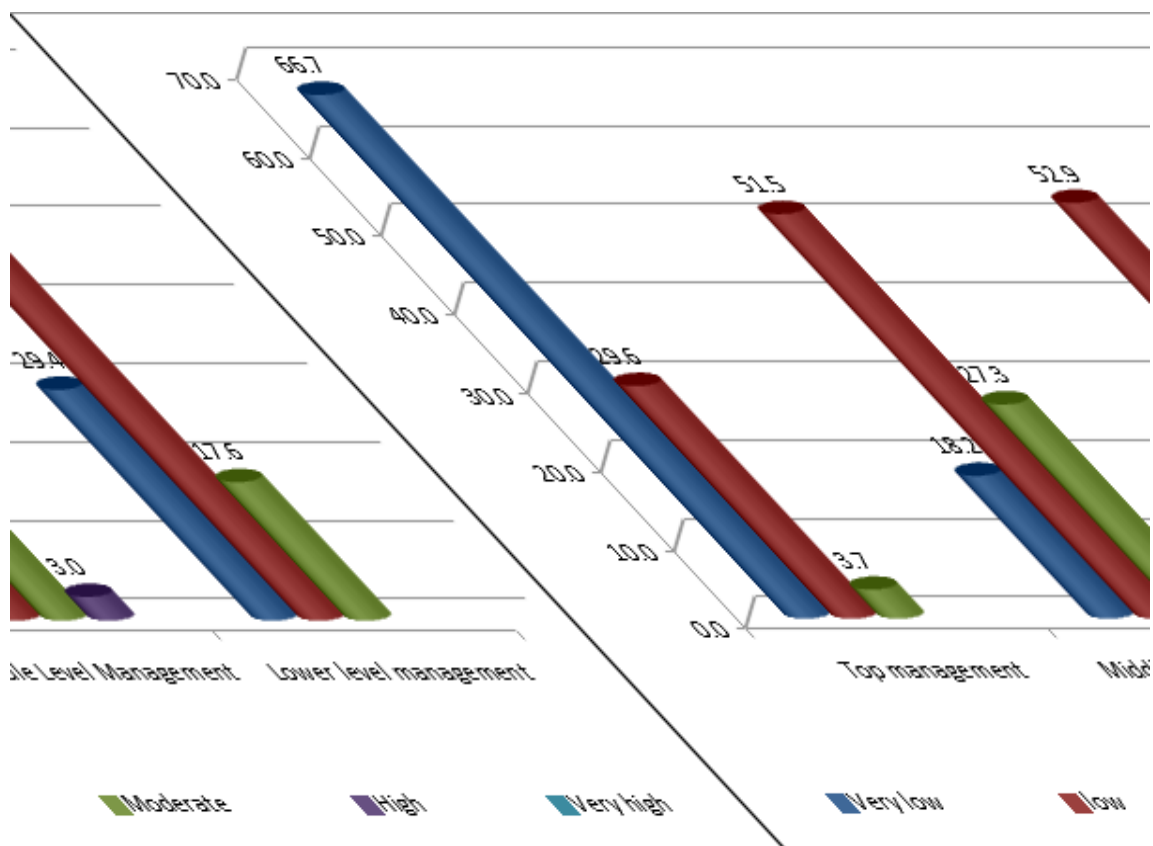
Figure 4.3: Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy (**Source:** Researcher, 2018)

The findings in the figure 4.3 presents the participants' views on the number of Kenyan Muslim women working in diplomacy compared with other women. Results showed that at the top management level, majority (66.7%) of the respondents indicated that the total number of Kenyan Muslim women working in diplomacy is very low while the rest

29.6% and 3.7% reiterated that the number of Muslim women at top management is low and moderate respectively. Results also showed that majority (52.9%) posited that the number of Muslim women is low compared with other non-Muslim women in the lower level of management. Another 17.6% of the respondents recorded that the number of Muslim women was moderate at the lower level of management while 29.4% posited that the number was low. At the middle level of management, results showed that the level of Muslim women was low as supported by 51.5% of the respondents. Twenty seven point three posited that the number was moderate, 18.2% argued that the number was very low while only 3% of the respondents indicated that the number of Muslim women is high compared with non-Muslim women working in Kenya MFAs. As evidenced by figure 4.3 and table 4.4, it can be deduced that Kenyan Muslim women working at MFAs are significantly less compared with non-Muslim women

4.3.3: Muslim Women Discriminated

The respondents were asked whether they have ever been discriminated or know the level of discrimination of Muslim women just because of their religion. They gave their views which are recorded in the table 4.5 below.

Table 4.7: Muslim women discriminated

Management levels		yes	no
Top management	Frequency	7	26
🞏	Percent	21.2	78.8
Middle Level Management	Frequency	12	21
🞏	Percent	36.4	63.6

| Lower level management | Frequency | 10 | 23 |
| | Percent | 30.3 | 69.7 |

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

According to the findings in the table 4.5 above majority 78.8%, 63.6% and 69.7% Muslim women working in diplomacy indicated that they were not discriminated on religious basis in the top, middle and lower level of management respectively. With though majority recorded that Muslim women working at diplomacy are not discriminated at the three level of management due to their religion, the number which indicated that Muslim women are discriminated is significant.

4.3.4: Ever been discriminated

The researcher sought to know whether the respondents have ever been discriminated in decision making just because of their religion during their tenure at diplomacy. The responses are presented in the figure 4.4 below.
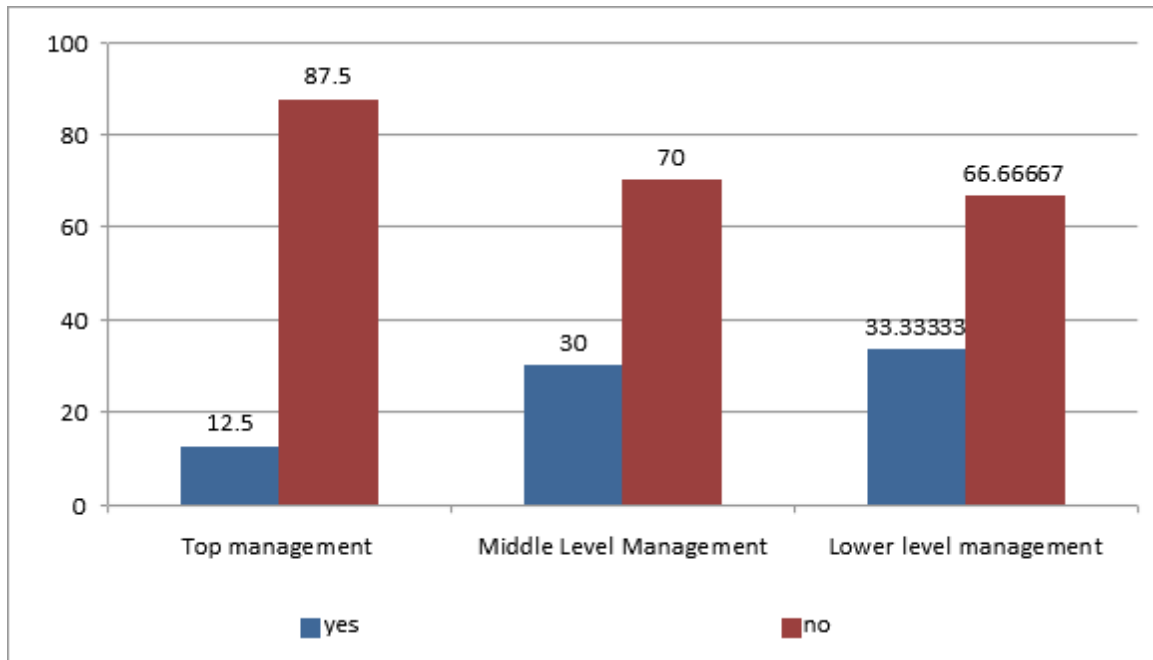
Figure 4.4: Ever been discriminated (**Source:** Researcher, 2018)

Respondents' personal experiences of discriminations was lowest at top management level as 87.5% recorded that they have never been discriminated and highest at lower level of management whereby 33.3% of the respondents agreed that they had been discriminated. One participant working at top management recorded that "decisions are made when I am absence and when I am present in the meeting I am rarely given opportunity to contribute and when I get the chance my contributions are never factored in decision making just because my boss hate Muslim. This demolishes my morale very

much and I am considering quitting since even when I complain no action is taken against my boss."

We can conclude that Muslim women working in diplomacy are likely to be discriminated in decision making especially at lower level management.

4.3.5: Muslim women discriminated during job entrance

The respondents were asked whether they have ever witnessed or know job applicants in diplomacy who were discriminated just because of their Islamic faith. The findings are shown in the table 4.6 below.

Table 4.8: Muslim women discriminated during job entrance

Management levels		yes	no
Top management	Frequency	7	26
⬜	Percent	21.2	78.8
Middle Level Management	Frequency	12	21
⬜	Percent	36.4	63.6
Lower level management	Frequency	10	23
	Percent	30.3	69.7

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

Majority 78.8%, 63.6% and 69.7% recorded that Muslim women are not discriminated during recruitment at the three levels of management due to their religion. The highest level of discrimination was recorded at middle level management where 36.4% recorded that they have ever witnessed or know a Muslim woman applicant who was discriminated due to their religion.

4.3.6: Discriminated during Job Entrance at Diplomacy

Personal experiences by the researcher sought to understand personal experiences of the respondents during their job recruitment. Figure 4.5 presents the findings of their experiences.
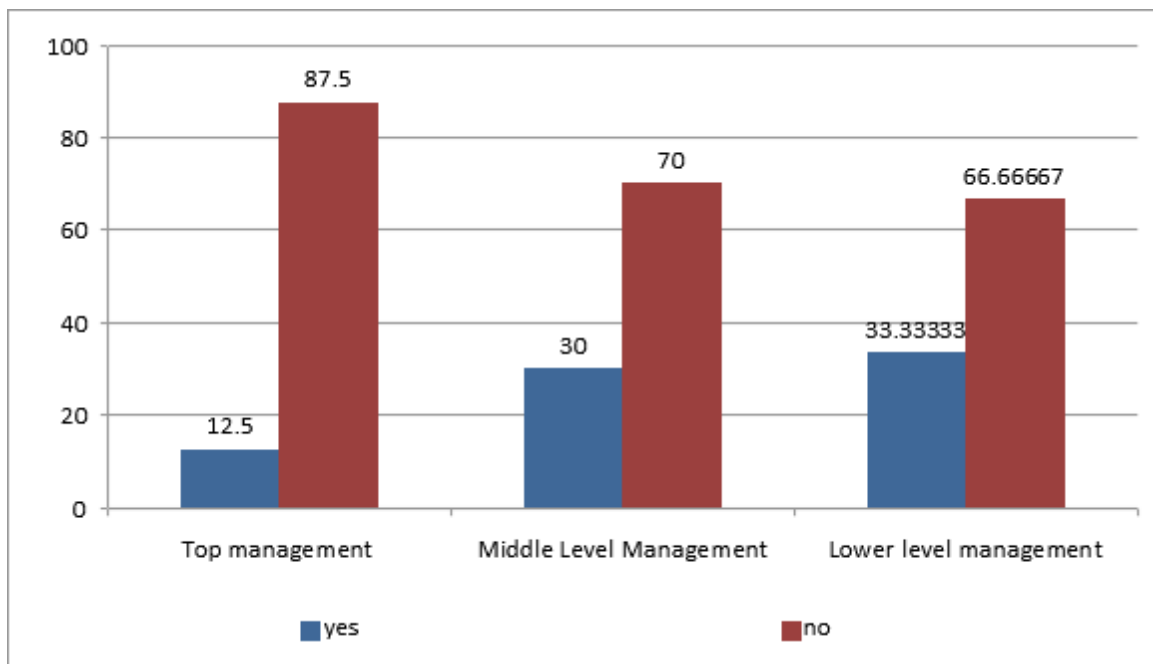
Figure 4.5: discriminated during job entrance at diplomacy (**Source:** Researcher, 2018)

The highest level of respondents been discriminated was highest at lower level of management and least at the top management level. A respondent commented that

during their interview she is the only one who was asked to come with her birth certificate, her interview was longest compared with the rest as she was interviewed last and even she came to learn that her chief was called by a top official among the panelist to be asked about her family.

This led to an observation that the level of personal discrimination was increasing with decrease in the level of management where women Muslim job applicants are most likely to be discriminated at lower level of management.

4.4 Factors Influencing Participation of Kenyan Muslim Women in Diplomacy

The second objective of the study was to examine the factors influencing participation of Kenyan Muslim women in diplomacy. The researcher wanted to understand various factors whether they affect the level at which Muslim women participant in diplomacy, how kind of the effect either positive or negative and finally the level of impact each factor have.

4.4.1 Influence of Religion on Participation of Muslim women in diplomacy

The respondents were asked whether Islamic religion negatively influences the level at which Muslim women participates in diplomacy the results are as presented in Figure 4.6.
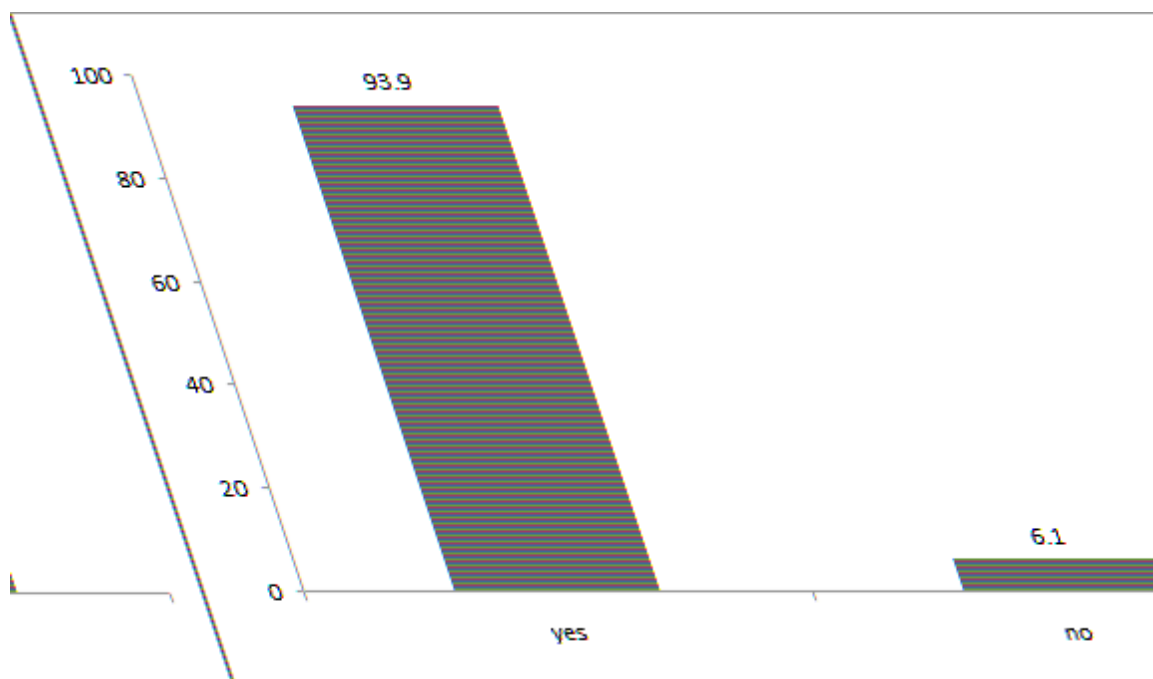
Figure 4.6: Influence of Religion on participation of Muslim women in diplomacy

An overwhelming majority (93.9%) of the total respondents recorded that the religion negatively influences the number or the level of Muslim women participate in the diplomacy. The Muslim religion does not negatively affect participation of Muslim women working in diplomacy according to 6.1% of the respondents. It is clear that the number and the level at which Muslim women participate at diplomacy is negatively influenced by their religion as evidenced by the findings in the figure 4.3.

4.4.2: Effect of Muslim Religion on Various Groups

The religion negatively affects Muslim women working in diplomacy but the researcher wanted to understand whether its effect is felt equally among various categories. The findings are documented in the table 4.7 below.

Table 4.9: Effect of Muslim Religion on Various groups

Group		yes	no
Those in higher social status	Frequency	4	29
	Percent	12.1%	87.9%
Those coming from families who have Muslim women leaders	Frequency	3	30
	Percent	9.1%	90.9%
Those who comes from high educated families	Frequency	6	27
	Percent	18.2%	81.8%

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

Three categories were put into considerations. Results showed that the the least affected category were those were those coming from families that have Muslim women leaders from the family as supported by 90.9% of the respondents. Several respondents indicated in the comment that those who have a Muslim leader relatively are more likely to be taken to school up to universities, encouraged to go for leadership positions inclusive of diplomacy and shun Muslims believes which hinders women from participating in various careers. Muslim religion didn't have the same level of negative

effect on highly educated families as supported by 81.8% and those who come from family with high social status as supported by 87.9%. It can be deduced that Muslim women coming from highly educated families, families with women Muslim leaders and with high social status are more likely to work in diplomacy.

4.4.3: Factors Influence Kenyan Muslim Women Working in diplomacy in the Diaspora

Many factors have been documented in various studies to be affecting Muslim women participation in various careers either positively or negatively. This question was posted to the participants and their views are captured in the table 4.8 below.

Table 4.10: Factors Influence Kenyan Muslim Women Working in diplomacy in the Diaspora

| Factor		yes	no
Religion	Frequency	32	1
⬚	Percent	97%	3%
Cultural	Frequency	31	2
⬚	Percent	93.9%	6.1%
Community	Frequency	4	29
⬚	Percent	12.1%	87.9%
Extended family	Frequency	9	24
⬚	Percent	27.3%	72.7%
Nuclear family	Frequency	26	7
⬚	Percent	78.8%	21.2%
Community leaders	Frequency	18	15
⬚	Percent	54.5%	45.5%

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

According to the findings overwhelming majority 97% recorded that Muslim religion affected the level of women participating in diplomacy. They reiterated that Muslim don't allow women to engage in careers which are likely to keep them away from the family hence diplomacy suffer a lot since one can be sent to any country anytime without a choice. The most encouraged careers as gathered from comments by respondents are careers that deal with women and children such as teaching and for doctors both pediatrician and gynecologist.

.Culture was the second factor which was outlined as affecting Muslim women working in diplomacy as outlined by 93.9% of the respondents. The main reason given by many is that their culture encourages early marriages where girls are given to marriage even before they complete even primary schools making them incompetent of any formal employment. The results also showed that the nuclear family affected Muslim women working in diplomacy as supported by 78.8% of the respondents. The least factor that affected women working in diplomacy was the community leaders since only 54.5% of the respondents supported the factor. Further, results indicated that the community and extended family did not affect Muslim women working in diplomacy as supported by 87.9% and 72.7% respectively. This led to an observation that Muslim women are highly denied the opportunity to work in diplomacy especially by the religion and culture.

4.4.4: Level of Impact of the Factors on Kenyan Muslim Women Working in Diplomacy

After understanding the factors which negatively affect Kenyan Muslim women participatory in diplomacy the researcher wanted to understand the effect level of each factors. This is presented in the figure 4.7 below.
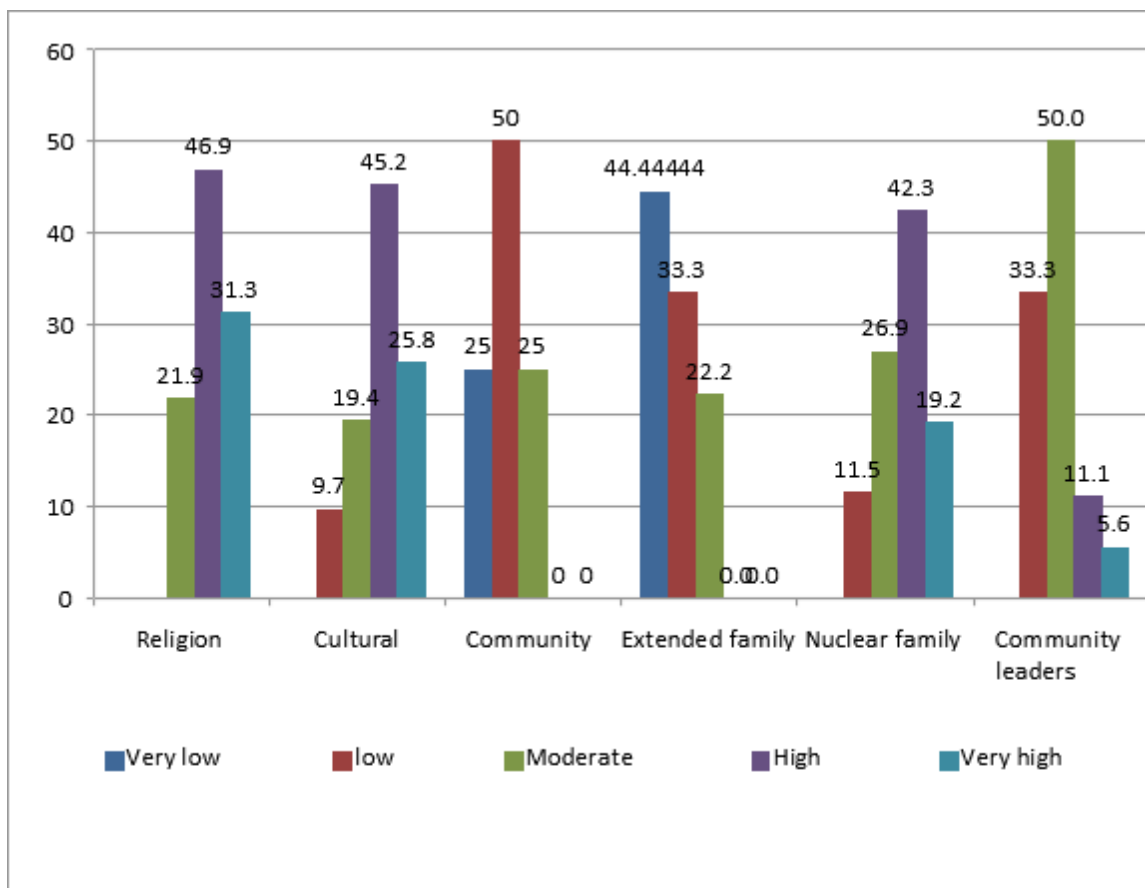
Figure 4.7: Level of impact of the factors on Kenyan Muslim women working in diplomacy (Source: Researcher, 2018)

Results showed that religion had the highest level of negative impact on Muslim women participating in diplomacy as supported by 46.9% of the respondents, 31.3% who

indicated that its impact was very high while 31.3% reiterated that religion level of impact was moderate.

The second factor that had a high negative impact on level of Muslim women in diplomacy was culture as posited by 45.2% of the total respondents who agreed that the impact was high. Another 25.8% agreed that the impact was very high, 19.4% posited that the impact was moderate while 9.7% indicated that the impact was low.

Apart from the two factors negatively affecting most people they have the highest impact on Muslim women participating in diplomacy.

4.5: Policy measures regarding promotion of (Muslim) women in diplomacy

The final objective of the study was to find out policy measures regarding promotion of (Muslim) women in diplomacy. The constitution of Kenya recognizes women and the marginalized groups in the country; the Muslim communities are part of the marginalized communities in the country. The researcher sought to understand among other things whether the respondents are aware of the said policies and whether they have benefited from them. It was noted that none of the respondents felt that they have directly benefited out of policies.

4.5.1: Government Role in Promoting Muslim women in diplomacy

Government is mandated in the constitution to take care of the marginalized, women minority and youth among other disadvantaged groups. The views on whether the government has put enough effort to promote Muslim women participating in diplomacy are captured in the figure 4.8 below.
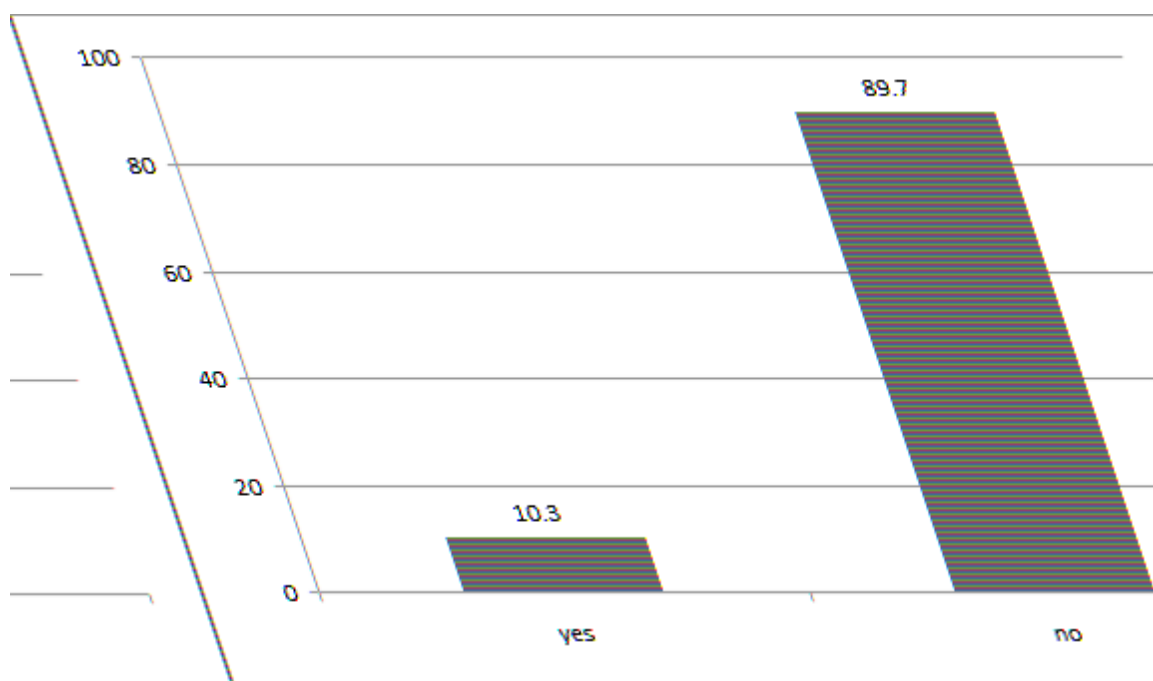
Figure 4.8: Government Role in Promoting Muslim Women in Diplomacy (Source:

Researcher, 2018)

Results revealed that an overwhelming majority (89.7%) of the respondents recorded that the government is not putting in enough effort to promote Muslim women working in the diplomacy While 10.3% of the respondents agreed that the government was doing enough.

Regardless of the requirement by the constitution to give women and marginalized groups equal opportunities in every public sector in Kenya, it is very clear that the

government isn't putting enough efforts to ensure that Muslims women get equal opportunities in diplomacy.

4.5.2: Forces Hindering Implementation of Policies Promoting Kenyan Muslim Women

After the policies are made they need to be implemented on the ground for them to benefit the intended group of people. The researcher wanted to know whether there are forces hindering the implementation of the policies. The findings are presented in the table 4.9 below.

Table 4.11: Forces Hindering Implementation of Policies Promoting Kenyan Muslim Women

Forces		yes	no
Religion	Frequency	18	21
	Percent	46	54
Government	Frequency	26	11
	Percent	66.7	33.3
Community leaders	Frequency	12	25
	Percent	30.8	69.2

Source: (Researcher, 2018)

According to the findings respondents believed that the government was the main hindrance to the implementation of the policies intended to benefit Muslim women in diplomacy. Most (66.7%) indicated the reason why they outlined the government as the main hindrance is because it is their sole mandate to enforce all laws and orders.

Religion was also viewed as hindrance to the implementation by 46% of the respondents. The respondents reiterated that due to Islamic teachings, many women prefer to remain as house wives and those who choose to work can only do so if the career gives them opportunity to live with the family. Results also showed that community leaders was as much a hindrance since only 30.8% of the respondents agreed.. It is clear that the government and religion remain to be the main hindrance to the implementation of the policies made.

4.5.3: Extent of Hindrance by the Forces in the Implementation of the Policies Promoting Kenyan Muslim Women

It was necessary to understand the extent to which each of the said force hindered implementation of the policies. Results are as presented in figure 4.9.
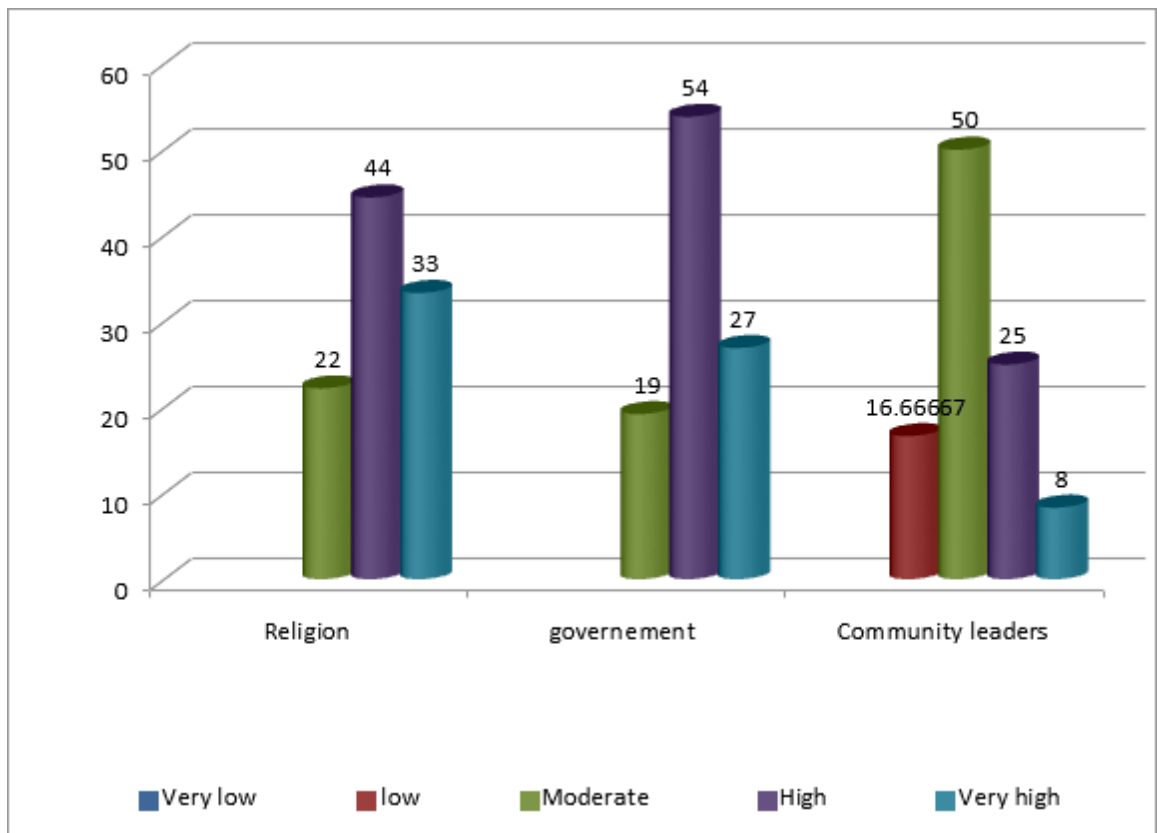
Figure 4.9: Extent of Hindrance by the Forces in the Implementation of the Policies Promoting Kenyan Muslim Women (Source: Researcher, 2018)

Results revealed that majority (54%) of the respondents indicated that the government hindrance on implementation of policies to promote Muslim women working in diplomacy was high. Slightly over quarter of the participants believed the impact was very high. Government impact was moderate as per 19% of the respondents.

Results also revealed that religion effect on implementation of policies to promote Muslim women working in diplomacy was high according 77% of the participants. Further, results showed that community leaders were moderately hindering the implementation of the policies as confirmed by 50%. The respondents also indicated that the impact of community leaders was low as supported by 16.7% while 33% indicated that the impact was high.

It can be inferred that religion and government had the highest negative influence on implementation of policies promoting the number and the level at which Muslim women participate in diplomacy.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further study based on the results of the study. The findings were thematically based on the objectives of the study.

5.2 Summary of findings

The purpose for this study was to examine the involvement of the Kenya's Muslim women in diplomacy using a case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The summary of the study was informed by these objectives: examining Kenya's Muslim Women Participation in Diplomatic Service: A Case Study of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, finding out how to encourage Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy, analyzing the influence of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy, and assessing the factors hindering participation of Kenyan Muslim women participation in diplomacy. The research project findings as discussed thematically in the immediate previous chapter can be summarized as follows (the summary also follow the thematic approach applied in the chapter of presentation, discussion, and analysis):

5.2.1: Level of participation of Kenyan Muslim women in diplomacy

This first objective was to analyze the level of participation of Kenyan Muslim women in diplomacy. To achieve this objective the study covered various aspects such as level

of women and in particular Muslim women participating in diplomacy, discrimination of Muslim women in diplomacy in their tenure and during job entrance process. Results revealed that the number of women working in diplomacy was low compared with that of men. These findings were similar with that of a study carried in USA by Zainulbhai in year 2016 and that carried by Rahman in the year 2011 in United Kingdom. It was also noted that the number of women were more likely to more at lower level of management compared with the higher management levels. The number of Muslim Women working in diplomacy is very low compared with that of non-Muslim women especially in low and high level management. This is consistent with a study by Faki (2010) which observed that public sphere is reserved for men where Muslim women are rarely involved especially at middle and senior level management. Further, the results revealed that Muslim women were discriminated in decision making on religious basis in both the middle and lower level management. It was worthwhile noting that during recruitment process Muslim women were discriminated and were treated unfairly because of their faith.

5.2. 2: Factors Hindering Participation of Muslim Women in Diplomacy

The second objective of the study was to examine the factors hindering participation of Muslim women in diplomacy. To achieve this objective the study sought to identify the various factors as well as the extent of impact of each factor on the number of Muslim women working in diplomacy. Results revealed that religion was the main factor that is negatively influencing the number of women in diplomacy. It was noted that some teachings in the Islamic religion caused women to choose to be housewives as opposed

to working away from their family. This highly discouraged them from working in diplomacy as one can be posted to any country anytime. On the other hand, the Islamic teachings encourage women who wants to work to engage in careers that deals with women and children such as teaching and health care provision such as pediatrician and gynecologist. This results are consistent with those of Ramadan (2009) which observed that some Islamic teachings encourages that women should try to seek employment in positions which require a woman's special skills, or which relate to the needs of women and children, such as teaching, nursing other women, midwifery, medicine with specialization's like pediatrics or obstetrics-gynecology and that the primary duty of a woman is to be a wife and a mother.

Though region was the main factor influencing the number of women working in diplomacy negatively, it was noted that it doesn't influence all groups of people equally. It was less likely to influence women coming from families of higher social status, families with women who have Muslim leaders and families with highly educated women. These findings concur with that of Waylen (1996). Results also revealed that culture has negative influence on the number of women working in diplomacy. This can be attributed to the fact that many Muslim communities give away their girls for marriages even before they clear primary school which denies them opportunity for any formal education. Other observed factors which were having influence were nuclear families, community leaders, extended family and community as whole. The two factors religion and culture were found also to have the greatest level of negative impact on level at which Muslim women participate in diplomacy.

5.2.3: Policy Measures Regarding Promotion of (Muslim) Women in Diplomacy

The third objective of the study was to find out policy measures regarding promotion of (Muslim) women in diplomacy. The study sought to find out whether the government has put enough effort to promote the number of Muslim women working in diplomacy, the policies respondents were aware of and benefited from and the forces hindering the implementations by the government and recommendations to the government.

Results revealed that the government has not put enough effort to promote the number of Muslim women in diplomacy. Majority of the respondents felt that even if the government have put in policies they are doing very little to enforce them. Results also revealed that religion and community leaders also hindered the implementation of policies promoting participation of Muslim women in diplomacy.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the study findings it can be concluded that women working in diplomacy are less compared with men in Kenya but Muslim women are significantly less compared with the number of other women. It was also concluded that Muslim women are not only less but they also discriminated while working in diplomacy and during the recruitment process. The findings also led to a conclusion that religion was the main factor contributing to less number of Muslim women in diplomacy. However, the scenario was different for women coming from families of higher social status, families with women who have Muslim leaders and families with highly educated women. The study also concluded that other factors that negatively influencing the number of women working

in diplomacy were culture, and nuclear family. Finally, the study concluded that the main forces hindering the implementation of policies were the government, religion and community leaders.

5.4 Recommendation

Despite there being progress in participation of Muslim women in diplomacy as even currently Kenya is having Muslim women as its minister of foreign affairs, there is much which needs to be done by all including the government, Muslim women, religious leaders and the community. The constitution of Kenya protects equal rights to all inclusive of women and marginalized groups where most Muslim communities qualify as marginalized groups. It also state that nobody should be discriminated because of their religion, sex, belief and colour. Thus the study recommended that the government needs to come up with measures to ensure that these policies are implemented so as to give and ensure that Muslim women are not discriminated on religious basis.

The study also recommends that better reporting mechanisms need to be developed and harsher penalties to all those found culpable of discriminating Kenyans against the constitution put in place. Even as the constitution gives one freedom of worship and religion government needs to ensure that there is no religion that mistreats certain groups of its members such as women, girls and children. Hence, the government should also put more effort in fighting forced marriages.

Since families with Muslim women who are educated, in leaderships are likely to be less

affected by religion, culture and other factors, the study recommended that the Muslim women who are educated need to be more rigorous in motivating the girls in their community to study hard, to go for any career and shun some religion teachings such as those encouraging women to be housewives. They should also form more organizations fighting for their rights such as girls to be allowed to choose who and when they should get married. The study also recommends that religious leaders should review Islamic teachings discouraging women to go for some careers and worse encouraging women to be housewives. The leaders need to come up with laws against all who take advantage of religion to deny women and children of their rights.

Finally, the study concluded that the community at large needs to work with the government and other organizations in ensuring the end of forced marriages. They need also to work in teamwork with all to ensure the sensation of education importance to girl child and that women can participate in all careers and leadership.

5.5 Areas of further studies

The research project recognizes a gap that requires much study; it is about introspection of participation Muslim women from Islamic perspectives. It notes that core Muslim states elsewhere have improved in women participation and the same can be possible in Kenya. The researcher thus suggests that a study need to be done on how to enhance the level of Muslim women participation from Islamic practices in improving their overall level of participat.

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APPENDIX I: PERMISSION REQUEST FROM RESPONDENTS

I am Honey, Abdi Mohamud of Reg. No. SASS/PGDFP/002/16 a Post Graduate student at Moi University. I kindly request you to accept to be my respondent in the collection of data for my research project for MA Executive in Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs. The research project is entitled; "***Kenya's Muslim Women Participation in Diplomatic Service: A Case Study of Ministry of Foreign Affairs***".

You are not obligated to give your confidential information such as name in the course of responding to the question. However, where you feel to be mentioned, it will be done within the ethical rules of research.

I am grateful for your interest to assist me in the studies.

Yours faithfully,

Honey, Abdi Mohamud
Reg. No. SASS/PGDFP/002/16

APPENDIX II: DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT – QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is an information collecting tool for a study whose objective is to examine the involvement of the Kenya's Muslim women in diplomacy using a case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and will be used for purpose of this study only. All information volunteered will be treated with utmost confidentiality

Section A: Bio-data

1. Age

    Below 31 years   [ ]   31-40 years   [ ]

    41-50 years   [ ]   51-60 years   [ ]

    Above 60 years   [ ]

2. The number of years you have worked in MFA based in any country

    Below 6   [ ]   6-10 years   [ ]

    11-15 years   [ ]   16-20 years   [ ]

    21- 25 years   [ ]   above 25 years   [ ]

3. Which is your highest level of education level

    Secondary school and below   [ ]   Tertiary level   [ ]

    Bachelor degree   [ ]   Masters Degree   [ ]

    Doctorate degree   [ ]

4. What is your current country base ……………………………………………….

5. How many countries have you ever served in………………………………...

Section B: Muslim women level of participation

6. what is the level of women participation in diplomacy

Management levels	Very low	low	Moderate	High	Very high
Top management					
Middle Level Management					
Lower level management					

7. what is the level of Muslim women in diplomacy putting all factors in consideration (pollution and education levels of Muslim women)

8. Do you feel that Muslim women discriminated at any of the three level of management in decision making participation just because of their religion

Management levels	Very low	low	Moderate	High	Very high
Top management					
Middle Level Management					
Lower level management					

Management levels		yes		no	
Top management					
Middle Level Management					
Lower level management					

9. Have you ever been discriminated at any of the three level of management in decision making participation just because of their religion

Management levels	yes	no
Top Management		
Middle Level Management		
Lower level management		

10. Do Muslim women suffer any discrimination during the job enrollment just because of their religion

Yes [ ]   No   [ ]

11. Did you suffer any form of discrimination during enrollment because of your religion

Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]

Section C: factors influencing participation of Kenyan Muslim women in diplomacy

12. In your knowledge do Muslim religion acts denies women leadership opportunity?

Yes   [ ]   No   [ ]

13. Do religion affect all the following groups equally with others

	yes	no
Those in higher social		

14. Do the factors influence Kenyan Muslim woman in working in dispora

	yes	no
Religion		
Cultural		
Community		
Extended family		
Nuclear family		
Community leaders		
Others……………………………………………………………		

Any comment on how the above factors affect the Kenyan Muslim woman

....

....

....

15. How do the above factors affect Kenyan Muslim women employment in diplomacy

16. What is the level of impact do each have in promoting Kenyan Muslim woman.

policies	Very low	low	Moderate	High	Very high
Religion					
Cultural					
Community					
Extended family					
Nuclear family					
Community leaders					
Others					

Section D: Policy measures regarding promotion of (Muslim) women in diplomacy.

17. Do you feel that the government is doing enough in promoting equal opportunities for Kenyan Muslim woman compared with other women

Yes [ ]   No   [ ]

....…..........

18. Are you aware of any policies promoting Kenyan Muslim woman in Kenya.

Yes [ ]............No   [ ]

…………………………..

19. If yes name them and the level of their application (levels should be very low, low, moderate, high, very high)

a) ……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

20. What is the level of impact do each have in promoting Kenyan Muslim woman.

policies	Very low	low	Moderate	High	Very high
a)					

21. Do you feel there are forces from the following centre hindering implementation of the policies to promote Kenyan Muslim woman

	Yes	No
Government		
Muslim religion leaders		
Community as whole		
Muslim men		
Muslim women		

22. If yes to which level do they hinder the implementation

	Very low	low	Moderate	High	Very high
Government					
Muslim religion leaders					
Community as whole					
Muslim men					
Muslim women					

23. Do you feel there are forces from the following centre hindering effectiveness of the policies to promote Kenyan Muslim woman.

	Yes	No
Government		
Muslim religion leaders		
Community as whole		

24. If yes to which level do they hinder the effectiveness

	Very low	low	Moderate	High	Very high
Government					
Muslim religion leaders					
Community as whole					
Muslim men					
Muslim women					

25.   Do you feel in any way you have benefited from any of the policies.

policies	Yes	No
a)		
b)		
c)		
d)		
e)		

26. Are there any of the policies do you feel the government should put in place

   YES   NO

27. If yes name them …………………………………………………………………………
       …………………………………………………………………………………………
       …………………………………………………………………………………………
       …………………………………………………………………………………………
                          *** Thank you **

APPENDIX III: WORK/TIME PLAN

Time / Stage	6-12th Nov 2016	13-19th Nov 2016	20-26th Nov 2016	27th Nov to 3rd Dec
Preparatory stage	▓▓▓			
Data collection		▓▓▓		
Data analysis			▓▓▓	
Thesis writing and submission				▓▓▓

APPENDIX IV: BUDGET

DESCRIPTION	PRICE(KSH)PER UNIT	QUANTITY	TOTAL KSH.
Proposal Writing	1000 Per Copy	8	8000
Stationery	Duplicating papers 1000 per realm	5	5000
Research Assistants	5000 per research assistant	2	10000
Pilot study			5000
Travel expenses			20000
Data Analysis			15000
Thesis Writing			10000
Contingency	10% of 73,000		7300
TOTAL			**80300**