

**ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN POLICIES INFLUENCING KENYA-SAUDI ARABIA  
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SINCE 1963**

**BY**

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### DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree or Master of Arts in any other university.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research study to my loving parents for always being with me throughout my academic journey. I also dedicate to my family for their constant encouragement and for being patient enough to see me go through my academic struggle in an effort to realize my long cherished academic dream.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>AD</b>	Anno Domini
<b>AU</b>	African Unity
<b>BADEA</b>	Arab Bank for Economic Development for Africa
<b>FDI</b>	Direct Investment
<b>GCC</b>	Gulf Cooperation Council
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GLMM</b>	Gulf Labor Markets and Migration
<b>IOC</b>	International Olympic Committee
<b>IDB</b>	Islamic Development Bank
<b>KES</b>	Kenyan shilling
<b>MIGA</b>	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>OPEC</b>	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
<b>RECs</b>	Regional Economic Communities
<b>SAGIA</b>	Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority SFD Saudi Fund For Development
<b>SR</b>	Saudi riyal
<b>UAE</b>	United Arab Emirates
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNCTAD</b>	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
<b>US</b>	United States
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organization

## OPERATION DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

**Diplomatic Relations:** Relationship or association which exists between Kenya and Britain who have sent their respective diplomats to work in each other's country

**Foreign Policies** It consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations milieu.

**Jeddah** It is a city in the Tihamah region of the Hejaz on the coast of the Red Sea and is the major urban center of western Saudi Arabia

**Saudi Arabia** It is officially known as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This is a country in Western Asia constituting the bulk of the Arabian Peninsula

**Saudia** It is also known as Saudi Arabian Airlines. This is the national carrier airline of Saudi Arabia, based in Jeddah

## ABSTRACT

The diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia are bilateral, whereby both countries strive to benefit from the opportunities created by the diplomatic ties. The aim of the study was to analyze the foreign policies influencing Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963. Specifically the study sought to determine the pattern of Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations; analyse the policies that inform diplomatic relations between Kenya; and Saudi Arabia and assess the factors motivating diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi, and in particular during the four successive regimes (Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki, and Uhuru), find out the motivations behind the diplomatic relations between Kenya- Saudi Arabia even after independence, and analyse the policies that inform the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. This research adopted a descriptive research design which is qualitative in nature. The target population was the Ministry of Foreign affairs and the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Nairobi for oral interviews with the relevant attaches of the two governments. The researcher interviewed 20 ministry officials who participated in the study. This study depended on both primary and secondary sources of data. The instruments for collecting data from the field involved oral and written evidence through face to face interviews. Content analysis was used to analyse the data by systematically and objectively identifying specific themes from the data representing foreign direct investment from the Saudi Arabia to Kenya-diplomatic relations since 1963. The study found that Kenya and Saudi Arabia enjoy cordial relations which were strengthened by the visit to the Kingdom by the former President Daniel T. Arap Moi in 1979 and 1983. In addition the study established that the motivations behind the diplomatic relations between Kenya- Saudi Arabia even after independence. The study also found that Kenya's foreign policy is anchored on five interlinked pillars that characterize her bilateral and multilateral engagement. These pillars are Peace, Economic, Diaspora, Environmental and Cultural. Many Kenyan migrants often face contract substitution in either origin or destination countries, whereby agents both legal and illegal – deliberately provide false contract information to prospective applicants to lure them to accept their employment offer. Often, Kenyans were promised to work as domestic workers but then turned to work in domestic servitude, brothels, massage parlors, or in forced manual labor. The study recommended the establishment of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Saudi Arabia in order to positively influence trade, labour and security relations between the two countries. The study also recommends the signing of bilateral agreements and establishing border surveillance controls, exchange of security intelligence and implementation of signed security agreements and promoting peace negotiations and diplomacy in order to combat security issues overlapping the borders of the two countries, lack of commitment to foster a close and strong relation to preserve interests of two people of the two countries and the neglected relation between Kenya and Saudi Arabia threaten this strong relation.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background to the study**

The diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia are bilateral, whereby both countries strive to benefit from the opportunities created by the diplomatic ties. In other words, the diplomatic relations between countries determines the bilateral ties the nature of the exchanges maintained by these countries and these exchanges can be economic, political, or technological. Kariuki (2015) defines diplomatic relations between countries as the conduct of international relations through the intercession of professional diplomats in regard to issues of peace-making, trade, war, economics, culture, environment, and human rights. On the other hand, diplomacy refers to the profession, activity, or skill of managing international relations, typically by a country's representative's abroad. For instance, after the cold war, the United States wanted to extent aid to the developing and third world countries, whereby the African countries fall under these categories. Korwa and Munene (1995) argue that the United States only supported countries that were democratic and observed the rule of law. In Kenya, the US was against the stifling of the democratic space during the Moi regime and to this extent; the United States was not ready to channel aid to Kenya because of the strained diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Moreover, Korwa and Munene (1995) observe that at the end of the cold war, Africa became completely irrelevant on international security and diplomacy as the leading powers shifted their focus to Eastern Europe because the region had better economic

opportunities. In addition, the major world powers including the United States perceived Eastern Europe as a destination that could enable them to influence the direction of diplomacy from an international view. For instance, these major superpowers were ready to intervene in countries like Yugoslavia but not in Somalia because of the perceived importance until the United Nations secretary general at the time had to intervene by indicating that the said leading powers were perpetuating acts of racism. International diplomacy had a different view when Kenya was gaining independence as most of the leading powers were on the course of regaining from the great depression caused by the Second World War and this prompted these countries to maintain bilateral ties with developing and third world countries with a view of gaining economically. To this end, Africa remained marginalized as the Western countries and the United States were deemed to be no longer caring for the plight of Africans.

Sharp (1999) contends that in the nineteenth century, the strengthening of the colonial monopoly and the conquest of Kenya precipitated Kenya to launch the idea of freedom, which many colonies at the time viewed as the struggle for independence. Through diplomatic means available, Saudi Arabia has been increasing the number of trade missions, becoming more structured and developed. Modern diplomacy has taken on new meanings after one of the most sensational moments of the second millennium, the American Revolution. Thus, a State appeared in diplomatic picture, one that will play an increasingly important role in redefining and repositioning diplomacy the following centuries.

Saudi Arabia has maintained a constant foreign policy during the last two decades and although a change of guards has occurred, the expectation is that there will be continuity in policy. The only noticeable change is that the giant has awoken and it is expect the monarchy under King Abdullah to play a more active role. Kenya and Saudi Arabia enjoy cordial relations, which were strengthened by the visit to the Kingdom by the former President Daniel T. Arap Moi in 1979 and 1983. Exchange visits between Government officials, businessmen, cultural and religious groups of the two countries have also taken place. Kenya Tea delegations have also visited the Kingdom in 2004 and last year to explore the possibility of penetrating the Saudi and Middle East markets. King Abdulaziz did not only concentrate his efforts in the internal building only but he worked hard in the external area too. He established strong external relations with other friendly and brotherly countries such as Kenya based on clear objectives and steadfastness to principles according to Islamic teachings. King Abdulaziz therefore strengthened relationships with brotherly Arab countries and worked hard to unite their stands on international issues and solve their internal differences through dialogue and agree on objectives that would guarantee them the liberation of their occupied territories and keep their rights.

Saudi Arabia has had long historical relations with Kenya and these historical relations include the bilateral ties, which the two countries have maintained for a considerable amount of time. These relations also revolve around economic relations. The economic relations include the transport sector where recently Saudi Arabia aviation recommenced its flights to Nairobi and to the rest of the world. This route is considered to be profitable for the two countries in terms of trade and investment. It will offer its services to

customers from Europe and the Middle East especially those coming to visit Kenya and other African countries. Kenya will stand to benefit from this by promoting its tourism and marketing itself. Saudi Arabia is rich in oil resources. It should be noted that Saudi Arabia is relatively stable in terms of peace as compared to other Middle East countries and this has made it possible for Saudi Arabia to make considerable economic advances. For instance, Saudi Arabia has more 10 million expatriates who work in the country and this figure constitutes a number of Kenyans working in Saudi Arabia. Political instability in Africa is caused by greed when leaders amass resources meant for the poor to themselves. It is also caused when leaders do not fulfill their obligations to their citizenry. Political instability also discourages trade from taking place this leading to a decline in the country's economy. When this happens the citizens get wary and tired and are in need of change of leadership (Mahmud, 2013).

Mogire (2008) observes that Kenya has long had ties with Saudi Arabia. Looking back into history, Arabs have had a dominant role in Kenya, having colonized and enslaved large parts of East Africa in the first millennium AD. Although this Arab control was interrupted by the Portuguese, who established a presence in the region in the 16th century, in the 17th century Islamic domination was resumed under the Imam of Oman. This continued until the arrival of the British. This Arab legacy is reflected in the development of a new civilization, a new language, Swahili, which is dominant in Eastern African, and Islam

Further, the study by Mogire (2008) established that Political relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia are conducted through bilateral and multilateral channels. Presently Kenya has diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia as well as with a number of Arab states. However, there has been Arab-Israel competition for Kenya's support which began immediately Kenya became independent. On the eve of independence, Israel and the Arab states sent delegations to the independence celebrations. However, the Arab representatives abandoned their plans to raise the issue of Israeli representation after seeing the picture of Golda Meir, the Israeli foreign minister, and Jomo Kenyatta, the prime minister designate, in the press laying down the foundation stone of the Israeli embassy building and reading Kenyatta's words that he looked forward to friendship between the two countries (Naim, 2005). During the Jomo Kenyatta era, there were no much diplomatic ties between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. However, Kenya wanted to establish ties with many countries as a means of establishing strong trade links, and to discourage and prevent the diplomatic breakdown. Saudi leaders maintain regular contact with Kenya government officials, clerics, and political figures.

Despite this, throughout the 1960s, the Arab states put pressure on the Kenyan government to cut its diplomatic ties with Israel. This intensified after the Six Days War in 1967 (US Department of State, 1976). Kenya nevertheless maintained relations with Israel and was one of its strongest allies. For example, it rejected Somalia's request to hold an emergency meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU, which later became the African Union, AU) to take a stand on 1967 war. Likewise, it rejected Arab

demands for Israel to be denounced as an “aggressor nation” and refused to sever ties with it. Indeed, its voting in the UN remained pro-Israel (Nadelmann, 1981)

In 1973, in the aftermath of the October War, and following considerable Arab pressure, Kenya and several other African states decided to break diplomatic relations with Israel. However, this had very little practical effect on Kenya–Israeli relations, which essentially continued as before, albeit unofficially. Kenya allowed an Israeli diplomat to continue serving as an interest officer under the auspices of a foreign embassy. In response to this break in relations, in the 1970s and 1980s, Arab countries, which include the Saudi Arabia, focused their attention on preventing Kenya from renewing diplomatic ties with Israel and halting the continuing economic cooperation between Kenya and Israel. At the same time, they supported the political activities of the country’s Muslim population (Quinn & Quinn, 2003). To this end, Kenya’s relations with Saudi Arabia tended to be rather acrimonious, with tensions evident with Egypt and, to a lesser extent, Saudi Arabia.

Apart from political relationship, Kenya has close economic relations with Saudi Arabia and this includes trade, aid and direct investments constitute other important channels of cooperation between Kenya and the Saudi Arabia. Although trade between Kenya and the Saudi Arabia has traditionally been small, both in relative and absolute terms, Saudi Arabia views it as a way to establish and maintain relations with Kenya. For Kenya, the Saudi Arabia, while a small market, was a source of much needed oil. Having said this, from the mid-1990s onwards, trade between Kenya and the Middle East has started to

expand and the region has emerged as an important trading partner for the country, specifically the Saudi Arabia. Aid is another channel through which Kenya and the Saudi Arabia interact. Since 1973, the oil producing Arab states have become major aid donors to developing countries and Kenya has been a beneficiary.

Direct foreign investment (FDI) is another area of economic interaction between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia companies have had little investment in Kenya since the 1960s and members of President Moi's administration had important commercial links with Saudi Arabia nationals. In contrast, until the 1990s, there was little Arab investment in Kenya. In 1986, Kenya's foreign minister complained about the little flow of Arab capital to Africa (Oded, 2000). This situation has changed in recent years. The Arab states have become significant sources of direct foreign investment (UNCTAD, 2005). Kenya does not keep data on FDI inflows. Hence, it is difficult to state the amount of direct foreign investment inflows from the Middle East. In terms of security cooperation, relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia had little to none security during the Jomo Kenyatta regime

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

In the international system states develop harmonious relations to promote their national interest. These relations normally have trade and security dimensions. Trade concerns exchange of goods and services and enable states to mobilize resources either for national economic development or for improvement of the welfare of their citizens. One of the hallmarks for a developing country is to be able to depend on itself. Over the years Kenya

and Saudi Arabia have been trying to do this through signing of bilateral agreements or joining regional economic blocs. However, in the case of Saudi Arabia it has been faced with several challenges such as the al-Qaeda, refugee problems and insecurity issues that have led to kidnaps and political instability. Kenya has also had its own share of insecurity challenges including terrorism, inter-tribal conflict and corruption among others. These challenges are grave and affect the way Kenya and Saudi Arabia trade with each other. Normally, good relations between countries stem from having a good enabling environment to conduct business, a good environment and secure environment where people can walk around freely without fear.

A study conducted by Musau (2015) on Kenya's diplomatic missions and the role of economic diplomacy and established that economic diplomacy is one of the pillars of Kenya's foreign policy that predominantly focuses on trade and trade apposite matters. Musau negated other aspects of diplomacy such as cultural and political diplomacy and the foreign relation, which form essential part of this study. Therefore, this study exposes a knowledge gap on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia since 1963 focusing on the regime changes, which occurred in the country the President Kenyatta regime (1963-1978), Moi regime (1978-2002), Kibaki regime (2002-2012), and Uhuru Kenyatta regime (2013 to date).

Kenya and Saudi Arabia have long standing cultural relations that date back during the period of Indian Ocean trade when the Oman Arabs settled in Mombasa. Since then a big Saudis community has settled in Kenya, but Kenya seems not to have taken full advantage of this to advance its economic and security relations with Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia has not utilized regional mechanism such as COMESA to

build strong relations with Kenya despite its strategic location in the East African coast. This study examined the foreign policies influencing Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963. Specifically it asked what is the pattern of Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations; what are the policies that inform diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia; what factors motivates diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi?

### **1.3. Research Objectives**

#### **1.3.1. Main Objective**

The main aim of the study was to analyze the foreign policies influencing Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963

#### **1.3.2. Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives for this study were:

- i. To examine the pattern of Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations
- ii. To analyze the policies that inform diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia
- iii. To assess the factors motivating diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The research will be guided by the following research questions:

- i. What is the pattern of Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations?
- ii. What are the policies that inform diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia?
- iii. What factors motivates diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi?

### **1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study**

The importance and essentials of diplomatic relations cannot be understated as countries across the world need to work in a cohesive approach as an approach to preventing horrific consequences of strained diplomacy. The absence of diplomatic relations between countries represents an almost-crippling obstacle to the successful pursuit of foreign policy goals. Indirect contact between Saudi Arabia and Kenya deprives the two countries the capability for a resident ambassador to intervene in a crisis, to question and to listen. The study will highlight the issues, interests, motives and policies made Kenya and Saudi Arabia to engage in diplomatic when Kenya gained independence and consequently became a republic. The year 1963 is essential for this study because this is the period which Kenya gained her independence and shaped her foreign policy. Moreover, the period between independence and 2015 presents four different governments. International relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia are principal for ensuring closer bilateral ties and as such, this study will seek to fill the literature gap that exists on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia from 1963-2015 as the available literature is sketchy and fragmented and, therefore, this necessitates this study.

Without effective communication, small misunderstandings can have dire consequences. As nations grow and change over time, foreign relations are chief for forging beneficial relationships. Individuals from different cultures have different values and beliefs, and politicians and other foreign representatives are not immune to these feelings. By learning about other cultures and how to interact with them, politicians and diplomats can

make exchanges more productive and beneficial. As the developing world continues to grow, new countries are becoming bigger players on the international stage. These nations are expected to have a profound impact on foreign relations between themselves and as such, this study seeks to evaluate the significance of countries maintaining friendly relations while emphasizing the importance of Kenya and Britain up scaling the ties as a mechanism of promoting the diplomatic relations between Africa and Europe. Accordingly, the study will add to the existing literature on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain and enable international relations policy makers, stakeholders, public policy experts, and governments' foreign departments to make informed decisions on policy and practice.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This study focused on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and the Saudi Arabia because Kenya has strong historical ties with the Saudi Arabia. Further, Saudi Arabia is one of the biggest Foreign Direct Investor in Kenya, and the two countries continue to be strongly affiliated in the areas of trade, investments and tourism, defense and security, education, anti-piracy, counter-terrorism, and climate change. The scope of the study is the diplomatic relations between the two countries and, therefore, the study focused only on the diplomatic relations and no other aspects which affect both Kenya and Saudi Arabia. This is essential as Kenya has come under four regimes: the Kenyatta regime, Moi regime, Kibaki, and Uhuru regime with each regime having a peculiar and unique foreign policy, particularly regarding Kenya's relations with Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the study was from 1963 to date and the researcher sought to conduct research through

Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Saudi Arabia Embassy in Kenya Officials gave information pertaining Kenya- Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963. The study depended on information in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya, where data was easily available. The study was limited to in Nairobi where the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are located and also the offices of the Saudi Arabian Embassy. These are the places where research material for the study was sought.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the theoretical framework underpinning this study. It begins with a review of the literature relevant to the topic and ends with the theoretical position. In keeping with the objectives of the study, the literature reviewed encompassed the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia since 1963.

#### **2.2 The Concept of Diplomatic Relations**

Murray et al., (2011) suggests that diplomatic relations is the relationship between two countries in which they send diplomats to work in each other's country. In other words, diplomatic relations between states is the arrangement between two countries by which each has representatives in the other country. Diplomatic relations can be said to be the customary diplomatic intercourse between nations. It involves permanent contact and communication between sovereign countries. As a part of the diplomatic relations two countries send diplomats to work in each other's country and to deal with each other formally. The study of diplomacy, although it may be highly critical of particular individuals or styles, tends to be sympathetic to diplomacy per se and to those responsible for handling its predicaments. It also has tended to accept the identity claims of principal actors uncritically. Countries have been assumed to be more or less what those who act for them claim them to be, rather than something else, such as an instrument of oppression. There is no logical reason why this must be so, and why critical diplomatic

studies could not emerge, but its uncritical pedigree may prove an insuperable barrier for some.

Diplomacy deals with the art and practice of negotiations between the representatives of nations/states. This is generally referred to international diplomacy, Maintenance of international relations by professional diplomats through intercession for peace-making, trade, war, economics, culture, human rights etc. Generally, International treaties are negotiated by the diplomats prior to endorsements made by politicians of a nation. In common man terms, diplomacy is the employment of tact to gain strategic advantage to maintain bilateral relations. The bilateral relations will also be strengthened by the convergence of regional interests.

Sharp (1999) contends that the study of diplomacy offers a way out of this fix, but not by claiming to provide the definitive factual or prescriptive capture of the current interplay of social forces in world affairs, nor even by offering a freeze-frame in which to analyze the claims of other candidates in contention for capturing class, state, nation, gender, organization, or civilization. It does so by focusing on how relations are maintained between identities that are continuously under construction in conditions that, if not anarchic, are characterized by very thin social contexts. Viewing diplomacy in representational terms provides a richer understanding of what diplomats do than does the conventional account of it as one of the lesser tools of foreign policy. The diplomats of the modern state system claimed that no one else occupied the position of detachment from the international society of states, or performed the role of representing its members to the world and the world back to them. Now, it is becoming increasingly plausible to

claim that more people are so employed and more are diplomats. An obvious extension of the approach of viewing diplomacy as representation is to apply it to the new diplomatic actors of contemporary international relations.

### **2.3 Evolution of Diplomacy**

Sharp (1999) observes that the evolution/history of diplomacy dates back to the time of the American Revolution and the subsequent First World War. If by that time, diplomacy was based on personal relations of sovereigns, after the end of the war appeared another kind of diplomacy, an open, collective diplomacy. Some have called it collective security. However, there is reluctance to this feature, of security, the events of the last century often demonstrating that the name of collective security have made many excesses, trying to obtain profit only for some actors. Collective security was in some cases only the leitmotif of expansionary actions and imposing control over new areas of influence. Initially, this open diplomacy was promoted by US President Wilson through its program 14 points. In it, the President proposed that the agreements to be negotiated in the open international conferences, involving, on an equal footing, large and small states. Many of the ideas of Wilson were found in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and the Charter of the League of Nations (1921). The increase number of nation - states and diplomatic actors, caused by the collapse of the Austro - Hungarian Empire, the failure of the League of Nations, the economic crisis of 1929 - 1933, the growing desire for power of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the deteriorating situation in Europe, which was heading rapidly towards Second World War - all revealed some limitations, difficulties and tortuous evolution of diplomacy. So soon after the Second World War, diplomatic activity took place under the old European system than stated principles of the UN

Charter. This period was dominated by the confrontation diplomacy West-East, becoming one bipolar international system through two major world powers - the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Completed in 1961, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations held a joint fund to customs, norms and rules in the matter, although they were practiced for a long time.

Representatives of States agreed on them, in order for a better functioning of the relations between their countries and establish customs of international law on which they intend to use in their mutual relations. Under the auspices of the Cold War, the decolonization process and the emphasized complexity of the problems of the world economy, diplomacy has seen a new development, which required the involvement of professionals and experts in various fields (trade negotiations, economic, environmental, media). The Bretton Woods Agreements decided the establishment of an international exchange unit, gold and Two Reserve Currency, the US dollar and the British pound and the creation of the International Monetary Fund, which represented milestones in terms of growth and economic issues involving foreign trade transactions, leading to the affirmation of a certain type of diplomacy economic diplomacy. This goes to the fore, as a natural consequence of the predominance that acquires trade and movement of interest from the political to the business, cooperation and confrontation (sometimes tougher than war) economy in a global competitive environment. In the new international social-economic conditions we can say without any mistake that the state is like a man and has as much liberty and equality as freedom. Diplomacy's progress and shaping as a true science nowadays implicitly led to a more significant role in nation's progress. If the developing technologies, new means of promotion and realization of trade led to dramatic changes in

all areas, diplomacy cannot remain outside the sphere of influence of these changes. On the contrary, it is stated as a factor of progress with a recognized impact on the economic, social and political on a planetary scale (Sharp, 1999).

#### **2.4. Kenya-Saudi Arabia Diplomatic Relations**

Ulrichsen (2016) infers that Saudi Arabia is keen to ensure that the long running relationship between the two nations is not soiled by issues which can be solved through dialogue. Kenya and Saudi Arabia continue to enjoy longstanding warm and friendly relations spanning several decades. For instance, currently, about 40,000 Kenyans work in various sectors in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia has fought hard against internal dissent eliminating many of the terrorist cells, local Al Qaeda leadership and their source of funding. Saudi Arabia, through pressure from the United States closed many of its charity organizations and closely monitors its banking institutions to prevent flow of funds to terrorist organizations and sympathizers. Saudi Arabia has since September 11, 2001 arrested more than 800 suspected terrorists of various nationalities, broken up numerous Al-Qaeda cells and seized their arms caches. The Saudi government has introduced new regulations and mechanisms to ensure that its financial systems and charities are not exploited by terrorist groups. It and has also frozen financial assets of suspected financiers of terror. To this end, the Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations revolve around the latter helping Kenya to fight terrorism and this is has been possible through the sharing of intelligence.

Hayden (2009) contends that Kenya maintains relations with various countries around the world. Its closest ties are with its fellow Swahili-speaking neighbors in the African Great

Lakes region. Relations with Uganda and Tanzania are generally strong, as the three nations work toward economic and social integration through common membership in the East African Community. Kenya's relations with other states vary. The government of Saudi Arabia established political links in the colonial period with Kenya's then British administration, and today it is one of several national bodies with a diplomatic presence in Nairobi. Relations with Somalia have historically been tense, although there has been some military co-ordination against insurgents. The Kenyan government has political ties Saudi Arabia. It also maintains relations with Occidental countries, particularly the United Kingdom, although political and economic instabilities are often blamed on Western activities (e.g. colonialism, paternalistic engagement and post-colonial resource exploitation).

Lucas (2005) observes that in recent years, temporary labor migration from Kenya to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) has increased significantly. On the other hand, Deshingkar, Zeitlyn and Holtom (2014) contend that Seeking to fill labor shortages in sectors such as construction and other service-based jobs ahead of the UAE Expo in 2020 and the Qatar World Cup in 2022, some Gulf countries and employers have turned to Kenya as a fresh source of inexpensive labor, particularly as Asian countries impose restrictions on sending workers to the region. For Kenyans, rising unemployment and instability at home, combined with the difficulty of gaining entry to Western countries and the Saudi Arabian's economic growth and proximity, has piqued the interest of would-be migrants.

At the same time, this new migration presents significant challenges for Kenya and Saudi Arabia, particularly in the area of labor rights. Migrants working in Saudi Arabia often fall through the cracks of the regulatory system and are vulnerable to illegal and/or unethical treatment by agents and employers. In responding to reports of abuse from its nationals in Saudi Arabia, Kenya is faced with a dilemma: how to protect its diaspora while maintaining strong bilateral relationships that are crucial to its own economic interests. To this point, some observers suggest that Kenya has prioritized its economic interests over the welfare of its migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. The country also has yet to emulate aspects of the worker protection infrastructure instituted by Asian countries that deploy significant numbers of workers to the Gulf (Deshingkar, Zeitlyn & Holtom, 2014).

## **2.5. Policies inform the diplomatic relations between the two countries**

### **2.5.1. Policies that inform Kenya's Diplomacy**

In a competitive and complex world, public diplomacy is essential to actively promote Kenya's image, values and culture abroad. The Kenya foreign policy approach therefore embraces use of available technologies and platforms, especially social media networks to communicate with stakeholders on the country's Foreign Policy (Kenya foreign policy, 2014). Kenya's foreign policy is anchored on five interlinked pillars that characterize her bilateral and multilateral engagement. These pillars are Peace, Economic, Diaspora, Environmental and Cultural. The Peace pillar seeks to consolidate Kenya's legacy in cultivating peace and stability as necessary conditions for development and prosperity. The Economic pillar aims to achieve robust economic engagement in order to secure

Kenya's socio-economic development and prosperity that will ensure our nation becomes a middle income and industrialized economy by the year 2030. The Diaspora pillar aims to harness the diverse skills, expertise and potential of Kenyans living abroad, and facilitating their integration into the national development agenda (Kenya foreign policy, 2014).

The Environmental pillar underscores Kenya's commitment to sustainable management of the environment and shared natural resources while the Cultural pillar seeks to use culture as a vital tool to promote a favorable image and prestige for the country globally. The core priorities of Kenya's diplomatic relations, which are anchored on the above five pillars are: to enhance global peace and security; to promote economic development and prosperity; to take a leadership role in addressing global environmental issues; to expound Kenya's rich culture as an avenue to promoting understanding and better relations; and to enhance Kenya's stature in the international affairs. Kenya shall seek to strengthen bilateral relations, foster regional integration and support strategic partnerships at the continental and multilateral levels

Kenya's long struggle for national liberation laid strong foundations for the country's foreign policy orientation which establishes an inextricable link between national independence and humanity's larger freedom, equity and a shared heritage. Kenya's recognition of its obligations as the cradle of mankind, custodian of a common heritage and protector of rare species (both flora and fauna) necessitates a pragmatic approach in the management of foreign relations. The foreign policy approach further establishes the strong belief that Kenya's future is inextricably linked to the stability and security of the

immediate sub-region which is the mainstay of its nationhood, prosperity and livelihoods of its citizens.

Through economic diplomacy, Kenya will continue to strengthen and consolidate its trade and investment links with traditional partners while exploring new trade and investment partners in order to expand access of Kenyan products to foreign markets, while at the same time increasing investments for our country. Through this policy, the country seeks to deepen our engagement and partnerships with the Kenyan Diaspora in order to leverage and harness their skills and expertise for national development. As a country, it will also continue to contribute to sustainable management of the environment by confronting the impact of contemporary environmental challenges such as global climate change, ozone layer depletion, ocean and air pollution, and resource degradation.

According to the Kenya foreign policy (2014) transition in Kenya's Foreign Policy revolves around the increasingly important role of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as critical tools for regional integration. Kenya continues to play a lead role in fast tracking regional and continental integration so as to boost intra-African trade as part of the efforts to reduce economic marginalization of Africa in the global economy. The overarching objective is the improvement of Kenya's competitiveness for foreign direct investments and that of its export products, increase of market access and developing its attractiveness as a leading tourist destination. At the international level, Kenya seeks to diversify its economic relationships and partnerships with increased focus on the emerging economies and economic zones. These efforts collectively have sown the seeds of Kenya's new era of economic diplomacy which seeks to promote a pragmatic

approach that best illustrates commitment to strengthen relations with all countries and regions based on shared mutual interests.

Kenya continues to embrace bilateralism in pursuing its foreign policy objectives through bilateral trade, political, environmental and cultural agreements with other countries like Saudi Arabia. The implementation of bilateral arrangements with foreign countries beyond Africa forms a critical component of Kenya's Foreign Policy agenda which lays emphasis on emerging economies and economic zones. Kenya will further strengthen its bilateral diplomacy through establishment of diplomatic missions in countries of strategic importance and exchange of high level visits. Further the promotion and protection of the interests of the large number of Kenyans abroad will continue to inform the strengthening of bilateral relations with other countries (Kenya foreign policy, 2014).

### **2.5.2 Policies that inform Saudi Arabia's Diplomacy and Foreign Policy**

According to Malmquist (2008), the Saudi foreign policy is based on the principles of strengthening relations with the Gulf States through Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the other Arab countries. Moreover, the foreign policy is pegged on strengthening relations with Islamic countries and pushing for Islamism rather than Arabism Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Additionally, playing an effective role in the international and regional organizations and offering development assistance to Islamic countries and developing nations through institutions such as the Saudi Fund For Development (SFD), the Arab Bank For Economic Development For Africa (BADEA) and the OPEC Fund For International Development. Playing an active role as a

new WTO member and in OPEC and strengthening and promoting the cause of Islam as the custodians of sacred cities of Makkah and Madinah and the creedal of the Islamic faith forms an essential part of the Saudi Arabian policy.

Saudi Arabia has maintained a constant foreign policy during the last two decades and although a change of guards has occurred, the expectation is that there will be continuity in policy. The only noticeable change is that the giant has awoken and we should expect the monarchy under King Abdullah to play a more active role. The recent visit by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques to China, India, Malaysia and Pakistan and the IOC Extraordinary Session at Makkah are clear indication that the King wants to engage the world more proactively. International trade and investments are also going to play a central role in Saudi external relations. The Gulf Peninsula has featured as a principal component of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy since the establishment of the kingdom due to reasons of culture and history. Consideration is given to the blood relations, historical connections, unique geographical neighborhood that bring Arab Gulf States together, besides the similarity of existing political and economic systems. Saudi Arabia was a founder member in 1981 of the GCC whose members aim to forging a union in the like of the East African Community and the European Union. Gulf nations cooperate in the areas of defense and security and in economic, social, educational, health, scientific and cultural fields. The headquarters of the Gulf Cooperation Council is in Riyadh; and a large part of its administrative funding comes from Saudi Arabia (Malmquist, 2008).

Further to the above, the Saudi Arabia's engagement with the rest of the world encompasses the country's fight against Terrorism. Saudi Arabia has fought hard against internal dissent eliminating many of the terrorist cells, local Al Qaeda leadership and their source of funding. Saudi Arabia, through pressure from the United States closed many of its charity organizations and closely monitors its banking institutions to prevent flow of funds to terrorist organizations and sympathizers. Saudi Arabia has since September 11, 2001 arrested more than 800 suspected terrorists of various nationalities, broken up numerous AI-Qaeda cells and seized their arms caches. The Saudi government has introduced new regulations and mechanisms to ensure that its financial systems and charities are not exploited by terrorist groups. It and has also frozen financial assets of suspected financiers of terror.

Saudi Arabia hosted in 2005 Counter-Terrorism conference in Riyadh that brought together some 60 nations and international organizations from all over the world. The resulting Riyadh Declaration called for fostering of tolerance values, dialogue, coexistence, and understanding among global cultures and rejected the logic of the inevitability of clash of civilizations. Saudi Arabia proposed the establishment of an international counterterrorism center under United Nations auspices for the exchange of information on terrorism and the means to combat it. Saudi Arabia's diplomatic policy revolves around the Palestinian Question. Saudi Arabia believes that Israeli policies in the occupied territories have caused humiliation and suffering to the Palestinian people, and are breeding anger and hatred in the Arab and Islamic world. It calls for the conflict to be addressed and resolved justly in the interest of a peaceful world through the United Nations. King (then Crown Prince) Abdullah introduced a proposal for a comprehensive

Arab-Israeli peace at the Arab Summit at Beirut in March 2002. This historic proposal, which offered Israel peace with all Arab countries and an end to the conflict in exchange for its withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem has yet to be adopted by Israel.

The foreign policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is based on the good-neighbor policy, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, strengthening relations with the Gulf States, the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, and Islamic countries, implementing a nonalignment policy, establishing cooperation relations with friendly countries, and playing an effective role in the international and regional organizations. Moreover, Saudi Arabia's diplomatic policy is based on maintaining security and its position on the Arabian Peninsula, defend and promote solidarity and general Arab and Islamic interests, and maintain cooperative relations with other oil-producing and major oil-consuming countries and Promote peace and stability in areas beyond its borders, particularly among its immediate neighbors. Saudi Arabia is a founding member of the United Nations, having signed the United Nations Charter in 1945 and is a founder member of the Arab League, Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, Muslim World League, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (now the Organization of Islamic Cooperation). As a founding member of OPEC, its oil pricing policy has been generally to stabilize the world oil market and try to moderate sharp price movements so as to not jeopardize the Western economies. It is a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and in 2005 joined the World Trade Organization. Saudi Arabia supports the intended formation of the Arab Customs Union for 2015 and an Arab common market by 2020, as announced at the 2009 Arab League summit (Malmquist, 2008).

## **2.6. Factors Motivating Diplomatic Relations between Kenya and Saudi**

The main motivation for the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia is the commercial ties, which benefit both the two countries. In other words, Saudi Arabia and Kenya have a symbiotic relation, whereby the commercial opportunities created by the two countries enhance the economic prospect of the said countries. For instance, Saudi Arabia is the center of Islamic affairs in the world, and its monarch who bears the title of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques and overbearing influence on Muslim nations and Islamic institutions such as the Organization of Islamic Conferences and the Islamic Development Bank (IDB). Saudi Arabia is a leading world producer and exporter of oil to Kenya with one fourth of the world oil reserves. To this end, Saudi Arabia is the gateway to the Middle East. Last year the country won admission to the World Trade Organization (WTO). The World Bank considers Saudi Arabia to have the best overall environment in the region for doing business; outperforming high-flyers like Dubai. Saudi Arabia is the largest free market economy in the Middle East and North Africa holding 25 per cent share of the total Arab GDP. The investment environment in the Kingdom reflects traditions of liberal, open market private enterprise policies and its new Foreign Investment Law allows 100 percent foreign ownership of projects and real estate. The Kingdom has an impressive record of political and economic stability and has a modern world-class infrastructure. The Kingdom is endowed with natural resources including a wide range of industrial raw materials and minerals such as bauxite, limestone, gypsum, and phosphate and iron ore. There are no restrictions on foreign exchange and repatriation of capital and profits and this has made it possible for Kenyan companies operating in Saudi Arabia to repatriate profits back home. It has a very stable

currency and has no foreign exchange curbs, and companies are allowed 100 percent repatriation of profits. The Kingdom does not impose personal income tax. Labor cost in almost all spheres is low. Privatization is a key element of the Kingdom's economic liberalization and a host of sectors are being opened to the private sector. Telecommunications, electricity, airlines, postal services, railways, port services and water utilities are some of the potential areas for investment. Owing to these flexible trade regulations, Kenyan business persons have opened various income enterprises in Saudi Arabia, which has made it possible for more Kenyans to find employment opportunities in Saudi Arabia.

Since becoming a member of WTO, Saudi Arabian business community has been keen to invest abroad. The largest Saudi investment in Kenya last year was the 17 million pounds sterling (\$32 million) purchase of five hotels – the Norfolk, Mount Kenya Safari Club, Mara Safari Club, The Ark and Aberdare Country Club by Prince Al-Walid bin Talal bin Abdul Aziz Al-Saud the 5th richest man in the world with assets worth \$24 billion. Saudi Arabia's foreign trade totals US \$ 78 billion. It benefits from international and regional trade financing and export guarantee programs offered by the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), the Arab Monetary Fund's Trade Financing Program for financing trade and the Arab Investment Guarantee Corporation's programme for ensuring exports and investments. Saudi Arabia is a signatory to various regional agencies guaranteeing a level playing field to foreign investors. It is a member of the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). The pre-investment assistance provided by SAGIA and other government agencies includes helping foreign investors prepare feasibility studies for industrial projects. They also provide information and statistics for investment projects

within the scope of Saudi Arabia's development plans and as such, Kenya continues to benefit from these arrangements. Saudi Arabia offers ample employment to Kenyans, and currently hosts about 7-10 million expatriates, both skilled and unskilled. Job opportunities exist in industries, hospitals, education, research, agriculture including the dairy industry, shipping and commerce, telecommunication and IT industry.

Saudi Arabia ranks eighth in terms of the number of tourists travelling abroad. An estimated 4.5 million Saudi tourists go abroad for holiday every summer; 29 percent travel to Arab countries, 47% to variety of destinations abroad while the rest visit domestic destinations. Saudis spend a total of SR17 billion every year on foreign travel. In the summer of 2004 Saudi tourists spent close to Sr. 60 billion for holidays. Potential of trade with Saudi Arabia exists in tea, coffee, horticultural products, cut-flowers and livestock. Currently the balance of trade is in favour of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia imposed a ban on livestock imports from Kenya following the outbreak of the Rift Valley fever. The embargo on camels was lifted in October 2003 but the ban is yet to be lifted on cattle, sheep and goats. Tea Trade delegations led by the Tea Board of Kenya have twice visited Saudi Arabia. The delegations were hosted by both the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce and Jeddah Chamber of Commerce in 2004 and 2005 respectively. The delegations including tea packers and dealers met several Saudi tea dealers and substantive orders for Kenyan tea. The delegations, including an embassy staff, also visited Syria and Jordan where also a number of business deals were secured. The entrance of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia into the World Trade Organization membership opens greater opportunities for Kenya to venture into numerous trade areas with Saudi Arabia.

The potential for jobs in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for professionals particularly in the field of teachers, nurses, engineers, computer experts, technicians in the dairy industry and others is enormous. Bilateral agreements on labour, education, culture, scientific research and technical cooperation need to be signed to actualize such gains. The Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry needs to lay a more proactive role in the areas of trade since most trade activities in the Kingdom are handled by the private sector. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf is a potential market for Kenyan Tourism that need to be exploited and the literature of Kenyan tourist attraction issued in Arabic. It is important that we tap this lucrative market through aggressive campaign by the Kenya Tourist Board, Kenya Airways, the hotel industry and stakeholders in the tourism industry. The Kenya Tourist Board needs to sign a memorandum of cooperation with the Supreme Commission for Tourism of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The Saudi Fund for Development is the main channel through which Saudi Arabia's bilateral aid is channeled. A number of projects in Kenya have benefited from the Saudi Fund for Development in priority development sectors such as infrastructure, water, health and education.

<b>Project</b>	<b>Amount (SR Millions)</b>
Thika-Garissa-Liboi Road	055.84
Nairobi Water Supply	055.84
Agriculture Sector Support	015.00
Mombasa Sewage	045.95
Kenya-Sudan Road	055.84

## **2.7 Theoretical framework**

Although there are many contending theories of international relations, the study will be anchored upon liberalism theory to give an analysis of the diplomatic relations between the two nations (Kenya and Saudi Arabia).

### **2.7.1. Liberalism Theory**

According to liberalism theory international institutions play a key role in cooperation among states. With the correct international institutions, and increasing interdependence (including economic and cultural exchanges) states have the opportunity to reduce conflict. Interdependence has three main components (Murray et al., 2011). States interact in various ways, through economic, financial, and cultural means; security tends to not be the primary goal in state-to-state interactions; and military forces are not typically used. Liberals also argue that international diplomacy can be a very effective way to get states to interact with each other honestly and support nonviolent solutions to problems. With the proper institutions and diplomacy, Liberals believe that states can work together to maximize prosperity and minimize conflict (Sharp, 1999).

Liberalism theory is based on the moral argument that ensuring the right of an individual person to life, liberty and property is the highest goal of government. Consequently, liberals emphasize the wellbeing of the individual as the fundamental building block of a just political system. A political system characterized by unchecked power, such as a monarchy or a dictatorship, cannot protect the life and liberty of its citizens (Sharp,

1999). Therefore, the main concern of liberalism is to construct institutions that protect individual freedom by limiting and checking political power. While these are issues of domestic politics, the realm of IR is also important to liberals because a state's activities abroad can have a strong influence on liberty at home. Liberals are particularly troubled by militaristic foreign policies. The primary concern is that war requires states to build up military power. This power can be used for fighting foreign states, but it can also be used to oppress its own citizens. For this reason, political systems rooted in liberalism often limit military power by such means as ensuring civilian control over the military.

Wars of territorial expansion or imperialism when states seek to build empires by taking territory overseas are especially disturbing for liberals. Not only do expansionist wars strengthen the state at the expense of the people, these wars also require long-term commitments to the military occupation and political control of foreign territory and peoples. Occupation and control require large bureaucracies that have an interest in maintaining or expanding the occupation of foreign territory (Murray et al., 2011). For liberals, therefore, the core problem is how to develop a political system that can allow states to protect themselves from foreign threats without subverting the individual liberty of its citizenry. The primary institutional check on power in liberal states is free and fair elections via which the people can remove their rulers from power, providing a fundamental check on the behaviour of the government. A second important limitation on political power is the division of political power among different branches and levels of government such as a parliament/congress, an executive and a legal system. This allows for checks and balances in the use of power (Murray et al., 2011).

The theory is applicable in the current study in that at the international level institutions and organizations limit the power of states by fostering cooperation and providing a means for imposing costs on states that violate international agreements. In Kenya the ministry of foreign affairs is the one that determines the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. It limits the power over which the country negotiates on various fronts with Saudi Arabia (Kenya foreign policy, 2014). Economic institutions are particularly effective at fostering cooperation because of the substantial benefits that can be derived from economic interdependence. Finally, liberal norms add a further limitation on the use of power by shaping our understanding of what types of behaviour are appropriate. Today, it is clear that liberalism is not a 'utopian' theory describing a dream world of peace and happiness as it was once accused of being. It provides a consistent rejoinder to realism, firmly rooted in evidence and a deep theoretical tradition.

## **2.8. Gaps in the covered Literature Review**

Various studies have been carried out to establish how Kenya diplomatic relations have been with Saudi Arabia. Ulrichsen (2016) in his study infers that Saudi Arabia is keen to ensure that the long running relationship between the two nations is not soiled by issues which can be solved through dialogue. Kenya and Saudi Arabia continue to enjoy longstanding warm and friendly relations spanning several decades. The study has been general on the relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia but has not specifically explained how the diplomatic relations help the two countries to co-exist with one another. This creates a knowledge gap that will be addressed by the current study.

Hayden (2009) in his study contended that Kenya maintains relations with various countries around the world. Its closest ties are with its fellow Swahili-speaking neighbors in the African Great Lakes region. Relations with Uganda and Tanzania are generally strong, as the three nations work toward economic and social integration through common membership in the East African Community. Kenya's relations with other states vary. The study has concentrated on the relations between Kenya and east African countries ignoring the aspect of diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia thus creating a knowledge gap.

Lucas (2005) observes that in recent years, temporary labor migration from Kenya to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) has increased significantly. On the other hand, Deshingkar, Zeitlyn and Holtom (2014) contend that seeking to fill labor shortages in sectors such as construction and other service-based jobs ahead of the UAE Expo in 2020 and the Qatar World Cup in 2022, some Gulf countries and employers have turned to Kenya as a fresh source of inexpensive labor, particularly as Asian countries impose restrictions on sending workers to the region. The two studies have focused on labour relations ignoring other aspects of diplomatic relations which thus making them inadequate to address the objectives of the current study.

The above studies have all focused on relations between various countries. Despite their focus there still exist gaps which need to be filled to ensure the studies are conclusive. This study intended to fill these gaps by analyzing the foreign policies informing Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963. The finding of this study complemented the studies done on this area of diplomatic relations.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

The study sought to analyse the foreign policies informing Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963. This chapter highlights the various methods and procedures the researcher adopted in conducting the study in order to answer the research questions raised in the first chapter. The chapter is organized in the following structure: the research design, population and sample, data collection methods, and data analysis methods.

#### **3.2. Research Design**

The study used descriptive research design. This method of research is preferred because the researcher is able to collect data to answer questions concerning the status of the subject of study. Descriptive research determines and reports the way things are done and also helps a researcher to describe a phenomenon in terms of attitude, values and characteristics (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). Creswell (2013) describes a research design as a plan, structure and strategy of investigation to obtain answers to research questions and control variance. Additionally, a study design is the plan of action the researcher adopts for answering the research questions and it sets up the framework for study or is the blueprint of the researcher.

According to Orodho (2003), descriptive survey is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. This method is

appropriate for the study in that it will help in portraying the accuracy of peoples profile events and situations. A descriptive research design also allowed for in-depth analysis of variables and elements of the population to be studied and as well as collection of large amounts of data in a highly economical way. It enabled generation of factual information about the study. This is so because the descriptive design relies much on secondary data which helps in developing the case basing on facts, sustained by statistics and descriptive interpretations from archival materials and data

### **3.3. Target Population**

According to Creswell (2013), a population refers to any group of institutions, people or objects that have common characteristics. Due to the limitations of time, the researcher targeted the Ministry of Foreign affairs and the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Nairobi for interviews with the relevant attaches of the two governments.

### **3.4. Sampling Technique and Procedure**

Sampling is the process of selecting the people who will participate in a study. This process should be representative of the whole population. Sampling is hence the procedure, process or technique of choosing a sub-group from a population to participate in the study (Ogula, 2005). A purposive sampling technique was used to draw up the list of prospective informants for the study. Snowball sampling was employed to come up with 20 ministry officials who were considered and willing to participate in the field research. Snowball sampling is a nonprobability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances. Thus the sample group is said to grow like a rolling snowball. As the sample builds up, enough data are gathered to

be useful for research. The ministry officials were perceived to be resourceful on the broader foreign relations between the two countries and also they were useful with information to be requested by the researcher.

### **3.5. Data collection methods**

This study depended on both primary and secondary sources of data. The instruments for collecting data from the field involved oral and written evidence through face to face interviews. Face to face interviews were booked in the case of the political affairs officer attached to the Saudi Arabia Embassy offices in Nairobi and the external defense attaché advisor based at the Saudi Arabia-Kenya relations desk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

#### **3.5.1. Primary Data**

First, the field research involved visitations and oral interviews which were conducted within the two locales. The aim was to get the respondents as first level stakeholders and their first-hand information pertaining to diplomatic relations as well as assess the local impacts out of the same. Second, the researcher visited the Ministry of Foreign affairs specifically the Saudi Arabia Kenya relations section, the Saudi Arabian Embassy offices in Nairobi for oral interviews with the relevant attaches of the two governments.

#### **3.5.2. Secondary data**

The study benefited from archival data including de-classified information in form of treaties, intelligence reports, agreements and protocols both bilateral and multilateral entered by the two countries and that the researcher found relevant to the study, mainly

was drawn from the Kenya National Archives, and the United Nations Treaty Series publications available on the internet and some in the local libraries.

### **3.6. Data Collection Procedure**

The procedure for data collection started once the researcher is given a letter of approval by the university to go to the field. Using the letter of approval, a permit to conduct the study was acquired. Afterwards, the minister of foreign affairs was informed of the study and hence all the relevant stakeholders were informed as well. The researcher used the services of three research assistants in the data collection process. The research assistants were trained on how to administer the interviews.

### **3.7. Pilot Study**

Piloting helps the researcher to generate an understanding of the concept of the people being interviewed. In conducting the pilot study, the researcher was interested in establishing whether the respondents had the same understanding of the questions and thus would offer the information required. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) posit that “even the most carefully constructed instrument cannot guarantee to obtain one hundred percent reliability”. Piloting is important as it helps in determining the reliability of the instrument.

In this research, 3 respondents were chosen to contribute and were not be included in the sample chosen for the study. Test-retest reliability is obtained by administering the same test repeatedly over a period of time and still produces the same results. During piloting

the researcher administered the questionnaire to a different set of respondents who are not part of the groups of sampled respondents, but similar in characteristics to those sampled for the study. The piloting process also played the important role of checking the respondents for their suitability, clarity, relevance of information and appropriateness of the language used.

### **3.8. Validity of the Instruments**

Validity is the degree to which an instrument measures what it purports to measure (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). It is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on the research results. In this regard, experts in the field of projects achieved the content validity through an evaluation of the content. The instruments were given to two groups of experts, one group was requested to assess what concept the instrument was trying to measure and the other group was asked to determine whether the set of items accurately represents the concept under study.

### **3.9. Reliability of the Instruments**

Reliability refers to the consistency of data arising from the use of a particular research method. A test measures what it is measuring to the degree. Mugenda (2003), states that reliability is the measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields the same result after repeated trials over a period. In this regard, test-retest was employed to check on reliability. This involved administering the same instruments twice to the same group of subjects, but after some time. Hence, to determine stability, a measure or test was repeated on the subject at a future date. Results were compared and correlated with the initial test to give a measure of stability.

### **3.10. Data Analysis**

Content analysis was used to analyse the data by systematically and objectively identifying specific themes from the data representing the foreign policies informing Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963. This is due to the fact that the study sought to solicit for data that is qualitative in nature. According to Krippendorff (2012) Content analysis is a research method which provides a systematic and objective means of describing a phenomena by allowing the researcher to test theoretical issues to enhance understanding of the data. The technique has also been used successfully by other researchers such as Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas (2013) undertaking similar studies since it guards against selective perception of content, provides for the rigorous application of reliability and validity criteria, and is amendable to computerization.

### **3.11. Ethical considerations**

The researcher explained to the respondents about the research and that the study was for academic purposes only. It was made clear that the participation was voluntary and that the respondents were free to decline or withdraw any time during the research period. Respondents were not coerced into participating in the study. The participants had informed consent to make the choice to participate or not. They were guaranteed that their privacy was protected by strict standard of anonymity.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the interpretation and presentation of the findings. The purpose of the study was to analyze the the foreign policies informing Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963. The theory applied liberalization theory in explaining the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. The theory was applicable in the current study in that at the international level institutions and organizations limit the power of states by fostering cooperation and providing a means for imposing costs on states that violate international agreements. In Kenya the ministry of foreign affairs is the one that determines the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. It limits the power over which the country negotiates on various fronts with Saudi Arabia (Kenya foreign policy, 2014). Economic institutions are particularly effective at fostering cooperation because of the substantial benefits that can be derived from economic interdependence. Finally, liberal norms add a further limitation on the use of power by shaping our understanding of what types of behaviour are appropriate. Today, it is clear that liberalism is not a ‘utopian’ theory describing a dream world of peace and happiness as it was once accused of being. It provides a consistent rejoinder to realism, firmly rooted in evidence and a deep theoretical tradition.

## 4.2. Rating of Kenya and Saudi Arabia Diplomatic Relations

The respondents were requested to rate the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. From the field responses it was revealed that;

“The relationship between Kenya and Saudi Arabia was cordial. This was revealed when President Daniel arap Moi visited Saudi Arabia in 1979 and 1983. Foreign Minister Chirau Ali Mwakwere visited Saudi in 2005. President Mwai Kibaki also visited Saudi Arabia in 2012. Saudi Arabia, through the Saudi Fund for Development, has funded multiple development projects in Kenya. Some of which are Nairobi Water Supply SR 55.84 million, Kenya-South Sudan Road SR 34.59 million, Thika-Garissa-Liboi Road SR 55.84 million, Mombasa Sewage SR 45.95 million, Kiambere Hydro Electricity Power SR 39.96 million, Agriculture Sector Support SR 15 million and Garissa Water Supply SR 31.41million.” [Oral Respondent 001 (2018)]

The relationship was further confirmed when Saudi Arabia supported Kenya on developmental projects;

“In 2011, Saudi approved KES.1.6 billion loan to Kenya for the construction of the 146km Nuno-Mado Gashi road that will run between Garissa and Mandera towns. Saudi also approved KES.1.2 billion to fund five power projects. Saudi also hosts about 20,000 Kenyan professional and domestic workers. Saudi Arabia maintains an embassy in Nairobi. It is located in Muthaiga Road. Kenya has an embassy in Riyadh. In 2014, Kenyan imports from Saudi stood at KES. 28.22 billion (EUR. 265 billion). In 2013, Kenyan imports from Saudi stood at KES. 64 billion (EUR. 603 million). Total trade between both countries stood at KES. 68 billion (EUR. 636 million). This made Saudi the 9th largest trading partner of Kenya.” [Oral Respondent 002 (2018)]

## 4.3. Kenya-Saudi Arabia Diplomatic Relations since 1963

The respondents were requested to describe the nature of Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations since 1963 and in particular during the four successive regimes. According to the respondents;

“Kenya and Saudi Arabia enjoy cordial relations which were strengthened by the visit to the Kingdom by the former President Daniel T. Arap Moi in 1979 and 1983. Saudi Arabia has maintained a constant foreign policy during the last two

decades and although a change of guards has occurred, the expectation is that there will be continuity in policy.”[Oral Respondent 003 (2018)]

According to the respondents the international trade and investments are going to play a central role in Saudi external relations with Kenya;

“Saudi Arabia is important for Kenya for a number of reasons. It has a large investment in Kenya which is the 17 million pounds sterling (\$32 million) purchase of five hotels the Norfolk, Mount Kenya Safari Club, Mara Safari Club, The Ark and Aberdare Country Club by Prince Al-Walid bin Talal bin Abdul Aziz Al-Saud the 5th richest man in the world with assets worth \$24 billion. Saudi Arabia has offered ample employment to foreigners mostly Kenya, and currently hosts about 7-10 million expatriates, both skilled and unskilled. Job opportunities exist in industries, hospitals, education, research, agriculture including the dairy industry, shipping and commerce, telecommunication and IT industry.”[Oral Respondent 004 (2018)]

Further the respondents indicated that Saudi Arabia has had trade relations with Kenya especially the tea relations.

“Tea Trade delegations led by the Tea Board of Kenya have twice visited Saudi Arabia. The delegations were hosted by both the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce and Jeddah Chamber of Commerce in 2004 and 2005 respectively. The delegations including tea packers and dealers met several Saudi tea dealers and substantive orders for Kenyan tea. The delegations, including an embassy staff, also visited Syria and Jordan where also a number of business deals were secured. The entrance of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia into the World Trade Organization membership opens greater opportunities for Kenya to venture into numerous trade areas with Saudi Arabia.” [Oral Respondent 005 (2018)]

The respondents also indicated that Saudi Arabia and the Gulf is a potential market for Kenyan Tourism that need to be exploited and the literature of Kenyan tourist attraction issued in Arabic. It is important that we tap this lucrative market through aggressive campaign by the Kenya Tourist Board, Kenya Airways, the hotel industry and stakeholders in the tourism industry. The Kenya Tourist Board needs to sign a memorandum of cooperation with the Supreme Commission for Tourism of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Saudi Fund for Development is the main channel through which

Saudi Arabia's bilateral aid is channeled. A number of projects in Kenya have benefited from the Saudi Fund for Development in priority development sectors such as infrastructure, water, health and education.

The respondents stated that;

“Saudi Arabia, through the Saudi Fund for Development, has funded multiple development projects in Kenya. Some of which are Nairobi Water Supply SR 55.84 million, Kenya-South Sudan Road SR 34.59 million, Thika-Garissa-Liboi Road SR 55.84 million, Mombasa Sewage SR 45.95 million, Kiambere Hydro Electricity Power SR 39.96 million, Agriculture Sector Support SR 15 million and Garissa Water Supply SR 31.41million. In 2011, Saudi approved KES.1.6 billion loan to Kenya for the construction of the 146km Nuno-Mado Gashi road that will run between Garissa and Mandera towns. Saudi also approved KES.1.2 billion to fund five power projects. Saudi also hosts about 20,000 Kenyan professional and domestic workers. In 2014, Kenyan imports from Saudi stood at KES. 28.22 billion (EUR. 265 billion). In 2013, Kenyan imports from Saudi stood at KES. 64 billion (EUR. 603 million). Total trade between both countries stood at KES 68 billion (EUR 636 million). This made Saudi the 9th largest trading partner of Kenya.” [Oral Respondent 006 (2018)]

#### **4.4. Motivations behind the Diplomatic Relations between Kenya- Saudi Arabia**

The respondents were requested to indicate the motivations behind the diplomatic relations between Kenya- Saudi Arabia even after independence. The respondents stated that;

“the motivation for the Kenya-Saudi Arabia relations have been facilitated by the commercial activities mainly trade and also the employment opportunities in Saudi Arabia. Over the past years, the labour demand in the Gulf countries, the largest non-Western migrant destination globally, has increased significantly. While Asian labor migrants have traditionally filled these shortages, recent African labor migrants, specifically from Kenya, have increasingly filled these labor shortages due to the ongoing diplomatic disputes between the governments of Asia and some Gulf countries, involving the migrants' labor rights and welfare. The diplomatic tensions between Asian and Gulf countries, combined with the deepening of Gulf labor shortages, have prompted Gulf governments to encourage other migrant labor flows, particularly from the African continent. Recently, African labor-sending countries like Kenya have intensified the deployment of their nationals to the Gulf countries particularly Saudi Arabia. ’ [Oral Respondent 007 (2018)]

The Gulf Labor Markets and Migration (GLMM) data suggests that the Kenyan migrant population is one of the fastest growing unskilled labor migrant populations in the Gulf countries. These migrants often work as domestic workers, cleaners, servers, taxi drivers, construction workers, and, in some cases, related administrative-related jobs. International labor rights organizations claim that these Kenyan migrants, particularly domestic workers, have very limited protection in the Gulf labor market. Increasing immigration restrictions (i.e. visa requirements) in the West, many Kenyan migrants mostly semi and unskilled and other African migrants have been increasingly pressured to move to Saudi Arabia in search of economic opportunity.

Because of the government's inconsistent data collection of migrant population, there are no accurate official figures of the number of Kenyan migrants in the Gulf region. However, the Kenyan government estimated that at least 100,000 Kenyan migrants are currently living and working in the Gulf region. However, Trace Kenya (a charity which rescues Kenyan workers trapped in the Middle East) reported that in Saudi Arabia alone, 80,000 Kenyans are already presently working in the country, while others estimated that at least 300,000 Kenyans are currently present in the Gulf countries.

Saudi Arabia and Kenya have a symbiotic relation, whereby the commercial opportunities created by the two countries enhance the economic prospect of the said countries.

“For instance, Saudi Arabia is the center of Islamic affairs in the world, and its monarch who bears the title of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques and overbearing influence on Muslim nations and Islamic institutions such as the Organization of Islamic Conferences and the Islamic Development Bank (IDB).

Saudi Arabia is a leading world producer and exporter of oil to Kenya with one fourth of the world oil reserves. To this end, Saudi Arabia is the gateway to the Middle East. Last year the country won admission to the World Trade Organization (WTO). The World Bank considers Saudi Arabia to have the best overall environment in the region for doing business; outperforming high-flyers like Dubai. Saudi Arabia is the largest free market economy in the Middle East and North Africa holding 25 per cent share of the total Arab GDP.” [Oral Respondent 008 (2018)]

The investment environment in the Kingdom reflects traditions of liberal, open market private enterprise policies and its new Foreign Investment Law allows 100 percent foreign ownership of projects and real estate. The Kingdom has an impressive record of political and economic stability and has a modern world-class infrastructure. The Kingdom is endowed with natural resources including a wide range of industrial raw materials and minerals such as bauxite, limestone, gypsum, and phosphate and iron ore. There are no restrictions on foreign exchange and repatriation of capital and profits and this has made it possible for Kenyan companies operating in Saudi Arabia to repatriate profits back home. It has a very stable currency and has no foreign exchange curbs, and companies are allowed 100 percent repatriation of profits. The Kingdom does not impose personal income tax. Labor cost in almost all spheres is low. Privatization is a key element of the Kingdom’s economic liberalization and a host of sectors are being opened to the private sector. Telecommunications, electricity, airlines, postal services, railways, port services and water utilities are some of the potential areas for investment. Owing to these flexible trade regulations, Kenyan business persons have opened various income enterprises in Saudi Arabia, which has made it possible for more Kenyans to find employment opportunities in Saudi Arabia.

#### 4.5. Policies That Inform the Diplomatic Relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia

The respondents were requested to indicate the policies that inform the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. According to the respondents;

“The Kenya foreign policy approach embraces use of available technologies and platforms, especially social media networks to communicate with stakeholders on the country’s Foreign Policy. Kenya’s foreign policy is anchored on five interlinked pillars that characterize her bilateral and multilateral engagement. These pillars are Peace, Economic, Diaspora, Environmental and Cultural. The Peace pillar seeks to consolidate Kenya’s legacy in cultivating peace and stability as necessary conditions for development and prosperity. The Economic pillar aims to achieve robust economic engagement in order to secure Kenya’s socio-economic development and prosperity that will ensure our nation becomes a middle income and industrialized economy by the year 2030. The Diaspora pillar aims to harness the diverse skills, expertise and potential of Kenyans living abroad, and facilitating their integration into the national development agenda’ [Oral Respondent 009 (2018)]

The respondents further stated that;

“Kenya’s foreign policy has in most instances been moulded and directed by the President, who is the chief foreign policy shaper. Consequently, the policy must first be contextualized through the President’s selection of his foreign policy key champion the minister (now Cabinet Secretary) of Foreign Affairs and the prevailing international geo-political environment. The final authority, therefore, on foreign policy formulation, conduct and projection lies in the hands of the President. There have been in the past half a century of Kenya’s Independence four presidents, namely the late Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel arap Moi, Mwai Kibaki and, currently, Uhuru Kenyatta. Kenya’s presidents in the past five decades have been a study in different personalities and abilities. They reacted to different international geo-political situations. Each faced different challenges, including their personal input in actual conduct of foreign relations.” [Oral Respondent 010 (2018)]

Kenya’s long struggle for national liberation laid strong foundations for the country’s foreign policy orientation which establishes an inextricable link between national independence and humanity’s larger freedom, equity and a shared heritage. Kenya’s recognition of its obligations as the cradle of mankind, custodian of a common heritage and protector of rare species (both flora and fauna) necessitates a pragmatic approach in

the management of foreign relations. The foreign policy approach further establishes the strong belief that Kenya's future is inextricably linked to the stability and security of the immediate sub-region which is the mainstay of its nationhood, prosperity and livelihoods of its citizens.

This is perhaps best captured by the personal engagement and diplomatic honorific (s) that inform such bilateral and multi-lateral relations. President Uhuru Kenyatta's clarion call in his inauguration speech on April 9, 2013 was summed up in one loaded phrase mutual reciprocity. Notwithstanding his personal predicament at the International Criminal Court in The Hague, President Kenyatta has made clear his intentions to steer Kenya to greater independence at the global diplomatic arena. President Uhuru Kenyatta is both a study of renewed energy, vigour and focus in the Government's foreign policy. It is abundantly clear that Kenya's foreign policy will henceforth not be the same in substance, formulation, execution and conduct. It shall be driven, articulated and dispensed with vigour, and perhaps devoid of the hitherto subdued elocution of the traditional diplomatic discourse and norms. The tell-tale signs of this new diplomatic deportment and elocution were in public display during President Uhuru Kenyatta's inauguration on when he called for reciprocity from Kenya's foreign partners, hence forth as the cornerstone of Kenya's foreign relations and engagement with the international community.

According to the respondents

“Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations are focused on co-operation with the oil-exporting Gulf States, the unity of the Arab world, Islamic strength and solidarity, and support for the United Nations (UN). In practice, the main concerns in recent

years have been relations with the US, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, Iraq, the perceived threat from the Islamic Republic of Iran, the effect of oil pricing, and using its oil wealth to increase the influence of Islam and especially the conservative school of Islam supported by the country's rulers (known as Wahhabism). Saudi Arabia contributes large amounts of development aid to Muslim countries. From 1986 to 2006, the country donated £49 billion in aid. Although a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Saudi Arabia was once described as leading the "Pro-Western Camp" of Arab countries, aligned with the U.S. and composed of Egypt, Jordan, and Arab states of the Persian Gulf. However, relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States are strained and have witnessed major decline in recent years. Islam is the main religion of Saudi. China and Saudi Arabia are major allies, with relationship between the two countries growing significantly in recent decades. Majority of Saudi Arabians also expressed a favorable view of China.” [Oral Respondent 011 (2018)]

In addition, the respondents indicated that;

“Saudi Arabia’s minister of commerce Majed bin Abdullah Al-Kassab visited Kenya with a delegation of 80 potential investors and entrepreneurs. The investors had interests in agriculture, energy, construction, transport, healthcare among others. The minister was hosted by his Kenyan counterpart Adan Mohamed of Industry and Trade. In 2015, Kenya imported Sh55 billion worth of goods and services from Saudi Arabia and only exported Sh5.6 billion, according to the 2016 Economic Survey. Kenya’s major exports to Saudi Arabia include tea, coffee, vegetables, textile materials, jute, fruit and nuts, fruit and vegetable juices, meat and meat products among others. State House reckons that this huge imbalance of trade can be bridged by exporting products like fish and fish products, live animals, dairy products and tourism.” [Oral Respondent 012 (2018)]

#### **4.6. Diplomatic Relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia and Access to Middle East Market**

The respondents were requested to indicate the whether the close diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia can help Kenya access a bigger Middle East market.

According to the respondents;

“The Middle East region is home to 65.5% of proven world oil reserves and holds 40% of the world’s conventional natural gas reserves. The importance of this Region in the world economy, therefore, cannot be taken for granted. Kenya values highly the cordial ties with the Middle East countries and is represented by seven Resident Diplomatic Missions and on a non-residential basis in the rest of the countries where we are not on the ground. These bonds of friendship have

witnessed exchanges of high-level visits for which we are fully appreciative. I am also aware that there are a number of pending visits which we are committed to actualizing. The region is a leading source of fossil fuels (oil, petroleum and gas); has huge funds for development projects; provides employment opportunities for Kenya's expanding Diaspora and is an important partner for trade and investment.' [Oral Respondent 013 (2018)]

The region is also critical due to other issues of common concern including security, religious extremism and youth radicalization. In engaging the Middle East specifically Saudi Arabia, Kenya could take advantage of the food deficiency in the region to enhance trade on food items. Kenya will seek to identify, study and cooperate in the transfer of technologies used in the Middle East that has made the cost of housing affordable to its citizens. Similarly, Kenya invites prospective investors in real estate and financing construction of affordable houses. Kenya invites investors from Middle East to invest in the manufacturing sector. The government has put in place attractive incentives that will guarantee protection on investments and lucrative returns. Numerous opportunities exist where investors can come in on a joint venture arrangement or on PPP. Kenya appreciates the Middle East countries for hosting over 200,000 Kenyans who live and work in the region, whose remittances play a central role in our economic development and affording their families to live decent lives.

The economies of the regional countries depend to a significant extent on foreign (expatriate) labour. The deficient labour needs by almost all the countries in this region present Kenya and the globe with opportunities that need to be harnessed. Kenya can offer both skilled and semi-skilled staff to most countries in the Middle East. To guarantee the welfare and rights of the workers, Kenya has concluded labour agreements with several countries in the region and will seek to initiate and conclude same with those

countries not yet on board. Forthwith, Kenya is committed to up scaling its labour export to the Middle East from the unskilled and semi-skilled to professional cadres.

#### **4.8. Conclusion**

The chapter has presented the findings on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia. Kenya and Saudi Arabia established diplomatic relations as a means of maintaining essential ties for the advantage of the citizens from the countries in bilateral ties. They have negotiated treaties which have been done by diplomats prior to endorsement by national politicians. In an informal or social sense, diplomacy is the employment of tact to gain strategic advantage or to find mutually acceptable solutions to a common challenge, one set of tools being the phrasing of statements in a non-confrontational or polite manner.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary, conclusion and recommendations on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia.

#### **5.2. Summary of Findings**

The study found that the relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia were cordial. President Daniel arap Moi visited Saudi Arabia in 1979 and 1983. Foreign Minister Chirau Ali Mwakwere visited Saudi in 2005. President Mwai Kibaki also visited Saudi Arabia in 2012. Saudi Arabia, through the Saudi Fund for Development, has funded multiple development projects in Kenya. Some of which are Nairobi Water Supply SR 55.84 million, Kenya-South Sudan Road SR 34.59 million, Thika-Garissa-Liboi Road SR 55.84 million, Mombasa Sewage SR 45.95 million, Kiambere Hydro Electricity Power SR 39.96 million, Agriculture Sector Support SR 15 million and Garissa Water Supply SR 31.41million.

The study also established that the motivation for the Kenya-Saudi Arabia relations have been facilitated by the commercial activities mainly trade and also the employment opportunities in Saudi Arabia. Over the past years, the labour demand in the Gulf countries, the largest non-Western migrant destination globally, has increased

significantly. While Asian labor migrants have traditionally filled these shortages, recent African labor migrants, specifically from Kenya, have increasingly filled these labor shortages due to the ongoing diplomatic disputes between the governments of Asia and some Gulf countries, involving the migrants' labor rights and welfare. The diplomatic tensions between Asian and Gulf countries, combined with the deepening of Gulf labor shortages, have prompted Gulf governments to encourage other migrant labor flows, particularly from the African continent. Recently, African labor-sending countries like Kenya have intensified the deployment of their nationals to the Gulf countries particularly Saudi Arabia.

The study also established that Kenya foreign policy approach embraces use of available technologies and platforms, especially social media networks to communicate with stakeholders on the country's Foreign Policy (Kenya foreign policy, 2014). Kenya's foreign policy is anchored on five interlinked pillars that characterize her bilateral and multilateral engagement. These pillars are Peace, Economic, Diaspora, Environmental and Cultural. The Peace pillar seeks to consolidate Kenya's legacy in cultivating peace and stability as necessary conditions for development and prosperity. The Economic pillar aims to achieve robust economic engagement in order to secure Kenya's socio-economic development and prosperity that will ensure our nation becomes a middle income and industrialized economy by the year 2030. The Diaspora pillar aims to harness the diverse skills, expertise and potential of Kenyans living abroad, and facilitating their integration into the national development agenda.

The study also established that exist challenges that have faced the diplomatic relations between the countries. Many Kenyan migrants often face contract substitution in either

origin or destination countries, whereby agents both legal and illegal – deliberately provide false contract information to prospective applicants to lure them to accept their employment offer. Often, Kenyans were promised to work as domestic workers but then turned to work in domestic servitude, brothels, massage parlors, or in forced manual labor recruitment agents often play a deliberate role in providing false information to migrants, often giving them discretionary power to take advantage of workers' income and employment status. This asymmetric information has generated labor abuses within the market and negatively affected the wages, employment status, and, in some cases, triggered the early departure of the migrant in the Gulf countries.

### **5.3. Conclusion**

The study concluded that Saudi Arabia and the Gulf is a potential market for Kenyan Tourism that need to be exploited and the literature of Kenyan tourist attraction issued in Arabic. It is important that we tap this lucrative market through aggressive campaign by the Kenya Tourist Board, Kenya Airways, the hotel industry and stakeholders in the tourism industry. The Kenya Tourist Board needs to sign a memorandum of cooperation with the Supreme Commission for Tourism of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Saudi Fund for Development is the main channel through which Saudi Arabia's bilateral aid in channeled. A number of projects in Kenya have benefited from the Saudi Fund for Development in priority development sectors such as infrastructure, water, health and education.

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The study also concluded that there exist challenges that have faced the diplomatic relations between the countries. Many Kenyan migrants often face contract substitution in either origin or destination countries, whereby agents both legal and illegal – deliberately provide false contract information to prospective applicants to lure them to accept their employment offer. Often, Kenyans were promised to work as domestic workers but then turned to work in domestic servitude, brothels, massage parlors, or in forced manual labor recruitment agents often play a deliberate role in providing false information to migrants, often giving them discretionary power to take advantage of workers' income and employment status. This asymmetric information has generated labor abuses within the market and negatively affected the wages, employment status, and, in some cases, triggered the early departure of the migrant in the Gulf countries.

#### **5.4. Recommendations**

From the analysis of the findings, the following recommendations were made;

1. Kenya should strengthen its relations with Saudi Arabia especially in the areas of economic development for it to realize vision 2030. This would be achieved by the country's Foreign Ministry negotiating deals that will benefit the country.
2. There should be an establishment of Kenya diplomatic mission in Saudi Arabia in order to influence trade, labour and security relations between the two countries.
3. The political relations should be used as a bench mark to ensure that both Countries have the best governance structure that will promote ethical leadership, eliminate corruption and compel the leaders to be accountable to the citizenry. This will ensure that resources are channeled and used in the right sectors for development.
4. The study recommends the signing of bilateral agreements to establish border surveillance controls to exchange security intelligence and implementation of signed security agreements to promoting peace negotiations in order to combat security issues.

#### **5.5. Suggestion of Areas for Further Studies**

Opportunity for further research in the subject matter exists thus: it would be interesting to compare the findings with diplomatic relations in other countries. The population of the study would be much bigger; a second study is suggested to come up with a standard acceptable utilization levels. This will provide a standard upon which such studies can be replicated.

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**INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. How do you rate Kenya and Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations?

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2. Describe the nature of Kenya-Saudi Arabia diplomatic relations from 1963-2015, and in particular during the four successive regimes

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3. Describe the motivations behind the diplomatic relations between Kenya- Saudi Arabia even after independence

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4. Explain the policies that inform the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia

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- 5. Close diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia can help Kenya access a bigger Middle East market.

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- 6. Describe the main challenges that faces diplomatic relations between Kenya and Saudi Arabia?

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