

**CHALLENGES OF SECURING MARITIME BORDERS FOR SUSTAINABLE
PEACE IN SOMALIA**

BY

MOHAMED FARAH ABDULLAHI

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL
SCIENCES, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY
(EXECUTIVE)**

MOI UNIVERSITY

2020

DECLARATION

Declaration by the Candidate

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university. No part of this research project may be reproduced without the permission of Moi University.

Sign: _____ Date: _____

Mohamed Farah Abdullahi

Date

REG.NO. SASS/PGDF/005/18

Declaration by the Supervisors

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as the university supervisors.

Sign: _____ Date: _____

Dr. Paul Kurgat

Department of History, Political Science,

And Public Administration, Moi University.

Sign: _____ Date: _____

Dr. James Chelang'a

Department of History, Political Science,

And Public Administration, Moi University.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my beloved wife Muna for her encouragement and support through this noble course. To my daughters Ebyan and Idman who motivated me in achieving my dream in academics. May Allah bless you!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude goes to Moi University and specifically the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration for granting me the opportunity to pursue my Master studies. Special regards and appreciation go to my supervisors: Dr. Paul Kurgat and Dr. James Chelang'a for their guidance and academic mentorship throughout my research process. This project is a product of your tireless comments, guidance, discussions and encouragement.

My gratitude goes to my classmates and friends for their academic sharing and inspiration during coursework, proposal development, and project writing. You made me bold to complete my project.

I sincerely thank everyone who assisted in every way towards this achievement.

ABSTRACT

Since 2005, the vital waterway in the Indian Ocean, the Gulf of Aden has remained the globe's most treacherous piracy hotspot, instigating countries that have their commercial and safety interests predominantly getting weakened by the escalating piracy in the area to deploy their security details to assist in enhancing maritime security. Various investigations on the impact of piracy on economies of states have been done, however, an in depth study on the Gulf of Aden and the Horn of Africa deserves more investigation to understand how this has affected the ability of Somalia to secure its maritime borders. The security scenario posed continue to experience myriad challenges of actors, interests, and strategies which provides an academic gap worth probing while at the same time a policy gap of what best to do in ameliorating this condition for sustainable peace. The on goings singly and collectively have the capacity of affecting the peace in Somalia. The study sought to; assess challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace in Somalia, examine socio-political challenges facing Somalia state, analyze influence of states and non-state actors in the Somalia's maritime border security, and establish successes attained in sustainable peace and security of Somalia. The study was guided by two theories namely; the collective security theory and cognitive resources theory. The researcher adopted a descriptive research design and utilized a purposive sampling technique to attain a sample size of 100 respondents from a target populace of 200 respondents. The researcher used questionnaire to gather primary data from the respondents. Data analysis employed included; thematic, content analysis and pseudo-statistical analysis for descriptive frequencies used to present the findings from secondary and primary data which were in tables, pie charts, and figures. The findings indicated that pirate's attacks significantly are an impediment to the success of Somalia's maritime security and quest to enhance sustainable peace in the country. It was found that the actions of other states especially through Official Development Assistance (ODA) plays a critical role in supporting Somali's determination to secure its borders and this should continue. Additionally, regional and international organizations were found to play crucial role in enhancing maritime security in the coastline of Somalia through facilitation of negotiations in the country. Finally, the research found out that there are significant challenges in capacity building in regard to efforts of securing maritime borders to enhance sustainable peace in the country. From the foregoing, the research recommends a more elaborate collaboration between Somali and other stakeholders, states and non-state in making the porous maritime borders secure.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background to the Study.....	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	7
1.4 Research Objectives.....	8
1.4.1 General Objective	8
1.4.2 Specific Objectives	8
1.5 Research Questions.....	8
1.6 Scope of the Study	9
1.7 Significance of the Study	10
1.8 Conceptual Framework.....	11
1.9 Limitations of the Study.....	13
CHAPTER TWO	14
LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 Introduction.....	14
2.2 Theoretical Review	14
2.2.1 Collective Security Theory	14
2.2.2 Cognitive Resources Theory.....	17
2.3 Challenges of Securing Maritime Borders for Sustainable Peace in Somalia.....	18
2.4 The Socio-Eco-Political Challenges Facing Somalia State	26
2.5 The Influence of States and Non-State Actors in the Somalia’s Maritime Border Security	31

2.6 The Successes Attained in Sustainable Peace and Security of Somalia	36
2.7 Summary of the Literature Review and Identification of the Research Gap	39
CHAPTER THREE	40
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	40
3.1 Introduction.....	40
3.2 Study Area	40
3.3 Research Design.....	40
3.4 Target Population.....	41
3.5 Sampling Procedure	41
3.6 Sample Size.....	42
3.7 Data Collection Instruments	43
3.8 Validity of Research Instruments.....	43
3.9 Reliability of Research Instruments	43
3.10 Data Analysis	43
3.11 Ethical Consideration.....	44
CHAPTER FOUR.....	45
DATA ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	45
4.1 Introduction.....	45
4.2 Demographic Information.....	45
4.2.1 Response Rate.....	45
4.2.2 Analysis of Challenges Facing Somalia in its Quest to Secure its Maritime Borders.....	46
4.2.3 Analysis of the Influence of State and Other State Actors in Somalia Maritime Border Security	47
4.2.4 Analysis of the Role of International and Regional Organizations in Peace and Security in Somalia	48
4.2.5 Analysis of Somalia’s Capacity Building on its Border Security	49
4.3 Challenges Facing Somalia in the Quest to Secure Its Maritime Borders	49
4.3.1 Terror Attacks	51
4.3.2 Illegal Resource Mining and Allocation	53
4.3.3 Poor Administrative Systems.....	55
4.3.4 Inadequate Financial Resources.....	57
4.4 Influence of State and Non- State Actors in Somalia Maritime Border Security ..59	
4.4.1 Official Development Assistance (ODA) Support	60

4.4.2 Agreement Development	61
4.5 Role of International and Regional Organizations in the Sustainable Peace and Security of Somalia.....	62
4.6 Influence of Somalia’s Capacity Building for Secure Maritime Borders as a Way of Maintaining Sustainable Peace and Security	64
4.7 Discussions	66
CHAPTER FIVE	70
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	70
5.1 Introduction.....	70
5.2 Summary of Findings.....	70
5.3 Conclusions.....	72
5.4 Recommendations of the Study	73
5.5 Limitations of Study	74
5.6 Areas for Further Research Study	74
REFERENCES	75
APPENDICES	80
Appendix I: Interview Schedule	80
Appendix II: Questionnaire.....	81

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Target Population.....	41
Table 3.2 Sample Size.....	42
Table 4.1 Response Rate.....	45

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework	12
Figure 2.2: Attacks (actual and attempted) by Somali pirates	28
Figure 2.3: Estimated catch by foreign vessels and Somali vessels in Somali waters,29	
Figure 4.1 Response Rate	46
Figure 4.2: Challenges facing Somalia	46
Figure 4.3: Influences of Other States	47
Figure 4.4 Organizational Influence	48
Figure 4.5 Somalia's Capacity building.....	49

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Capacity building** – Refers to the process by which persons and establishments acquire, improve, and hold the skills, acquaintance, apparatuses, equipment and other properties required to do their jobs proficiently or to a superior capacity.
- Coastline** – The land bordering the ocean and along a coast
- Maritime Security** - The state of keeping the ocean or marine space free of any danger or attack
- Piracy** – Refers to the act of attacking, kidnapping and robbing sea vessels like ships
- Security** – The condition of being free from any threat or danger to life
- Sustainable peace** - A concept that focuses on the importance of having a long term comprehensive vision in all responses to violent conflict, to end vicious cycles of lapse and relapse.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM	African Mission on Somalia
AU	African Union
CRT	Cognitive Resources Theory
EAC	East African Cooperation
EU	European Union
EUCAP	European Union Capacity Building Mission
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
HoA	Horn of Africa
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMB	International Maritime Bureau
IMO	International Maritime Organization
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
MASE	Regional Maritime Security in the Eastern and Southern Africa- Indian Ocean Region
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEF	One Earth Future Foundation
SNA	Somalia National Army
TFG	Transitional Federal Government of the Republic of Somalia
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UK	United Kingdom

UNODC	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar

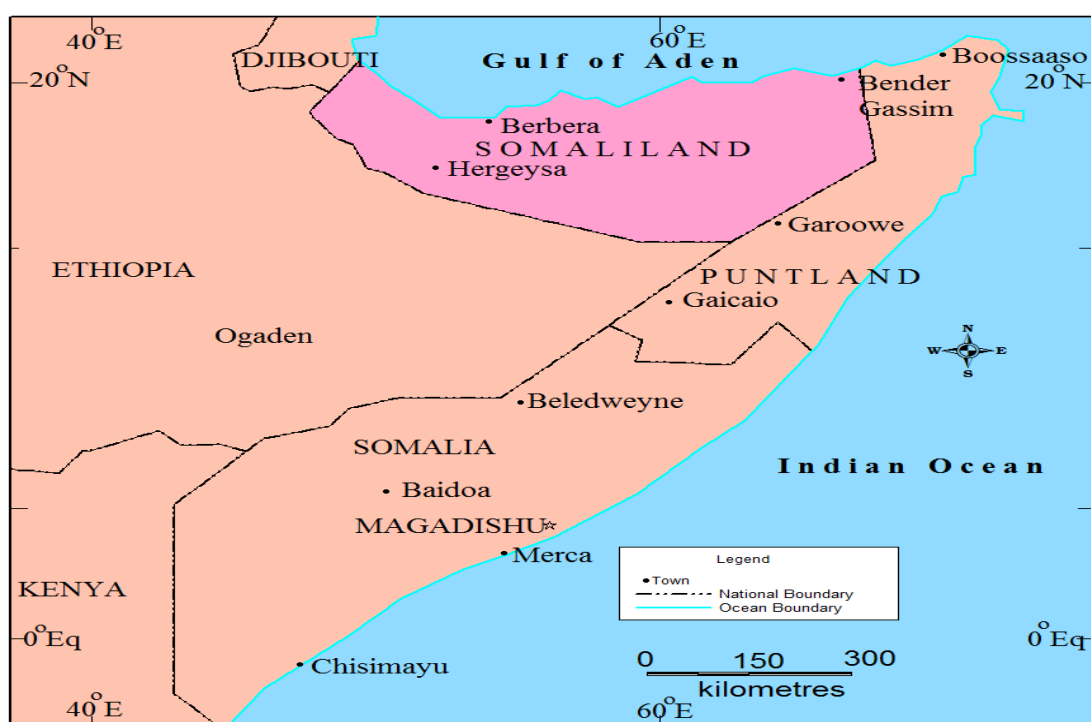
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study. It provides the background to the study, the statement of the problem, research objectives and research questions, the significance of the study, its scope and limitations.

1.2 Background to the Study



The Coastline of Somalia

Source: *Moi University Geography Department GIS Lab*

The challenges to “Maritime Security” have many faces – piracy and armed robbery, maritime terrorism, illicit trafficking by sea, i.e. narcotics trafficking, small arms and light weapons trafficking, human trafficking, global climate change, cargo theft etc. These challenges keep evolving and may be hybrid in nature: an interconnected and unpredictable mix of traditional and irregular warfare, terrorism, and/or organized crime. In an ever more complex international environment of globalized economic

processes and worldwide political, ecological, social and cultural change, bringing major opportunities but also risks, decision-makers in enterprises and politics depend more than ever before on the advice of highly qualified experts (Feldt, Roell, Thiele, 2013).

According to The Wise Pen Team Report, (2010), Transnational forces and irregular challenges continue to be the primary threat today and in the foreseeable future, especially in the maritime domain. “Maritime Security” has to be distinguished from “Maritime Safety”. “Maritime Security” is “the combination of preventive and responsive measures to protect the maritime domain against threats and intentional unlawful acts. “Maritime Safety” is “the combination of preventive and responsive measures intended to protect the maritime domain against, and limit the effect of, accidental or natural danger, harm, and damage to environment, risks or loss.”

The crucial distinction is between man-made and unintentional risks and dangers. “Safety” refers to dangers for ships, its crew and passengers, cargo and navigation. It is referring to the protection of the maritime environment through regulations and techniques, whereas security is focused on operational requirements. Safety is a civilian responsibility. And its achievements are based on common efforts between governmental and non-governmental actors. The “International Maritime Organization” (Feldt, Roell, Thiele, 2013).

“Maritime Security” (www.imo.org) is a responsibility, which has no clear definitions when it comes to Maritime Security Operations: it is a governmental responsibility, but the authority to act on behalf of a state is a sovereign decision with different options. This has a strong influence on Maritime Collaboration. It has no universal legal or agreed definition due to the fact that it is a broad topic, covering many policy

sectors. Elements, which are part of maritime security, are: International and national peace and security; Sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence; Security of Sea Lines of Communications; Security protection from crimes at sea; Resource security, access to resources at sea and to the seabed; Environmental protection; Security of all seafarers and fishermen.

Great Britain & Great Britain (2010) asserts that piracy in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean is a severe and continuing danger to the EU, UK and African welfares. Such a threat could spread into other parts of Africa, which is already grappling with security issues. The term ‘Somali piracy’ implies the actions of Somalia-based clusters that purpose to make revenue by attacking vessels at sea (Kornegay Jr., 2012). In practice the envisioned victims are frequently foreign trading vessels navigating in the Gulf of Aden or in the western part of the Indian Ocean.

The assailants are not-or at least not officially connected to administration agencies in Somalia, but can somewhat be categorized as cliques of private raiders (Westberg, 2016). In addition to the globally-recognized Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of the Republic of Somalia, there are three other main leading entities in Somalia with some regions claiming independence. These are the Islamist insurgence group Al Shabaab in South and Central Somalia, and the de facto independent provincial administrations of Puntland and Somaliland in the north (Fu, Ng & Lau, 2010). Also see map in appendix III. The favored technique utilized by Somali buccaneers is to board vessels, take the staff hostage, and demand for payoff from the vessel owner in return for the release of both the crew and the vessel (Great Britain & Great Britain 2010). This method, according to Goldberg (2018) helps finance the piracy activities since the group uses the ransom to buy new and sophisticated weapons and also facilitate the training of new recruits. The money is also used to plan and orchestrate

attacks in Somalia and neighbouring countries like Kenya, and to sponsor political agenda through its sympathizers.

Piracy has for a while has been described as an adversary of mankind and yet when it comes to counter piracy actions at sea, mankind does not respond jointly. The present actions in the Gulf of Aden perhaps constitute the first time in antiquity when all of the global key naval authorities collected significant marine possessions in a specific area for as a joint response to piracy (Kiogora, 2015). Previously, success against piracy was principally attained by hegemonic supremacies or a mutual effort by international and local powers. From the first century BC, the Roman Empire attained some grade of accomplishment in neutralizing piracy in the Mediterranean. During its ascension as the biosphere's leading naval force and the principal expatriate power, Britain repressed piracy of European derivation in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans (Shane, Piza & Mandala, 2015).

The oceanic piracy attacks that emerge off the Horn of Africa (HoA) are starkly disrupting global trade. The Far East-Europe course is one of the biosphere's most active pan continental maritime ways, as it channels close to 20 percent of all international exchange activities and more than 80 percent of trade passes through the Gulf of Aden. More exactly, more than 20,000 vessels carrying most of the global inexpensive clothing, unrefined oil, and dry merchandises go through this way yearly (Shane et al., 2015). Nevertheless, on this way, there is a significant barrier by the Puntland region in Northeast Somalia. Self-independent clans and commanders rule that Wabbly section, the nearby Gulf of Aden has copious quantities of Somali bandits. Their chief aims are to capture vessels and snatch the transported goods, holding them until firms pay ransom to recover their cargo and vessel staffs.

Subsequently, this route sufficiently reflects the noteworthy impacts of maritime piracy on worldwide shipping and growth of the globe as Sibley (2016) posits.

The existing fact about Somalia is what many scholars such as Elmi and Barise (2006) keep writing on. They assert, unlike many African populations, the overwhelming majority of the Somalis are part of a single, homogeneous ethnic group. All Somalis are Muslim and share the same language and culture. Nevertheless, one of the most terrible civil wars in Africa has been waged in this country for more than two decades. Somalia has been without a functioning central government since the late dictator General Mohamed Siad Barre was ousted in 1991. This is a common trajectory in scholarly perspectives on Somalia which trends and factual but the absence of many scholars' voice on sustainable peace through securing maritime borders is scarcely a common discourse.

The collapse of the Somali central administration in the early 1990s saw the state plunge into a wave of violent conflicts resulting to major security threats in the East African region. Armed militants have taken a larger part of the country hostage and use the area as a training and action ground for these militias. Al Shabaab terror group has remained a major source of insecurity within and outside Somalia. The weak federal government that does not have much resources to defeat these militant and terror groups has always remained threatened by them and cannot, in turn, assure the Somali people of their own security nor those of visitors. Despite the efforts to restore peace and security in the region, international organizations have just managed to calm down the situation but not eliminate the problem at all.

In what one can refer to as elusive efforts by the global community, the United Nations (UN), African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), the United Nations Operation

in Somalia (UNOSOM) I and II, the U.S., Kenya and Uganda have attempted to restore peace in Somalia with minimal success. These missions have struggled to pacify Somalia but their efforts have gone fruitless with some getting forced to abandon the missions because of heavy casualties. The U.S. government, for instance, had to withdraw its forces involved in UNOSOM I after Americans made a public outcry following heavy casualty in an operation dubbed Gothic the Serpent. The operation had an aim of capturing the Somali Warlord General Farah in Mogadishu. Many years later, Al Shabaab is still a menace to the safety and peace of Somalia.

The main threat this terror group poses is in the Gulf and Ocean or maritime business (mainly in the Indian Ocean) (Ligawa, 2017). Through piracy and other illegal activities, the group manages to raise funds to finance its terrorist activities. Al Shabaab also get financial support from international terror groups like A Qaeda and ISIS in Syria and Muslim brotherhood in Egypt. Though Somalia has made slow progress towards becoming a peaceful and sovereign country thanks to the support from the international community and Somalia local organizations, the issue of maritime security is still of great concern to authorities as Keating and Abshir (2018) contend.

Winston Tubman, the UN Secretary-General's political representative to the Somali peace conference in Kenya, was quoted as saying: "One of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council – China, Britain, France, the US and Russia – could make a difference in Somalia ... The African Union can be interested, the European Union can help, but what you need is some driving force (by a big power) in my experience." Many experts on peace-building agree with Tubman's observation that Somalia has no friends internationally (Maclean, 2003). It is incumbent to note that continental and international interest on the vast Somalia maritime borders has a

paradigm in changing the stake of the countries situation for internal peace and regional security. Former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1995) defined peace-building as the “action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict”. On this basis of Ghali’s thought, structures surrounding securing the large water security can cause a change to Somalia.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Somalia has along and well-endowed coastline which ordinarily would be a blessing due to the vast natural resources available in its waters, but it can also be a curse if it is not well managed. Were the maritime resources to be managed properly and for the benefit of Somali people, the neighbouring states such as Ethiopia and Kenya would benefit too. But not only that, there is a global dimension to Somalia maritime territory. As Sibley (2016) and Westberg (2016) argue, the waters off the Horn of Africa (HoA) are strategic for worldwide commerce and global security. However, from the year 2005, this dynamic watercourse has remained the World’s most perilous hotspot of piracy, instigating countries that have their commercial and safety interests predominantly getting weakened by escalating maritime insecurity in the area to deploy their fleets to improve (Chapsos, 2016). Ahmed (2011) notes that piracy activities in the coastline of Somalia affect economic, social, political and security of the states in the region as well as international trade. Several factors exacerbate maritime piracy including the presence of an extensive coastline, the state of lawlessness in Somalia, availability of weapons, economic benefits arising from the piracy and the lack of political organization in the country

Despite the efforts by the international community through agreements and laws like the *jus cogens* which places responsibility on all states ratifying a specific law

regarding maritime security to act in a manner that neutralizes the impact of piracy, piracy along the Somalia coastline continues. In the volumes of discourse on Somalia conflict, not much attention is paid to domestic factors that contribute to Maritime insecurity and the possible interventions by Somalia government. This study therefore sought to analyze domestic factors that contribute to Somalia maritime insecurity and how they can be surmounted. The study sought to fill the existing gap regarding maritime security efforts by the Somalia government to foster sustainable peace and security in the country and for the benefit of international stakeholder partner states.

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

To assess the challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace in Somalia.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives that guided this study included;

- i. To find out the socio-eco-political challenges facing Somalia state.
- ii. To analyze the influence of states and non-state actors in the Somalia's maritime border security.
- iii. To establish the successes attained in sustainable peace and security of Somalia.

1.5 Research Questions

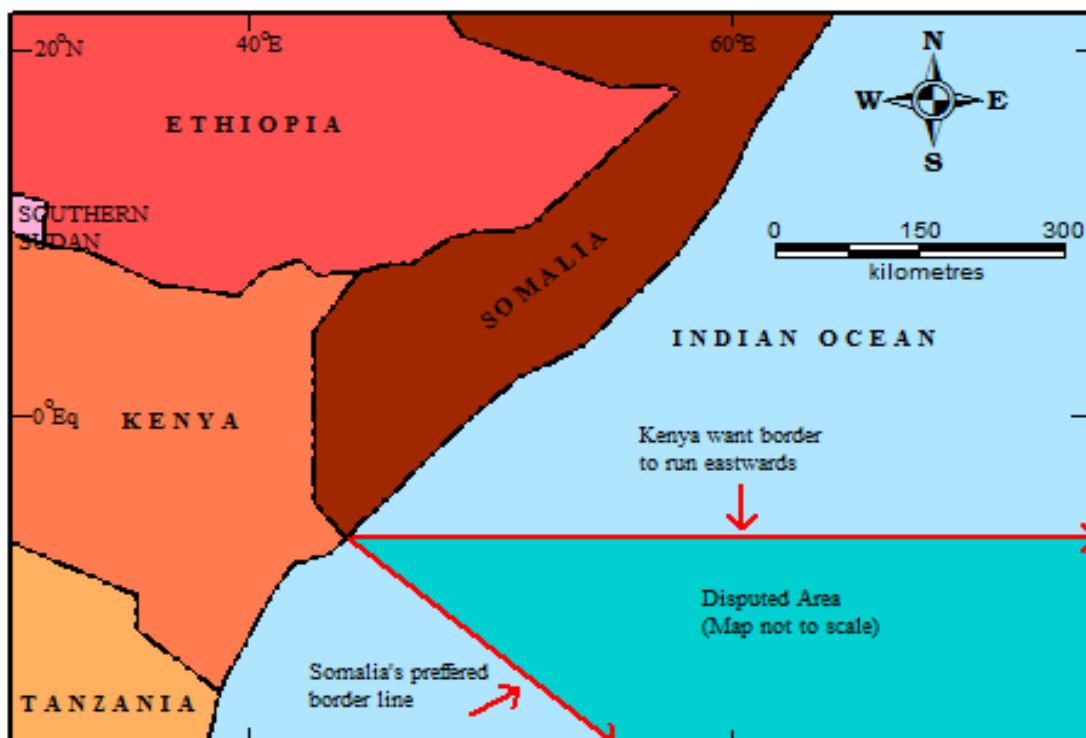
The above research objectives led to the following research questions;

- i. What are the challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace in Somalia?
- ii. What socio-eco-political challenges face Somalia state?

- iii. What are the influences of states and non-state actors in the Somalia's maritime border security?
- iv. What successes have been attained in sustainable peace and security of Somalia?

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study was limited to the examination of the challenges Somalia faces in its efforts to secure its maritime borders and ensure sustainable peace and security within its boundaries. Whereas the security of the maritime border is essential for Somalia's sustainable peace, it is a contested area. Although maritime border boundaries are contested, it is not the problem for the current study. The contested borders open a different line of inquiry on what constitutes the maritime border. For this study, the maritime border is viewed as the currently acceptable zone under the jurisdiction of Somalia.



Source: *Moi University Geography Department GIS Lab.*

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study is significant to various stakeholders. It is beneficial to the security experts and policymakers who need information on Somalia's security situation to draft policies or contribute to debates and workshops on Somalia's state of maritime security. Policymakers often rely on the findings of researchers to peg their policies on and this study will prove essential for them in the policy making process.

The Somali administration can use the findings of the study to formulate stringent and hard-hitting laws and regulations that can help eliminate piracy in its coastline and ensure sustainable peace within its borders. It can also use the findings to liaise with the international community and regional organizations in its fight against Al Shabaab and other militant groups in the country as a way of fostering sustainable peace and security.

Regional governments like the East African administrations can benefit from the findings of this study. Kenya and Uganda have their defense troops in Somalia and stand vulnerable of an attack by Al Shabaab in retaliation. Kenya, in particular can use the findings to formulate laws and regulations that can help curb the insurgence of Somalia pirates into the Kenyan Coast and increased terror attacks within its borders. The international community and organizations can also use the findings to draft policies that can secure the Gulf of Aden which is a major trading route for most shipping companies in the world.

In analyzing the significance of the Gulf of Aden (see appendix III for map) in international trade, Reuters (2009) noted that the Gulf of Aden is a major and important route for most European ships as they prefer the route to South Africa's Cape of Good Hope because of the long distance that adds more cost to transporters.

In 2009-2012, Reuters reported that nearly 20,000 ships would pass through the Gulf of Aden every single year. The ships used the route while headed to the Suez Canal where they transported millions of tons of petroleum products, crude oil, dry commodities and gas and other containerized goods. Additionally, in 2007 around 7 percent of the globe's oil consumption passed through the Gulf of Aden and over thirty percent of oil from or to Europe passes through the gulf and Red sea implying the importance of safeguarding the route for the benefit of international trade (Reuters, 2009). Despite its importance in international trade, the number of pirates attacks in the Gulf of Aden keep on rising with 25 attacks on vessels of Somali's coastline getting reported in the year 2009. Of the 293 piracy attacks incidences in the world reported in 2008, nearly 40 percent happened in the Gulf of Aden off Somalia's coastline indicating the threat posed by pirates to the international and regional trade. At that period, the number of attacks off the coastline of Somalia increased by 200 percent.

The research will be beneficial for future researchers who would wish to carry out investigation on the challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace and security in Somalia. It will form a secondary source of information for future researchers.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

This study sought to investigate the challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace and security in Somalia. The study assessed the relationship between dependent and independent variables. In this study, independent variable (IV) is represented by the existing challenges of securing maritime borders while sustainable peace in Somalia represents the dependent variable (DV).

The numerous challenges tend to emanate from the nature of extensive coastline of a state struggling to regain itself at the bedrock of resources targeted internally and externally by various actors. Depending on how the challenges (terror attacks, illegal resource mining, and interrupted trade) are tackled, there is bound to be ease of movement, effective maritime use, and strengthened foreign relations. Other variables at play in form of interventions shall include support from state and non-state actors in ways such as; legal in nature and security assistance.

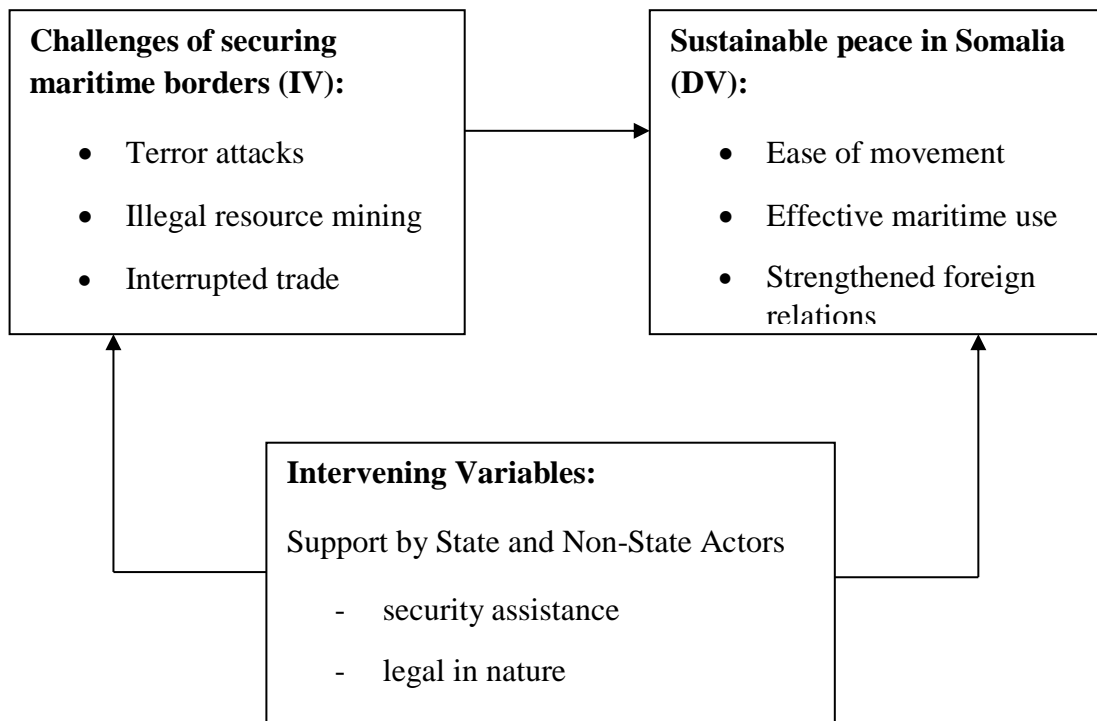


Figure 2. 1 Conceptual Framework

Source: Researcher (2019).

The line of interventions both affects the independent and dependent variables. To the challenges, assistance for instance helps Somalia stabilize her security apparatus and internal systems to deal with terror attacks and hijacks while improving legal frameworks charts a system of law that encompasses friendly countries that exploit the situation to refrain or reduce their engagements. When these are done, the desired

peace will be felt as represented in the DV through; ease of movement, effective maritime use, and strengthened foreign relations.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The researcher was limited by the nature of data to be collected. The researcher was not able to travel to Somalia to collect primary data, however, this was overcome through interviewing Somalia citizens in Nairobi and Members of the international community representative based in Nairobi, Kenya.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter takes a critical review of relevant literature concerning the topic of study. The review systematized into sub-sections including the theoretical framework underlying the research. The study using a geographical review and thematic approach aligned its empirical literature on the basis of the objectives. The objectives that formed the guide to this study included; assessing the challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace in Somalia, finding out the socio-eco-political challenges facing Somalia state, analyzing the influence of states and non-state actors in the Somalia's maritime border security, and establishing the successes attained in sustainable peace and security of Somalia.

2.2 Theoretical Review

The study relied on two theories of collective security theory and cognitive resources theory which are discussed below:

2.2.1 Collective Security Theory

Collective security according to Vogt (2009: 252-253) had been designed mainly at the global level, but has become a prominent concept for regional and sub-regional security. Collective security was intended to deal mainly with interstate conflict, yet most armed conflicts since the Cold War have been intra-state in nature. African countries have, therefore, adopted collective security principles to manage both interstate and intrastate conflict. Collective security features prominently in the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

Collective security on the other hand, is a legally binding agreement between states (that are not necessarily like-minded) to not use force to resolve current or future disputes, and to act collectively against those states that break this rule (Snyder 1999: 107 -109). It requires states to lose some of their sovereignty to a supra-national body, which in this context would involve certain restrictions on autonomous military action (Chenoweth 2008: 65). Collective security, therefore, involves a rules-based system, in which collective and overwhelming action is taken against aggressor-states. According to Papp (1997: 153), collective security relies on "the major actors within the system accepting its legitimacy and responding together to punish those who did not".

This theoretical approach to security is UN generated. The United Nations (UN) proposes that, in an effort to establish and maintain international peace and security, there is need to deal with "the absence of credible defensive alliances can leave the international system at the mercy of the aggressive" as Booth (1987: 261) highlights. Collective security is based on the principle that an attack all states have to stop the aggressor. In Article 51 of the UN Charter, collective security is considered a legal right, together with self-defense. One of the main differences between alliances and collective security is that the former is established against a current and known threat, and the latter for future and unknown threats (Jordaan, Undated).

The theory emphasizes the avenues of cooperation and mutual responsibility for all the states in terms of provision and maintenance of security. It is a theory of international relations which argues that when states enter into multilateral pacts to refrain from offensive actions against each other for economic relations, they do within a predominant organization to which they swear their allegiance (Tzagourias & White, 2013). Also, states that enter into this pact agree to avoid any attacks against

each other and swear to rise in defense of a member state that gets attacked. Ahmed (2011) notes that collective security refers to a security plan in which all countries collectively cooperate to offer security for all by the actions of all against any country within the groups which may challenge the extant order by use of excessive force. In this arrangement, one member's security needs get defined in terms of the security needs of the entire group. According to Mwagwabi (2010), collective security deals with the question of how countries can cause peace. The theory also recognizes the central role military power plays in international politics and peace keeping processes and therefore a need to manage appropriately the military power by states.

The theory basically seeks to caution the member countries against illegal usage of power and in the process form a collective security system as opposed to a series of external threats. Countries that have signed the pact have to ensure that they abide by its contents and declarations. Some of these include refraining from any actions that can breach peace and security and also assist a member state that is facing aggression from another. The theory, for instance, argues that the actions of one state can influence the capability of another enjoying relative and sustainable peace and security.

This theory will be applicable for the study because the less effective and less efficient Somalia administration cannot win the war against Al Shabaab and other militant groups and maintain sustainable peace and security without the help of regional and international community. Cognizant of the fact that insecurity in Somalia will spill to the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean affecting trade through piracy, international organizations and developed countries must collectively act to maintain peace and security in Somalia and by extension the Gulf of Aden. Collective security theory dictates that Somalia's neighbors in East Africa as well as the

international community need to enter into a pact to help the country stabilize and assist it maintain peace. Though some efforts towards this have been made, the effectiveness of the policies and actions by Somalia's allies have still not attained the expected outcome of neutralizing Al Shabaab which still poses serious security challenges.

2.2.2 Cognitive Resources Theory

The theory was derived from Fred E. Fiedler's 1967 Contingency Model which proclaimed that leadership style relies on the situation that requires one to act as a true and visionary leader. It was developed by Joe Garcia and Fred E. Fiedler in 1987. Its main claim is that countless stress sources can be blamed for the loss of rationality in leaders. Therefore, leaders need to be more cognitive for them to overcome the effects of stress. Command and experience of a leader can help in lessening the stress levels of leaders and enhance their abilities to make the right decisions in stressful situations. The theory also considers stress as a major foe of rationality and can damage the ability of a leader to think analytically and logically. Nevertheless, experienced leaders have the ability to withstand the stress and make quality decisions (Murphy, Blyth, and Fiedler, 1995).

The theory is applicable in the military since decision-making in the military is a tedious and stressful process. As military leaders, presidents are responsible for making security decisions that affect the overall security and peace in a country. Since the collapse of the Federal administration in Somalia, the country has not had a stable political climate making the country's judicial and executive arms very weak and unable to make far-reaching decisions. Further, there is the diplomatic spat between Kenya and Somalia over the ownership of oil blocks in the disputed territory off the Kenyan port of Lamu (Oluoch, 2019). The incidences can turn out to be sources of

insecurity in Kenya and Somalia if not properly addressed and can affect maritime security.

The theory will be applicable for the study in a way that the security of a nation depends on several factors among them the actions of leaders. Leaders influence the formulation and implementation of security policies meant to safeguard it from external and internal aggression. The political instability in Somalia coupled with the volatility of the region to attacks have hindered the chances of the country stabilizing in the face of globalization. The study is well framed within this theory and the findings and inferences will be guided by the tenets of the cognitive resources' theory.

2.3 Challenges of Securing Maritime Borders for Sustainable Peace in Somalia

Maritime security threats (The UN, 1982) that occupy the focus of the international community are very serious crimes that gravely undermine the global economy and threaten social stability in all regions of the world. These maritime threats are also such that they make it difficult for any one State to take punitive action against perpetrators within the context of traditional rules of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. These threats may be examined from two perspectives: direct threats and aggravating factors. This classification stems from the fact that the threats manifest either as crimes committed at sea or as vectors for facilitating the crimes or dramatically increasing the potency of their effects.

The nature of such challenges attributed to maritime security cover varied security issues. Moseley (2009) observes that there are currently a number of threats that directly affect international maritime security. It may be said that the most major of these are (a) transnational organised crime including the illicit traffic in narcotics,

arms and weapons, and persons; (b) terrorism; and (c) piracy and armed robbery at sea. Likewise, the major indirect or aggravating factors may be identified as (a) biological, chemical and nuclear weapons (hereafter referred to as 'BCN') and their precursors, and (b) municipal laws and procedures in relation to company incorporation and ship registration.

In connection to security challenges in general and to maritime in specific, Wermuth and Riley (2007), assert that no single piece of border security; air, land, or sea; people or cargo; transportation modes; technology; intelligence; law enforcement; trade and other economic considerations; and more can truly be addressed separately.

The associated challenges to maritime issues are not remote, they are similar in various ways and their solutions bear semblance despite the context in a globalized world. In the USA, the maritime challenges to border security are enormous. Every day, over 30,000 maritime cargo containers pass through U.S. ports. In addition, more than 4 million automobiles imported annually enter U.S. ports along with other bulk and break-bulk cargo not carried in containers, such as oil, natural gas, hundreds of cruise ships annually. The people and cargo that cross our borders are the economic lifeblood of the nation. Decisions about security at the border have the potential to affect the livelihood of millions of Americans and a significant portion of the U.S. economy (Greenberg et. al, 2006).

In general, there are several main problems related to maritime border security issues. Among them are overlapping territorial and island claims, regional violations by foreign parties, and cross-border crimes. For most countries around the world, overlapping border claims among neighboring countries are no longer a major issue, but there are still some countries that still face the problem of transnational crimes

that threaten not only the sovereignty but also the country's socio-economic development. On the US-Mexico border, for example, the main problems are illegal immigrant and narcotics smuggling (Payan, 2006). The problem of the arrival of illegal immigrants occurs in Western European countries bordering with Eastern European countries (Clochard & Dupeyron, 2007).

In Southeast Asia, the issue of border security has also received serious attention among the countries in the region. Some forms of security threats still occur frequently, including cases or incidents such as piracy, smuggling and human trafficking, illegal fishing, narcotics smuggling, small arms smuggling, and the spread of radicalism (Clads et' al., 2011). Therefore, issues related to maritime border security are still crucial in the region. One of the areas that has often been the spotlight of the world is the maritime territorial dispute in the South China Sea involving several countries, namely China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. Although Indonesia is not a country involved in the conflict over the territory in the South China Sea, problems arise when China (People's Republic of China) incorporates parts of Indonesia's Natuna waters into China's nine dashes lines.

Until now, there has not been a precise and comprehensive definition of the concept of border security and maritime security. To facilitate understanding of the conceptual framework of the position of the concept of border security and maritime security in the context of security studies, Buzan et al. (1998) analytical framework regarding the concept of security in maintaining national interests and sovereignty can be used to explain the framework. The concepts of border security and maritime security lie at

the intersection of interaction of two group thinking groups, namely traditional security and non-traditional security groups.

Besides the concept of border security, there is a concept of border control which is also often used in border security issues. According to Andreas (2003) the purpose of border control is to prevent the entry of clandestine transnational actors which is defined as non-state actors operating beyond national borders in matters of violating state laws and those who avoid law enforcement efforts. The important meaning of border policing for access to a region implies the increasing importance of law enforcement in diplomacy and in policy discourse on borders, signaling that more and more countries are formally encouraging safeguards rather than encouraging the traditional security status.

Maritime security according to Bailet (1999) is defined as "the freedom from threat to national interests in, on, over, and concerning the sea." Maritime security is not just related to the law enforcement in the sea. Maritime security in a wider definition is the sea being the line or the safe area for users and free from threats to the activities to use and make use of the sea. Maritime security is a combination of preventive and responsive measures to protect maritime areas from threats and unlawful actions (Feldt, 2013).

Treves (2009) noted that the attention of the international community had been drawn to Somalia's coastline owing to the increased number of attacks in the region. In reacting to the many incidences of piracy attacks in the area, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), through Resolution 1816 of 2008 broadened the scope of prevailing global laws on piracy. The resolution authorized specific states to enter into the territorial waters of Somali to neutralize the impact of piracy attacks on

international trade. This can be said to be in line with the collective security theory and the reactions are meant to secure the area and permit international trade to go on smoothly. However, despite these actions, the number of attacks has not managed to slow down the rates of piracy in the Gulf of Aden, especially the Somalia coastline.

Jackson and Matusitz (2015) examined the Somali piracy using the cognitive resources theory (CRT). In the examination, they found out that piracy in the Somali context meant pirates and terror groups like Al Shabaab utilizing what they have to make an impact on the international stage. In this sense, Somali pirates targeted ships and other sea vessels transporting valuable goods to various destinations through the Indian Ocean. They would hijack and capture ships and its crew plus all the cargo and ask for ransom to release them. This ransom money was used to fund other similar activities in the Gulf of Aden. Kraska and Wilson (2009) noted that like other regional powers in the Horn of Africa, the Somali administration has no capacity to efficiently discharge its duty of ensuring the safety of its people as well as its coastline.

Since 1990s when the federal government collapsed, Somalia has challenges in securing its maritime borders for sustainable security and peace in the region. The weak judicial and administrative frameworks have fueled piracy activities in the coastline posing a threat to the interests of both the UK and US in the area. Chapsos (2016) studied the extent of traditional or non-traditional nature of international security with reference to the Somali piracy at the Gulf of Aden. He noted that maritime security is still linked directly with human development and security, explaining why states need to emphasize on the need for human security as a way of improving international and maritime security.

In a study on anti-piracy in a marine of predation, Westberg (2015) notes that the interaction of pirates, fishermen and navies in the Somali coast is a major source of insecurity in the area. The study notes that the nature of navies' interaction with the local communities have slowed down the fight against piracy in the Somalia coastline. The researcher studied the naval-coastal nexus along the Somali coast by utilizing field and off-shore research. The findings indicated that the presence of anti-piracy forces in the region had a considerable effect on the decline of piracy. However, the nature of relationship between navies, fishermen and pirates was found to be adverse and had declined the efforts to curb piracy in the region. Bonds amidst pirates, the navies and smugglers threaten the development and peace of the coastal community and by extension undermine the security of the area. It can be concluded from the findings of this study that the nature of relationship between navies, pirates and fishermen in the Somali coast has posed significant challenges to the efforts of the Somali administration in its quest to secure maritime borders.

Venkataraman (2016) in an investigation on the piracy off the Somali coast and its implications on China's maritime security noted that the failure of Somali administration to tackle its internal challenges fuelled the increased number of piracy incidences in the region. The study also found out that increased intensity of attacks on the coastline had made some countries like China assertive because of their implications on the shipping and maritime security. The researcher adopted a qualitative approach where descriptive and analytical techniques were used to analyze the situation. The findings indicated that the piracy in Somalia had grave implications to various states with some like China deciding to join the international community by taking part in multifaceted naval task force aimed to combat piracy in the Somali coastline. This was a collective security action in line with the collective security

theory. Since making the decision, the number of piracy incidences in the Somali coast have declined though not fully neutralized as they should have been.

Keating and Abshir (2018) posit that the decision by the UN Security council through SC resolution 2372 of 2017 to reduce the number of troops in Somalia and budget to the country amplified the security challenges experienced by the administration in securing its marine borders. The resolution was in line with the recommendations of a joint meeting between UN and AU that resolved to start a gradual withdrawal of AMISOM and EU forces from Somalia to facilitate the transition of security tasks to the Somali government. The situation in Somalia is dire despite the longer stay of AMISOM troops as Al Shabaab still attacks and has taken control of several towns while killing several soldiers in the process. Additionally, the Somali army has remained weak and feeble despite many years of capacity building and training from AMISOM forces. The army takes a biased approach when providing security forcing the locals not to trust them and instead trust local security agents, which could be Al Shabaab agents.

Another challenge hindering the quest by Somalia to secure its maritime borders so has to ensure sustainable peace is the lack of a strong military to handle the local-level political dynamics. Keating and Abshir (2018) posit that the lack of trust of the Somali's military by the locals has posed serious challenges in the provision of security to the Somali people.

The forces may be untrained, biased or missing in action when needed to act and cannot be regarded as holding forces because of their composition and skills level. The SNA forces cannot also be totally left in control of the coastline where the militants and terrorists have put ground. Because of these, the joint forces have

continued to stay in Somalia until the country is declared ready for transition. The western and Asian powerhouses can also not permit the total withdrawal of forces from Somalia owing to their trade interests in the Gulf of Aden. Piracy in the African waters, particularly adjacent to Somalia, has immensely amplified. As per data provided by the International Maritime Bureau (IMB), the two hundred and nineteen attacks by Somali bandits in 2010 comprised of 49% of the overall piracy attacks globally (Chapsos, 2016). In that same year, Somali bandits hijacked forty-nine sea vessels, while holding 1,016 seafarers captive. Nevertheless, it is not the intention of the pirates to maltreat their captives, since their definitive objective is often looking for financial recompense through ransom cash. The One Earth Future Foundation (OEF) estimated that the aggregate ransom paid to buccaneers from Somali added up to USD 238 million in just 2010 alone (Wang & Qi, 2017).

Another investigation approximates that Somali pirates earned as much as \$413 million in payoff cash from 154 captures from 2005 to 2012. The growth of Somali piracy has resulted in vast amounts of damage to the worldwide trade bazaar. It is projected that the losses suffered worldwide vary from \$1 billion to over \$16 billion annually. Only a slight amount from that figure is accredited to direct costs, like ransom settlements. The significant part of that amount comes from ancillary costs, such as interruptions or failure to deliver cargo thereby breaching agreements, lessening of the merchandize value, or the delay of the ship fee and staff pay (Makantasis, Protopapadakis, Doulamis & Matsatsinis, 2016).

Furthermore, piracy distresses the readiness of seafarers to navigate on high-risk courses (like the Gulf of Aden in the Horn of Africa). Consequently, numerous firms are fighting the reality of staff declining work. Impacts like these ultimately result in monetarily damaging significances to companies. For instance, ships under captivity

lead to delays in movement of goods, which eventually results in increased fuel cost, amplified wages for staffs, and lessens an establishment's attractiveness. Finally, the danger of getting captured has forced numerous shipping firms and ship-owners to acquire more exclusive insurance covers (Wang & Qi, 2017). Due to occurrences of piracy, several insurance establishments now necessitate a definite "kidnap and ransom" policy, which can cover the cost of payoff and the measures required with the payment. As investigations indicate, the pecuniary piracy effects are at an all-time greater (Belasen, Kutan & Belasen, 2017).

2.4 The Socio-Eco-Political Challenges Facing Somalia State

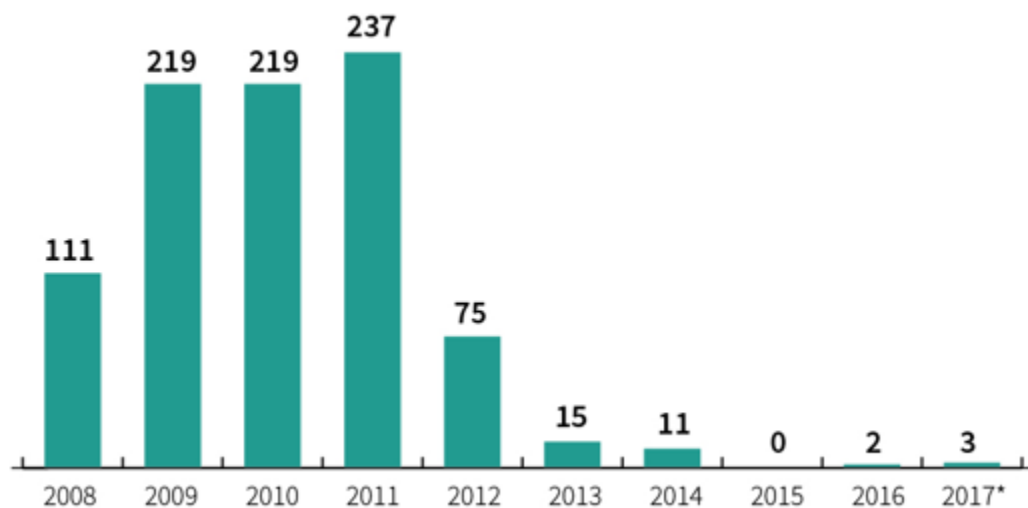
According to Mr. Nyanduga (2019), Somalia also faces "many other challenges", including continuing conflict, discrimination and youth unemployment, as well as "delivering economic, social and cultural rights". The Independent Expert commended the Somali people for their resilience in the face of terrorist attacks, natural disasters, grave human rights violations and other challenges, such as poverty and lack of basic necessities for their livelihoods. He also expressed concern over the delay in establishing the National Human Rights Commission and in progress on a Sexual Offences Bill. "I urge the Federal Government and Federal Parliament to address these challenges as a matter of priority to enhance protection of human rights in the country," he said.

Since intervention by AMISOM and the other supporting states, there have been remarkable positive milestones in Somalia. However, Somalia faces numerous challenges on its quest for peace, stability, and economic prosperity. The recent drought and famine will test the country's resilience to provide humanitarian assistance and will require help from the international community. The government's

recent policies demonstrate its strong commitment to improving the state of the country and Somalis' livelihoods. Here are the six things to know about Somalia's economy since the country resumed relations with the international community five years ago; The drought is severely affecting vulnerable populations, Donors' support is key, Tackling unemployment is crucial for political stability, Preparations for currency reform are under way to help strengthen governance, The IMF is working closely with Somalia, and Technical assistance is helping (IMF, 2017).

On the other hand (Livingston, 2018) opines, despite important progress through years of international assistance around counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, humanitarian efforts, and state-building, peace and stability remain elusive in Somalia. On April 6, the Africa Security Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings hosted a discussion with experts on the challenges Somalia faces now and potential paths forward. Brookings Senior Fellow Michael O'Hanlon remarked that Somalia "has essentially been in one degree or another of chaos and civil war" ever since former President Siad Barre was deposed in 1991. Amidst ongoing conflict, he pointed to areas of hope today: There is stability in Puntland and Somaliland; the federal government in Mogadishu was formed peacefully and through at least quasi-democratic means; and there has been progress in security and socio-economic matters since the height of al-Shabab's rule almost a decade ago. In addition, Prof. Signé emphasized that Somalia's challenges are often intertwined. Much comes down to "the limited ability of the state to provide basic public services, and goods to the citizens, including security, health, education, and even territorial integrity," he concluded. As such, solutions "can only be at the nexus between security, state capacity, domestic resource mobilization, and accountability."

In recent weeks, ICC International Maritime Bureau reports through Africa in Focus that, a number of attacks by Somali pirates have taken place, after a noticeably calm five-year period in the region. Last Tuesday, a Pakistani cargo vessel carrying food was high jacked off the coast of Somalia. This attack follows one from last month, when Somali pirates hijacked an oil tanker with eight Sri Lankan crewmembers; the attack marked the first successful capture of a large commercial ship by Somali pirates in the last five years. The tanker—a United Arab Emirates property—while traveling from Djibouti to Mogadishu, was diverted to a port in Alula, a small town in Puntland, a semi-autonomous region in northeast Somalia. This increase goes against the experience of recent years (Figure 2.2), where attacks by Somali pirates considerably declined after 2012. The decline in piracy has been partly attributed to an improvement of patrol efforts off the Somali coast, notably by the European Union Naval Force, which manages the anti-piracy efforts in the region.



Year to date.

Note: Includes Gulf of Aden, Indian Ocean, Red Sea, Arabian Sea, Gulf of Oman, Somalia and Oman.

Figure 2.2: Attacks (actual and attempted) by Somali pirates

Source: ICC International Maritime Bureau.

According to Secure Fisheries (2015), one of the key underlying economic reasons of piracy in Somalia is the depletion of seafood resources through illegal fishing by foreign companies. The pirates who captured the UAE oil tanker last month claimed to be fishermen whose equipment was destroyed by illegal fishing vessels. A local official for a Puntland anti-piracy agency confirmed that the attack is linked to illegal fishing along the Somali coast, a problem that has existed for a while. While the issue was temporarily solved amid the implementation of aid programs, which replenished Somali fisheries, the depletion of Somalia’s seafood stock had pushed workers who depended on fishing for a livelihood toward piracy.

In 2009, a Time magazine article highlighted the transformation of Somali waters into a “free-for-all” fishing site where international fleets illegally collected more than \$300 million worth of seafood. Foreign vessels have been increasingly present in Somali waters, with seafood captures doubling or even tripling those of Somali fishermen (Figure 2.3).

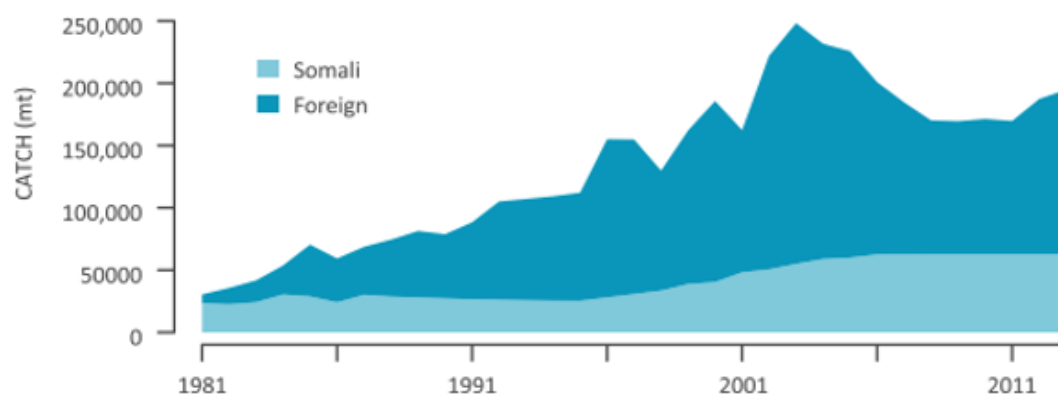


Figure 2.3: Estimated catch by foreign vessels and Somali vessels in Somali waters, 1981–2013

Source: Securing Somali Fisheries, Secure Fisheries, 2015

Capacity building in the maritime field encompasses a wide variety of activities and ingenuities intended to assist littoral conditions to advance effective local apparatuses for handling these maritime coercions, risks, and exploiting the chances offered by marine properties. The EU anti-piracy task in the area, for instance, appreciates capacity building as containing of activities directed at the enablement of administrations and coastal societies to proficiently and efficaciously administrate and sustainably utilize the maritime realm, like regional waters and high-class economic zones (Sibley, 2016).

This conceptualization is remarkably wide in scope. Possibly at least, it encompasses an extensive assortment of matters and actors in the maritime field, from infrastructural expansion in port zones and beyond, to the regulation and justice subdivision reform, organizational reform in home-grown and countrywide ascendancy edifices, and security sector reform among coastguard and naval marines. In exercise, those organizations involved in maritime capacity building are fixated on detached parts of this broader schema. According to (Jackson & Matusitz. 2017), EU's capacity building task in the Western Indian Ocean, emphasizes precisely on consolidating the safety capacity of countries in the area in order that they can better contest piracy, and to efficiently accomplish and defend their regional seawaters and oceanic possessions (Delaforce, 2016).

Oforu-Boateng (2017) states that the EU's Programme to Promote Regional Maritime Security in the Eastern and Southern Africa-Indian Ocean Region (MASE) purposes to back police, court and prison staff in littoral states in the apprehension and trial of pirates. Similarly, the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has, amid other actions, emphasized on Somali oceanic law execution capacities, including the criminal justice mechanisms for the trial and detention of pirates (Collins, 2014). For

its part, the IMO has conducted various activities under its Djibouti Code of Conduct initiative, aimed at strengthening coastguard capacities and maritime legal regulation in Somalia and Somaliland. The FAO works with the Somalia Ministry of Fisheries to reinforce its domination and reserve supervision edifices (Delaforce. 2016).

2.5 The Influence of States and Non-State Actors in the Somalia's Maritime Border Security

International security is concerned with the systemic factors that influence the behaviour of states and the consequent implications for security among states. Although states are not the only actors in the international system, they are the bodies that hold primary responsibility for providing security to their respective populations. International organizations may play supporting roles in the provision of security to various communities at different levels of analysis, such as distributing food aid to famine victims, nation building in new states (such as East Timor), reconstruction following conflict or natural disasters, mitigating the effects of financial crises or protecting against future environmental catastrophes. Yet the actions of international organizations are themselves the result of collective actions by groups of states: international organizations are not sovereign actors in the international system and are dependent upon a high degree of cooperation between states to function with any effectiveness. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the use of military force. Although states sometimes act under the auspices of organizations, such as the United Nations or the African Union for example, in peacekeeping or military observer missions the forces themselves are provided by states, which maintain a monopoly on the legitimate use of force in the international system. The defining characteristic of the international system is that of anarchy, meaning the absence of any central governing body (as opposed to total chaos). In the

absence of world government, therefore, the state becomes the leading object of analysis in the system.

The Security Council (UN, 2008) of the UN aware of the limits of international law in particular regarding the inability of States to seize, search or arrest persons who have committed an act of piracy in an area under the jurisdiction of a State, decided to adopt a resolution aimed at filling this gap. On 2 June 2008, the Security Council of the UN adopted Resolution 1816 under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The resolution provides the possibility for States to enter the territorial and internal waters of Somalia for the purpose of repressing acts of piracy “in a manner consistent with action permitted on the high seas in cases of piracy under the law applicable international.” This special permission granted to the international community should apply only in accordance with applicable international law on the high seas; this is the case of UNCLOS. International humanitarian law and human rights are also provisions of applicable international law including trial but also imprisonment of suspects. This resolution raised many reservations from States that are facing acts of piracy and who do not want to see the provisions of this resolution becoming customary international law provisions which would lead to a decrease of the sovereignty of States in their territorial and internal waters. To address this concern, the resolution States in paragraph 9 that the resolution does not establish a customary international law and it is responding to a request by the TFG in order to help him fight against this phenomenon. This authorization is only granted for a period of six months and only to States whose TFG has provided the names to the Secretary-General and for the purpose of protecting humanitarian convoys.

Actions of other states towards the security challenges in Somalia and its coastline also affect the possibility of the country to secure its maritime borders and ensure

lasting peace. Great Britain and Great Britain (2010) assert that the EU and the UK feel threatened by the state of insecurity in the Gulf of Aden because of their trade interests. The Gulf is a main sea route for shipping companies that consider it a short cut to the Suez Canal. These countries can, in the spirit of collective responsibility provide security to the region thereby enhancing its level in the country. The UK, and US have security forces in Somalia in the spirit of collective security and also to safeguard their interests. Also, in 2011 Kenya sent its defense forces to Somalia in response to increased attacks on Kenyan soil. The Al Shabaab militants had attacked Kenya and took into custody a foreign national necessitating such a reaction from the then president Mwai Kibaki.

The transnational community has retorted to the threat posed by piracy activities by sending more security forces to the Gulf of Aden and the western Indian Ocean to suppress the presence of Al Shabaab. Apart from sending troops to the region, the international community has also facilitated the formulation and implementation of security policies meant to neutralize and eliminate in totality the influence of pirates in the Gulf of Aden and the Horn of Africa (Kraska & Wilson, 2009). Globalization has resulted in the flourishing of piracy in the Horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean. This is because with globalization, there are no clear jurisdictions in the sea which the pirates exploit to carry out pirate activities.

Al Shabaab pirates seem to be aware of the conflicts surrounding maritime borders and have always utilized this to their advantage. They, for instance, target ships while crossing the disputed parts of the ocean and those individual isolated vessels as well as states. The severe lack of resources, poorly developed law enforcement frameworks and judicial systems have enhanced piracy activities in the Indian Ocean. There is, therefore, a need for the policymakers in these regions to develop legal and

policy agendas that will permit local powers to develop their capacities for maritime security. The 2008 resolutions made by the UN security council on the maritime security and regional efforts in the Horn of Africa to enhance maritime security can help Somalia secure its maritime borders and in the long run help in curbing the problem of piracy.

The financial consequences of oceanic piracy are extensive. With a lack of a fundamental administration, Somali pirates exploit their nearby waters, leaving the cargo regularly carried amid Europe and Asia threatened. One chief inference is that the occurrences have obligated chief shipping firms to refocus their courses from the Far East to Europe. For instance, several firms are changing their courses from the Gulf of Aden to the Cape of Good Hope or the Suez Canal to lessening the probability of pirate ambush. Such vicissitudes add substantial additional costs. Attacks have added extra costs for fuel and increased insurance payments, which eventually creates an extra burden to customers in the form of increased prices for their merchandizes (Shane, Piza and Silva, 2018).

In essence, reactions by neighbouring countries and friendly states or those with interest in the Gulf of Aden can influence the chances of Somalia securing its marine borders. For example, the presence of KDF in Somalia has created peace in some regions with the defense forces taking control of many towns from the militias including Al Shabaab. Despite the fact that the militants are still fighting for control of other towns and are making attempts to recapture the already captured towns, the impact of KDF in Somalia is significant enough to influence Somalia's quest for maritime border security enhancement. Also, the action of Kenya sending military troops to Somalia would have made it a target of Al Shabaab attacks as already witnessed in the three major terror attacks on Kenyan soil. In a study on the impact of

Somalia war on families of the military men, Oguna (2016) notes that the impact of the war on Somalia is far reaching for families of soldiers in Kenya. The resultant emotional stress and strain during and after deployment affects the overall functioning of the families and in the process caused more challenges to the relatives. In Somalia, the influence of the war on soldiers is far reaching and out of emotional stress and strain, the soldiers find themselves tired and have low morale to continue the battle. The death of their colleagues in the war front also demoralizes them to the extent of some wanting to resign and get back to their families. Despite all these, the influence to the host country is positive since these soldiers maintain relative peace in many villages and towns in a version that the Somali security agents could not do. Some soldiers from AMISOM patrol the country's ports and airports ensuring there is relative security in those areas. Their actions, according to Venkataraman (2016), help Somalia secure its maritime borders and neutralize their influence in the coastline.

In a study on the role media plays in the development and outcome of the Somali war, Gumba (2011) revealed that international media played a leading role in propagating propaganda and falsehoods about the Somali war. The media only focused on violence-related news and would not report any good side like the efforts put in place to combat the war. Such reports can influence the way other states consider the Somalia administration with some countries basing their relations with the reports they get from those biased media houses. Mengich (2010) studied the impact of Somalia conflict on the development and security of Kenya. In his findings, he notes that the conflict in Somalia had resulted in pressing security needs in Kenya by increasing the flow illegal weapons in the country. The influx of refugees into the Kenyan soil has increased the flow of weapons since a majority of them are former combatants in the Somali war. The opening of refugee camps in Kenya's north eastern

region has led to the increased inflow of refugees and affected the security of the country.

2.6 The Successes Attained in Sustainable Peace and Security of Somalia

There are signs indicating potential positive prospects in Somalia peace initiatives which when enhanced are likely to lead to sustainable peace. The fruits of peacekeeping are starting to be felt. Peacekeeping missions in Somalia also engage in internal control trainings that aim at improving the capacity of the security forces to take on militants and terrorists (Wafula, 2013). Training sessions in camps take long and encourage patience for any security expert to be fully prepared for the task ahead. Internal controlled trainings are good for the security forces because they take place in enclosed areas where the enemy will not be able to read their moves. Keating and Abshir (2018) postulate that the capacity building of Somali forces to engage the militants and neutralize the effects on the coastline largely depends on their ongoing trainings as well internal control.

According to Wafula (2013), field assessments can help a troop in learning the ways of the target and devising the correct mechanisms to have the target hit by all means possible. Literature review shows that Somali administration lacks the capacity to conduct technical field assessments that are essential in preparing for combat. Field assessments help in identifying the target and making the required moves to achieve the target. In military activities, field assessment can help in decision-making where the head or leader can signal and give warnings depending on his assessment of the situation.

Edmunds (2017) notes that capacity building in Somalia is a recent phenomenon with a few initiatives being 6 years old or more. Some of the capacity building events have

a positive impact in the places of work, the communities and the families in general. For instance, the training of security agents on security matters enhances Somalia's quest for total independence and the government efforts to have a well-trained workforce in the security department. Somalia's maritime security agents also get trained by foreign companies and agencies as well as and security experts on the role they play in maintaining security as a way of building their capacity. Edmunds (2017) also argued that the security of maritime borders in Somalia and that of its coastline had remain threatened because of the existence of a poorly-trained and strained security workforce. Because of the war in Somalia, many organizations have come up to help the country secure maritime peace and security by training the security staff on the most efficient ways to fight and defeat Al Shabaab and other terror groups. The Somali National Army lacks proper training on how to handle people without any bias is a notion that has resulted in declined efforts to have the long-lasting people in the region according to Keating and Abshir (2018). However, the presence of international peacekeeping missions in Somalia have enhanced the skills and competencies of the Somali army to a certain extent. It can, therefore, be argued that the SNA have not dealt with biasness and partiality in their discharge of mandates of maintaining long-lasting peace.

International and regional organizations play a crucial role in a country's quest for sustainable peace. They help facilitate negotiations between the country's security agencies and other global peace keeping representatives. Mengich (2010) studied the influence of Somalia conflict on Kenya's security and noted that the presence of refugee camps in Kenya was as a result of the efforts of international human rights agencies like UNHCR. These camps had fueled increased violence in Kenya because of increased firearms that got into wrong hands. Despite the Kenyan government's

efforts to close the camps, UNHCR has always arbitrated negotiations between the authorities and the representatives of refugees. Regional organizations also help in the maintenance of peace and security through facilitating fruitful cooperation between security agencies and the locals (Fu et al., 2010).

International and local organizations also help in the enhancement of a country's development which in extension can result in peace and security. Wafula (2013) studied the role of regional organizations in peacekeeping in Africa and found out that the intergovernmental organizations like IGAD, AU, and EU play a key role in the stabilization and development of Somalia after decades of internal war. Despite their early mandates of providing opportunities for the establishment of sustainable economic growth, the regional organizations are nowadays involved in the provision of security as well as conflict and peace management in the region. They are also involved in creating peace awareness in the region they operate in as a way of assisting governments maintain peace. International organizations come up with peace awareness creation programs that enables them to create awareness on peace and security sustainability to the Somali people.

According to Wafula (2013), international organizations provide aid to the local communities in Somali in a manner that helps the administration to plan for long-term security measures. In case of natural disasters like floods, hunger and drought, these organizations step in to help the generation from starvation and death. The organizations have had to adjust their mandates in accordance with the existing needs of the community in which they operate in. International aid organizations like USAID, the Red Cross, UNICEF and the others that operate in Somalia help in peace keeping missions and also provision of basic necessities to the people of Somalia.

They also help in mobilization of the people away from crimes and terror-related activities by introducing some forms of sport to keep people away from terror activities that can breach the security of the region.

2.7 Summary of the Literature Review and Identification of the Research Gap

Various studies have been conducted on the challenges facing Somalia in its quest to maintain border security and enhance peace within its borders. As reviewed above, the discussions have focused mainly on the role of the military and other peacekeeping missions in maintaining peace and ensuring security. For instance, Keating and Abshir (2018) studied the political aspect of security in Somalia. Wafula (2013) studied the role of regional organizations (IGAD) in the peacekeeping process of Somalia. Gumba (2011), on his side, studied the role media plays in the Somali conflict and its impacts on the security of the country. Kraska and Wilson (2009) studied the capacity of Somali administration to discharge its duties efficiently and revealed that the government had no capacity to take over security matters from the peacekeeping missions presently in the country. This meant that the country lacked the capacity to provide and maintain security to its own people and in extension other people with interest in the Somali coastline. Mengich (2010) investigated the influence of Somalia conflict on Kenya's security and did not look at the impact on Somalia's safety and security.

A critical look at the above reviewed literature indicates that none of the studies has utilized all the four independent variables that this study intends to adopt to assess the challenges the Somali administration faces in securing its maritime borders and maintain peace. This is the research gap that the study aimed to fill by studying the challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace and security in Somalia.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provide an in-depth description about the type of research design adopted; the target population; the sample size for the study; sampling technique; data collection instruments; validity and reliability and data collection procedures, data analysis and presentation.

3.2 Study Area

The study site is Somalia. It should be understood that the scope of this study remains Somalia and not the neighbouring countries even though security and maritime borders are overlapping concerns. However, for data collection purposes Nairobi City is included because most of the organizations operating in Somalia are based in Nairobi, and key decisions or negotiations regarding Somalia's security are conducted in Nairobi.

3.3 Research Design

A research design is a general plan of how a researcher will go about answering the research questions (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). The researcher adopted the descriptive research design to conduct the study. Merriam & Tisdell (2015) describe a descriptive research design as a scientific technique of examination in which data is gathered and analyzed in order to describe the current conditions, terms or relationships concerning a particular problem. The rationale for choosing this design was directed by the nature of data to be collected for analysis. The researcher was interested in carrying out an in-depth analysis in order to delve deep into the security situation in Somalia and its coastline. To achieve this, a mixed-method approach, which involved the collection of primary and secondary data was employed. This

approach was preferred because of its relevance to educational inquiries according to Kothari (2009).

3.4 Target Population

Target population is the amount, number or quantity of units, elements or characteristics aimed to address a subject in a given setting or establishment. The study targeted 200 from which sample size or respondents was drawn; in the social, political, commercial and economic cadres chosen from various organizations such as Somali Chamber of Commerce and Industry serving in Somalia and representatives of various governments with missions in Somalia based in Nairobi Kenya to be representative of other respondents. Table 3.1 below indicates the target populace for the study:

Table 3.1 Target Population

Targeted Respondents	Target in Nos.
Somalia Social Community	100
Somalia Economic & Commercial Community	70
Somalia Political & Foreign Personnel	30
Total	200

Source: Researcher (2019)

3.5 Sampling Procedure

In order to collect data easily and cover the intended populace, the researcher adopted a purposive sampling technique to decide on; the study area, the respondent type, and the number to form the sample size. The outcome of the purposive sampling brings out another sampling technique – the representative sampling which the researcher used through the proportion of the target population used.

3.6 Sample Size

Guided by the research topic and objectives, the study adopted a purposive and representative sampling technique to enhance the research project. This study purposed population from the target population did not jeopardize the study as it was representative enough hence no bias. Purposive sampling is an informant selection tool. The purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. It is a non-random technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of informants. Simply put, the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience (Bernard 2002, Lewis & Sheppard 2006). The representative technique used here assists to cover any likely bias from the study. Sekaran & Bougie (2014) defines a sample size as unit share of the target population that is examined to provide and detail description, behaviour, characteristics of the population considered for the study. The sampling technique was used for the identification of respondents and support in the collection of data. This is because of the observable items in the study and this was essential in determining an appropriate outcome. This study adopted 50% of the total population as the sample size as shown in table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2 Sample Size

Targeted Respondents	Target in Nos.	Sample Size
Somalia Social Community	100	50
Somalia Eco. & Comm. Community	70	35
Somalia Pol. & Foreign Personnel	30	15
Total	200	100

Source: Researcher (2019).

3.7 Data Collection Instruments

The study adopted a questionnaire to collect information/relevant data for the study. The purposed populations were reached and were supplied with the structured questionnaire. Depending on the time availability and willingness by the respondent to fill the questionnaire immediately, a few were distributed to the respondents and collected after later. The researcher was able to control this to ensure rate of return is not jeopardized.

3.8 Validity of Research Instruments

Validity is the extent to which research instruments measure what they are intended to measure (Oso and Onen, 2012). According to Orodho (2004), validity is the degree to which results obtained from a study actually represents the phenomena under study. It ensures that research instruments are relevant to the objectives of the study. The validity of research instruments was determined by ensuring relevance and adequacy of research instruments.

3.9 Reliability of Research Instruments

Reliability is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument supplies consistent results or data after repeated trials. Reliability of measurement concerns the degree to which a particular measuring procedure gives similar results over a number of repeated trials (Orodho, 2004). In social sciences, reliability can be tested through consistency of various items in the research; objectives, theories, design, and techniques chosen. These in the end define reliability.

3.10 Data Analysis

This study adopted descriptive, thematic, and content analysis. Descriptive analysis majorly analyzed data using descriptive and inferential frequencies (representative

statistics) used in the study. Thematic analysis was based on the themes used out of the objectives of this research. Content analyses were conducted by aligning the responses from the field with existing body of knowledge. The researcher presented the results of the analysis using tables, and figures which were descriptively presented.

3.11 Ethical Consideration

The study mainly adhered to the requisite ethical standards. The researcher obtained a license to gather data from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). This enabled the researcher to conduct the study without any difficulty. The researcher ensured the confidentiality and privacy of all respondents by assuring them that this study is for academic purposes only, and therefore was able to receive accurate responses from them. The authorization and license were carried during the process of reaching the respondents as is required.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study. It provides the demographic information gathered from the outcomes of this research using the interview guide. The chapter also provides research evidence on the purpose of this study in the form of themes from objectives and content analysis of the findings. The section also discusses the findings of this study in relation to available literature on challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace in Somalia.

4.2 Demographic Information

4.2.1 Response Rate

Table 4.1 below shows the response rate as recorded using the questionnaire;

Table 4.1 Response Rate

Respondents	Frequency	Response	Percentage
Social & Community	50	48	48
Economic & Commercial	35	35	35
Political & Foreign	15	15	15
Total	100	98	98

Source: Researcher (2019)

Table 4.1 indicates that the response rate to the questions posed in the interview guide was 98% while the non-response rate was 2%. This indicates that the rate was sufficient for data analysis and presentation. Figure 4.1 below represents this information.

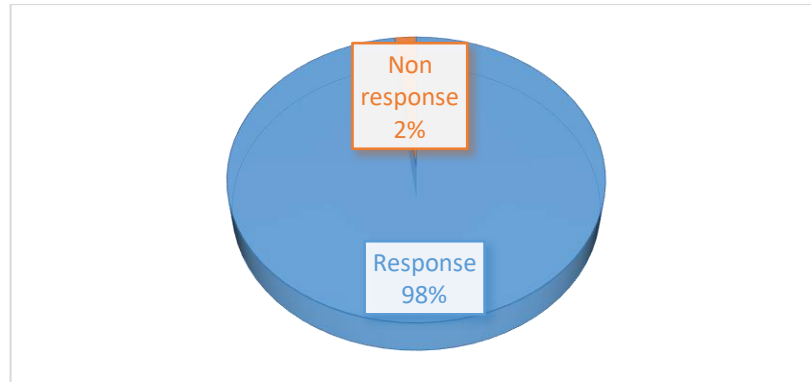


Figure 4.1 Response Rate

Source: Researcher (2019)

4.2.2 Analysis of Challenges Facing Somalia in its Quest to Secure its Maritime Borders

Figure 4.2 below indicates an analysis of the challenges identified by respondents as the major challenges facing Somalia.

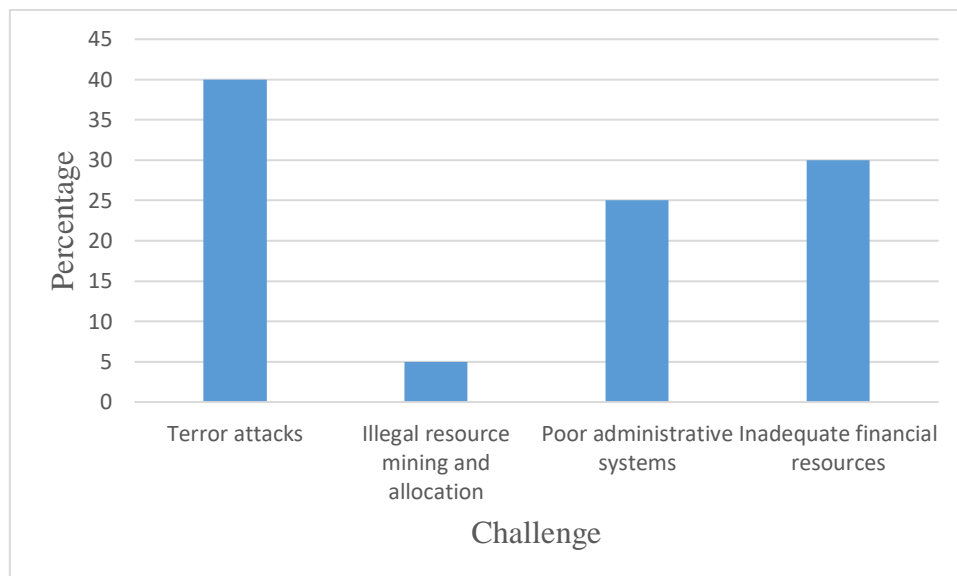


Figure 4.2: Challenges facing Somalia

Source: Researcher (2019)

From figure 4.2 above, 40% of the respondents reported terror attacks as the major challenge facing Somalia in its efforts to secure its maritime borders. Thirty-five (35) percent cited inadequate financial resources, 25% cited poor administrative systems

whereas 5% reported illegal resource mining and allocation as the challenge facing Somalia.

In support of the above finding a Somali diplomatic official commented thus “safeguarding the maritime domain of Somalia is a starting point and paves the way for the first steps towards maritime security and the development of the maritime sector, of which is a crucial for the economic development of the country and vital to Somalia national security and stability” (interview).

4.2.3 Analysis of the Influence of State and Other State Actors in Somalia

Maritime Border Security

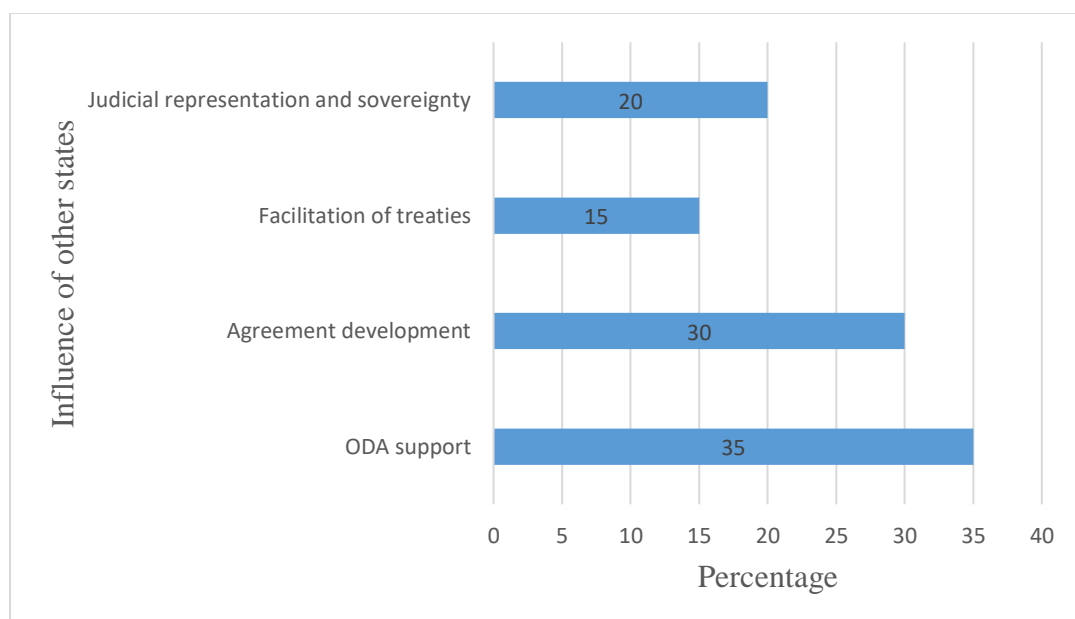


Figure 4.3: Influences of Other States

Source: Researcher (2019)

Figure 4.3 shows that a majority of respondents (35%) believed that other countries influenced Somalia’s maritime border security through ODA support; 30% believed agreement development and a further 20% believed in influence through judicial representation and sovereignty while 15% of the respondents believed the influence

was through facilitation of treaties. Different government officials on different levels of governance system in the country

Key informants have different views on this issue of insecurity, large portion of them blame foreign interference as the primary factor, others view the lack of human resources as the issue while the rest say the insecurity in the country have significant part of the problem.

4.2.4 Analysis of the Role of International and Regional Organizations in Peace and Security in Somalia

Figure 4.4 below indicates that a majority of the respondents (35%) reported facilitation of the negotiation process as the main way in which organizations influence peace and security processes in Somalia. Thirty percent (30%) reported enhancement of development while 20% reported creation of peace awareness and 15% reported aid assistance as some of the influence of international and local organizations on peace and security process in Somalia.

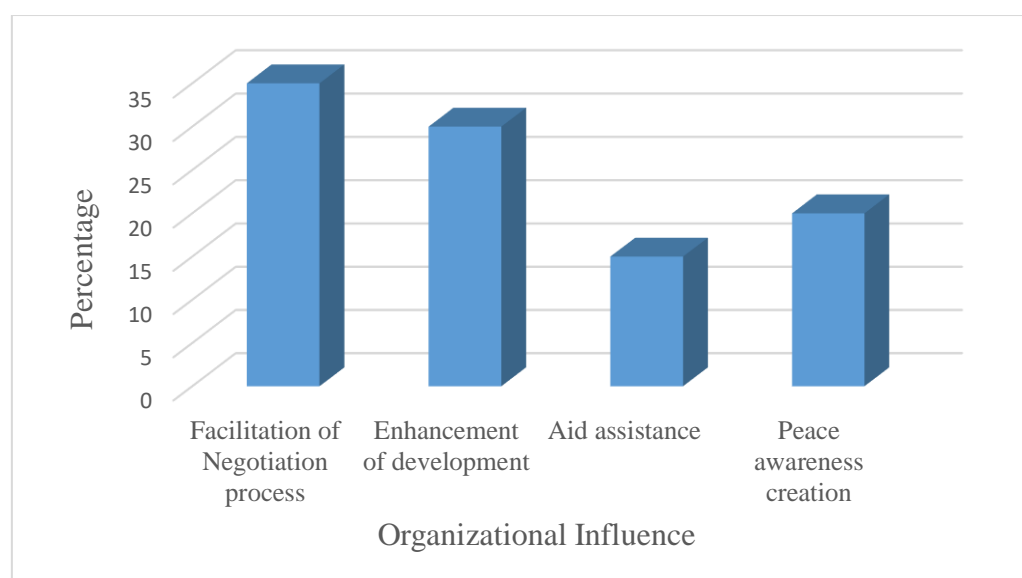


Figure 4.4 Organizational Influence
Source: Researcher (2019)

4.2.5 Analysis of Somalia's Capacity Building on its Border Security

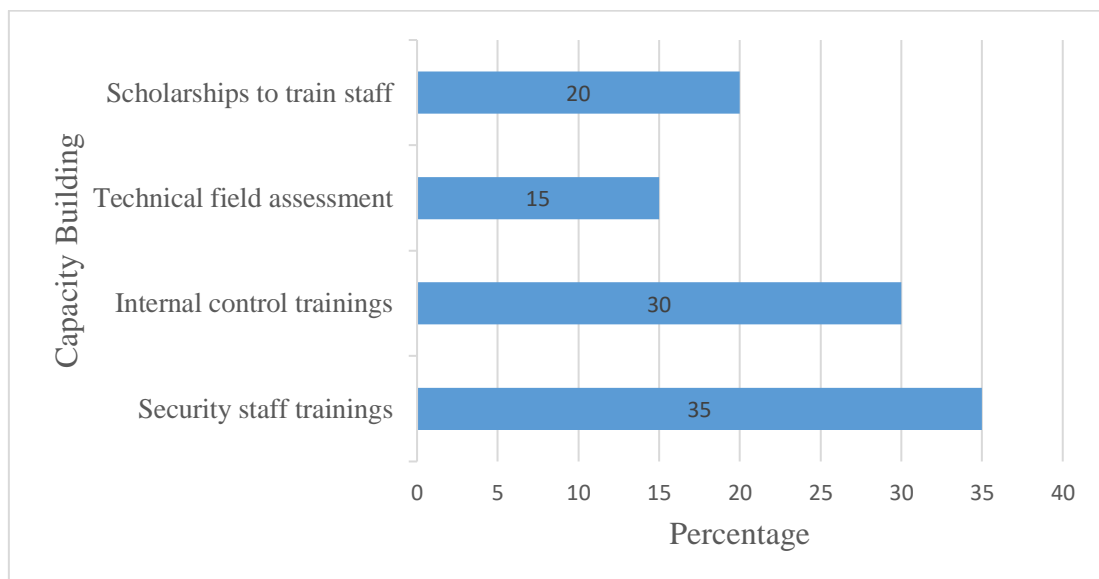


Figure 4.5 Somalia's Capacity building

Source: Researcher (2019)

From figure 4.5 above, it was reported that by 35% of the respondents that security staff trainings influenced Somalia's capacity building in fighting maritime threats. Thirty percent (30%) of the respondents reported internal control trainings as the second largest influencer of maritime security in Somalia whereas 15% reported technical field assessment and 20% scholarship to train staff as the influencers of maritime security.

4.3 Challenges Facing Somalia in the Quest to Secure Its Maritime Borders

One respondent observed that “.without an effective capacity to undertake sustained maritime surveillance and law enforcement much of Somalia sea are remain ungoverned and vulnerable to maritime crimes like terrorism, drugs and illegal fishing” (interview).

In a world of transnational threats, whereas the perception of security embraces development challenges, climate, peace and human rights, the oceans have come to assume a strategic role in long- term stability. The 2008 crisis in the Horn of Africa is

an example of a situation where the oceans became crucial in long term stability. In the absence of a locally-recognized government in Somali, organized crime prompted piracy attacks offshore targeting core trade routes; hijacking commercial and aid vessels; and kidnapping crew members for ransom. This had an impact not only on aid delivery, but also on local economies and livelihoods, international trade and, ultimately, growth and development in the region.

The African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and other peacekeeping troops in the region consistently struggle to marshal the requisite military personnel and range of military assets needed for complex peace operations in the war-torn region. Among the assets in highest demand in difficult theatres of the region such as Sudan and Somalia are helicopters, i.e. utility and attack copters, armoured personnel carriers, communications and intelligence equipment, unmanned aerial vehicles, night vision goggles, and, in the case of troops in Mogadishu, battle tanks. Troops also lack sophisticated mortar radar system, which could have helped it reduce levels of civilian casualties. Without such equipment, despite the level of training of the soldiers, they cannot beat the contemporary insurgency of terror and militant groups. The modern militia groups are more equipped than even some national armies. Troops should not be taken to a theatre of war with no adequate military hardware. The defeat could be eminent causing more complications to already a complex humanitarian situation. In the absence of the necessary capabilities, such an approach brings a high level of risk, not only of failure but also of raising people's expectations that cannot be fulfilled. Worse still, it undermines the credibility of peace support operations and weakens the organization that is responsible. As for military personnel, the troop's greatest deficits are specialists with niche skills including medicine, engineering, and intelligence gathering. To fill these gaps, the mechanism relies on external donors (the friends of

AMISOM) to provide funding, training, and equipment directly to troop-contributing countries hence bypassing the normal chain.

Somalia, as a country faces several challenges in its quest to secure its maritime borders and provide security within its borders. From the findings of several reviewed studies on the security situation in Somalia's coastline, it was concluded that there are five major problems facing Somalia's quest to secure its marine borders for the security and peace of the region. The findings from the responses collected in this study as presented in section 4.2 of this chapter also concur with these studies. The four key maritime challenges are discussed in the ensuing sections;

4.3.1 Terror Attacks

In the recent past, Al Shabaab has been on an onslaught targeting foreigners using the Somalia and Kenyan coastline in the Indian Ocean and along the Gulf of Aden. Several studies indicate the group has intensified its attacks on the Kenyan side and partly in Somaliland where they have launched a series of terror attacks. For instance, in the past 5 years the terror group has conducted four major terror attacks in Somalia's neighbour and contributor of AMISOM troops, Kenya killing dozens of people.

In 2013, a terror attack in Nairobi's high-end shopping mall; Westgate killed at least 67 people injuring many more. The terror group Al Shabaab claimed responsibility in the attack and cited Kenyan troops' presence in Somalia as the reason for the attack. In June 2014, a series of attacks in Kenya's coastal county of Lamu killed dozens of people and was blamed on Al Shabaab. The attacks culminated in a major attack in Mpeketoni town of Lamu town where masked men burned houses, cars and killed people resulting in deaths of over seventh people. A majority of those targeted were

non-Muslims and the terror group claimed responsibility amid reports by the Kenyan administration that the attacks were locally and politically instigated.

Another major terror attack by Al Shabaab happened in Kenya's north eastern region where Al Shabaab attackers attacked a university (Garissa University) in April 2015 and killed over 150 students and injured many more. Over 500 students remained not accounted for at the end of the attack in which students reported that the militia targeted only Christian students in the region. The attack can also be said to be in retaliation of the continued presence of KDF in Somalia. From this attack, the researcher noted the changing nature of terror attacks, especially those orchestrated by Al Shabaab and their influence on Somalia's maritime security. From kidnapping tourists in the Kenyan coast to attacking schools, the terror group keeps changing tactics which makes it difficult for the authorities to devise mechanisms to handle them.

In a fourth major attack on the Kenyan soil, four armed and masked gunmen attacked the DusitD2 complex located in Nairobi's Riverside killing 21 persons before getting killed in an operation that involved Kenyan security forces and lasted over 15 hours. The gunmen used explosives and guns to shoot at and kill individuals randomly. The attack got Kenya by surprise given the fact that the security forces were already on high alert following intelligence reports. By attacking two high-end locations in the form of Westgate and DusitD2 Complex, the Al Shabaab militants were sending a signal that they were capable of attacking any place in the country or in Somalia. This has always presented a security dilemma for both the Kenyan and Somalia governments making their joint security efforts both in the Indian Ocean and their borders sometimes ineffective. In the findings presented in section 4.2 above, it was found out that terror attacks presented the biggest challenge (40%) to the efforts made

by Somalia to safeguard its maritime borders to maintain long-lasting security and peace. By attacking the allies of the present government, the militants are sending a clear signal that peace and security in Somalia and its coastline are still a mirage.

From the findings, it was also revealed that terrorism curtails development of peace and security in Somalia. Despite the efforts made by AMISOM and other peace keeping troops in Somalia, the militant and terrorist group keeps changing its strategies and method of attack as well as its targets. This has made it hard for the lowly-skilled and trained Somali security officers to contain them necessitating international intervention. Security forces along the coastline and in charge of the Gulf of Aden region which is the backbone of trade and trade-related activities have been efficient in their efforts to maintain peace but still incidents of ships and their staffs getting taken into custody of terror groups like Al Shabaab get reported. Clearly, the terror group has posed a major security concern in the Somali coastline and frustrated the efforts of the Somali administration to maintain security within its marine boundaries. These findings were supported by the responses presented in section 4.2 above.

4.3.2 Illegal Resource Mining and Allocation

The efforts made by Somalia to secure its maritime borders as a means of ensuring sustainable peace and security in the country have also been hampered by conflicts on resource mining in the region. The findings of a research conducted by Vandergriff (2017) regarding conflict prevention in Somalia, Nicaragua and Liberia indicated that apart from the political tension in the Somalia, a majority of the people fight over resources and resource allocation. The fight for control of resources in most parts of the state has resulted in never-ending conflicts and threatened peace efforts by the administration. From the times of democratic rule in the country to the suspension of

the constitution by military men after a coup d'états, Somalia's peace has been elusive. Vandergriff expresses that Somalia is endowed with natural resources including oil and natural gas (in the Indian Ocean) and other minerals within its lands. The persistent conflicts in the country have spread to the Horn of Africa affecting its development and growth in the face of globalization.

Successful United States' governments have expressed concern over Somalia's insecurity and the illegal mining of resources in the region. Former US presidents have made attempts to solve the Somalia crisis with little success. Some have resorted to sending more troops and weapons to reinforce the existing missions in fighting Al Shabaab but the group has stood the test of time. It is believed that the group is fighting for control of some important resources which they believe are being utilized improperly and by the wrong people. From the demographic findings in section 4.2 above, 5% of the respondents supported the findings of other studies concerning the role of illegal mining in the Somali conflict. The administration's energies to gain full control of its resources has always resulted in serious opposition by the militant group who claim control of some of these resources.

Persistent wars and conflicts concerning illegal mining have led to the inefficiency of the Mogadishu government to secure its maritime borders to ensure peace and security. A recent case where illegal mining or utilization of resources has resulted in conflict is the diplomatic spat between Kenya and Somalia over the action of Somali auctioning of oil blocks in the disputed territory off the Kenyan port of Lamu as Oluoch (2019) noted. Kenya reacted angrily to the action of the Somalia administration auctioning the disputed blocks despite there being a claim the Kenyan counterpart. The spat has slowed the security efforts in the Somali coastline because Kenya believes that Somalia did not act in the best interest of all the involved parties.

From the findings, the Mogadishu administration has also been blamed for allocating resources inequitably. Various groups and citizens opposed to the Mogadishu administration accuse the government of distributing resources based on ethnicity and support to the government. This has intensified their opposition to the administration by fighting for their own share of the resources. Apart from Al Shabaab, other local militias have risen to fight for equal allocation of resources. Jubaland and Somaliland carved their own kingdoms out of the larger Somalia state to fight for proper and effective control of their resources. The citizens of these internationally unrecognized 'states' bear allegiance to them and their leaders and believe that it is through them that they can realize equitable resource distribution. Analysis of the studies on the effect of resource allocation on Somalia's peace process reveals that illegal mining and inequitable allocation of resources had hindered Somalia's quest to secure its territories and maintain peace and security within its boundaries.

Somalia remains a crucial hub for international fishing owing to its coastline. Rich and availability of fish, gas and oil in its maritime regions is an attraction to international and local interests who often employ negative techniques to gain access to such region for exploitation. This is revealed according to Collins (2014) in assessing the Somalia piracy, the facilitation processes and presence of resources in the region especially oil and gold mine deposits have made the region vulnerable to maritime attacks necessitating stringent security measures by the administration.

4.3.3 Poor Administrative Systems

Contemporary security practices require the adoption of international practices especially those aimed to protect maritime borders. In the United States, for instance, threats to coastline or maritime security are taken seriously. To ensure the U.S. coastline is protected multiple government agencies are tasked with the role. These

agencies comprise of the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG), U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Office of Air and Marine (OAM). The agencies help in dealing with challenges associated with illegal entry of immigrants to the United States through the coastline and neutralize terrorism threats to the U.S. through the sea. A well-organized administration must adopt a clear maritime strategy that ensures all agencies involved in protection of its maritime borders are well-coordinated.

As agreed by Ahmed (2011) and Kraska & Wilson. (2009), Somalia's problems in safeguarding maritime borders majorly originate from the fact that it has no stable government. The transitional government in place has not managed to marshal approve from a majority of the country's town with Al Shabaab fighting peace keeping troops in the region including Kenya's KDF. The Somali administration is poorly managed and adopts old systems that do not have much effect in the present-day terror activities. In addition, the Mogadishu administration does not have adequate financial resources to adopt new systems as well as employ new methods of maintaining peace and security.

Warlords in Somalia have always had an upper hand over the administration of the day. In the 2000s, the warlords would print money illegally and utilize the state's infrastructural facilities for their own interests. This is why the Djibouti peace plan that aimed to put Somalia under a transitional government led by an interim president, acting prime minister and establishment of the executive got frustrated. The warlords fuelled wars, killed people and frustrated any peace efforts. The situation is not different today since the country is still engulfed in the fight for power with different factions including militants fighting the TFG. This has made the administration less

effective and, in the process, adopts poor administrative systems that have derailed the securing of maritime security for the country.

From the findings in the review of secondary sources, it was revealed that Somalia's administrative systems have not been effective in fighting terrorism, a fact that has spread its effects to its ability to secure its maritime borders. Persistent and recurrent attacks within and outside Somalia by the militant groups have exposed the weakness of the Somali administration to fight the war against terrorists and by extension defend its borders as a way of ensuring sustainable peace and safety in the country.

4.3.4 Inadequate Financial Resources

For a government to function properly and attain its role of serving the public, it is crucial that it has adequate financial resources within its disposal. According to financial analysts, taxation forms a major source of adequate finances for the government among others sources. Fines and bails from the country's judicial system also form a significant source of financial resources for a country. A well-established administration ensures that all the sources of finances are shielded and any revenue loopholes get sealed. International financial practices dictate that governments be prudent in terms of shielding their revenue streams as these greatly determine their development and growth in the long run.

The findings from various studies on the security situation in Somalia indicate that the Somali administration's efforts to maintain maritime security have been hindered by inadequate resources. Since there is a lot of opposition to the current regime, its ability to collect and pool together resources that can be budgeted for is low. The resistance by the militias and other terror groups have intensified the opposition activities in many towns of Somali leading to reduced revenue collection by the TFG.

The international community's support to the government does not extend beyond enforcement of security; Aid (which depends on the existing situation); development of agreements and ODA support meaning the country still grapples with the issue of inadequate finances. Additionally, in the absence of peace and security, a country can only make retrogressive steps in its efforts to fight crime, terror and ensure its citizens of security and stability.

From the demographic findings presented in section 4.2 above, 30% of the respondents supported the fact that inadequate finances formed a main security challenge in the quest by Somalia to secure its maritime borders. International security analyzers estimate that the cost of maintaining maritime security is twice as much as that of sustaining internal security. This means that more resources need to be set aside towards maritime security as sophisticated weapons; modern technology and highly-trained human resources are required. Well-established and sturdier countries in terms of military power like the United States, North Korea, the United Kingdom, China and Japan place much emphasis on financial resources especially budgets towards maritime security. Their administrations have focused on the creation of efficient and effective revenue generation activities and streams that enhance the availability of financial resources.

It is clear from the findings that a significant percentage of Somalia's challenges originate from its lack of adequate financial resources to finance its maritime and regional security activities. Its TFG government has not managed to contain the sharp divisions amidst the people regarding their civic duty as citizens leading to most of them bearing allegiance to terror groups and militias in the country. Most towns in the country are still under the control of Al Shabaab resulting to loss of revenue for the government. Additionally, the country lacks the financial resources to purchase

modern military weapons to match those in the hands of Al Shabaab who are funded by piracy activities in the Gulf of Aden and support from other terror organizations like Al Qaeda and ISIS. These have resulted in the inefficiency of the Somali administration to secure its maritime and regional borders from the effect of militias and terrorists.

4.4 Influence of State and Non- State Actors in Somalia Maritime Border Security

By approaching maritime security in a broader spectrum encompassing cyber, hybrid, and nuclear threats; by respecting regional ownership and joint actions in security responses; by promoting a stronger collaboration across borders and sectors and increasing awareness on global maritime security, the revised Action Plan aims at building resilience and enhancing cooperation to deliver tailored regional responses. As already discussed, the presence of plenty maritime resources in the Somali territory attract interest from various regions or states making the Somalia border vulnerable to attacks. Studies on maritime security have approached the issue from the lens of an international expert. Some have critically discussed Somalia's exposure to maritime threats as a result of internal and external interests. This study took a broader spectrum approach where the issue of maritime security was granted more emphasis over internal security and peace in Somalia. The researcher trusts that if Somalia was capable of addressing the challenges facing its quest to secure its maritime borders, then chances of creating sustainable peace and security within the state will be high.

The secondary data collected from reviewed studies indicates that Somalia's ability to secure its maritime borders is greatly influenced by the actions of other states. The

analysis and presentation of primary data presented in section 4.2 also concur with these findings with 35% of the respondents reporting that ODA support greatly influences the ability of Somalia to protect its borders. The actions by other states that can influence Somalia's quest to secure its maritime borders include ODA support, agreement development and negotiations, and facilitation of judicial representation and sovereignty.

4.4.1 Official Development Assistance (ODA) Support

Other countries can assist Somali's efforts to secure its maritime territories by offering ODA support. ODA support is defined by the OECD as government assistance meant to promote the welfare and economic growth of countries (OECD, 2019). Developed countries like the UK, U.S., Germany, France, Sweden, Netherlands and others devote part of their budgets to ODA for developing countries. These funds can be channeled to the recipient countries through a multilateral development agency or directly from donor to recipient arrangement. Collected secondary data from the study indicates that Somalia receives ODA in different forms ranging from aid to the people and government to development activities in the country. Also, ODA comes through multilateral agencies like the United Nations, USAID and AU. The impact of ODA on Somalia's ability to secure its coastline are far reaching. For instance, through such assistances the country has managed to develop its infrastructural facilities including airports, railway lines and roads. Despite the increasing insurgency of terror activities in various parts of the country, the ODA has helped the country free up some resources for maritime security. Some ODAs directly target security efforts in the country thereby improving maritime security directly. Also, countries in the East African region including Kenya have set aside some budget to assist in the development and stabilization of Somalia. The

governments of these countries believe that by helping Somalia stabilize both economically, socially and politically the security situation in the region will improve. This will include maritime security which will enhance international trade especially along the Gulf of Aden.

4.4.2 Agreement Development

Some countries like Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda and Djibouti have acted as mediators of the Somali peace pacts in efforts to stabilize the country. In the 2000s, for instance, Djibouti was actively involved in the mediation of the peace process in Somalia. Its assistance in developing pacts both political and economic, and bringing together leaders to discuss and assent to them were some of the actions that facilitated the security situation in Somalia. However, the opposition of the Somali warlords during the time delayed the pace of realizing peace in the state. Other countries that have made notable attempts to facilitate the peace process in Somalia include Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and other multinational agencies like the EAC, AU, UNICEF, EU and UN.

Studies have indicated that the actions by other countries to facilitate treaties between the Somalia administration and its opposition have greatly shifted the way in which Somalia has tackled maritime security. Out of their own trade interests in the Gulf of Aden, some states like China, UK and the U.S. offer to broker the peace pacts in the war-torn state of Somalia. Their actions have significantly changed the tactics employed by the TFG in handling maritime security. The findings of the study presented in section 4.2 of the chapter also affirm the significant role played by other states in in Somalia's maritime border security.

Reviewed literature on the topic (secondary data) revealed that there are two facilitators of maritime border security for the Somali administration presented by other states. The first facilitator is the judicial representation which comprises of efforts by the states to have Somalia's judiciary strengthened to prosecute cases of international nature and deliver instant justice. The second facilitator is by the states emphasizing on the upholding of Somalia's sovereignty. The states believe that a sovereign Somalia will be able to quickly address issues affecting its people including their security. Maritime security involves protection of the interests of the country which are basically the interest of the people of Somalia. The reviewed studies indicated that some countries, especially those in the East African region would like to see Somalia become sovereign and establish independent judiciary to facilitate cases that need instant justice. A well-established judiciary can help in the prosecution of those cases related to terror and maritime security threats acting as a deterrence to criminal elements both internally and externally.

4.5 Role of International and Regional Organizations in the Sustainable Peace and Security of Somalia

The adoption of a multifaceted approach to the issue of regional and international and organizations' impact on Somalia peace process indicates the changing nature of investigations on security challenges. International organizations tend to adopt a serious approach towards security in various parts of the world. Their philosophy on peace and lasting stability of nations tends to support the players in a manner that ensures their stability. The hidden agenda, however, can be to benefit from the resulting stable business environment and increased economic opportunities.

Reviewed studies indicated that international and regional organizations played a crucial role in the development of sustainable peace and security in Somalia. Mengich

(2010) and Wafula (2013) studies indicated that international organizations greatly influenced the peace process in Somalia and the Horn of Africa. Also, interventions by international organizations in various forms influenced the ability of Somalia to secure its boundaries. The various ways in which international and regional organizations influenced the Somalia peace process are as discussed.

The findings of the study indicated that the organizations helped in initiating and facilitation of the negotiation processes. The Somali administration has had several peace negotiations with the fighting factions facilitated by local and international organizations to foster peace and process in the country. However, such negotiations have led to minimal progress in bringing together the involved parties. The fact that the TFG government still faces several security challenges within its borders is a clear indication that these efforts have resulted in minimal or no success at all. With the militants still fighting the government and terror groups like Al Shabaab frustrating its efforts by carrying out attacks in the sea and on the land, it was revealed that the negotiation efforts facilitated by these organizations have been ineffective.

Regional and global organizations have also enhanced development in some parts of Somalia giving the TFG some space to concentrate on maritime security. Through aid assistance and creation of peace awareness, the organizations have managed to influence a significant number of Somalis to support the government. From the findings, it was revealed that global organizations, in particular, supported the Somali government by offering assistance to the people of Somalia, and teaching the locals the importance of maintaining peace in their country.

The results presented in section 4.2 of this chapter also concur with the findings of other studies regarding the role of organizations in the sustainability of peace and maritime security in Somalia.

4.6 Influence of Somalia's Capacity Building for Secure Maritime Borders as a Way of Maintaining Sustainable Peace and Security

Capacity building is also at the core of the EUCAP Somalia that contributes to maritime security capacity-building in the country, including Somaliland, through offering strategic advice, mentoring and ad-hoc specialized training. This is done in coordination with a range of international partners, including the UN, AMISOM and IGAD and first world countries acting in the region, like the United States. Both civilian and military operations are part of EU's comprehensive approach to maritime security that aims not only at countering piracy at sea but addressing the root causes of the problem. A country's capacity to secure its maritime borders relies significantly on its preparedness to combat threats. The study adopted a multifaceted approach to assess Somalia's capacity building to secure maritime borders as a way of safeguarding sustainable peace and security.

Capacity was studied in four main classifications: internal control trainings; security staff trainings; staff scholarships and technical field assessments. Keating & Abshir (2018) and Wafula (2013) presented interesting findings regarding the role of security staff trainings in the sustainability of border security in Somalia. Their findings indicated that the lack of proper training of security staffs in Somalia was hindering its ability to secure its maritime borders. The findings from the study presented in section 4.2 also agreed with the outcomes of Wafula (2013) and Keating & Abshir

(2018) concerning the significance of training security staff on matters maritime security.

Internal control trainings enhance a country's capability to match or overcome terrorists and secure its borders. Wafula (2013) reiterated the importance of internal control trainings in the war against insurgency in Somalia. When security forces train in enclosed locations, the enemy will not be able to read or predict their moves thereby making it hard for them to develop countermeasures. The findings of the reviewed secondary sources indicated that effective internal trainings were responsible for declined cases of attacks in the Somali coastline though they were not full developed yet.

A review of literature also revealed that the Somali government lacked resources to send its security staff on paid scholarships to study on matters concerning marine security. This has hindered its efforts to counter the Al Shabaab insurgency in its coastline. In addition, the lack of international trainings on maritime security means that the forces are not properly-equipped to tackle the issue of marine security in the region. the findings presented in section 4.2 also point to the crucial role played by staff scholarships on maritime security since over 90% of the responds agreed that scholarship equip security agents with the requisite skills to fight terrorism and insurgency in the country.

Somalia lacks the ability to conduct technical field assessments explaining its slow steps in combating maritime insecurity. Technical field assessments can help a country in determining possible causes of tension and how to act to neutralize it. Lack of capacity to conduct these assessments can place a state the crossroads like it is the case in Somalia.

The capacity building of the security forces in the country to tackle insecurity in the coastline has been boosted by the peacekeeping and security mission in the country but still the efforts have not managed to full neutralize the impact of terrorist groups in the region.

4.7 Discussions

The evidence of weak political institutions and poor border management structure confirms Ahmed (2011) research study on the Piracy and Maritime security in the Gulf of Aden with key focus on Somalia. Weak institutions remain a weak point for intruders and other parties with intention of executing illegal activities or taking advantage on available opportunities. Lack of gender inclusivity in addressing the maritime and border challenges confirms to Edmunds (2017) study on maritime capacity building in the Horn of Africa within the Somalia region. Women play a vital role in stabilization, security developments and maintaining peace in societies. Their inclusivity in these border developments provides an ease to address these challenges by them capable of contributing positively. The major bias to men in administration and political facets to making decisions with a disregard of women limits the overall focus to maintain peace and sustainable security in the region. Evidence alludes to women having a positive impact on common challenges affecting our societies especially war prone areas (Delaforce, 2016).

Inadequate financing of administrative and other negotiation process engagements remains a weakling in the fight against terrorism, territorial conflicts and internal wars or security mechanisms as confirmed in Keating & Abshir (2018) in assessing the politics of security in Somalia. The study holds that financial inadequacy remains a factor challenges in addressing the peace and security in Somalia and therefore, any efforts to safeguard their maritime borders remains futile as intrusions from elements

with stronger financial muscle take control. This is also confirmed in Chapsos (2016) who alludes to warlords having a stronger financial weight than the elected administration, recognized Government in place, and make all efforts employed to control the maritime borders incapable or weak.

The presence of resources, especially natural mines in the maritime region of Somalia has attracted external and internal interests. In the process to protect the borders of Somalia, pricey resources remain a contention spot for legitimately elected administration, warlords and other external state-to-state institutions. This is confirmed in Chapsos (2016) study on assessing maritime security as a traditional challenge in the wake of availability of rich resources in the waters. Pricey resources attract a myriad of activities and interests from various individuals as confirmed by Ahmed (2011). Somalia remains a key hub for international fishing owing to its coastline. Rich and plenty availability of fish, gas and oil in its maritime regions is an attraction to international and local interests who often employ negative techniques to gain access to such region for exploitation. This is revealed according to Collins (2014) in assessing the Somalia Piracy, the facilitation processes and presence of resources in the region especially oil and gold mine deposits.

States play a vital role in stabilizing, protecting sovereignty and administrative systems of other countries. Venkataraman (2016) confirms in assessing the Somalia's piracy issues as challenge to China's maritime security that the need to support country stability efforts may have direct significance to the maritime security levels of other countries with same shared maritime waters. Official Development Assistance has had positive support to Somalia's push for a peaceful and secure region. Countries who willingly have supported the peace process have contributed resources in form of infrastructure, human resources, financial aid and relevant assets useful in maintaining

high standard of security as confirmed by Collins (2014). Sovereignty remains a key focus for many nations. For instance, Venkataraman (2016) reveals vital support from European and Asian countries towards Somalia's sovereignty. This is evidenced with the number of nations with security missions in Somalia's internal and maritime wings.

The study's findings affirm to Mengich (2010) on the role of organizations in facilitation of negotiations. Refugee camps in the Northern part of Kenya are sources of negotiation amid the Kenyan and Somali governments as well as the international refuge coordination agencies like UNHCR. The findings also affirms the outcomes of Wafula (2013)'s study on the role of regional organizations in Somalia's peace process. The findings indicate that international and regional organizations facilitate development in Somalia in a way that creates room for the Somali administration to budget for maritime security.

From the study's outcomes, the global and local organizations were found to be crucial in the peace process of Somalia. They extend assistance to the Somali people and the government thus giving a chance to the administration to allocate resources towards maritime border security. They also create awareness about the role of peace in ensuring long-lasting peace in the country. By enlightening a majority of the people on the importance of peace, the organizations assist the government in the peace building process as affirmed by the outcomes of the study by Keating and Abshir (2018).

Findings of the study affirm to Ahmed (2011) revelations of presence of frequent domestic and international trainings. These trainings remain significant to Somali administration especially the security arm in addressing maritime insecurity, attacks

and piracy on the coastal areas as argued by Wilklund (2015). Internal control trainings that include high-risk assessments and intelligence remain important and contribute heftily to maritime security as noted in Wiliams (2012) who evaluated the Embryonic International Institution of the African Union's Peace and Security push. Jeremy (2012) affirms to findings of this study where scholarly scholarships remain helpful in building new exposures, aspects and widening experiences for security authorities attached to marine and waters areas. In affirming to findings on technical field assessments, Lister (2013) revealed that time-to-time technical trainings by experienced staff from other nations remained core and contributory to Somali marine and security teams. Lister (2013) affirms further that international coordination and support especially deployed experienced staff to conduct trainings to Somali staff was gainful in reducing piracy and terror attacks activities.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the finding, conclusion and recommendations of the major findings on the challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace in Somalia. It also suggests the need for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Terror activities were found to be the leading challenges facing Somalia in its quest to secure its maritime borders for sustainable peace and security in the country. The findings from the primary data collected and analyzed in chapter four indicate that a majority of the respondents agreed that terror activities like piracy, kidnapping and bombings presented a major challenge to the quest of the country to secure its maritime borders. Terrorism curtails development of peace and security in Somalia. Despite the efforts made by AMISOM and other peace keeping troops in Somalia, the militant and terrorist groups keep changing their strategies and method of attack as well as their targets. Therefore, the government of Somalia that has little financial resources at its disposal has struggled to neutralize the effects of these attacks as a way of securing its maritime borders for sustainable peace and security.

It was also found out from the analysis of both primary and secondary data that the actions of other states greatly influenced Somalia's efforts to secure its maritime borders. The ODA support by other states had the greatest effect on the capability of the country to secure its marine borders. Additionally, from the reviewed studies, it was found that other states engaged in agreement development facilitated by the desire for sovereignty and judicial representation of the state.

The research revealed that international and regional organizations played a crucial role in the development of sustainable peace and security in Somalia. A majority of the respondents agreed that the organizations helped in facilitating the peace negotiation process. The Somali government has had numerous peace negotiations with the fighting factions enabled by local and international organizations to foster peace and security in the country. However, such negotiations have led to minimal progress in bringing together the tangled parties.

The research shows that Somali had low capacity building in terms of facilitating security staff trainings and internal control trainings. From the, it w study it emerged that Somalia's capacity building was low, therefore, explaining the state's slow progress of the country in fighting maritime threats as a way of enhancing sustainable peace and security.

The study sought to investigate the challenges of securing maritime borders for sustainable peace and security in Somalia. The researcher adopted a descriptive research design and a mixed-method approach was applied to collect both primary and secondary data for analysis. The four variables studied including challenges facing Somalia in its quest to secure its maritime borders; other states' influence in Somalia maritime border security; international and regional organizations' role in ensuring Somalia peace process and Somalia's capacity building in securing its borders had a significantly positive influence on Somalia's ability to secure its maritime borders.

The government of Somalia should offer security staff scholarships to study in different countries to improve their competency. Doing this can help in preparation of the country to take full control of its security once the forces from different countries

get withdrawn. The UN-AU joint meeting recommended for a gradual withdrawal of security troops from Somali to prepare for transition of the function to the Somali peace keeping troops. Scholarships can also enhance the rationality and thinking capacity of the soldiers in their quest to maintain peace and security in the region (Keating & Abshir, 2018).

5.3 Conclusions

The collective security theory provides that other countries should team up with Somalia to help it secure its maritime borders as this is a collective responsibility. In this manner, Somalia's overreliance on other states' support has derailed its ability to secure its maritime borders as a way of enhancing sustainable peace and security. Additionally, the cognitive resources theory requires that Somali leaders act like visionary leaders in tackling the issue of maritime security. Their experience levels always influence their ability to make correct judgements regarding maritime security of the country's border and its ability to sustain long-lasting peace.

The study concludes that the four independent variables studied had a significant influence on the ability of Somalia to secure its maritime borders and enhance sustainable peace and security. The findings from the secondary and primary data showed that there was a positive correlation amongst the dependent and independent variables of the study.

The researcher concluded that the challenges facing Somalia in its quest to secure maritime borders had a significant influence on its sustainable peace and security building process. Terror attacks were found as the leading causes of challenges the country faces in its quest to secure its marine borders.

The study also concluded that actions by other states had a greater influence on the country's ability to secure its marine borders and enhance sustainable peace and stability.

It was also concluded that regional and international organizations played a crucial role in influencing Somalia's ability to secure its maritime borders. The influence was majorly through the facilitation of the negotiation process.

Somalia's capacity building was also concluded to be the main influencer of the country's ability to secure its maritime resources and in the process enhance sustainable peace and security.

5.4 Recommendations of the Study

The study recommends that Somalia becomes prudent in addressing the challenges hindering its ability to protect its maritime borders. In the spirit of collective responsibility, the TFG government should ask other allies to help it in addressing the challenges, mainly terror attacks and piracy along its coastline. The researcher also recommends that Somalia's policymakers get to adopt efficient and effective administrative systems that can help in the detection of criminal activities and devise means to address them.

Since Somalia's capacity building is at its lowest, policymakers need to adopt strategies that will see security staff trained on the necessary skills and competencies needed to match or outdo the terror and militant groups in the country.

Policy makers in the Somali administration should also consider internationally accepted security standards and adhere to them as a way of managing their marine borders and enhancing peace and stability within the country's borders.

5.5 Limitations of Study

The study faced limitations normal to research such as information accessibility and time availability in its examination of the challenges Somalia faces in its efforts to secure maritime borders as a way of enhancing sustainable peace and security but the researcher used tact to address the first limitation and through planning made time for research out of busy work schedule. The sampling technique was also a means of overcoming limitations as to reaching the respondents with quality information.

5.6 Areas for Further Research Study

Given that the study area was Nairobi city in Nairobi County where most Somalia government activities towards peace are conducted, another study can be undertaken using the many different location surrounding Somalia Maritime borders.

The researcher recommends a study on the effects of unsecured coast line on national security or economies of the hinterland states, and also a study on the role of the coastlines on inter-state relations in Eastern Africa region.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, M. H. (2011). Piracy and Maritime security in the Gulf of Aden: a case study of Somalia, 1992-2010. Research thesis submitted to the University of Nairobi. Retrieved from <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/3655> .
- Andreas, P. (2003). Redrawing the line: Borders and security in twenty-first century. *International Security*, 28(2), 78-111.
- Bailet, F.N., & Crickard, F.W. (1999). *Integrated maritime enforcement: A handbook* (pp. 9). Msifax, Dalhousie University Press.
- Baldwin, David A. (1997). "The Concept of Security," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January, pp. 12-18.
- Belasen, A., Kutan, A. & Belasen, A. T. (2017). The impact of unsuccessful pirate attacks on financial markets: Evidence in support of Leeson's reputation-building theory. *Economic Modelling*, 60, 344-351.
- Bernard, H.R. (2002). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative methods. 3rd edition*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.
- Booth, K (1987), "Alliances", in Baylis, J. et al (eds), *Contemporary Strategy: Theories and Concepts* (2nd ed). New York: Holmes & Meyer.
- Buzan, B., Waever, O., & de Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Colorado, Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Chapsos, I. (2016). Is Maritime Security a Traditional Security Challenge? Exploring the Security Landscape: *Non-Traditional Security Challenges*, 59-78.
- Chenoweth, E (2008), "A Contested Threat: The Politics of Security Collaboration for Combating Terrorism", in Wilson, I and J J F Forest (eds), *The Handbook of Defence Politics: International and Comparative Perspectives*. London: Routledge, pp 64-75.
- Clad, J., McDonald, S.M., & Vaughn, B. (Eds). (2011). The borderlands of Southeast Asia: Geopolitics, terrorism and globalization (pp. 107-126). Washington, National Defense University Press.
- Clochard, O., & Dupeyron, B. (2007). The maritime borders of Europe: Upstream migratory controls. In Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel (eds.), *Borderlands: Comparing border security in North America and Europe* (pp. 19-40). Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press.
- Collins, V. E. (2014). A Lust for Treasure and a Love of Gold...or Desperation? Global Facilitation of Piracy, Neoliberal Policies and the Control of the Somali Pirate. *Critical Criminology*22:3, pages 433-450.
- Delaforce, R. (2016). Police Pluralisation and Private Security. *The Palgrave Handbook of Criminology and War*, 211-229.
- Edmunds, T. (2017). Maritime capacity building in the horn of Africa: states of Somalia. *EU-CIVCAP Working Paper No. 01-17*.

- Elmi, A.A., and Barise, A. (2006). The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies. *African Security Review*, Institute for Security Studies.
- Feldt, L. (2013). Maritime security – Perspectives for a comprehensive approach, *ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defence and International Security*, Issue No. 222, April, 2.
- Feldt, L., Roell, P., & Thiele, R.D. (2013). Maritime Security – Perspectives for a Comprehensive Approach. *ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defence and International Security*, Issue No. 222.
- Fu, X., Ng, A., & Lau, Y. (2010). The impacts of maritime piracy on global economic development: the case of Somalia. *Maritime Policy & Management*, 37(7), 677-697.
- Ghali, B. B. (1995). An agenda for peace, United Nations, New York. The report is also online at www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html
- Goldberg, G. (November 2018). Al-Shabaab's Financial Systems and Source of Funding. Strategic Intelligence. Retrieved from <https://intelligencebriefs.com/al-Shabaabs-financial-systems-and-source-of-funding>.
- Great Britain., & Great Britain. (2010). Combating Somali piracy: The EU's Naval Operation Atalanta: 12th report of session 2009-10: report with evidence. London: The Stationery Office Limited, published by the Authority of the House of Lords.
- Greenberg, M. D., Chalk, P., Willis, H. H., Khilko, I., & Ortiz, D. S. (2006). *Maritime terrorism: Risk and liability*. Rand Corporation.
- Gumba, D. (2011). The media in conflict: A case study of Somalia civil war. Research thesis submitted to the University of Nairobi.
<http://www.imo.org/mediacentre/hottopics/piracy/documents/1339.pdf>.
http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/wcm/connect/44d0718042982ce1bb66bb24ab1546e8/The_wise_pen_team_final_report_april_2010.pdf.
- IMF (2017). Six Things to Know About Somalia's Economy. www.imf.org/en/News/Articles.
- Jackson, M. K., & Matusitz, J. (2017). Understanding Somali piracy through cognitive resources theory. *Africa Review* 9(1), 1-12.
- Jordaan, E. (2017). Collective security in Africa: the tension between theory and practice. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, Vol 39, No 1, pp. 160-184.
- Keating, M., & Abshir, S. (2018). The Politics of Security in Somalia. Center for International Cooperation. Retrieved from https://cic.nyu.edu/politics_of_security_in_somalia.pdf.

- Kiogora, D. M. (2015). The Role of Culture in Propagating Discord: A Look at Somali Culture as a Catalyst to Maritime Piracy in Somalia. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
- Kornegay Jr., F. A. (2012). South Africa and SADC in the Indian Ocean maritime security equation. *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, 8(1), 71-89.
- Kothari, C. K. (2009). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. USA: New Age International Pvt Ltd Publishers.
- Kraska, J. & Wilson, B. (2009). The Pirates of the Gulf of Aden: The Coalition is the Strategy (November 1, 2009). *Stanford Journal of International Law*, 45(1), 241, 2009. Retrieved from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1308271>.
- Lewis, J.L., & S.R.J. Sheppard. (2006). Culture and communication: can landscape visualization improve forest management consultation with indigenous communities? *Landscape and Urban Planning* 77:291–313.
- Ligawa, W. O. (2017). Challenges Influencing Peace Building Strategies in Somalia: A Study of AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). *Scientific Research*, 4(10), <https://www.scirp.org/journal/PaperInformation.aspx?PaperID=79704>.
- Livingston, Ian (2018). *Order from Chaos: Somalia, facing severe challenges, also shows signs of hope*. The Brookings Institution.
- Maclean, William (2003). Somalia needs big power involvement – UN official, Reuters, Nairobi, 4 September 2003, www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/AllDocsByUNID/.
- Makantasis, K., Protopapadakis, E., Doulamis, A., & Matsatsinis, N. (2016). Semi-supervised vision-based maritime surveillance system using fused visual attention maps. *Multimedia Tools and Applications*, 75(22), 15051-15078.
- Mengich, F. K. (2010). *The impact of Somalia conflict on Kenya's Security and Development (1991-2008)* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi, Kenya).
- Merriam, S.B., & Tisdell, J. (2015). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*. USA: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Moseley, A. (2009). *The Implementation of International Maritime Security Instruments in Caricom States*. United Nations-Nippon Foundation Fellow 2009 – 2010.
- Murphy, S. E., Blyth, D., & Fiedler, F.E. (1995). Cognitive Resource Theory and the Utilization of the Leader's and Group Members' Technical Competence. United States Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, University of Washington.
- Mwagwabi, L. (2010). The Theory of Collective Security and its Limitation in Explaining International Organization: A Critical Analysis. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, [doi:10.2139/ssrn.2948271](https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2948271).

- Nyanduga, T. (2019). Despite ‘considerable progress,’ Somalia needs help tackling political, economic and rights challenges, says UN expert, Global perspective Human stories.
- OECD. (2019). Net ODA. Retrieved from <https://data.oecd.org/oda/net-oda.htm>.
- Ofori-Boateng, N. (2017). A Models Approach to Analyzing and Forecasting Oil and Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 05(03), 84-112.
- Oguna, C. (2016). *Whose peace? The impact of war on military families: a case study of Kenya Defence Forces operations in Somalia* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).
- Oluoch, F. (June 10, 2019). Oil at the heart of diplomatic feud between Kenya and Somalia. Business and Human Rights Resource Center. Retrieved from <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/oil-at-the-heart-of-diplomatic-feud-between-kenya-and-somalia>.
- Orodho, J. A. (2004). *Elements of Education and Social Science Research Application in Education and Social Sciences*. Nairobi Kenya: Masola Publishers.
- Oso, W. Y., & Onen, D. (2009). *A general guide to writing research proposal and report*. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.
- Papp, D S (1997). *Contemporary International Relations: Frameworks for Understanding* (5th ed). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Payan, T. (2006). *The three US-Mexico borders war: Drugs, immigration and homeland security*, Westport, Praeger Security International.
- Reuters. (2009). FACTBOX: Somali pirates risk choking key world trade route. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-piracy-shipping-factbox/factbox-somali-pirates-risk-choking-key-world-trade-route-idUSTRE53E2JR20090415>.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2007). *Research methods for business students*. Harlow: Financial Times Prentice Hall.
- SC. Res.1816, para.7 (a), (2 June 2008), UN Doc. S/RES/1816.
- Secure Fisheries (2015). *Securing Somali Fisheries*. The Brookings Institution.
- Sekaran, U. & Bougie, R. (2014). *Research methods for business: a skill-building approach* (6th ed.). Haddington: John Wiley & Sons.
- Shane, J. M., Piza, E. L., & Mandala, M. (2015). Situational crime prevention and worldwide piracy: a cross-continent analysis. *Crime Science*, 4(1).
- Shane, J. M., Piza, E. L., & Silva, J. R. (2018). Piracy for ransom: the implications for situational crime prevention. *Security Journal*, 31(2), 548-569.

- Sibley, C. (2016). Be Alert and Stay the Course: An Agent-Based Model Exploring Maritime Piracy Countermeasures. *Social, Cultural, and Behavioral Modeling*, 356-365.
- Snyder, C (1999), "Regional Security Structures", in Snyder, C (ed), *Contemporary Security and Strategy* . New York: Routledge.
- Sow, Mariama, (2017). Figures of the week: Piracy and illegal fishing in Somalia. ICC International Maritime Bureau. Wednesday, April 12.
- The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea adopted in Montego Bay, Jamaica, 1982.
- Treves, T. (2009). Piracy, Law of the Sea, and Use of Force: Developments off the Coast of Somalia. *European Journal of International Law*, 20(2), 399–414.
- Tsagourias, N., & White, D. N. (2013). *Collective Security: Theory, Law and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vandergriff, M. (2017). Case Study: Somalia: Clan-Based Leadership in Peacebuilding. In Enkhsaikhan, A., Gyatso, L. & Vandergriff, M. *Understanding Local Peace Agreements and Conflict Prevention: Case Studies on Liberia, Nicaragua and Somalia*. USA: Office of Analysis, Planning, Programming, and Learning (APPL) U.S. Department of State.
- Venkataraman, M. (2016). Piracy off the coast of Somalia: implications for China's maritime security. Bandung: *Journal of the Global South*, 3(5), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40728-016-0034-1>.
- Vogt, M (2009), "The UN and Africa's Regional Organisations", in Adebajo, A (ed), *From Global Apartheid to Global Village: Africa and the United Nations*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Wafula, B. L. (2013). *The role of regional organizations in peacemaking in Africa: a case study of the intergovernmental authority on development (IGAD), in Somalia*. Research thesis presented to the University of Nairobi. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org>.
- Wang, Y. & Qi, X. (2017). Evasion policies for a vessel being chased by pirate skiffs. *Naval Research Logistics (NRL)*, 64(6), 453-475.
- Wermuth, M. A., & Riley, K. J. (2007). *The Strategic Challenge of Border Security*. RAND Corporation; Santa Monica, CA 90407-2138.
- Westberg, A. (2016). Anti-piracy in a sea of predation: the interaction of navies, fishermen and pirates off the coast of Somalia. *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, 12(2), 209-226.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Schedule

INTRODUCTION LETTER

Dear Respondent,

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SECURING RESPONSES FOR ACADEMIC STUDIES.

I am a graduate student of Executive MA - Diplomacy and Foreign Policy at Moi University. I am conducting a research on the “**Challenges of Securing Maritime Borders for Sustainable Peace in Somalia**” in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Diplomacy and Foreign Policy (Executive). I humbly request you to share your wealth of knowledge by filling the attached questionnaire. The information will be used purely for academic purposes. Your responses will be treated with confidentiality and anonymity where advised will be guaranteed. Please, note that to indicate your name on the instrument is optional.

I am much grateful for your cooperation and support in this study.

Regards,

Mohamed Farah Abdullahi

Appendix II: Questionnaire

**CHALLENGES OF SECURING MARITIME BORDERS FOR SUSTAINABLE
PEACE IN SOMALIA**

The purpose of this schedule is to collect primary data from identified target group as indicated in the research methodology.

PART A

Name: (Optional)

Organization of work:..... (Optional)

PART B:

Challenges facing Somalia in its Quest to Secure its Maritime Borders

What challenges face Somalia Maritime borders?

.....
.....
.....
.....

In addition to the listing, would you kindly indicate your agreement or otherwise with the following statements about maritime security using the following Likert scale.

Statement	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Agree 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
Terror attacks					
Illegal resource mining and allocation					
Poor administrative system					
Inadequate financial resources					

How can Somalia Maritime borders be secured for sustainable peace?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Influence of State and Non- States in Somalia Maritime Border Security

How have state and non-state actors responded to Somalia Maritime security?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Can you rate the following statements in regard to state and non-state actors influence on Somalia Maritime Security?

Statement	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Agree 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
ODA support					
Security Support					
Agreement development					
Facilitation of Treaties					
Judicial representation and sovereignty promotion					

Rate your agreement level about role of international and regional organizations in Somalia peace.

Statement	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Agree 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
Facilitates negotiation process in the Somalia peace process					
Provides assistance in form of aid to Somalia					
Helps in creating awareness concerning peace in the country					
Helps in the enhancement of development in the country					

Rate the successes attained in Somalia sustainable peace through the following;

Statement	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Moderately Agree 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
Somalia builds capacity of its security forces through training of its staff					
Internal control trainings are also used to train Somalia staff on the maritime security strategies					
Somalia offers scholarships to its security officers to enable them train quickly					
Somalia uses technical field assessment to train its staffs on maritime security					

Thanks for your participation

*******End*******