Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

# Greed, Grievances and Anarchy at Sea: Human Security and Somali Piracy

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

**Aaron Rees** 

2011

#### **Abstract**

In recent years there has been a dramatic upsurge in piracy off the Somali coast. In 2009 alone, there were 217 reported incidences of Somali piracy, with 857 seafarers being held hostage. This piracy clearly has significant ramifications for global security and development, and must therefore be addressed. It is often stated that piracy is little more than a 'symptom' of greater problems on land. However, current counter-piracy measures have largely been dominated by naval fixes, while failing to address the underlying issues driving piracy. This thesis adopts a human security framework to analyze the underlying economic, social, cultural, political and environmental conditions on land that are contributing to the causation of Somali piracy. This analysis is intended to evaluate economic rationalist (greed) and grievance-based understandings of piracy, and thus shed light on the root causes of Somali piracy, revealing possible avenues to address these causes. To achieve this aim, a qualitative analysis of media interviews with Somali pirates, and other key actors, has been conducted in combination with a critical review of available information on Somali piracy and human security in Somalia. Overall, this study finds that weak human security and external violations of human security in Somalia underpin many of the factors driving piracy off the Somali coast, suggesting that Somali piracy is a human security issue, which requires integrated development and security solutions. Therefore, this thesis proposes that ensuring human freedoms in Somalia is the only sustainable means of addressing Somali piracy.

### <u>Acknowledgments</u>

This research was made possible by the contributions of a number of people who I would like to acknowledge and thank.

Firstly, I am immensely grateful for all the help I have received from my first supervisor, Dr Maria Borovnik, who not only got me interested in this topic, but has also provided invaluable advice and motivation throughout the research and writing process. Thanks also to Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers for providing constructive advice on my draft.

I would like to thank my classmates and the staff at the Institute of Development Studies who have kept things interesting and fun over the last two years.

I must also acknowledge the Rogue Halfies, the finest cricket team to grace the Manawatu.

Finally, I have to thank Mansa and my family who have supported me throughout this long process.

## $\underline{\text{Table of contents}}$

| Table<br>List of  | oct<br>wledgments<br>of contents<br>tables, figures, photographs and boxes<br>abbreviations  | i<br>ii<br>iii<br>vi<br>vii                  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
| Chap  | ter 1: Introduction  | 1  |  |
| 1.1<br>1.2<br>1.3<br>1.4<br>1.5                           | Introduction The issue of Somali piracy Rationale and significance of the study Research aim and questions Thesis outline  |  |  |
| Chap  | ter 2: Human security and piracy   | 10   |  |
| <ul><li>2.1</li><li>2.2</li><li>2.3</li><li>2.4</li></ul> | Introduction The concept of 'human security' 2.2.1 The convergence of security and development thought 2.2.2 Working definition of human security The relevance of a human security framework for piracy 2.3.1 The importance of understanding the root causes of piracy 2.3.2 Rationale for addressing piracy Chapter summary | 10<br>10<br>11<br>14<br>17<br>17<br>18<br>19 |  |
| Chap  | ter 3: Understanding the root causes of piracy   | 21   |  |
| 3.1<br>3.2  | Introduction  Economic rationalism as a motivating factor  3.2.1 Economic rationalist explanations of conflicts and crimes  3.2.2 Proposed characteristics conductive of piracy  3.2.3 Critiques of economic rationalist explanations  | 21<br>22<br>23<br>25<br>28                   |  |
| 3.3   | Grievances as motivating factors  3.3.1 Acts of piracy motivated by grievances  3.3.2 Proposed grievances motivating Somali pirates  3.3.3 Critiques of grievance based explanations  Chapter summary  | 30<br>30<br>31<br>34<br>34                   |  |
| 3.4   | Chapter summary  |  |  |
| Chap  | ter 4: Background to human insecurity in Somalia   | 36   |  |
| 4.1<br>4.2  | Introduction Historical background to human insecurity in Somalia  | 36<br>36                                     |  |

|  | 4.2.1  | The pre-colonial and colonial periods                   | 37 |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|---|----|--|--|--|--|--|
|  | 4.2.2  | Independence and the era of General Mohammed Siad Barre | 38 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.2.3  | The collapse of the central government                  | 40 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.2.4  | International intervention                              | 42 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.2.5  | Attempts at reestablishing central governance           | 43 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.2.6  | Somalia the 'failed state'                              | 45 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4.3  | The humanitarian crisis in Somalia                 |   |    |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.3.1  | Development in Somalia                                  | 47 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.3.2  | Human rights in Somalia                                 | 48 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.3.3  | Regional variations in development                      | 49 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4.4  | Human security threats to coastal areas of Somalia |   |    |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.4.1  | The growing importance of Somalia's marine resources    | 50 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.4.2  | The Indian Ocean tsunami                                | 52 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.4.3  | Illegal, unregulated, unlicensed foreign fishing        | 53 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4.4.4  | Hazardous waste dumping                                 | 54 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4.5  | Chapte   | er summary  | 56 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Chan   | tar 5. F   | Background to Somali piracy and counter-piracy          |    |  |  |  |  |  |
| meas   |  | background to soman phacy and counter-phacy             | 58 |  |  |  |  |  |
| illeas   | uies   |   | 36 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5.1  | Introd   |   | 58 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5.2  |  | ture of Somali piracy                                   | 58 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5.2.1  | ,                 | 59 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5.2.2  | ,   | 61 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5.3  |  | i piracy as a human security threat                     | 66 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5.3.1  | ,   | 67 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Economic threats  | 69 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5.3.3  | •   | 70 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5.3.4  |   | 70 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5.4  | Responses to Somali piracy                         |   |    |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5.4.1  | Local responses to Somali piracy                        | 71 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 5.4.2  | International responses to Somali piracy                | 74 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5.5  | Chapte   | er summary  | 77 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Chap   | ter 6: F   | Research methodology                                    | 78 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | <u>.</u>  |    |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6.1  | Introd   |   | 78 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6.2  |  | ch philosophy and methodological design                 | 78 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6.3  |  | dology for data collection                              | 81 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 6.3.1  | The use of an indirect data collection methodology      | 81 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 6.3.2  | Locating and recording potential sources of data        | 82 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 6.3.3  | Reflections on the data collection process              | 84 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6.4  |  | dology for data analysis                                | 87 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6.5  | Cnapte   | er summary  | 90 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Chapter 7: The underlying motives driving Somali piracy 92 |  |   |    |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7.1  | Introd   | uction  | 92 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7.2  |  | mic rationalism as a motivating factor to commit piracy | 92 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | 0   |    |  |  |  |  |  |

|       | 7.2.1       | Strong incentives to commit piracy                          | (  |  |
|-------|-------------|---|----|--|
|       | 7.2.2       | Weak disincentives to commit piracy                         |    |  |
| 7.3   |             | ances as motivating factors to commit piracy                |    |  |
|       | 7.3.1       | Desperation   |    |  |
|       | 7.3.2       | Illegal acts by foreign vessels in Somali waters            | 1  |  |
|       | 7.3.3       | The 'unjust' actions of the international community         | 1  |  |
| 7.4   |             | er summary ,  | 1  |  |
| Chap  | oter 8: I   | Discussion and conclusions                                  | 10 |  |
| 8.1   | Introd      | luction   | 10 |  |
| 8.2   | Possib      | ole factors driving Somali piracy                           | 1  |  |
|       |             | Evaluation of economic rationalist understandings of piracy | 1  |  |
|       |             | Evaluation of grievance-based understandings of piracy      | 1  |  |
|       | 8.2.3       | Conclusions on the possible factors driving Somali piracy   | 1  |  |
| 8.3   | Huma        | n insecurity and the motives of Somali pirates              | 1  |  |
|       | 8.3.1       | Human insecurity and economic rationalist motives           | 1  |  |
|       | 8.3.2       | Human insecurity and grievances-based motives               | 1  |  |
|       | 8.3.3       | Conclusions on human insecurity and the motives of Somali   |    |  |
|       |             | pirates   | 1  |  |
| 8.4   | Possib      | ole means of addressing Somali piracy                       | 1  |  |
|       | 8.4.1       | Ensuring 'freedom from fear'                                | 1  |  |
|       | 8.4.2       | Ensuring 'freedom from want'                                | 1  |  |
|       | 8.4.3       | Ensuring 'freedom to take action on one's own behalf'       | 1  |  |
|       | 8.4.4       | Conclusions on possible means of addressing Somali piracy   | 1  |  |
| 8.5   | Conclusions |   |    |  |
|       | 8.5.1       | Summary of the research findings                            | 1  |  |
|       | 8.5.2       | Concluding comments   | 13 |  |
| Refer | ences       |   | 13 |  |

## <u>List of tables, figures,</u> <u>photographs, and boxes</u>

| Tables                |  |          |
|-----------------------|--|----------|
| Table 4.1             | Regional distribution of GDP per capita among the Somali districts in 2002 (US\$)                          | 49       |
| Table 5.1             | Number of seafarers held hostage or kidnapped, physically injured, and killed by Somali pirates, 2004-2009 | 67       |
| Table 6.1             | Search engines used to find general media content on Somali piracy   | 82       |
| Table 6.2             | Key words used in online searches for content on Somali piracy   | 83       |
| Table 6.3             | International and Somali-based media sources used to find content on Somali piracy                         | 83       |
| Table 6.4             | Unorganized preliminary codes representing the abstract themes in the interview data                       | 88       |
| Table 6.5             | Codes representing variables from economic rationalist and grievance-based understandings of piracy        | 89       |
| Table 6.6             | An example of axial coding in relation to economic rationalist understandings of Somali piracy             | 90       |
| Table 6.7             | An example of axial coding in relation grievance-based understandings of Somali piracy                     | 90       |
| Figures               |  |          |
| Figure 1.1 Figure 4.1 | Reported incidences of piracy attributed to Somali pirates  Map of regional authorities in Somalia         | 4<br>41  |
| Figure 5.1            | Range and frequency of incidences of piracy attributed to Somali pirates, 2006-2009                        | 66       |
| Photograp             | hs   |          |
| Plate 4.1             | Hazardous waste washed ashore in Puntland by the 2004 tsunami  | 55       |
| Plate 5.1             | Weaponry seized from pirates during anti-piracy operations   | 64       |
| Boxes                 |  |          |
| Box 5.1<br>Box 5.2    | The Sirius Star, a VLCC hijacked by Somali pirates Seafarers' perspectives on Somali piracy                | 65<br>68 |

#### List of abbreviations

ADB African Development Bank

AMISOM African Union Mission in Somalia
CHS Commission on Human Security

CTF 151 Combined Task Force 151

DFID United Kingdom's Department for International Development

EU NAVFOR European Union Naval Force
GDP Gross Domestic Product

ICC-IMB International Chamber of Commerce's Maritime Bureau

ICU Islamic Courts Union

IUU Illegal, unregulated, unlicensed foreign fishing

MSPA Maritime Security Patrol Area
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

PPP Purchasing Power Parity
RPGs Rocket propelled grenades
SNM Somali National Movement

SSCS Sea Shepherd Conservation Society
SSDF Somali Salvation Democratic Front
TNG Transitional National Government
TFG Transitional Federal Government

UN United Nations

UNEP United Nations Environmental Programme
UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNITAF Unified Task Force

UNODC United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNOSOM I United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNOSOM II United Nations Operation in Somalia II

UNSC United Nations Security Council

US United States of America
VLCCs Very Large Crude Carriers
WFP World Food Programme