ECOWAS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF MARITIME SECURITY IN THE GULF OF GUINEA: THE CASE OF WEST AFRICA

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(10107556)

THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGON JULY 2017
DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Philip Attuquayefio and that no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose.

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(STUDENT)

DR. PHILIP ATTUQUAYEFIO
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE: .............................................................  DATE: .....................................
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the glory of God and to my mum, ASP Regina Vivian Mensah (Rtd) with love and appreciation.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I give thanks and glory to the Almighty God for giving me the wisdom, good health, protection and guidance to complete this work.

I also wish to express my heart-felt gratitude to PhD. Capt Kamal-Deen of Ghana Navy and Director of Research, Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFSCC) and Mr. Blede Barthelemy, National Consultant on Maritime Security, Blue Economy chez UNDP for granting me their time to interview them.

Finally, my sincere thanks go to my husband and family for their support in diverse ways.
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECCAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of Central African States</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<tr>
<td>EEZ</td>
<td>Exclusive Economic Zone</td>
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<tr>
<td>EIMS</td>
<td>ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy</td>
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<td>ESF</td>
<td>ECOWAS Standby Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
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<td>GAFCSC</td>
<td>Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College</td>
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<tr>
<td>GGC</td>
<td>Commission of Gulf of Guinea</td>
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<td>GGG</td>
<td>Gulf of Guinea Guard</td>
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<tr>
<td>GMA</td>
<td>Ghana Maritime Authority</td>
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<td>GoA</td>
<td>Gulf of Aden</td>
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<td>GOG</td>
<td>Gulf of Guinea</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>Inter-regional Coordination Center</td>
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<td>IMB</td>
<td>International Maritime Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>IUU</td>
<td>Illegal Unreported and Unregulated</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDA</td>
<td>Maritime Domain Awareness</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMCC</td>
<td>Multinational Maritime Coordination Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOWCA</td>
<td>Maritime Organization of West and Central Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCC</td>
<td>National Coordination Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIMASA</td>
<td>Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>RMAC</td>
<td>Regional Maritime Awareness Capability</td>
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<tr>
<td>SALW</td>
<td>Small Arms and Light Weapons</td>
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SLOC - Sea Lanes of Communication
UN - United Nations
UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNOWA - United Nations Office for West Africa
UNSCR - United Nations Security Council Resolutions
USN - United States Navy
ZCC - Zonal Coordination Centres
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ABSTRACT

The study aimed at examining the role of ECOWAS in the management of maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea with particular reference to West African countries. The main objectives of the study were to explore maritime security challenges, role of ECOWAS, challenges facing ECOWAS and way forward. These were critical and important because some scholars have criticized ECOWAS with regards to its contribution towards maritime security issues in West Africa across national, regional and global level indicators. The study adopted the qualitative research approach and obtained information from maritime security experts using an interview guide. The study found key maritime security challenges including inadequate maritime security capacity, Regional political dynamics, Judicial Limitations and Legal Shortcomings. Key findings discovered include, two vital global instrument underscores maritime security issues namely “ships and economic” within ECOWAS framework. The introduction and implementation of Multinational Maritime Coordination Centre (MMCC) and its Zonal centers across West Africa nations are critical roles propelled by ECOWAS. The study also found that these zones will have a National Coordination Centre (NCC). The Principal actors for the MMCC are the Nation states and Regional Bodies. Under the Nation states are the Navies which play lead roles and other agencies such as the National Security architecture. Under the Regional bodies in this case is the ECOWAS. It was discovered that EIMS strategy is underscored by key objectives including Maritime Governance, Maritime Security and Safety, Maritime Environment, Maritime Economy, Maritime Education and Research. It was found that despite the critical role of ECOWAS the future prospect although promising is in the short term. It was concluded that capacity building, public awareness, strengthening of maritime forces among others would create a favourable maritime security situation in the GOG with cooperation as its pivot.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

As the century progresses, total trade by sea expands, which makes the field of maritime security challenging. According to the International Maritime Organization (IMO), recent maritime issues have attracted diverse headlines from the media because of the continuous increase in total world trade by sea approximately over 90%. Studies by IMO revealed that as the maritime industry continues to act as the heartbeat of global trade transporting everything that human beings produce, the security of state and stability of countries is threatened. This has the capacity of impacting negatively on individuals, countries and the international community as a whole.

Although, researchers have identified significant areas of maritime security across the globe, one of the most pressing, as well as endangered areas with regards to maritime security is the Gulf of Guinea. The Gulf of Guinea (GOG) is a maritime zone bordering the Southern zone of countries in the West and Central African region. It extends from Senegal in the north to Angola in the South. Its essence to the economic fortunes of countries in West Africa derives from the fact that it is well endowed and rich in biodiversity, as well as natural resources. According to Anyimadu, this provides an economic lifeline to coastal and landlocked West African countries and is of strategic importance to the rest of the world due to the passage it offers for global energy production.

The Gulf of Guinea is the main route for transporting most West African products to Europe. A study by Chatham House in 2013 indicated that West African countries produce more than 5 million barrels of oil per day which are transported by sea through the Gulf. The total oil
barrel as at 2011 represented 40% of total oil consumption of 27 European Union Countries.\(^5\) Therefore anything that will wreck the maritime security issue poses greater threats which should be a major concern for policy makers and all people.

Piracy, drug trafficking, human trafficking, arm trafficking, poaching have remained of great concern in most African countries especially in West and Central Africa. In 2013, a UNODC report indicated that cases of drug trafficking in West Africa range between 8% and 13% of cocaine shipments in Europe. The report posited that other forms of maritime security issues such as piracy and human trafficking have caught the attention of the international community across the globe.\(^6\) For instance, 2013 records on piracy shows that out of 47 cases of piracy in West Africa, Nigeria alone recorded 29 along its coast.\(^7\) Further, the organization reported 62 and 60 attacks on ships in West and Central Africa in 2011 and 2012 respectively. The same issues are hard hitting at the local level, with projected revenue through poaching exceeding the value of servicing multilateral loans to the local region.\(^8\)

In addition, the tremendous resources of the Gulf of Guinea provide a significant level of attraction to illegal issues such as piracy, poaching and robbery which threatens maritime security issues in the sub-continent. Studies have shown the need for developing strategies to police and protect the Gulf of Guinea from such acts. Hill defined maritime security as a “state wherein a nation’s marine assets, maritime practices, territorial integrity and coastal peace are protected, conserved and enhanced.”\(^9\)

Several studies have expounded the devastating effects of maritime threats and crime on the general economic progress of countries. According to Godwin, unreported as well as unrecorded fishing in the Gulf of Guinea have had negative effects on security and development in the West Africa sub-region.\(^10\) Similarly, Gilpin in 2007 indicated that revenue lost through
maritime crime alone amounted to more than $2 billion, with devastating net effects to the countries in the Gulf of Guinea. These challenges span from degradation of the environment, physical insecurity of assets, and poor communication networks. They encompass political, social, economic, environmental and cultural concerns of the countries within the Gulf of Guinea.

These issues raise the need to develop cooperative strategies across international, regional, national, and local levels. Although, some marital strategies have been developed and supported by UNOWA through its political leverage, the role of ECOWAS in such regard cannot be overlooked. The United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel has encouraged ECOWAS and other regional agencies through collective action to counter the issue of piracy and robbery, which is undermining maritime security in West Africa. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a regional grouping of fifteen (15) West African countries. Established on the 28th May, 1975, the group as part of its objectives seeks to foster peace and security in West Africa. It has since, 1978, engaged in activities including the institutionalization of protocols and resolutions to strengthen security and stability within the sub- region and its territorial waters.

Although, maritime security crimes do not occur within the boundaries of individual countries, cooperation between states, maritime services, world agencies, organizations and others have been tremendously magnificent. However, it is vital that the role of ECOWAS in such regard is examined since diverse studies have examined the role in broader context and among organizations with little focus on ECOWAS. It is within this frame that the study was undertaken.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

The advancement in technology and the globalization has increased the complexities within maritime insecurity in recent times. This poses a serious threat to the maritime industry and therefore requires concerted effort from security agencies and other stakeholders to pool resources together to avert such challenges. Similarly, recent statistics have shown evolving threats on the Gulf of Guinea which has overtaken the Gulf of Aden (GoA), off the coast of Somalia (considered as one of the most threatened areas in the world).\textsuperscript{13} Studies have also indicated a number of insecurity issues within the Gulf of Guinea in recent times including attacks on sailors pegged around 966 in 2012.\textsuperscript{14} Even though navies have played significant roles in averting such challenges, Gulf of Guinea navies have limited capacity in addressing the teething level of challenges emerging from maritime insecurity in recent times.

Although, a number of decisions have been taken in ensuring effective and efficient maritime security through ECOWAS, ECCAS, MOWCA and other organizations, the role of each cooperate entity has been rarely investigated. In addition, Johnson, in 2011 indicated that maritime security issues have been a major issue for United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) and other significant organizations such as ECOWAS.\textsuperscript{15} This shows the significant role ECOWAS plays with regards to maritime insecurity issues in the Gulf of Guinea.

Further, in the last two (2) decades, insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea has engendered conversation within the academic and policy communities on the challenges and prospects of managing maritime security in that area. Critical interest in this conversation is how the sub-region is managing threats in the GOG manifesting as drug trafficking, Illegal Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing, piracy, oil bunkering as well as arm robbery at sea. Writing on
maritime security in the GOG, Onuoha in 2016 has for instance tracked armed attack to the resurgence of militancy in the Niger Delta region.\textsuperscript{16}

Jacobsen & Nordby also noted that threats to maritime security in the GOG have not been comprehensively addressed in the past. As the sub-regional organization with responsibility to promote peace and security, the persistence of these threats in spite of supposed intervention of ECOWAS creates a research problem which has to be investigated.

In addition, the recent study by Godwin, was aimed at providing solutions in addressing maritime security challenges in the Gulf of Guinea.\textsuperscript{17} Although, the study indicated significant role of ECOWAS, it did not explore the role of ECOWAS regarding maritime security issues in the Gulf of Guinea.

Observing the problem of maritime security issues in the Gulf of Guinea, coupled with the gaps in literature, the study seeks to examine “ECOWAS and The Management of Maritime Security in West Africa: The Case of the Gulf of Guinea”.

1.3 Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

- What are the maritime security challenges affecting the GOG and to what extent do they affect countries in West Africa?
- What role is ECOWAS playing to manage maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea to the extent that they affect countries in West Africa?
- What are the prospects and challenges of ECOWAS’ management of maritime security in the GOG?
1.4 Research Objectives

In light of the research questions, the study has the following objectives;

- To identify and examine maritime security challenges in the GOG and the extent to which they affect countries in West Africa.
- To assess the role of ECOWAS in managing maritime security in West Africa.
- To review the prospects and challenges of ECOWAS’ management of maritime security in the GOG.
- Based on the findings, make suggestions as way forward to respond to the emerging threats in maritime security.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study is very significant for several reasons. Firstly, the study would benefit government, policy makers and ECOWAS across diverse nations regarding maritime insecurity issues and the measures for effectively managing such concerns.

Secondly, the findings could lead to policy development regarding strategies for managing maritime insecurity issues in the Gulf of Guinea. The findings would also enhance issues of security within the sub-region.

The findings of the study would benefit maritime stakeholders within the countries around the Gulf of Guinea such as the Navy, Researchers, Maritime Authority officials among others.

Lastly, the findings would contribute to existing literature on maritime security and the role of ECOWAS in the Gulf of Guinea. It would also act as a reference material for researchers.
who might be interested in replicating the study or examining the role of ECOWAS in maritime security issues.

1.6 **Scope of the Research**

The study focuses on maritime security threats in the Gulf of Guinea and examines the role of ECOWAS in the management of maritime security within the GOG particularly as it affects West African countries. In light of this, the study focuses on maritime security challenges, management of such challenges by ECOWAS, prospects in view of the challenges and future challenges and the way forward for emerging challenges based on technological advancement as well as globalization.

1.7 **Rationale of the Research**

Several studies have been conducted on maritime insecurity in the GOG. However, it is hoped that this study will add to the knowledge available especially on ECOWAS’ role in managing maritime security threats. It is also expected that the research would serve as a useful reference for policy makers.

1.8 **Theoretical Framework**

The study was conducted within the framework of Collective Security Theory. Collective Security Theory is one of the critical theories within the framework of global peace and security. According to Claude Jr., the theory of collective security was developed to deal with the phenomenon of how to kindle peace. The theory recognizes the fact that power most especially military power is a pivotal part of international politics, and management of security issues
within the maritime industry. Therefore the initial proposition of the theory was that for the world to see peace, it is important that military power is managed effectively.\textsuperscript{18}

However, advocates of collective security theory have indicated that it is the institutions and agencies that are vital in managing and controlling power successfully.\textsuperscript{19} This clearly shows that the management of maritime security is critical and very vital in bringing peace and achieving success within the maritime industry. In the words of Danchin, the term collective security is a notorious concept difficult to define as the concept is associated with loose set of beliefs, assumptions, principles, ideas and values as well as the continued existence of the concept has been contested by diverse scholars.\textsuperscript{20} This as expounded by diverse scholars was agreed by Claude Jr., (1971) the proponent of the theory and further indicated that the term is used loosely because is synonymous with the concept of peace or world order or any multilateral efforts to handle the problem of international peace and security.

Claude Jr, Roberts & Kingsbury (1993: 30) who defined collective security as “an arrangement where each state in the system accepts that security of one of them is a concern of all, and agrees to join in a collective response to aggression”. It is basic principle utilized by the League of Nations which expounds that member states would protect each other and take a threat or an attack on one as attack or threat on all member states. Similarly, Kupchan et al., in 1995 posited “that collective security is an agreement between states to oblige to certain customs and rules to maintain stability.”\textsuperscript{21} According to Delbruck, (1992: 646) the theory of collective security “rests on the idea of institutionalizing the legal use of force, to reduce reliance of self-help as a rather crude instrument of law enforcement.\textsuperscript{22}

The theory of collective security is less dependent on the set of assumptions and beliefs about how war occurs and the nature of war; however, it is applicable to variety of situations
involving the issue of peace and security. The theory is underscored by some key assumptions including:

- The likelihood of wars occurring is high and must be prevented before they occur
- The result of unreflective passion or intentional plan is conflict
- Wars represent efforts to settle disputes
- Collective security is a specialized international policy instrument
- Collective security goes beyond the intended purpose of preventing the arbitrary and aggressive use of force
- Restraint of military action may be achieved or at least approximated by a reformation of international policy without changing the structure of international system.
- It is also believed that governments are open to moral appeals against the misuse of force, and therefore have a rational approach to peace.

The theory suggest the need for the use of diplomatic, economic and military sanctions as to prevent conflicts or induce rational decision to avoid “threatened damage” as posited by Claude Jr.\textsuperscript{23}

It is important to establish that the theory of collective security is within the framework upon which ECOWAS was formed. Despite the role played by individual nations regarding maritime issues, its effectiveness has rarely been seen. However, states integration of which underscores the formation of ECOWAS is the way forward for addressing maritime security issues in the Gulf of Guinea. Therefore the role of ECOWAS would involve pooling of diverse resources of independent states which could generate multiplier effects in addressing the
maritime security issues in the Gulf of Guinea. This therefore makes the theory relevant and applicable to the study.

1.9 Literature Review

Kamal-Deen, Ali and Martin Tsamenyi, (2014) in “Fault lines in Maritime Security: Analysis of Maritime Boundary Uncertainties in the Gulf of Guinea” indicates that one of the critical challenge within the maritime industry is piracy. The book disclosed that even though diverse measures were taken to reduce the piracy issues in Somalia, there is still growing insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea. The indication was that the United Nation Security Council has adopted resolutions for 2018 in 2011 as well as for 2039 in 2012, all based on the concern of teething insecurity in the sub-region regarding which have negative consequences on the global world. The authors opined that due to the myriad of challenges with the maritime sector most especially on the issue of piracy, there was therefore the need to establish external partnerships in order to enhance the capacity and capabilities of institutions within the maritime sector. While, there exist a fund to help implement counter piracy initiatives, the authors advocated for inbuilt mechanisms to ensure transparent and efficiency regarding the use of the fund. This would ensure decline in corrupt practices and abuse of power. Although, the book expound on challenges of maritime sector and fault lines within the maritime industry, the investigation was highly limited to the issue of piracy. In addition, the role of institutions such as ECOWAS was rarely expounded by the study. Even though, presentation touched on some significant issues regarding insecurity, management issues were limitedly presented.24

According to Matthew Fiorelli, (2014) on Piracy in Africa: The Case of the Gulf Of Guinea, challenges within the maritime sector such as piracy have long run effects on long term
potential strategies adopted by institutions. Potential long term strategic implication covers areas such as economic, political, social, physical, and energy securities. According to the paper, comparing piracy attacks on Somalia to that of the Gulf of Guinea in recent times shows that piracy within the Gulf of Guinea have significantly increased. The study revealed that “Piracy” – a transnational threat – typifies the unique challenges posed by non-state actors operating within non-traditional boundaries. The writer proposed that the United States should play a significant role through West Africa organizations in order to stem the tide of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea by empowering regional and local security forces so that causes of maritime insecurity can be effectively addressed. Although, the paper presented on maritime insecurity issues and indicated the role of the United States, the paper failed to address the management of issue of insecurity in the maritime sector within the Gulf of Guinea. Additionally, it could not explained the institutional role of Africa organizations such as ECOWAS in managing maritime security issues. Even though, the paper identified some maritime security challenges in the Gulf of Guinea such as piracy, the challenges or threats were limited to only one thing “piracy” issues.\textsuperscript{25}

In a book overview titled, “The Impact of Liberal Institutionalism on the Activities of ECOWAS” by Kenechukwu Martha Isioma Mordi (2015), explains the need for institutions or countries to adopt the liberal institutional approach which is gaining prominence in recent times. The author explored liberal institutionalism and modern interdependency theory within international system. The study illustrated that the role of institutions based on cooperation can surmount mountain of challenges. The cooperation among institutions is a very paramount indicator according to liberal institutionalist. The research proceeded to present the role of ECOWAS in relation to the theory of liberal institutionalism. It was expounded that even though “a lot of research has not really been done on ECOWAS, it has been encouraging strong
economic integration within the West African region. The paper recommends more research to be carried out on the activities of ECOWAS.”

Michael G. Risley (2015) in “Maritime Security in the Gulf of Guinea: Issues and Solutions for the 21st Century” revealed that the Gulf of Guinea is a basic lifeline and key maritime link between Europe, America and Africa. Risley indicated that Africa is geographically positioned to link European shoes for transactions, despite the porous nature of the continent borders. The studies maintained that although, the continent is blessed with growing rise in marine wealth and other mineral resources, there is also ever increasing maritime piracy issues. The writer established that piracy in Africa within the Gulf of Guinea account for appropriately 30% of the world piracy issues between 2003 to 2011. The study further identified crucial challenges and advocated for cooperation among states to help tackle the teething challenges of maritime insecurity issues in the Gulf of Guinea. Even though the study detected some challenges, management maritime insecurity in Gulf of Guinea was not explored, which leaves a gap for future researchers.

In the book, Oil Policy in the Gulf of Guinea: Security and Conflict, Economic Growth, Social Development written by Traub-Merz and Yates, the authors examined the economic imperatives of oil and gas in the Gulf of Guinea as they have significant effects on development of the maritime sector. However, the writers did not research on maritime security challenges and management within the sub-region. No reference was also made to the significant role of ECOWAS with regards to security and conflict management in the Gulf of Guinea. Similarly, another work by some authors namely Rowell A, Marriot and Stockman on The Next Gulf, London, Washington and Oil Conflict in Nigeria only investigated and presented the issue of cooperation between multi-national oil companies operating in the region in the area of
exploration and marketing. Although, the writers acknowledged cooperation, it failed to link such cooperation to the issue of security.

A study was conducted by Godwin (2016) aimed at addressing maritime security challenges in the Gulf of Guinea. The focus of the study was on maritime security issues and multi-national cooperation. The study disclosed that maritime security challenges in the Gulf of Guinea pose threats to the sub-region which brings tremendous consequences on nations within the national, regional and global levels. The research revealed a number of challenges within the Gulf of Guinea including maritime boundary disputes, illegal, unregulated and unreported (IUU) fishing, violence at sea, trafficking in narcotics, fake and sub-standard pharmaceuticals, national and transnational crime, and pollution and environmental degradation. The research revealed that states with weak governance systems fail to manage their maritime domains effectively. There was therefore the need to develop sub-regional initiatives to maritime security within the sub-region. Even though the study investigated maritime security challenges within the Gulf of Guinea, the study failed to account for management of identified challenges by states or institutions.

A study was conducted by Ian Storey (2009) retrieved from Southeast Asian Affairs titled “Southeast Asia: Two Cheers for Regional Cooperation”. The writer disclosed that it is very difficult to overstate the geostrategic and economic significance of South Asia’s maritime domains. The Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC) that links and cross through Southeast Asia function as an umbilical cord of world trade. Southeast Asia SLOCs have been highly instrumental with regards to maritime communication and business. The research showed no one country can solve the threats challenges within the maritime industry. It revealed that over the past four years, Southeast Asia have recorded tremendous progress in its regional and
international cooperation, observing a continuous fall in sea robbery attacks and piracy issues since 1990s. The study disclosed that the attention of the world has now been transferred to situation within the horn of Africa where well-armed and highly-organized pirate gangs perpetrated 111 attacks against shipping in 2008, including 42 hijackings and the seizure of 815 hostages. The study therefore concluded that higher levels of regional cooperation are required, especially in the notorious tri-border sea area.30

1.10 Methodology

This section of the study is primarily underpinned by specific methods, approaches, procedures and techniques employed by the researcher in undertaking the research. The section clearly explains approaches and techniques used and how they contributed to the achievement of the study objectives.

➢ Research Approach and Design

The study utilized exploratory research which used qualitative approach to investigate the role of ECOWAS with regards to maritime security management. According to Hancock, (1998, p.34) qualitative research gives an understanding of the social world by providing answers to questions that borders on “why things are the way they are and the differences among several social groups.”31 Snape & Spencer posited that qualitative approach is a naturalistic/interpretative approach which provides researchers with deeper meaning of events or phenomenon “through the use of interactive data collection methods on a small scale sample for concepts and issues to be explored.”32 Although, the approach has been critized for using smaller sample size, it helped the researcher to probe into the “why and how” issues surrounding maritime insecurity around the Gulf of Guinea. It also helped the researcher to obtain in-depth data and draw insightful
“conclusions and better findings from the analysis of the data.” The method helped to understand the results of the research better in connection with the research problem. Further, the study utilized the case study design. The reason is to thoroughly reflect on issues of maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea. The design brought to bear vace experience of people with similar experience and understanding of the phenomenon of maritime security.

➢ Population, Sampling and Sample Size

The target population for the study was all Naval Officers, ECOWAS representatives in Ghana, maritime officers and researchers within the maritime industry in Ghana. These groups were chosen because of their in-depth knowledge on the issue of maritime security challenges and role of ECOWAS. “Sampling involves determining who will be participants in a study.” However, since the researcher cannot include all the outlined people in the study, purposive and convenience sampling techniques were utilized. The purposive sampling was used to sample identified officers and experts who have been in the system for not less than 5 years. This was to obtain in-depth information from experienced respondents regarding the subject matter. Using the convenience sampling technique, 2 respondents were sampled who were professionals in the field of maritime security issues. According to Cresswell, the least sample size for qualitative analysis should be significant depending on the sample population. This therefore underscores the reason for the choice of the sample size.

➢ Data Collection Procedure and Instruments

The primary data for this study was obtained through the use of a semi-structured interview with the help of an interview guide. The study used a semi-structured interview guide to get the
appropriate information needed to meet the objectives of the study. The guide was used to conduct face to face interview. This also helped to obtain the transcribed responses and ideas regarding the topic under study. The face to face interview helped in clarifying issues as well as helping in asking follow-up questions. The follow up questions asked helped the researcher to obtain more in-depth understanding of the topic and the sub issues being investigated into in connection with the stated research questions and objectives. In addition, the study also utilized secondary data through the internet, websites and reports on the subject matter.

➢ **Reliability and Validity**

The reliability of the instrument was built by guaranteeing that all members got the same open-ended questions during the face to face interviews. The outcomes from the interview were imputed into NVIVO programming to guarantee all the subjects and reoccurring thoughts were caught and broken down as per the research layout. The part checking/member method were utilized to guarantee that the outcomes were valid.

➢ **Ethical Concern**

The researcher considered key ethical issues to make the study successful including confidentiality and anonymity. The researcher withheld the identity of sampled respondents from whom the information were collected and was protected. Related to the issues around confidentiality was consent from participants. Therefore, informed consent was sought before the interview and the discussion on the issues were done. In order to achieve the purpose of the study, a written consent was issued to respondents. The views of the sampled respondents’ were kept anonymous.
Data Analysis

Subsequent to the data collection from the field, data was processed, developed and analyzed as laid down in the research plan. The researcher used Nvivo software and content analysis for analyzing the data obtained. Data were transcribed from the audio information and sorted out into significant classifications, while unmistakably clarity of data translations. Both codes and nodes were done after data were exported into the Nvivo software. Themes were also developed to that effect. It must be noted that the themes were not chosen in isolation but in line with the stated objectives and questions of the study. The themes were vital in assisting in grouping and classifying the data into appropriate topics and headings for Nvivo analysis. The study analyzed the data under each theme developed in connection with the notes from the software and objectives to obtain recurring observations and results. After obtaining the recurring observations, the Nvivo software rank analysis other results in line with the objectives. The researcher then exported the output into word to present a better pictorial view of such observation based on the analysis.

1.11 Limitation of the Study

Even though the study obtained both primary and secondary data, a major limitation was the difficulty in having access to classified information and security documents available from relevant offices of the Gulf of Guinea in Ghana. Despite these, relevant materials, books, reports, seminar papers, articles, written documents on the Gulf of Guinea and issues of ECOWAS and other relevant publications were used to limit the shortcomings and the validity of the research as well as the findings of the study.
1.12 Arrangement of Chapters

The dissertation was presented in four chapters as follows;

- Chapter 1: Introduction
- Chapter 2: An Overview of Maritime Security in the GOG
- Chapter 3: The role of ECOWAS in managing Maritime Security in the GOG
- Chapter 4: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations
Endnotes

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CHAPTER TWO
AN OVERVIEW OF MARITIME SECURITY IN THE GULF OF GUINEA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter of the study is underpinned by historical antecedent and development within maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea. It provides clear understanding with regards to the Gulf of Guinea definitional issues, scope, maritime security as concept, approaches and definition to the concept, dimensions, regional maritime issues in the Gulf of Guinea and relevant literature with regards to the concept. The chapter review relevant literature within the framework of the topic as well as in line with the purpose and objective of the study. This section only provides an overview of maritime security issues in the Gulf of Guinea with higher concentration on countries in the West Africa sub-region.

2.1 Global Evolution of the Gulf of Guinea

The concept of the Gulf of Guinea is evolving with global outlook that differs from diverse definitions given by scholars. The concept of the Gulf of Guinea is evolving and shares notions with geographic element which makes the concept contiguous to the Atlantic Ocean. In addition, the evolving nature of the concept has led to a definitional shift from physical perspective towards a more functional perspective. Thus providing a security for the benefits of the concept that emanate from the region, most especially with regards to energy security and international trade. Further, the second element evolving from the concept is the regional framework that underscores the means for promoting maritime security in the region. This therefore underpins the agenda of 2018 and 2039 resolutions from the United Nations Security
Council (UNSC). The resolutions view the concept as synonymous with regards to four key organisations, and treat the structures and institutional capacity of these organisations as the platform for delivering security to the region. The four institutions include:

- Maritime Organization for West and Central Africa (MOWCA)
- The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
- The Gulf of Guinea Commission.

2.2 The Scope of Gulf of Guinea

A number of scholars have given diverse definition with regards to the Gulf of Guinea with the central pivot rotating on geographical space of the concept. The review indicates that the geographical scope of the Gulf of Guinea stretch from Senegal through to Angola. With regards to its institutional scope, it covers eight (8) members of the Commission of the Gulf of Guinea (GGC) comprising the countries; Angola, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and São Tomé and Príncipe which came into existence in the year 1999. As indicated in the Microsoft Encarta, the Gulf is defined as “a Gulf refers to a large inlet of an ocean similar to a bay but is often longer and more enclosed by land”. It also projected as an arm of an ocean or sea water or a large bay of an ocean which is covered partly by land. It also has estuaries of rivers and vital resources of the marine. Godwin posited that the mass of the water may be large, shallow in some part and deep in other areas.

The definitions clearly show the stretch of the Gulf across the globe consider the maritime environment within the coast lies; however, the study adopted the geographic maritime
milieu of west seacoast with regards to the Atlantic Ocean covering the regions of Senegal through to Angola. In 2013 the study by Ukeje, &, Wullson indicates that this west seacoast environment cover areas regarded as Littoral states including countries such as Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, DRC, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Republic of Congo, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. According to the authors the coastline has nautical miles (nm) of 3,240 which is roughly about 6000 kilometres (km). The Figure 2.1 shows the Gulf of Guinea within the West and East-Central Africa.  

**Figure 2.1 Map of West And East-Central Africa Showing The Gulf of Guinea**

(Source: Microsoft Encarta 2010, Godwin, 2016)
2.3 Essential Significance of the Gulf of Guinea

The Gulf of Guinea is regarded as a large and vital region making numerous contributions to countries and continents across the globe. The region acts as a gateway to the globe essentially its littoral countries with recent inclusion of landlocked countries in Africa namely Mali, Burkina Faso, Chad, Niger and the Central African Republic. These countries according to Godwin export and import goods and services to the global market using the Gulf of Guinea as the major sea route for these products. Scholars within the frame of maritime research have tutored it as “second scramble for Africa” because of its discovery as new border for making products and services available to the international market. It has also been expounded as a route for the access, control and discovery of hydrocarbon resources across littoral countries. These indications from literature clearly depicts the importance of the Gulf of Guinea and the natural endowment of the region with copious natural resources and which when critically, carefully and vitally managed and controlled could make significant contributions to sub-continent and regions prosperity, development as well as global progress.

Further, through the Gulf of Guinea, many countries have been established as oil producers in Africa including Nigeria, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Angola. In addition, some West African countries in recent development have also made a number of crude oil discoveries including Ghana, Cote d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Senegal. This therefore brings the estimated crude oil deposit for the region around 50.4 billion barrels with actual production of about 5.4 million barrels per day. Although, the estimated deposit as expounded by Goldwyn and Morrison is footling in comparison to 264.2 billion barrels to that of Saudi Arabia, the Gulf of Guinea still extant as the single largest block of crude deposit in the South Atlantic. Literature has shown that the Gulf of Guinea fashion around 5 million barrels oil
per day out of the sum total of 9 million barrels produced in sub-Saharan Africa. The oil reserve
of the Gulf of Guinea is predominantly offshore which can be exploited and transported along
the main maritime routes towards the United States, Asia and Europe.¹⁰ The indication is that the
Gulf of Guinea is set to become a global leader in deep water offshore production segment of
natural resources. Besides this, the region is abundance with regards to both living and non-
living marine resources including rain forest resources, bio-diversity etc.¹¹ Ukeje, &, Wullson
posited in their study that the region provides more comparative advantage with regards to oil
supply geographically in comparison to other regions. This was attributed to the regions relative
closeness to the global energy consumers and the lack of limited maritime shipping lanes known
as choke points.¹²

The review clearly indicates the immanent susceptibility of sustainable resources
exploitation as a result of over or unregulated exploitation. Therefore, it is vital to be noted that
effective design and efficient implementation of maritime security strategy to tackle insecurity
issues requires in-depth knowledge and understanding of multifaceted nature of maritime
insecurity around the Gulf of Guinea. According to Godwin, the vast resources that the Gulf of
Guinea provides and its tremendous access, justifies the necessity to secure it from all forms of
threats. However, due to the huge nature of expenditure required to manage maritime security
issues, no single nation can have the resources to provide the security required.¹³ It is now
evident that there is the need for continuous expansion of maritime security cooperation in the
Gulf of Guinea and the collective participation of countries. It’s therefore important that
countries within the Gulf of Guinea cooperate in efforts and resources to provide the needed
maritime security in the sub-region and countries across the sub-region.
2.4 Maritime Security Danger in the Gulf of Guinea

The danger emanating from maritime security issues in the Gulf of Guinea is a serious canker within the sub-region. This thereby makes the sustaining, management and control of wide maritime areas in the Gulf of Guinea a disconcerting task facing nations across the Gulf of Guinea. Therefore effective and prudent measures are required to efficiently address the challenges through the development of regional and sub-regional multi-national security frameworks. It has been expounded that maritime security concerns itself with the prevention of illicit and illegal acts within the maritime realm whether they impact on the countries of the region or not. Studies have revealed that maritime security dangers in the Gulf of Guinea cover issues of boundary disputes such as maritime boundaries, illicit, unregulated and unreported (IUU) fishing, acts of violence at sea, trafficking in narcotics, fake and sub-standard pharmaceuticals, national and transnational crime, pollution and environmental degradation.

2.4.1 Maritime Boundary Disputes

The continuous disagreement across the maritime boundaries between countries in the Gulf of Guinea has the propensity of armed conflicts especially when the conflicts realms have enormous amount of resources. This constant dispute among countries within the Gulf of Guinea makes it difficult for conflict and shared challenges to be address in a holistic and collaborative way. According to literature, the most disputed areas within the Gulf of Guinea nations include the Bakassi Peninsular conflict thus between Nigeria and Cameroon, dispute over an island close to the Ntem River thus between Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea; dispute across the Mbane Island and Corisco Bay boundaries and the recent one regarding segments of oil-rich waters between Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire. These boundary issues have continued to pose as a risk to
regional as well as even international security arrangements and therefore would make establishment and institution of multi-national cooperation for tackling maritime security threats in the region a challenge.

2.4.2 Illicit/Illegal, Unregulated and Unreported (IUU) Fishing

One of the dangers or threats that maritime security possesses is illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing. Godwin indicated that the maritime security insufficient capacity, weak legal and poor regulatory framework with regards to management of fishery industry within the Gulf of Guinea maritime milieu can be attributed to the poor protection or enforcement of laws. The maritime waters have become a place for foreign fishing trawlers most of which are into the business of illegal fishing, unregulated and unreported. The indication is that these illicit fish business most especially around the West Africa sub-region are contributing problems affecting global stocks of fish. Statistics by US and EU projected these IUU fish activities yielding as much as $23 billion worth of global seafood annually, out of which the highest proportion comes from the West African sub-region, recording 37 percent of the region’s total IUU fishing activities as indicated by scholars. A number of researches have also indicated that poaching by vessels from three areas including Asia, Europe and some part of Africa costs the sub-region close to $370 million yearly. This activity of poaching has also been found by researchers to contribute highly to huge financial loss with regards to human security costs in the sub-region. This has also affected directly households and individuals for available seafoods needed and available at the local market within the sub-continent. This is worrisome because the United Nation (UN) data base with regards to Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) shows that fish
is the most protein food intake in most countries across the globe and especially in Ghana, it accounts for 63 percent and Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe representing 63%.\textsuperscript{21}

The indication from scholars shows clearly that the root of difficulty in the management of fishery resources within the Gulf of Guinea can be attributed to IUU fishing. Despite its direct consequences on the sub-regional maritime security issues, its indirect effects are drastic. According to Godwin, these indirect effects include income reduction, loss of means of livelihood, food security issues, and threats to economic livelihood of the Gulf of Guinea nations and fishing communities within the sub-region.\textsuperscript{22} It could also create some level of maritime imbalances in the maritime ecology within the sub-region. These effects have also been realized not only on fishing communities but on other regional communities and countries.\textsuperscript{23} The huge economic and social loss and problems brought about by these IUU fishing activities suggest its magnitude and its urbanity within the maritime security zone. This indication therefore requires coordination of affected countries as no single nation possesses the golden key to tackle such danger in the sub-continent.\textsuperscript{24} Therefore there is the need for nations within the Gulf of Guinea to pool available resources to help establish required mechanisms and strategies to cover the limitation within the Gulf of Guinea with regards to this danger. Joint or cooperative operations can also be done by nations within the Gulf of Guinea regions with the aim of achieving desired objective for all nations.\textsuperscript{25}

2.4.3 Activities of Violence at Sea

The indication from international maritime law in contemporary time provides two categories of activities regarded as violence at sea. These include piracy (committed on the high seas) and armed robbery or theft at sea thus within territorial seas (12 nautical miles from shore). These are regarded as criminal acts or illegal activities against economic, military, security
infrastructure, security frameworks, and security mechanisms at sea.\textsuperscript{26} Study by International Maritime Bureau (IMB) suggested that the Gulf of Guinea is one of the most problematic global waterways.\textsuperscript{27}

Since the late 1990s, reports and studies have constantly indicated that the Gulf of Guinea regions in the sub-continent is one of the top ranked piracy hot areas across the globe. Unlike other part of the continent such as Asia, America and others, majority of the piracy attacks in the sub-regions can be pegged at boarding of vessels by pirates at high seas.\textsuperscript{28} The real indication of the piracy statistics is shown in Figure 2.2. The Figure shows the piracy activities between 2004 and 2010; however, between 2002 and 2004 the statistics shows that piracy attacks in the West Africa sub-continent went beyond recorded incidents compared to the rest of the continent. Although, other studies have questioned such a discovery based on data reliability, definitional issues and appropriateness of recordings, there is magnitude of agreement among diverse scholars that criminal activity with regards to piracy is a daunting and worrisome problem in the sub-continent. This therefore shows an enhance level of maritime insecurity issues within the sub-continent.
Figure 2. 2 Piracy Incidents between the Gulf of Guinea and the Rest of Africa (2004-2010)

(Source: International Maritime Bureau Statistics; Godwin, 2016)

Figure 2.3 Percentage Comparison Between Gulf of Guinea and Rest of Africa (2004 -2010)

(Source: International Maritime Bureau Statistics)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Description/Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Platforms</td>
<td>Speedboats, already used by insurgents. Ideal for piracy because of their speed and maneuverability. Generally faster than victim ships and naval ships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grouping</td>
<td>Up to forty pirates in multiple speedboats. Large numbers ideal for overpowering crews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons</td>
<td>AK-47s, machine guns, RPGs, grenades, and knives. Able to stop ships under way with firepower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>High level of violence and injury to crew. Instills fear and ensures quick outcome of attacks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reach/Range</td>
<td>Southward: Nigeria to Equatorial Guinea (over 1,550 km). Westward: Nigeria to Cote d’Ivoire (over 2,000 km).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Operate day and night but shifting more to night operations. Surprise achieved through night attack.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target Ships</td>
<td>Oil and product tankers; objective to steal refined oil cargo. Other vessels attacked for money and valuables.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother ships</td>
<td>Hijacked fishing vessels occasionally used as resupply basis or as decoy when approaching targeted ships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisting ships</td>
<td>Tankers used to transfer stolen oil cargo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ransom</td>
<td>Increasingly not a prime motivation but still employed as a supplementary activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networks</td>
<td>Stolen oil sold within and outside the region. Timing of attacks suggests prior information about locations of oil tankers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Commander Ali Kamal-Deen, 2013)
The effects of high rate of piracy on the operations of the sub-region are enormous. Piracy issues impede free shipping which negatively exert adverse influence on trade in the Gulf of Guinea. This trend has scary impact on investors which creates fear and panic on their part, thereby destroying their economies and collective prosperity of countries within the sub-continent. The activities of pirates are very dangerous since majority of them hold high lethal and operated weapons.\(^9\) These therefore require more collaborative effort among sub-regional countries in order to effectively and efficiently succumb and combat these threats within the sub-continent. It also underpins the need for cooperation among nations in the sub-region through the pooling of resources in order to enhance maritime security issues in the Gulf of Guinea.

2.4.4 Narcotics, Fake and Sub-standard Pharmaceuticals Trafficking

A recent study by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC) has shown a consistent rise on transnational crime across the globe and most especially within the sub-continent. These crimes include theft and oil bunkering, small arms and light weapons (SALW) trafficking, trafficking of humans and illegal migration most importantly around West and Central Africa coasts since 2000.\(^{30}\) The report pegged the Gulf of Guinea as a key preferred or utilized transit hubs with regards to world narcotics and psychotropic substances trade greatly from South America as well as trade in fake and sub-standard pharmaceuticals emanating from Asia and other part of the Eastern countries.\(^{31}\) This clearly suggests that the Gulf of Guinea is the major hub in the global drug trade and other illicit commercial activities in the sub-continent.

The sub-continent is therefore being faced with constant and teething challenges that have the propensity of eroding the painful efforts with the regional growth and development of the continent. With the space of this, most West and Central African countries are experiencing
the adverse effects of constant spread of fake drugs, sub-standard pharmaceutics with records indicating 37 tonnes of illicit painkillers seized in West Africa, mostly in Benin and Togo, in 2012 alone.\textsuperscript{32}

2.4.5 National and Transnational Crimes

The growing transnational crimes within the Gulf of Guinea pose a lot of danger for effective operations of maritime security apparatus. Inefficient and ineffective management of maritime security, significantly facilitates oil theft which is also regarded as “illegal bunkering” in some studies in the Niger Delta region, with dire regional ramifications.\textsuperscript{33} This huge organized crime costs the sub-continent close to $1.2 billion yearly representing the amount of lost revenue.

Further, light weapons and small arm proliferation has become a serious activities for criminal gangs across the sub-region. Recent report indicates that “the weaponry is becoming more sophisticated and lethal as the criminal gangs seek to evade national law enforcement personnel”. Also, the sub-continent has observed rise in cases of kidnapping and terrorism in most of its countries which has been occasioned military resource control and other religious extremists.\textsuperscript{34} These criminal acts represent a serious canker posing greater danger on the security issues of the sub-region.

The indication is that these national and transnational crimes reduce investor confidence despite the positive projection of the Gulf of Guinea with regards to its contribution to world trade and business.\textsuperscript{35} There is therefore the need for effective cooperation among diverse Gulf of Guinea regional parties to ensure effective implementation of laws and frameworks with the sub-continent.
2.4.6 Pollution and Environmental Degradation

One of the dangers which are relatively unchecked and unmasked within the Gulf of Guinea region is pollution and environmental degradation. This is in support of 2005 Abuja Declaration made regarding such issues as indicated by Food and Agriculture Organization. The Abuja Declaration report suggests that the constant depletion of fisheries stock, disturbed ecological balance, pollution and environmental degradation are attributable factors of mismanagement of the fisheries resources within the sub-continent.\(^3\)\(^6\) This has led to the ratification of 1990 Convention on Oil Pollution Preparedness, Response and Cooperation by some countries within the sub-continent representing less than 25 percent.\(^3\)\(^7\)

2.5 Maritime Security Architecture in the Gulf of Guinea in Brief Review

Despite the constitutional mandate given to navies or coast guards to protect the territorial waters as well as integrity of their countries against seaborne threats, they have also been given the responsibility of protecting living and non-living resources in the oceans in order to ensure economic growth, development and prosperity.\(^3\)\(^8\) This constitutional mandate is very critical to many countries within the sub-continent since when jeopardized can have tremendous consequences on maritime security issues. In order to ensure effective operations of these constitutional efforts, other agencies have been created and instituted to complement maritime security efforts most especially in West Africa. For instance, when it comes to Ghana and Nigeria, the agencies include the Ghana Maritime Authority (GMA) and the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) which are playing significant role with regards to maritime security. Studies have also indicated that other littoral countries within the Gulf of Guinea have similar organizations aimed at combating criminal issues with their maritime security networks.\(^3\)\(^9\)
Besides the national initiatives, there are other forms of regional and sub-regional initiatives whose activities foster maritime security frameworks in the sub-region. Further, there are equally international security institutions and organizations that are developing and building capacities in enhancing maritime works in the Gulf of Guinea.\textsuperscript{40} Some of these institutions include:

- Gulf of Guinea Commission (GCC)
- Maritime Organization of West and Central Africa (MOWCA)
- The Gulf of Guinea Guard (GGG)

As noted earlier, besides the coast guards, are primary security operators in the Gulf of Guinea maritime milieu most especially maritime police. Further, studies have indicated some level of classification of navies within the sub-region using the ranking system of the navy of Canada.\textsuperscript{41} The system according to scholars posits nine ranks and groups of navies ranging from:

- Major Global Force Projection (complete)
- Major Global Force Projection (Partial)
- Medium Global Force Projection
- Medium Regional Force Projection
- Adjacent Force Projection
- Offshore Territorial Defense
- Inshore Territorial Defense
- Constabulary Navies
- Token Navies
This is presented in Table 4.2 which shows the groupings and the rankings per navy using the Canadian landmark strategy with specific emphasis on navies within the sub-region.

Table 2.2 Navies Ranking within the Maritime Security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Type of Navy/Description</th>
<th>States/Navies in Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Major Global Force Projection Navy (Complete): This is a navy capable of carrying out all</td>
<td>United States (US)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the military roles of naval forces on a global scale. It possesses the full range of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>carrier and amphibious capabilities, sea control forces, and nuclear attack and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ballistic missile submarines, and all in sufficient numbers to undertake major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>operations independently.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Major Global Force Projection Navy (Partial): These are navies that possess most if</td>
<td>Britain, France.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not all of the force projection capabilities of a &quot;complete&quot; global navy, but only in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sufficient numbers to undertake one major &quot;out of area&quot; operation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Medium Global Force Projection Navy: These are navies that may not possess the full</td>
<td>Canada, Netherlands, Australia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>range of capabilities, but have a credible capacity in certain of them and consistently</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>demonstrate a determination to exercise them at some distance from home waters, in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cooperation with other Force Projection Navies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Medium Regional Force Projection Navy: These are navies possessing the ability to</td>
<td>South Africa Algeria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>project force into the adjoining ocean basin. While they may have the capacity to</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exercise these further afield, for whatever reason, they do not do so on a regular</td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>basis.</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Adjacent Force Projection Navies: These are navies that have some ability to project</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>force well offshore, but are not capable of carrying out high-level naval operations</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>over oceanic distances.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Offshore Territorial Defense Navies: These are navies that have relatively high</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>levels of capability in defensive (and constabulary) operations up to about 200 miles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from their shores, having the sustainability offered by frigate or large corvette</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vessels and (or) a capable submarine force.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Inshore Territorial Defense Navies: These are navies that have primarily inshore</td>
<td>Ghana Namibia</td>
<td>Cannot aspire to anything but the most limited constabulary functions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>territorial defense capabilities, making them capable of coastal combat rather than</td>
<td>Senegal, Tanzania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>constabulary duties alone. This implies a force comprising missile-armed fast-attack</td>
<td>Cameroon Mauritius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>craft, short-range aviation and a limited submarine force.</td>
<td>Gabon Eritrea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Constabulary Navies: These are significant fleets that are not intended to fight, but</td>
<td>Ghana has probably moved a rank up because</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to act purely in a constabulary role.</td>
<td>of acquisitions b/n 2010 and 2012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Token Navies: These are navies that have some minimal capability, but this often</td>
<td>Benin, The Gambia, Guinea,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consists of little more than a formal organizational structure and a few coastal</td>
<td>DR Congo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>craft. These states, the world's smallest and weakest, cannot aspire to anything but</td>
<td>Republic of Congo,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the most limited constabulary functions.</td>
<td>Cape Verde, Angola,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guinea-Bissau, Togo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.6 Maritime Security Regional Integration Issues

Although, the concept of regional integration has been a dominant theme within “states” trajectory or discourse within international systems; the concept has found grounds and has been heeded by scholars within a highly heightened globalization and transnational security dangers. As West Africa states mobilized to pursue regional and developmental objectives, the concept of regional integration has become one of the critical issues for ECOWAS. It is therefore vital that despite regional security complexities in West Africa, ECOWAS develop mechanisms to re-design its objectives and aims for the purposes of peace, security and development within the sub-continent.

Research has shown that despite some tremendous amount of studies conducted within the perspective of security and regional integration, only few of such studies did examine the link between maritime security at the Gulf of Guinea and regional integration. This underpins the need for some level of attention regarding regional integration within the maritime security issues in West Africa. The end of the cold war and the beginning of the 1990s witnessed rise in intra-state conflicts within the regional boundaries of the sub-region. It became a necessity that the sub-continent develop plethora of mechanisms to address such issues. The institutionalization of ECOWAS architecture in 1999 provided the grounds to tackle issues of peace, security, and good governance within the sub-continent. To the degree that regional security issues have
become pivotal aspect of the sub-continent’s integration agenda and efforts. Literature clearly shows two categories of security and integration issues in West Africa.\(^4\(^3\)\)

Firstly, the establishment of ECOWAS was moved by development of regions based on free trade, effective production capacity and strong manufacturing sector. It was established to a greater degree to intensify intra-regional trade. However, trade liberalization still remains awful within the West African sub-region. Notwithstanding the opportunities that trade liberalization create for countries and intra-regional operations, its effectiveness has not been realized within the sub-continent despite the tremendous role of ECOWAS. This has made regional integration a challenging issue for most countries within the sub-continent having consequences on security threats.\(^4\(^4\)\)

Secondly, the pivot upon which security discussions revolve is on how to remediate land centered security challenges. However, Ken Ahorsu is of the view that it is very difficult to delink security issues centered on land from that of water most especially that on the Gulf of Guinea. Therefore security issue surrounding land is intertwine with that of maritime security issues. The author has indicated a symbolic association between the two security dimensions.\(^4\(^5\)\) However, the indication is that ECOWAS agenda have not been able to highly capture maritime security implementation space in the sub-continent. Researchers have indicated the limitation of ECOWAS and it can be attributed to the huge waterways as well as the challenges in policing all the waterways by ECOWAS security officers. This therefore has been identified as the major regional integration issue causing the insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea.\(^4\(^6\)\)
2.7 Maritime Security Approaches Undertaken in the Gulf of Guinea

Although, many actions have been taken to ensure effective and efficient maritime operations in the Gulf of Guinea within the West African sub-continent ranging from domestic or regional, national, organizational or institutional and international level, the study concentrated highly on the regional and minimal aspect of multi-national actions or approaches undertaken. Given the complex nature of national, regional, continental and international sources of maritime insecurity issues across the Gulf of Guinea, there is the need to provide remedies that are lasting and sustainable. The issue is to develop approaches and interventions that are holistic and integrated.

2.7.1 Domestic or National Level Approach

Studies have shown that countries within the Gulf of Guinea regions are weak with regards to their propensity and ability to manage and control their offshore territories. This is particularly prevalent in the maritime security domain given the huge volume of coastal water to cover by national navies who are less equipped to handle such matters around the Gulf of Guinea. The challenge is compounded by internal political instability within the West African sub-region. In light of these challenges, many countries within the sub-continent historically have developed policy approach as critical intervention to combat maritime security challenges. Although, some of the policy approaches such as those in Ghana, Nigeria, Gabon has helped to understand maritime security challenges, scholars have described these policy approaches as “policy blindness”. This is because most of the policy approaches fail to critically help combat the insecurity within the Gulf of Guinea. Some researchers have attributed the failure of these domestic policy approaches to weak institutions and poor governance systems.
2.7.2 Regional Level Approach

The gradual development of the Gulf of Guinea as maritime threats, many countries within the sub-continent have mobilize and develop mechanisms to avert the risks or challenges from the Gulf of Guinea. However, with regards to West and Central Africa, the approaches have been rarely visible limiting the level of attention given to maritime security challenges within the Gulf of Guinea. In light of this, recent developments have led to the development of regional cooperation as a possible approach or intervention for combating maritime insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea. The sub-continent has witnessed a gradual increase of political will and ability to take ownership of maritime security. For instance, following the successful rescue of the “Maximus”, the Nigerian Navy launched Operation ‘Tsare Teku’ in the face of intense pirate activity, and prolonged the operation throughout summer, while being engaged in counterinsurgency operations at the same time with other countries. While the impact of the operation was assessed as modest even by Nigerian planners, it demonstrated that the Nigerians were, for the first time, publicly owning up to the problem of maritime piracy emanating from their country. More recently, the flag officer commanding the Eastern Naval Command, Rear Adm. James Oluwole, quite rightly pointed out that the lack of prosecution reduced any effectiveness the Navy might have in the battle against maritime criminals.

The lack of prosecution, and in many cases the lack of legislation that permits prosecution of pirates, is still one of the shortfalls of the implementation of the Yaoundé Code of Conduct as it came under review in mid-2016, when its initial three-year trial period ended. Studies have indicated that information sharing, maritime domain awareness, and maritime law enforcement capacities and capabilities vary sharply throughout the region, and are by and large
wholly insufficient, although measurable progress has been made in all fields and among
countries within the sub-continent.

2.7.3 Multi-national and Global Level Approach

International concerns with regards to increase levels of maritime security challenges in
the Gulf of Guinea have been showcased by some development in approaches based on
resolutions. The United Nations Security Council Resolutions 2018 (October 2011) and 2039
(February 2012) have both called for regional action in response to maritime menace within the
sub-region. From the two resolutions and other international instruments as well as tools, it is
easier to infer the priorities of the international communities regarding maritime security issues
in the Gulf of Guinea. It is therefore clear that regional level approaches are highly suited in
addressing maritime insecurity within the Gulf of Guinea.
End Notes

2 Dr Charles UKEJE/Prof. Wullson MVOMO ELA, African Approaches to Maritime Security – The Gulf of Guinea
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Microsoft Encarta 2010
6 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
17 Ukeje, Charles & Ela Mvomo, Wullson, op. cit, p 18.
18 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
24 Ukeje, Charles & Ela Mvomo, Wullson, op. cit, p 22.
25 Ibid
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Transnational Organized Crime in West Africa, A Threat Assessment’, UNDOC, Feb 2013, p. 68
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ukeje, Charles & Ela Mvomo, Wullson, op. cit, p 21.
36 Estimates based on calculations by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies Faculty
38 Ibid.
39 Food and Agricultural Organization, op. cit., p. 5.

Ibid.

Kamal-Deen Ali Maritime security cooperation in the Gulf of Guinea: prospects and challenges, University of Wollongong Thesis Collections, University of Wollongong, kda231@uowmail.edu.au, 2014

ECOWAS is a regional organisation under which West African states, currently 15, seek by gradual steps to create an economic union. See Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States, Lagos, Nigeria, 28 May 1975, reprinted in International legal materials 14 (1975), 1200. The revised Treaty of 1993 is also reprinted in International legal materials 35 (1996), 660. The coastal states of ECOWAS are Benin, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. The landlocked member states are Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger. For more on ECOWAS see http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php?id=member&lang=en (accessed 1 June 2013).

Ken Ahorsu, Managing maritime security threats in the Gulf of Guinea and its Implications for security in the West, LEJIAD, Vol.8 No.1, May 2015

Regional cooperation approach in Nigeria in combating maritime security challenges
CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF ECOWAS IN MANAGING MARITIME SECURITY IN THE GOG

3.0 Introduction

The role of ECOWAS in managing maritime security issues in GOG cannot be ignored within the developmental milestone of West Africa. Through the ECCAS model, ECOWAS in recent times have introduced a number of sub-maritime security strategies, the most predominant being ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy (EIMS). With these strategies ECOWAS has played significant role in bringing sub-regional nations to cross-fertilize and pool the relevant resources to fight these maritime challenges.¹

However, a number of challenges within the maritime security zones and other regional issues have become serious challenges for ECOWAS. It is therefore important to note that any strategy initiated to curb maritime security issues requires cooperation that is security-wise realistic, taking into totality full account of the maritime security challenges. Some of the challenges as identified by some authors include maritime security capacity challenges, political dynamics, judicial limitations and legal limitations.

These issues underscore the reason why there is the need to investigate ECOWAS role in maritime security issues in the GOG. Therefore the chapter presents that analysis in relation to ECOWAS role in maritime security issues using both primary and secondary data. The primary data was qualitative information obtained from sampled and interview experts on the field of maritime security whilst the secondary data were from reports, articles and books regarding maritime security issues and the role of ECOWAS. Although, the chapter gave preeminence to the role of ECOWAS in the GOG, it also presents the findings in line with the study objectives and research questions.
3.1 Maritime Security Challenges in the GOG

The first objective of the study was to examine maritime security challenges faced by ECOWAS in the GOG. It is vital that the challenges that militate against the strenuous efforts of ECOWAS are examined in order to understand maritime insecurity issues and its impact on West African countries. Security issues in the GOG require effective strategies that combine efforts from countries within the sub-continent in order to ensure effective work of ECOWAS. Studies have reviewed a number of challenges within the GOG region. The result is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Maritime Security Challenges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges</th>
<th>Specific Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capacity</td>
<td>Inadequate maritime security capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Regional political dynamics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Court</td>
<td>Judicial Limitations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Legal Shortcomings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The various challenges as provided in Table 3.1 above indicate the GOG has enormous challenges to contend with when it comes to its maritime security. The various challenges have been further explained in the sections below.

3.1.1 Inadequate Maritime Security Capacity

The power of the Navy is very critical for state or nations within the sub-continent to have the ability and capacity to protect its EEZ and the continental shelf against illicit contingences and other illegal encroachment. It is common knowledge that many countries within the Gulf of Guinea have weak, poor and ill-equipped navies which pose a problem for effective achievement of maritime security cooperation in the region. Most of the fundamental
equipment required to ensure effective cooperation and maritime operation such as surveillance systems, patrol craft and trained personnel are limited.\textsuperscript{3} The failure on the part of nations within the GOG region to carry out important and required repairs or refit of platforms of navies over some time is partly responsible for the current state of affairs in the Gulf of Guinea navies today.

Despite the sub-continent having a promising future with regards to maritime cooperation issues coupled with auspicious statement given by its leaders, one critical issue which fights against such promising indications is the issue of weak or poor domestic capacity. Indication shows that there is little affirmation or proof with regards to the political will on the part of oil-rich nations to commit significant amount of resources towards the construction or establishment of robust maritime security capacities.\textsuperscript{4} This has provided unpleasant outcome for the sub-continent leading to ineffective and inefficient navies.

Further, another critical indication with regards to the weak nature of domestic capacity in some countries in the GOG region can be attributed to inadequate funds.\textsuperscript{5} Most of the navies in the nations within the GOG region are economically constrained making the development of efficient and effective domestic capacity very difficult. This makes the navies less endowed with the needed resources required to perform diligent and significant operations regarding maritime security operations within the GOG. These factors therefore call for effective and efficient collaborative action among nations within the sub-region in order to ensure effective maritime security operations within the GOG. In addition, countries within the GOG regions could commune to pool resources to institute a fund aimed at enhancing collective maritime security capabilities in the GOG.\textsuperscript{6} Besides, integrated and collaborative initiative within the framework of continent, region and sub-regional level have the propensity of receiving international support than those that are nationally-based.
Again, another critical challenge that poses a problem to the capacity of maritime security within the sub-continent is the issue of reliable intelligence. Insufficient reliable intelligence within the Gulf of Guinea nations poses greater problem for effective maritime security work. Through effective surveillance and monitoring of maritime environment, intelligence could be obtained. This intelligence could foster the work of navies and other parties who protect and survey maritime borders. The use of advanced surveillance radars is a cost effective means of achieving this, considering the huge cost of acquiring ships and maintaining them at sea. Also, such constraint with regards to intelligence can be attributed to poor capacity for generation of reliable intelligence and intelligence sharing among nations in the GoG which is necessary to track illegal activities. In light of this, critical cooperation is necessary in order to effectively combat threats and crimes within the maritime security areas of nations within the sub-region.

Moreover, it must be noted that although ECOWAS has supported some initiatives from international communities, it has also introduced some strategies to help combat maritime security issues. For instance, the introduction of Regional Maritime Awareness Capability (RMAC) by the United States Navy (USN) to some countries within the sub-continent is a welcoming development initiative that has the power of improving maritime domain awareness (MDA) in the Gulf of Guinea. The initiative has the propensity of reducing time-on-task thereby saving cost which would have been incurred through constant patrolling. Although, it domesticates across nations within the sub-continent, it is however, yet to be deployed to cover entire maritime expanse of the Gulf of Guinea. Although, the sub-continent is ready to acquaint itself with the maritime security technology, the sub-continent lacks the manpower or technical knowhow required to manage and control the support base of the equipment.

It is therefore vital that countries within the sub-continent are able to and collectively invest in training, education, research and development programs for its members with the aim of
developing the manpower for nations. This has the power of enhancing capacity building and self-reliance among nations which is necessary to combat existing maritime security threats in the Gulf of Guinea without any external interference and intervention.

3.1.2 Political Dynamics in the Region

Politics has become a critical area of concern with regards to maritime security issues within the sub-continent. Most of the political barriers reducing the efficient working of regional integration in ECOWAS sub-region are also the fundamental contributing factors responsible for the ineffective maritime cooperation and operations within the GOG sub-continent. A critical issue emanating from ECOWAS sub-regional countries is different colonial histories of member states which has resulted in diverse bureaucratic cultures, systems and official languages. Indication shows that these are most often overlooked or regarded as insignificant; these disparities have been accentuated by the efforts of France in continuing to exert influence within its former colonies thus discouraging their full integration with their Anglophone neighbours.

Cooperation among nations within the sub-continent has been challenging because of varying economic groupings within the sub-continent with diverse cultures and systems. This would persist as an obstacle in the achievement of multi-national cooperation because there could be issues of dual loyalty to regional institutions as well as likely or perceived insincerity among the nations.

Additionally, boundary conflicts arising among states, disagreement among state leaders and actors, and exploitation as well as exploration of resources within the Gulf of Guinea represent a huge hindrance to the realization of a multi-national cooperation and security in the region. This conflict issues also evolve from poorly mapped border areas within the GOG which
create a lot of avenue for inter-state conflicts over conflicting claims on potential oil-rich areas. An example of inter-state conflicts is the dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon on the boundaries surrounding oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula.\textsuperscript{13} Also, another citation can be made with regards to disputes between Ghana and La Cote d’Ivoire on the looming maritime boundary around the oil-rich Tano River.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{3.1.3 Legislative and Judicial Shortcomings or Limitations}

Although, most of the sub-regional nations are signatories to vital and important international treaties and conventions, very few have taken the concerted effort to ratify and institutionalize these protocols domestically in their countries’ laws.\textsuperscript{15} It is vital that sub-continent nations create and enforce the necessary provision that has the capacity and propensity of sustaining the political will of the people. The enactment of relevant laws, resourcing relevant institutions, enforcement of appropriate mechanisms and strategies and provision of adequate financial and human resources to maritime security issues in the sub-continent has the onus of reducing legislative and judicial limitations and shortcomings.

It is also significant to expound that, the review indicates that this vulnerability is observed in local media reportage with regards to poachers’ apprehension in the sub-region, who often have to be set free after paying only small amount of fines because the nation in question did not have the right legislations and regulations.\textsuperscript{16} However, even when appropriate legislations exist, the capacity and the ability to effectively and efficiently prosecute depend on the strength and independence of the judiciary. Fundamentally, other issues play a role including corruption, bribery, nepotism and favoritism, ineffectiveness, inefficiencies and capacity constraints compromise the effectiveness of the judicial system and implementation of legislations.\textsuperscript{17}
3.2 The Role of ECOWAS in Managing Maritime Security in West Africa and Examining Prospects and Challenges

The second and third objectives of the study were to investigate the role of ECOWAS in managing maritime security in West Africa and also examine prospects and challenges for ECOWAS. In order to achieve these objectives, both primary and secondary sources of data were utilized for analysis.

3.2.1 ECOWAS in Perspective

The diverse conflicts within the West African sub-region coupled with unconditional changes in government and maritime security issues are some urgent factors contributing to the state of insecurity within the sub-regional continent of Africa. ECOWAS is the regional organization with the aim of providing peace, security cooperation and fundamentally the main contributor to Africa Peace and Security Architecture. With a pegged growth rate of 7.4% of its peace and security agenda in 2014, West Africa is regarded as the fastest growing economic region within the sub-regional continent. Despite the results with regards to maritime security challenges coupled with serious armed conflicts and piracy issues within the Gulf of Guinea; it is vital to state that through the effort of ECOWAS, West Africa has by far advanced on mechanisms and strategies within its regional community to tackle transnational and maritime security issues.

The initial creation and working of ECOWAS was without a security mandate. When the organization was created over 40 years ago, it was regarded as an economic development organization. When ECOWAS later recognized that conflict and insecurity were the critical hurdles to economic growth and development, conflict prevention and management frameworks and tools were established by ECOWAS. These tools included:
- The Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (2001)

This tool together forms the conflict prevention framework for ECOWAS in 2008. The former concentrates on conflict management whilst the latter covers conflict prevention. Capabilities of the ECOWAS include act of Mediation and Security Council under which two councils reside namely ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) and the Defense and Security Commission.

3.2.2 ECOWAS and Maritime Security Issues

Exercising and sustaining security control over the huge maritime security area in the GOG region is a disconcerting task facing many nations as well as ECOWAS. To effectively and efficiently address this issue, it requires some level of regional and sub-regional multi-level security framework which is in direct link to the work of ECOWAS.

The result from the experts’ view on the field shows that the Gulf of Guinea is a critical hotspot area for piracy and other security concerns for ECOWAS and many nations within the sub-continent. Although, respondents indicated less than 100 cases of reported incidence of piracy on the GOG, it poses a lot of threats to maritime security operations in the GOG. This also makes it difficult for ECOWAS to play its vital role as well as nations within the sub-continent. It was found that within the ECOWAS maritime operational framework, two vital global instrument underscores maritime security issues namely “ships and economic”. These two issues have made the issue of piracy a global concern for many nations across the globe. Since the two indicators foster effective movement of goods, persons and resources across the globe of which
without no such activity would exist makes them an important indicators for ECOWAS. This was captured in a view of one of the respondent as:

“The Gulf of Guinea is a hotspot for piracy and has become an increasingly security concern between 2008 to date. Piracy attracts a lot of global concern since it deals with ships which come from various countries. Reported incidences in the GOG are less than 100 even though it is of greater threat. There are two (2) global instruments namely ships and economic which make piracy a global issue because without shipping, the world will come to an end” (R1, Maritime Security Expert).

The above question clearly shows that the issue of security concerns at the Gulf of Guinea underpins the need to critically examine the role of ECOWAS in this regards. It gives a clear indication on how security concerns regarding piracy have become a global agenda upon which ECOWAS cannot be ignored or disparaged.

3.3 Role of ECOWAS in Maritime Security Issues

Although a number of roles have been played by other agencies and institutions with regards to maritime security concern, the role of ECOWAS cannot be overemphazied when it comes to security issues around the Gulf of Guinea. The study reveals a number of roles played by ECOWAS in managing maritime security within the GOG in West Africa. The result from the analysis of the interview from experts is presented as follows;
3.3.1 Multinational Maritime Coordination Centre (MMCC)

One critical role of ECOWAS with regards to maritime security issues is the introduction of Multinational Maritime Coordination Centre (MMCC). It is a positioning or agreement under the “Yaoundé Code of Conduct” instituted in 2013 which underpins the architecture within the maritime security of the Gulf of Guinea. MMCC begins from inter-zonal to regional zonal approach. The zones are arranged as Zone E, Zone F and Zone G. The purpose of MMCC is to coordinate maritime security interest based within the ECOWAS sub-region and that of ECCAS. With this, the result shows that ECOWAS has its own regional coordinating council which is situated in Senegal whilst that of ECCAS have theirs situated at Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It was also discovered that it is at the zenith of the zones (E, F, G) that the Regional Coordination Centre for Maritime Center for Maritime Security in Western Africa (CRESMAO) is found. The MMCC feeds into the Zonal Coordination Centres (ZCC). This was captured in the views expressed by the respondents as;

“It is an arrangement under the Yaoundé Code of Conduct. It was adopted in 2013 which perceives a maritime security architecture that starts from inter-zonal to regional zonal approach. These feeds into Zonal Coordination Centre (ZCC), The MMCC is another region created on its own and needs an Inter-regional Coordination Centre which is based in Yaoundé. It is to coordinate maritime security interest based within ECOWAS region and that of ECCAS. ECOWAS will have its own regional coordination center based in Senegal whilst that of ECCAS in Democratic Republic of Congo” (DRC) (R1, Maritime Security Expert)
“There are three (3) Multinational Maritime Coordination Centres. They are also known as zones. These are Zone E, Zone F and Zone G. At the apex of these zones is the Regional Coordination Centre for Maritime Security in Western Africa (CRESMAO)” (R2, Maritime Security Expert).

With this indication, it is clear that ECOWAS through MMCC has the capacity to coordinate the activities of the diverse zones since ECOWAS becomes the top regional body for combating maritime insecurity issue in the Gulf of Guinea.

As indicated, the study also examines the zones and the countries involved in each zone. The result is presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Zones within ECOWAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zones</th>
<th>Number of Countries</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zone E</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nigeria, Togo, Benin and Niger</td>
<td>Cotonou, Benin</td>
<td>It has its headquarters in Cotonou, Benin. It is a pilot zone which was established on 13th March, 2015. It is in operation as personnel from these countries have been deployed. The chief in charge is from Nigeria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zone F</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ghana, Cote d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Burkina Faso and Guinea</td>
<td>Accra, Ghana</td>
<td>It is not officially opened even though it is scheduled to be operational in 2017. Its headquarters is in Accra, Ghana. Germany is funding the zone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zone G</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Senegal, Cape Verde, The</td>
<td>Praia, Cape Verde</td>
<td>Senegal refused to host the Zone however, Cape Verde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and Mali has accepted to host it so its headquarters will be in Praia even though it is not established yet.

(Source: Field Data, 2017)

The result in Table 3.2 shows that the number of zones within ECOWAS is three. These zones are serially numbered across the whole of the ECOWAS sub-region or continent. The three zones cover 16 countries with Zone E having 4 countries, Zone F having 6 countries and Zone G having 6 countries. The 16 countries or nations is an indication of how the zonal arrangement covers the entire ECOWAS sub-region for security mapping. It was also discovered that significant achievement has been chalked through the role of ECOWAS with regards to the pilot test which occurred in 2015. The result shows that these zones have critical role of coordinating maritime security issues within the sub-region in order to help solve the problems that emanate from maritime insecurity.

The study also found that these zones will have a National Coordination Centre (NCC). In Ghana, for instance, has its own NCC but it is then expected to host a ZCC which is Zone F made up of Ghana, Cote d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone and Burkina Faso. The former seat of government that is the Osu Castle is being renovated to host Zone F.

The Principal actors for the MMCC are the Nation states and Regional Bodies. Under the Nation states are the Navies which play lead roles and other agencies such as the National Security architecture. Under the Regional bodies in this case is the ECOWAS. Apart from ECOWAS, there are interest from external players such as the United States of America, which offers expertise, advice and funding among others, the United Kingdom, even though they are
not prominent, the European Union as well as Germany which offers training, equipment and funding.

**3.3.2 Implementation of MMCC and its ECOWAS Zones**

Implementation is critical towards effective working of MMCC and the zones. It is therefore vital that serious measures are taken in order to ensure effective implementation of MMCC. With this in view, respondents indicated that MMCC and its expounded zones are supposed to be implemented through a number of indicators called tiers. The centers according to respondents represent Yaoundé Code of Conduct implementation. It is with the expectation that the Centers are managed with outmost care which would require some level of surveillance at sea. This will also require thorough monitoring and evaluation frameworks, prerequisite policy structures, effective reporting tools, legal and judicial workings and legislative framework that back the Yaoundé Code of Conduct and inter-agencies coordination activities. The result also found that awareness of this center or architecture is paramount to ECOWAS since its awareness would help people acquire knowledge for effective operation of the center. Although, maritime security issues have not receive greater level of awareness and attention within the policy space, ECOWAS role has been a significant, sure way for creating the policy framework awareness needed to combat maritime insecurity issues in the sub-region. This was captured in views expressed by the respondent;

"The Centers themselves are the physical manifestation of the implementation of the Yaoundé Code of Conduct. It is expected that these centers are manned very well and there should be a level of surveillance at sea which should be able to monitor and report to these centers but it is also then expected that there will be a prerequisite policy structures in each country, legislative framework to back the
It is therefore indicative that effective implementation of the centers with the required legal frameworks coupled with effective awareness creation would propel the activities of Naval operators and other maritime security agencies in the Gulf of Guinea. Although, there is still a narrow scope of people dealing with these issues; mostly the Navies and other National Security agencies and apparatus, it is expected that people in policy and governance positions should know much about it and be a part of it. This will deepen the knowledge based on key government actors in order to ensure effective implementation of MMCC across the West African sub-region.

Further, by implication, MMCC and its zones are expected to serve as an eye in the Maritime space, build synergies and coordination between countries, effort multiplier, build confidence and strengthen relationships and ultimately expected to help in reduction of maritime concern. This, as revealed by respondents has the power and capacity in helping address maritime security challenges. The role of ECOWAS has been phenomenal, although a lot of emphasis is not being placed on structures rather than finding durable solutions in maritime situations. According to Capt. Dr. Ali Kamal-Deen, “Maritime security is essentially national and in some respect, the regionalization may not necessarily cure national defects if they exist”. He indicated that, for instance, if Ghana is not capable of addressing the core concern of maritime security, the regional arrangement may help in either boosting Ghana’s effort or create a psychological mind on the country that the country may have to do something but that is essentially if it wishes to do so. If those failures and defects are so in grind that one cannot
address them, the regional framework will not necessarily be a solution to them. One may need budget to address maritime security concerns, platforms and equipment and policy orientation among others. All these are at the national level.

In effect, other concern that has become challenging for ECOWAS is on the issue of over emphasis on regional approach to maritime security issues as compared to developing solutions to core national issues. The indication is lack of coordination within agencies in most countries within the sub-continent. According to Capt. Dr. Ali Kamal-Deen, “There is also not a whole government approach to maritime security in most of the countries hence regionalization may serve as an excuse in addressing national concern especially where the framework is also being driven in terms of its funding by external funds”. It was posited that these funds are not necessarily sustainable and in a way building very expensive maritime security architecture.

An example can be cited in Benin, where Benin agreed to host a zone and it has since been having problems because the country that is supposed to host the zone is to provide certain facilities including accommodation, transportation among others and these are huge budget for a country since people are posted to participate in the program. Ghana is in a similar situation and the country is even talking about not meeting these conditions such as accommodation if they are to host the zone. These suggest that countries within the West Africa sub-regions are in for a very expensive architecture and the support from external sources can only be temporal and it’s perhaps not something sustainable into the future.

Another issue raised by respondents is the issue of priority. The growth and development of any country in the world is based on critical importance given to its priorities. What becomes the priority of any country is where the countries resources are channeled for development. The question that evolves from the literature is the issue “priorities of countries within the sub-
region”. What are the priority areas of countries within the Gulf of Guinea and what is also the priority area of ECOWAS? Piracy is so easy to deal with because it is a crime with universal jurisdiction and has gotten its own peculiarity. However, there are other dimensions like fishing thus illegal fisheries and unsustainable fisheries which is complex to deal with. These are embedded in national policy space which sometimes has weaknesses in them such as corruption. These issues fight against the working of ECOWAS and other agencies within the maritime security space. Most countries will not easily give out such acts for them to be addressed, however, as they would like to guard it. Capt. Dr. Ali Kamal-Deen pose the question that “So when it comes to regionalization or zonalization of maritime security, what is it that one is prioritizing and what one prioritizes, what is the effect of those that one does not prioritize and what is its implication”? The indication is that lack of priority on these issues has the propensity of affecting the overall operation of ECOWAS and nations within the Gulf of Guinea as well as the sub-continent. The medium term and long term implication is devastating with regards to the future of the countries within the sub-continent.

3.3.3 The Institution of Regional Agreement

Regional agreement is one of the significant roles indicated by respondents undertaken by ECOWAS. The result from the respondents shows three regional agreements that underpin maritime security issues within the Gulf of Guinea. These agreements as indicated by respondents included “The Yaoundé Code of Conduct, ECCAS Strategy and ECOWAS Strategy”. With regards to the purpose of the study, ECOWAS strategy was the key strategy examined by the researcher in this regard.

The result shows that the strategy is at the inchoate stages continued to be supported by the United States. The strategy is termed as EIMS.
EIMS was adopted on 29th March, 2014 in Yamoussoukro, Cote d’Ivoire. The strategy is underpinned by five basic strategic objectives including;

- Maritime Governance
- Maritime Security and Safety
- Maritime Environment
- Maritime Economy
- Maritime Education and Research.

The strategy was found to be captured in the three Zones; however, captured in two forms. The implementation body of the strategy is ECOWAS. It was discovered that ECOWAS as a regional body does not bear the cost of the implementation but however, put charges on the country that has to host it making it very difficult especially with logistics. As it is currently, Zone E which is in force, is not working satisfactorily due to some challenges such as access to clean water, internet, radio for talking, offices among others.

The implementation agenda is based on two frameworks including;

- Activities for implementation must be outlined by countries
- Center responsible for coordinating activities

It was also discovered that despite the role of ECOWAS in the implementation of the strategy, there are other international agencies and actors such as Germany [which has given out equipment for both Zone E (Cotonou) and Zone F (Accra)], United States, France and the European Union (EU). This clearly suggests effective collaborative efforts between ECOWAS and other international actors and agencies with regards to effective maritime security operational contributions.
The study examined the purpose of EIMS and discovered that it is aimed at addressing a number of maritime issues such as;

- IUU
- Pollution
- Piracy
- Illegal trafficking and drug trafficking
- Structures

3.3.4 Transnational Crime within Maritime Borders

Another critical role discovered through systematic review is the role of ECOWAS regarding maritime crimes within borders. The study found that transnational drug trafficking, trafficking of people, small arms and light weapons within the Gulf of Guinea also undermines the operations of ECOWAS and other states actors which contribute significantly to insecurity within the border regions. Although, the maritime security issues are very challenging, ECOWAS in 2006 introduced “Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials and launched a small arms initiative (ECOSAP) based in Bamako, Mali”\(^{21}\). This was a capacity building programme by ECOWAS to help member states, civil society organizations and other sub-regional countries deal with these problems on the borders and maritime areas within their countries.

3.4 Prospect Regarding ECOWAS Role

The study examined the prospect based on the significant role of ECOWAS with regards to maritime security issues within the sub-region. Respondents are of the view that despite the
critical role of ECOWAS, the future prospect, although promising is within the short term. This is evidenced with the Inter-regional Coordination Center (ICC) which has taken off by the deployment of personnel this year (2017) to start work. Funding from sources is however not sustainable, but nonetheless, looking at the short term, one can see successes as things are being operationalized.

Conversely, observing the long term, the future does not look bright. It is difficult, especially with the legal gaps, inefficiency in policies and even certain times, the lack of capacity when it comes to physical capacity like surveillance capacity. These are challenges that are not easily to be overcome making the future promise of maritime issues in West Africa difficult to predict.

3.5 ECOWAS Challenges

Challenges are unavoidable issues within the framework of ECOWAS operation with regards to maritime security issues. The study investigated challenges that confront ECOWAS with regards to maritime issues in nations within the GOG. The result shows the following challenges;

- Poor national coordination within agencies
- Weak border controls
- Inadequate awareness regarding ECOWAS frameworks
- Surveillance capacity
- Legal gaps
- Policy inefficiencies
- Lack of capacity
• Physical zone challenges
• Poor attention given to maritime security issues
• National priorities of the GOG countries
• Lack of Political Will

With regards to physical zones, respondents admitted that these zones do not meet the interest of member countries. For instance, Ghana’s interest is towards the West and not the East which is going to be a challenge to the country as it finds itself in zone F which is to the East. In addition, the issue of capacity in terms of structure, personnel, equipment among others poses a lot of challenges for member nations and ECOWAS. Maritime security, according to Capt. Dr. Ali Kamal-Deen, is observed as a one strand, different from other real security issues in the region that is tackled by ECOWAS. For example, the Early Warning System within the ECOWAS framework is supposed to deal with human rights and security concerns but why is it that maritime security is outside the scope of the Early Warning framework and how many reports have focused on maritime security?

This suggests that if maritime security was not isolated, it would have created a unified understanding of it and also given roles to existing institutions to play a role as well as providing civil society with better understanding of it. The issue of maritime security is also observed as slightly separated from security although it is still hosted within the Commission of Peace and Security. It is not seen as a central part of security. Further, the Principal actors are Nation States which are the Navies, Maritime Affairs, Maritime Police, Coastguards for coastal countries, Defense Ministry (Gendarmerie) and Shippers Councils for landlocked countries which require proper coordination and inclusion of other significant actors.
3.6 Way Forward Regarding Emerging Threats in Maritime Security

The last objective of the study was to examine the way forward for ECOWAS with regards to emerging threats in maritime security issues. Insecurity in the GOG poses many security threats to member states and undermines the promising role being played by ECOWAS in resolving maritime security challenges. It is therefore vital that effective approach which is congruence with domestic, partner initiated programmes as well as ECOWAS strategies are employed and implemented. Further, significant cooperation across the regions are required, given the transnational nature of threats within the GOG and sub-regional nations. The approach must incorporate regional level indicators or actors, national level actors or indicators and global level actors or indicators. Whilst the required approach can be developed based on country specific characteristics, a comprehensive approach is required to tackle both short and long term obstacles as well as institutional changes. The review shows a number of indicators as the way forward for ensuring effective management of maritime security issues in the GOG through ECOWAS. These include:

- Political will or commitment demonstration
- Recapitalization and increase operational efficiency of maritime forces
- Improvement in MDA and information sharing
- Creating public awareness
- Improving economic governance and development along the coast

3.6.1 Political Will Demonstration

Maritime security challenges have been hampered by lack of political will in the GOG. This can be attributed to land-centric approach to security which still persists in GOG nations. This therefore makes the operation of ECOWAS difficult. Consequently, it is vital that political
is brought to bear across the sub-region reinforces maritime security. Accordingly, countries in the sub-region must be willing to cede sovereignty concerns to advance regional solutions in this regard. The success of political and policy pronouncements as envisioned in the various maritime security cooperation strategies and initiatives are dependent upon long-term engagement and an inclusive and participatory political process.\textsuperscript{25}

### 3.6.2 Recapitalization and Increased Operational Efficiency of Maritime Forces

Maritime forces play significant role in maritime security issues. The success of ECOWAS will highly depend on the work of maritime security forces. The increased in maritime security threats mirrors the limited abilities and capacities of maritime forces such as navies and coast guards.\textsuperscript{26} Practically, this situation undermines maritime security forces to territorial waters. A collaborative effort between ECOWAS and the GOG nations is required to ensure effective operations through immediate steps taking to detect, apprehend and prosecute offenders. This requires the acquisition of appropriate equipment and technology, training of personnel and obtaining adequate surveillance infrastructure.\textsuperscript{27}

### 3.6.3 Improving Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) and Information Sharing

A sustainable maritime defense requires improved MDA. This can be achieved through the effort of ECOWAS to partner with member states in order to improve their capacity and ability of collecting, fusing, analyzing, displaying and disseminating information to operational commanders. MDA is defined as the effective understanding of anything associated with the maritime domain that could impact the security, safety, economy or environment.\textsuperscript{28} This has the propensity of building information sharing among member nations and ECOWAS apparatus.
3.6.4 Creating Public Awareness

Making the nation aware of maritime security issues can be a key instrument for empowering the nation for maritime security issues. According to the famous maritime strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan, six (6) key elements underpin the attainment of sea power. One of such element is ‘character of the people’. Among other factors, the achievement of sea power by any nation is partly dependent on the character of its people.\textsuperscript{59} It has been indicated that the citizens of littoral nations require an aptitude for the sea and this could be achieved through public awareness of the nature of the sea and the opportunities it holds. Therefore it is vital that ECOWAS and member states collaborate effectively to provide the needed awareness regarding maritime issues. Since maritime domain is regarded as a multi-disciplinary sector involving military, civilian transport, fishing, recreational activities and naval defense interests, it is vital that such collaboration is created.\textsuperscript{30}

3.6.5 Improving Economic Governance and Development on the Coast

Economic governance is one of the critical areas with regards to maritime business across the globe. Poor economic governance in the sub-region has resulted in the introduction of hydrocarbons and illegal activities of crude oil and other illegal trading in the GOG. Through this means corrupt practices has been on the increase coupled with the elites growing richer and richer whilst the poor grow poorer and poorer. According to the GGC, “there is a link between oil trafficking and the rise of violent pirate attacks in the region.\textsuperscript{31}” It is therefore vital that critical part of maritime security strategies of ECOWAS should concentrate on eliminating opportunities for corruption and ensuring that proceeds benefit those most in need. This can be achieved effectively through collaboration with state actors. When such is done it will create a
lot of opportunities for people, create jobs, reduce criminal acts, and increase in standard of living.
End Notes

2 Ibid
3 The Gulf of Guinea: The New Danger Zone” Op Cit., p.19
4 Ibid
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7 Ibid
8 Ibid
10 Ibid
12 Ibid
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15 Ibid
16 Ibid
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18 Ibid
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20 Ibid
21 Johan Tejpar and Adriana Lins de Albuquerque, Challenges to Peace and Security in West Africa: The Role of ECOWAS, Armed conflict, unconstitutional changes in power and transnational crime are some of the most urgent factors contributing to state and human insecurity in West Africa. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is the region’s principal organisation for security cooperation, and its contribution to the African Peace and Security Architecture. This brief analyses the main challenges to peace and security in West Africa in the past five years and how ECOWAS has responded to these, 2016
22 Ibid
23 Ibid
27 Ibid
28 Ibid
29 Ibid
31 Ibid
CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

The maritime security challenges within the Gulf of Guinea continue to pose a lot of threats to nations within this region of which Ghana is no exception. The purpose of the study was to examine ECOWAS role in maritime security issues in the GOG concentrating on countries within the West African sub-region with critical attention given to Ghana. This chapter of the study present summary of findings and conclusion leading to practical/policy recommendations as well as future research recommendations. The study begun with chapter one which sets the parameters with regards to the introduction of the research as well as the design required to achieve the objectives and the purpose of the study. It provides general explanation on maritime security issues in the Gulf of Guinea (GOG) and the role of ECOWAS. The first chapter sets the road map necessary to investigate the topic. The second chapter covered maritime security issues in the GOG. It provides clear understanding to the issues of maritime security and the concept of the GOG through thorough review of diverse literature. Chapter three sets out the stage for examining maritime security challenges and the role of ECOWAS towards maritime security issues in the GOG. It also provides qualitative analysis based on data obtained from maritime security experts on the field. This chapter which is the final chapter presents the summary of findings as obtained in chapter three, conclusion and recommendations. The chapter also presents the findings in line with the stipulated research objectives of the study.
4.1 Summary of Findings

The nature of maritime insecurity issues has been more complex due to globalization and advancement in technology. This therefore poses a lot of threat to the maritime industry most especially in Sub-Saharan Africa of which Ghana is no exception. The issue requires concerted efforts from government, navies and stakeholders to pool resources together to avert such challenges. Further, although, navies have played significant role in averting such challenges, the Gulf of Guinea navies have limited capacity in addressing the teething level of challenges emerging from maritime insecurity in recent times. In addition, despite significant contributions by several organizations of which ECOWAS cannot be ignored, empirical investigation regarding such roles has been rarely done. In light of this, the study stipulated three objectives to investigate ECOWAS role in maritime security issues in the GOG concentrating on countries within the West African sub-region. The findings from the study are presented as follows;

The study examined maritime security challenges faced by ECOWAS in the GOG which underscores the first objective. With this objective, it was found that inadequate maritime security capacity, regional political dynamics, judicial limitations and legal shortcomings are critical areas of challenges faced by ECOWAS in the GOG. These challenges are fostered by the following:

- Weak and poor ill-equipped navies of most of the GOG countries with regards to surveillance systems, patrol craft and trained personnel
- Little political will in resources commitment regarding maritime security capacities
- Inadequate funds on the part of most of the GOG countries in West Africa
- Lack of important and required repairs or refit of platforms of navies on the part of most of the GOG countries
• Diverse colonial histories of member states resulting into diverse bureaucratic cultures, systems and official language

• Inadequate cooperation among nations

• Continuous boundary conflicts among member states

• Domestic institutionalization of international treaties and conventions

• Inadequate enforcement of laws, regulations and strategies.

The second and third objectives of the study were to investigate the role of ECOWAS in managing maritime security in West Africa and also examine prospects and challenges for ECOWAS from the perspective of relevant actors within the maritime industry. The study identified significant number of roles played by ECOWAS with regards to management of maritime security in West Africa. These include:


• ECOWAS maritime operational framework involves two vital global instrument which underscores maritime security issues namely “ships and economic”.

• The introduction of Multinational Maritime Coordination Centre (MMCC) which underpins the architecture within the maritime security of Gulf of Guinea

• Effective coordination of maritime security interest of member states

• The Principal actors for the MMCC are the Nation states and Regional Bodies

• Effective management of centers requiring some level of surveillance at sea
Institutionalization of monitoring and evaluation frameworks, prerequisite policy structures, effective reporting tools, legal and judicial workings and legislative framework

Creation of awareness with regards to maritime security architecture among member states

The expectation of MMCC and its zones are to serve as an eye in the Maritime space, build synergies and coordination between countries, effort multiplier, build confidence and strengthen relationships and ultimately expected to help in reduction of maritime concern

Institutionalization of regional agreement by ECOWAS

The introduction of The Yaoundé Code of Conduct, ECCAS Strategy and ECOWAS Strategy

The introduction of EIMS aimed at addressing maritime security issues

The introduction of “Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials and launched a small arms initiative (ECOSAP) based in Bamako, Mali” to curb transnational maritime trade.

Within the space of this role, the study found that the future prospect is blur; however, promising in the short term. In addition, such role comes with a number of challenges as discovered including Poor national coordination within agencies, Weak border controls, Inadequate awareness regarding ECOWAS frameworks, Surveillance capacity, Legal gaps, Policy inefficiencies, Lack of capacity, Physical zone challenges, Poor attention given to maritime security issues, National priorities of the GOG countries and Lack of Political Will.
The third objective of the study was to examine the way forward for ECOWAS with regards to emerging threats in maritime security. The study discovered a number of future workings of ECOWAS including;

a. Effective cooperation among member nations
b. Involvement of national, regional and global actors in maritime security decisions
c. Political will or commitment demonstration
d. Recapitalization and increase operational efficiency of maritime forces
e. Improvement in MDA and information sharing
f. Creating Public awareness
g. Improving economic governance and development along the coast

4.2 Conclusion

Maritime security issues in the GOG have been a daunting challenge on nations across the GOG and West African countries cannot be ignored. The significant role of ECOWAS and nations within the West African sub-region cannot be downplayed. There is clear evidence that maritime insecurity in the GoG requires an integrated approach involving all stakeholders across the maritime industry not forgetting the key role of foreign agencies and international partners. The integrative approach should have the propensity of covering national, regional and sub-regional level cooperation among the GOG nations most especially in West Africa. This indication will help deepen the bilateral and multinational cooperation among nations thereby bridging the gap of limited regional and national capacities within the sub-region. The introduction of Multinational Maritime Coordination Centre (MMCC) is a framework in the right
direction. This framework has the propensity of institutionalizing effective regional cooperation and increase the number of international partners, initiative and innovations which would not obscure the continuous acts of crimes within the GOG. The economic controls of most maritime zones across the GOG have created a huge gap for ECOWAS. Despite the challenges faced by ECOWAS in its role of managing maritime security issues within the GOG and nations in the sub-region, the critical role of ECOWAS cannot be disparaged. Through its innovative approaches, integrated maritime security strategies have been introduced as well as coordination initiatives. These strategies have to focus on nations to provide the needed resources necessary in fighting piracy issues, armed robbery at sea in the GOG regions. The regional strategies also tap into the potential of West African countries to build and establish sustainable maritime economies. It must be noted that sustained political will, legal backing, reduced maritime capacities, and regional cooperation are required to enhance maritime security work within the GOG and West African sub-continent. In order for ECOWAS to address the myriad of challenges within the GOG, it is also required that structural causes, institutional causes, and personal causes of maritime security challenges are addressed in a holistic manner through security focused approaches and strategies.

4.3 Recommendations

The recommendations of the study is categorized into two namely practical/policy recommendations and future research recommendations.

Practical/ Policy Recommendations

The study provided the following practical/policy recommendations;
In order to achieve the desired goals of ECOWAS in addressing maritime security challenges, it is vital that ECOWAS collaborate effectively with other organizations such as AU, ECCAS, MOWCA and GGC to adopt short, medium and long term measures to ensure effective levels of cooperation in collective effort to address these challenges.

It is important that ECOWAS and West African nations within the GOG integrate with maritime surveillance, information-gathering and international law enforcement agencies, on matters relating to maritime security in the GOG. The greater level of such engagement among government will create the needed good will to address the myriad of maritime security challenges.

With the importance of capacity building in maritime security issues, is vital that West African countries within the GOG as a matter of urgency engage with international partners to develop and improve maritime capacity building in order to improve the work of maritime forces in the short term, medium and long term.

ECOWAS and its member states within the GOG should consider acquiring modern technologies such as MPAs, AIS and RMACs to enhance the operation of maritime security forces.

In the short term, ECOWAS should effectively collaborate with member states to consider the operationalization of the MMCC zones in order to create a sub-regional initiative and intensify joint patrols at sea within the sub-continent.

ECOWAS and its member states within the GOG should consider taking measures to build capacities to criminalize acts of piracy and to support the development of judicial institutions dealing with the issue.
• The law enforcement agencies within the sub-continent as well as that of ECOWAS should develop the framework connecting them to existing regional and international agencies for combating maritime crimes.

Future Research Recommendations

With regards to the future scholarly works, it is vital for researchers to focus on;

• Evaluating the Framework of ECOWAS and its strategies that are already operational in the GOG

• Examine the role of ECOWAS and other Agencies such as AU in the GOG

• Investigate both regional and multinational cooperation of ECOWAS in the sub-continent in addressing maritime insecurity issues

• Investigate regional, national and international challenges of maritime security issues and the contributions of ECOWAS within each of the levels.

• Increase the sample size to include government institutions in West Africa, lecturers, professional bodies among others to effectively examine the role of ECOWAS.
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