

African port planning: seaport redevelopment in Somalia and Kenya

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Abstract

This research paper examines the concept of development through the lens of foreign involvement of semi-peripheries in the seaport redevelopment and expansion of Somalia and Kenya. By examining the literature, I hone on the negative effects of development and its correlation with the maintenance of the status quo of poverty, corrupt leaders and debt accumulation. Data was collected in the form of literature review and document analysis through media examination. The Port of Mogadishu was signed over to Al-Bayrak, a Turkish company to modernize the port to international standards in a 2-decade long deal. Both the Somali and Kenyan governments have been tight-lipped regarding the specifics of the agreements, but debt accumulation and corrupt secret practices will be a reality. The Mombasa Port has welcomed East Asian capital to expand the port and introduce railway lines to neighbouring land-locked countries. This paper challenges the argument that development miraculously lifts a country out of poverty. The Western world has advised this prescription to the developed world as a method to continue their paternalistic practice. Though working semi-periphery countries does appear different, being that they too have been used by the Western world, the game is, largely, the same.

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Foreword

I began the Master of Environmental Studies program pondering on the practice of planning in an African context, particularly in Eastern Africa. For as long as I can remember, I have tried to envision Somalia's reemergence on the international stage. After the civil war, it was a matter of survival and far less about developing planning policies. However, Turkey's involvement in the country has been a point of interest. Their development of the capital's port raised questions of neo-colonialism, south-south collaboration and Muslim brotherhood in times of crises. The revitalization of the port will have positive implications for the nation in regard to joining the global trading system, this large-scale infrastructural project being a means of much-needed revenue generation for the government as well as being the foundation to build modern and sustainable ports throughout the country.

For my area of concentration, I focused on the concept of *economic development*. Without economics, a country is not able to partake in the global economic system. For Somalia to attain economic development, finding viable employment options for the youth population which makeup 60% of the population as well as revitalizing the Mogadishu port to increase efficiency, and generate much-needed revenue. To partake in the international trading system, bringing in heavy machinery to cut costs and time is an important factor. While this has cut employment at the port, young educated workers will be able to find long-term employment opportunities to assist in Somalia's developmental efforts.

The learning objectives for the economic development area of concentration are:

- i. To gain an understanding of the steps the Somali government is taking to ensure that local people are securing jobs within the seaport.

Thought the government have claimed local employment is an important factor, specific plans or policies have not been released to back up this claim.

- ii. To gain an understanding of the percentage of foreign workers compared to local workers and the effect this has had on the local economy.

Without the release of data from the government, the percentage of foreign vs local workers is yet to be determined.

- iii. To familiarize myself with the companies operating within the seaport. The percentage of Somalis (local + diasporic) compared to foreign-owned companies.

Similar to the point above, data has never been released to assess the companies both foreign and local operating in the port.

- iv. To compare Mogadishu's port with other privatized and public African seaports (particularly Eastern Africa)

Specifically, I could not compare the Mogadishu port to any other since this port is incomparable. The level of destruction, no government involvement for decades has led to warring groups taking control of the port at different times during the civil war. Since I was not able to travel to Mogadishu due to travel restrictions, I chose to research the Port of Mombasa to assess capital from semi-periphery nations.

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Chapter One, *Introduction*

Same Game, New Players

“Africa is believed by many to be the richest continent in the world as far as natural resource endowment is concerned. Yet Africa is home to the poorest people on earth” (Malunga, 2010, 1).

As South African author Chiku Malunga states, Africa is home to many natural resources that can be converted from ‘potential’ wealth to actual wealth. However, a number of issues, such as an ongoing brain drain, corruption, the lack of organization of Africa’s intellectuals, incompetent leaders and pervasive foreign aid practices negatively impact the continent’s economic growth potential. This major paper is concerned with the latter, foreign aid and foreign investment, as a means of development planning.

Due to the importance of their maritime borders for international trading, Somalia and Kenya are recent receptors of foreign investment funds to redevelop and expand their seaports. The national governments of both countries have justified partnerships as an economic development strategy. The new seaports are strategic not only for Somalia’s and Kenya’s economies, but they are also expected to meet the needs of their landlocked neighbours. Seaport redevelopment is an important infrastructure project for any country that can result in economic growth, job creation and involvement in the global trade system. With the improvement and expansion of vital seaport infrastructure projects, development can be redefined “by Africans for Africans”. From this perspective, East African countries with considerable coastal borders with the Indian Ocean could become beacons of hope for their future economic prosperities and neighbouring landlocked countries.

Assumptions of foreign investment in infrastructure as a means of development are not new. In fact, a number of hegemonic relationships through investment in Africa were led by nations such as Britain, Italy or France throughout the twentieth century. The current moment, however, is characterized by a set of new players. Increasingly, medium-income countries, such as Turkey, use their economic success to invest in large-scale infrastructure in East African nations.

International development planning in Africa has long been used as a means for Western countries, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and multi-lateral institutions to attempt to modernize black nations seemingly perceived as backwards. They have also aimed to impose new practices, cultural traits or ways of doing things under “savior” narratives and claims to development. Development planning, nonetheless, has done little to bring forth lasting change throughout the continent. The negative effects of development, such as new exploitative relations of labour, structural dependencies, rising inequality, and privatization of key infrastructures, are detrimental and will carry long-lasting implications to the continent.

This paper examines the politics and practice of seaport revitalization planning in Somalia and Kenya and the role of foreign capitals in infrastructure as a means of development. In doing so, the paper aims to provide a critical examination of exploitative foreign investment. It also aims to contribute to debunk theories of economic and community development planning through foreign investment in national infrastructure. In addition, this research aims to uncover how the trends, partnerships and visions of the Mogadishu and Mombasa ports have been influenced by foreign investment. The paper also uses world-systems analysis as a framework to explain the current shift in the geopolitics of international cooperation in Africa. I will also reflect on “development” as a term and what it has meant for the African continent.

Initially, I planned to travel to Somalia to conduct on the ground research. However, in October 2017, a terror attack took the lives of more than 500 civilians in the capital, Mogadishu.

Thereafter, York University staff were not comfortable with me traveling to undertake my research. The travel restrictions caused limitations to the research such as the inability to conduct face-to-face interviews as well as witnessing direct observations of the port to determine the level of progression.

Some of the specific research questions I aim to answer are as follows:

- How has foreign investment shaped seaport revitalization in Eastern Africa?
- What are the trends of seaport revitalization in East African countries?
- What are the geopolitical interests of old and new foreign countries? What are the conditions of the contracts between the African nation and semi-periphery nation?
- What are the visions for the seaports and how are they similar or different?
- How will the redevelopment be beneficial to the country?

The methods used involve literature review and document analysis with an emphasis on written media analysis, particularly, major newspapers such as: Al Jazeera, BBC News, CNN and Hiiraan Online. Hiiraan Online is a Somali virtual newspaper that is included given their coverage of infrastructure projects in the continent and their close examination of Africa-Sino relations. The paper uses world-systems analysis as a framework to explain the current shift in the geopolitics of international cooperation in Africa.

The role of planning theory in the Major Paper has been limited in some sense since planning is non-existent in a country devastated by war, reoccurring droughts and political instability. Even through the revitalization of the port, the government has not released clear objectives or planning policies for the port and the City as a whole. Though to modernize the port to international standards is a clear plan for the public interest. However, what constitutes as public interest and how is that measured is controversial, specifically in non-democratic countries.

Campbell and Marshal (2002, 65) point out that interest takes on two meaning: having concern to something or a risk of some sort, the latter is categorized as public interest. The government being able to determine public interest can raise cause for concern, especially when the divisive elements of class, race, gender are considered. In the case of Somalia, government officials have used clan affiliations, gender and having access to a Western passport for employment opportunities, funnel money into specific regions for development initiatives. In this regard, the absence of women in the redevelopment of the port, employment prospects tied to clan affiliations and people with Western passport significantly reduces the sustainability and longevity of the port project. After the tenure of the Turkish's involvement, the port can become a basis of conflict to resist the presence of divisive elements. To combat this, the Somali government is, at present, in a position to limit the presence of these elements.

The rest of this Major Paper is organized as follows: first, I discuss the history of development through various approaches while introducing seaports in the continent. Second, I examine Turkey's involvement in Africa and the relationship it has built with Somalia. Thereafter, I introduce East Asian capital to explain Mombasa's port and its importance to the region. I conclude with a comparison of the relationship between Turkey and Somalia to East Asia and Kenya to determine if foreign investment from semi-periphery nations are any different from those of the Western world.

Chapter Two, *International Development in Africa: From the Marshall Plan to New Colonialism*

Development is a contested term because it is often defined and understood differently. Generally, it is seen as the interjection of aid structures and practices that subsequently lead to better living standards with regards to income and wellbeing (Ahorro 2010, 1). The Western agenda for humanitarian development was born during Harry S. Truman's foreign policy plan. Under his administration, Truman established the European Recovery Program (also known as the Marshall Plan) to encourage economic recovery and minimize distress throughout Europe after the end of the Second World War (Winham, 1970, 42). The United States sent nearly 13 billion dollars in aid between 1948 to 1952 (CNN, 2014). Even though Germany had been blamed for World War II, the Americans included Germany into their mercy plan to ensure the economies of European countries survived post-war.

The end of the Second World War saw the emergence of the Cold War which divided the world into capitalism and communism. Many scholars regard the occupation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Union as the beginning of tense relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, which led to the Cold War (Davis, 1974, 3). The Cold War was a difficult time for Africa since the continent became a battleground for a 'global ideological struggle' (McCord, Sachs and Thye Woo, 2005, 29). Similar to its tension with the Soviet Union, the United States is still very much interested in promoting democratic states. During the Cold War, it was to liberate Eastern Europe and halt the expansion of communism (Davis, 1974, 4). Truman's development-style became the blueprint for Western doctrine for development. However, the entire notion of development has been problematic and have had detrimental effects to the developing world, especially low-income countries.

The Western notion of development has overshadowed any real progression on the African continent. In the late 1950s, the modernization theory of development emerged as a roadmap for

nations to achieve industrial growth (Desai, 2012, 53). American theorist, Walt Whitman Rostow penned the five stages of economic growth which he believed all countries should adhere to in order to achieve development: traditional society, transitional society, take-off, drive to technological maturity and high mass consumption. His growth plan lacks historical relevance to the developing world which illustrates the biased perspective of American and European theorists. The theory of modernization was heavily criticized as it did not take into account the decades of colonization much of the world had endured. The United States' version of modernization during the Cold War insisted that underdevelopment was the result of a country's mindset and cultural traits (Inglehart and Welzel, 2009, 35).

Western nations have used the excuse of the cultural trait as a way to introduce cultural adjustment programs to push their values via development (Andreasson, 2005, 973). Africa has always been viewed as the 'dark continent' with a primitive population and backwards cultural traits. International views were often unable to understand the continent in the past and still have trouble comprehending it today. Western development has encompassed not only monetary payments but also a cultural-altering mission.

The 'cultural mindset' rhetoric mirrors Edward Said's Orientalism concept which sought to explain the biased and distortive image the Western World has towards Arab people and culture. Unfortunately, this is still relevant today. The US government used *The Arab Mind* by anthropologist Raphae Patai in the Iraqi torture prison of Abu Ghraib. According to Patai's book, Arab men are worried about sexual shame and thus, the United States' government used this book as a psychological blueprint into the supposed mind of Arab people, particularly Arab men (Starrett, 2004, 10). This illustrates how dangerous the rhetoric of "othering" can be.

The 1960s saw the emergence of dependency theory, which took the opposite approach to criticize the capitalistic doctrine that sought to accumulate wealth while keeping the rest of the

world in their current state (Desai, 2012, 56). Andre Gunder Frank was the key theorist whose understanding of development consisted of focusing on socialism and disassociating from the capitalistic system (Desai, 2012, 57). Frank believed the only way to development for the Global South was to liberate itself from the Global North since colonialism had led to widespread poverty and political corruption (Fischer-Tahir & Naumann, 2013, 12). The only way to truly reach the ‘development’ that the developing world was attempting to attain was to work together and against the developed world. An important aspect of the dependency theory is the need for a positive relationship among poorer nations to decrease dependency on the developed world (Thiboutot, 2006, 11). Dependency theorists were concerned about uncovering the reason for the inequalities that exist between developing and developed countries. The theory divided the world into two parts: the periphery (developing world) and the core (developed world), claiming that the core enslaved the periphery to accumulate massive wealth at the expense of the latter (Velasco, 44). Dependency theory dictates that trade with rich countries exploits poor countries which leads to a path of ‘structural dependence’ (Inglehart and Welzel, 2009, 36). For example, Ivory Coast is the origin of the cocoa beans that are used to make chocolate but unfortunately some of the farmers have never tasted chocolate (Quest, CNN, 2014). The periphery supplies the core with the natural resources and primary materials needed to make most of the finished products sold back to the periphery.

In Arturo Escobar’s, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* Escobar explains that development, since its inception, was and continues to be a Eurocentric, top-down approach (Escobar, 2012, 74). The West took a parental tone through their developmental discourse underlying “salvation” as a common theme (Escobar, 2012, 30). Colonialism came as a salvation mission to civilize the primitive people throughout the world. Development was also another re-civilizing mission to impose Western ideals and values onto their subjects. However, this time the punishment for non-compliance would be withheld aid. The overwhelming literature regarding foreign aid confirms that monetary stipends have not

changed the fate of many African countries (Warsame & Ireri, 2016, 350). The very idea of development is to impose Western cultural ideology.

Within the development concept is sustainable development, a theory that promotes environmental conservation intertwined with economic development. According to Hugé et al (2013, 187), sustainable development is a policy goal that has been presented by decision-makers throughout the world as an action-guide principle. This has caused nations to ‘adopt’ sustainable development without understanding the context of applicability in the certain nation.

International organizations such as the United Nations fervently push for the use of developmental doctrines without attempting to understand the negative historical significance of the doctrine on the developing world. McCord, Sachs and Thye Woo explained that Africa’s poverty problems lie in the blind adoption of development ideologies such as the Washington Consensus without the vital human capital investments such as infrastructure, education, health etc. needed to move countries along (2005, 27). This is evident enough that the developed world is not necessarily concerned with “development” for the rest of the world, but to keep the poorer countries scraping for the bread thrown during incremental times.

American sociologist, Immanuel Wallerstein formulated the world-system theory to analyze the capitalistic economic system and sought to rebuke the modernization theory. Though the world-system theory was close to the dependency theory, it also examined the dependency phenomenon through a world lens. Semi-peripheries are needed to ensure that a capitalist world-economy runs smoothly (Wallerstein, 2004, 403). The upper echelons that control the world economic system favour a third category (semi-periphery) since it means that the world is not unified. The third category is “exploiter and exploited” (Wallerstein, 2004, 405). Wallerstein’s book, *World’s System Analysis* served to understand the world-economic system.

Many things changed in 1945 however; the three biggest were: The U.S became a global superpower, chaos was occurring throughout the world, especially in the developing world, and the university system turned global (Wallerstein, 2004, 9). The Americans used this opportunity to develop “area studies” in university to train social scientists in the art of explaining world events (Wallerstein, 2004, 10). Thus, the concept of development became a “theory of stages” (Wallerstein, 2004, 10). However, to shift an entire country, region or continent towards economic prosperity is not as simple as prescribing a set of stages (Wallerstein, 2004, 10). Western countries used their own economic success as a model to showcase what poorer nations can achieve if they meticulously subscribe to the stages. The Thatcher and Raegan administrations in the United Kingdom and United States used neoliberal theory and the Washington Consensus policy as blueprints of their global plan for the developing world. (Wallerstein, 2004, 86). International organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), became the “chief enforcers of the Washington Consensus”, and thus the practice of structural adjustment programmes was born (Wallerstein, 2004, 86). Western countries used the concept of development to maintain economic prosperity after the crumbling of the colonial system. Poorer countries would always have a harder time attaining economic growth; and the West used development as a guise; it was a neocolonial salvation mission.

To repeat, in the 1980s, the Washington Consensus was introduced to promote neo-liberal attitudes of a laissez-faire market reform (Saad-Filho, 2011). During the same period, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) introduced structural adjustment programs (SAPs) to de-subsidize public services, change financial policy, devalue the local currencies and rearrange institutional reforms (FAO, 1999, 1). This form of policy reform was more interested in wealth creation than redistribution. The IMF and WB still to this day promote market liberalization throughout countries in Africa even though implementation has been problematic. This one-dimensional definition of development has put immense pressure on

African states to adopt the measures attached to financial packages in the form of loans and aid. Conditions such as the privatization of public assets and free-market reforms put countries in far worse positions.

Zambian economist, Dambisa Moyo calls for the end of government to government aid in her book *Dead Aid*. Her central argument is that aid has kept Africa from serious economic development. She distinguishes between the types of aid into three categories: “emergency and humanitarian aid, charity aid and systematic aid” (Moyo, 2009, 7). Systematic aid is the type of assistance that Moyo has a problem with; it is defined as “payments made directly to governments either through government-to-government transfers or transferred via institutions” (Moyo, 2009, 7). Developed nations provide millions of dollars to corrupt and incompetent leaders, thus hindering growth in the continent. The policy of aid has seen billions gone to waste with no indication of any substantial positive difference to the lives of Africans. [This is an exaggeration: there are positive differences in, for instance, life expectancy] Unfortunately, corruption is not the only negative effect of development. Deals with incompetent leaders have led to Africans losing out in economic prosperity and reaping the true monetary value of their raw materials. Development also puts low-income countries in a debt crisis since many borrow large sums of money to undertake large infrastructure projects. Many African countries are already in debt and are unable to repay loaners. China could be using debt as a means of putting African countries in positions that will keep them vulnerable (BBC News, 2018). About 18% of the external debt of African countries is owed to China (BBC News, 2018).

Many countries are in situations that are hard to come out of and thus deals with the devil are made. For example, Somalia has a strategic coastal location, but due to two decades of civil unrest and a bad image in the international community, the country made a two-decade long deal with a Turkish company to redevelop the Mogadishu port. The Turkish company, Al-Bayrak — according to online research— has no prior international port experience but was able to land

Somalia's largest port and 45 percent of the revenue collected. In this regard, Somalia was in a bad predicament and were forced to accept help, however it came. The Turkish used this as an opportunity to build their own companies into global corporations and as a point-of-entry into the African continent by 'helping' a poor, fellow Muslim country devastated by decades of anarchy.

2.1 – Semi-peripheries

Immanuel Wallerstein believed the global economic system was divided into three parts: cores, semi-peripheries and peripheries. While core is categorized as politically strong countries, peripheries are the total opposite (Kühn & Bernt, 2013, 304). Countries in this third category can fluctuate towards either the periphery or the core; Spain fell to the periphery in the 17th and 18th century and Japan graduated more recently to join the ranks of the core (Chirot & Hall, 1982, 85). According to Chirot & Hall, Wallerstein in his work stressed the importance of the semi-periphery as the balance of the international game. Without semi-peripheries, the capitalists would not be able to function (1982, 85). In this regard, without the constant exploitation and abuse of lower-income countries, the developed world would not be able to satisfy their lust for revenue generation. Capitalism, according to Wallerstein has to be an equal game because by balancing the playing field, the developed world would not stand a chance. Poorer countries have the larger lands, the important raw materials and the human capital but they lack one vital component: revenue.

While many Western countries have historically negative relationships with African countries, China was an ally during the struggle for independence. In 1963-64, China came up with the policy of free aid to fortify Sino-African relationships as well as build important infrastructure for African countries. These structures became symbols of hope in the face of adversity (Anshan, 2007, 71). According to Anshan, China had relations with 43 African countries by 1978 (2007, 72). Even my own father remembers working for the Chinese in Mogadishu as they built roads in Somalia in the late 70s under the regime of Barre.

With China, a large semi-periphery has taken the globe by storm; the country has forged relations with many African nations and has thus taken the role Western countries once played. Revenue is provided, infrastructure is constructed, and amicable friendships have been developed by China to become a force not to be reckoned with. As a middle-income country, China was once under the belt of colonialism but today the exploited has become the exploiter. China's billion-dollar dealings with Africa have perpetuated unemployment, resentment and lack of transparency to average citizens. The West has labelled China as a 'rogue donor' due to its "no strings attached" policy for providing cheap loans in exchange for access to natural resources (Condon, 2012, 6). For this, the West believes that Chinese development will have lasting negative effects on the African continent. To counter Western criticism, China credits its policy as a respect factor for African leadership (Condon, 2012, 6). This is something that the West has failed to do and have forcefully pushed their ideals onto the global community. The paternalistic attitude of the West has thus backfired on them, to the amusement of the Chinese.

It cannot be ignored that China does pose a great risk to the African continent. With the youngest population in the world, 70% being under the age of 30 (African Development Bank Report, 2014, 4). It is imperative that Africans benefit from their natural resource extraction and infrastructure development particularly in terms of employment. China is used to bringing their own workers into Africa due to the ease of importing skilled workers as opposed to training new workers. (Anshan, 2007, 81). The economic feasibility of the projects being undertaken entail Chinese businesses importing workers that understand the nature of the job, the demanding hours and the language of instruction. However, in this regard African leaders need to be champions of their own people to ensure that the locals are benefitting from the natural wealth of their country.

Since China claims to respect the authority of African countries, it is crucial for African leaders to stress the importance of human capacity within their own borders. Lack of this fuels

resentment and protests in places with large infrastructure development projects. Youth unemployment is rising in the continent, which remains as a major reason for poverty (African Development Bank, 2016, 17). The continent's leaders need to sign contracts that empower their young people. It seems that semi-peripheries are no different than the perpetrators before them. Unfortunately, Africa is yet again in an exploitative phase. Building infrastructure without local labour and knowledge is not a sustainable step towards economic empowerment. As investment comes from semi-periphery countries, African leaders need to ensure locals are being hired. Local hiring is also needed to buy local products to promote the economic viability of the country.

Semi-peripheries have long been exploited but have now amassed enough revenue to also exploit low-income countries. However, the relationship between semi-peripheries and the periphery is a phenomenon that has caused unease within the core. The middle-income countries have given low-income countries the power of choice: the power to choose between Western or non-Western countries as compatible trading partners and aid/grant donors. China has become Africa's biggest supporter, supplier and friend.

As China's influence spreads across the continent, Western nations are not at ease with the relationship. As Taylor points out, the West had Africa under their influence for a long time and thus took the relationship for granted (2015, 51).

Though China began undertaking infrastructure projects in Africa during the post-colonial era (Broadman, 2008, 95), the current rate of China's involvement in the continent has been growing rapidly. China began constructing Africa's largest free trade zone in the capital of Djibouti (BBC News, 2019). The free trade zone will be an extension of the Port of Doraleh to relieve congestion and build other infrastructures such a Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway with a total cost of \$590 million (Djibouti Ports & Free Zones Authority, 2019). This project is part of China's

larger blueprint of the Belt and Road initiative to connect Europe, Africa and Asia. Western nations are uncomfortable with the relationship because their own influence is diminishing. Africans no longer need to wait for handouts from the West and their international organizations (the IMF and WB). Asian countries such as China, India, Turkey, Taiwan have forged relationships based on common interests without a paternalistic tone attached. This relationship has given African leaders agency. Many African leaders prefer to deal with China, and other semi-periphery nations due to lack of conditions.

China is only concerned with its own interests in the continent and does not concern itself with human right violations and totalitarian regimes (Tull, 2006, 476). Western news outlets have questioned the Sino-African relationship and pondered on China's real motive. Figures 1 through 6 show newspaper headlines that cannot seem to understand China's interest in the continent. Western media sincerely questions China's inherent interest in such regions and propel the notion that China is taking advantage of fragile states. Essentially, they believe that there is no mutual consideration and that China is disproportionally reeking the benefits while these fragile states receive close to nothing in exchange. Many are Western newspapers that seem to have a problem with China's relationship with Africa. Unfortunately, these newspapers use 'Africa' as if referring to one large nation instead of 54 sovereign nations. Though China has forged relationships with many of nations, relationship types differ from country to country.

China pledges \$60 billion in aid and loans to Africa, no 'political conditions attached'

Figure 1: Washington Post - September 3, 2018

What Is China Doing In Africa?

Figure 2 - Forbes - August 4, 2018

Should Africa be wary of Chinese debt?

Figure 3 - BBC News - September 3, 2018

The Battle for Africa

Figure 4 - Al Jazeera - April 15, 2015

China in Africa: investment or exploitation?

Figure 5 – Al Jazeera – May 4, 2014

Watch out Trump, China is taking Africa from under your nose

Figure 6 – CNN – August 17, 2018

Is China the World's New Colonial Power?

Figure 7 - New York Times - May 2, 2017

China in Africa: win-win development, or a new colonialism?

Figure 8 - *The Guardian* - July 31, 2018

What China Is Really Up To In Africa

Figure 9 - *Forbes* - October 3, 2019

China in the driver's seat amid calls for Africa debt relief

Figure 10 - *Reuters* - April 13, 2020

China's Investment in Africa Cannot Buy the Silence of a Continent

Figure 11 - *The Diplomat* - April 28, 2020

As China faces a backlash in the West, Xi needs Africa more than ever

Figure 12 - *CNN* - May 29, 2020

Unfortunately, though China and middle-income countries may be late to the game of development; however, they are perpetuating the same negativity onto the continent. Many

believe that China's involvement with the continent is a positive turn for the economic woes of Africa. However, China's non-interference policy negatively affects the countries in which it operates. Sudan is one such example, China continuously supplied arms to the nation, even though it had knowledge of the gross human rights violations occurring in the Darfur region. Sudan's wealth in oil was enough for China to sweep the Darfur conflict under the rug until there was an outcry by the global community. Thereafter, China convinced Sudan to accept a peacekeeping mission: The United Nations/African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) (Shinn, 2009, 89). Though it is a positive step to see regime leaders listening to their global south counterparts to resolve intrastate conflict, China's supply of arms that have been used in the Darfur is a huge concern.

It needs to be understood that providing aid to African countries has not, and will not, miraculously convert these countries into middle-income countries without understanding the negative effects of aid. Rwandan president Paul Kagame explains that aid is about supporting social and economic transformations, but there must be an end time stamp to foreign aid (Fareed Zakaria GPS Today). Which is a logical way to look at foreign assistance. The dwindling of aid will force leaders to take responsibility for their citizens. China, like many aid-supplying countries understand that several African countries are dependent on aid; this gives them an advantage to provide much-needed welfare in exchange for natural resources. The Asian giant has been involved in trade, peacekeeping missions, infrastructure development and giving loans to African states reluctant to deal with Western international monetary agencies. In 2014, three countries in Western Africa were hit by the Ebola epidemic: Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea. China was greatly involved with the three nations and took part in the emergency by building a health facility in Liberia and supplying monetary assistance (Taylor, 2015, 41). China, the non-interfering donor was forced to become humanitarian when countries it was operating in were hit by a devastating epidemic.

2. – *Africa: post-independence*

The post-independence period in Africa was a time of huge dreams and a sense of pride. Freedom had finally been granted after years of struggle; in most cases large numbers of people died for the cause. For example, according to the Algerian government, the war for independence costed over a million lives, making it Africa's bloodiest war for liberation (BBC, 2019). Most African countries gained independence in the 1960s and 1970s. Independence meant that Africans could finally create their own systems of government, reclaim their lands and heal from the abuse of colonization. According to wa Muiu, independence in Africa was a three-part process: 1) removal of the colonial administration, 2) waging war against neocolonialism, and 3) gaining economic emancipation and uniting all Africans (2010, 1318). Unfortunately, though political independence was attained, economic emancipation would be a problem that still persists today (Quijano, 2000 as cited in Bulhan, 2015, 240). To the dismay of Africans, "post" was only in the name since the new administration had inherited the colonial institutions (wa Muiu, 2010, 1318).

To the surprise and shock of many Africans, after the high spirits of independence, leaders turned towards one-party states and military regimes and not towards the democracy that many citizens had envisioned (Salih, 2007, 669). Rebel leaders that had waged successful revolts against the colonial administration with no limited knowledge of peacebuilding and governance declared themselves rulers. African leaders are some of the world longest serving heads of states, with many being forcefully removed from their positions by angry citizens after years of corruption, economic stagnation and poverty. According to the CNN, the five longest serving presidents in the continent range between regimes of 29 and 36 years, while the ages of the presidents range from 71 to 91 years (Kiwuwa, 2015). With the youngest population in the world, an average of 19.5 years according to the United Nations, the age of the presidents does not coincide with the populace.

This poor leadership has negatively affected the political and economic evolution of the continent. African leaders have used their role as heads of state as their own personal kingdoms. When asked to step down or having died while in office, many of their sons inherit the office. In the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, after Laurent Kabila was assassinated in 2001, his son Joseph Kabila inherited the office and has been in power ever since. The lack of economic growth and poverty can be associated with the political administrations currently in place throughout the continent (Lewis, 2008, 95). I believe this is the reason why African Nations have fell far behind other nations in the world, and I do not see any further major advancements until presidents all across the continent adhere to term regulations and give the younger generation the opportunity to continually build on successes.

Due to the aforementioned complication of poor leadership, the Western world was able to put in regulations for population control in exchange for foreign aid so long African governments complied with their prescribed terms. The World Bank, under the leadership of the United States and other Western nations put in population control measures to decrease populations of the developing world. (wa Muiu, 2010, 1319). The continent can fit the United States, Argentina, India, Europe and New Zealand inside, but the Western world had advocated and put in place mechanisms of family planning (Martin, 2005, 69). The West was aware of the detrimental effects that underpopulation would have to development but was unconcerned with these matters. This is one indicator of the West's corrupt concept of development. The notion of population is always analyzed, however, the size of the continent and the fact that the entire continent has less people than the country of China has clearly never been assessed. It was a never a notion to develop the 'dark continent' but to under develop it so much that it would take decades for the continent to make even small steps of progress. According to Martin, population control did not begin in the last few decades but has been a systematic tactic that begun with the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the 15th century. The constant wars and persistent diseases as well as

more recent policies have been a scheme designed to keep Africa underpopulated (2005, 69). For a large continent, the art of depopulating had detrimental consequences. According to wa Muiu, development was hard to attain due to the underpopulation since many died as a result of war, disease and starvation (2010, 1319). Though post-independence was a prideful time for all Africans, the Western definition of development, incompetent leaders and economic stagnation have caused a bleak image of the continent.

The Berlin Conference of 1884 sealed the fate of the continent of Africa for about the next hundred years. European delegates sat in a room and carved the continent of Africa to suit their own colonial and imperial ambitions without any regard for ethnic or religious ties. Thus, African countries were forced to inherit the political geography boundaries designated at the Conference and after, with some nations being too small to be able to build successful economies (Griffiths, 1986, 204). According to Griffiths, the various borders of the continent were drawn by Europeans for Europeans (1986, 204). It has been estimated that 30 percent of these boundaries are straight lines (1986, 205) further accentuating a total disregard for people of Africa. Though politically independent, many new African states were too scattered and minuscule to develop on their own which rendered much of the continent economically shackled (Browne, 1994, 29). Shortly after independence, some countries descended into chaos or continued the system of the colonial administrators.

PARTITION OF AFRICA 1885 - 1914

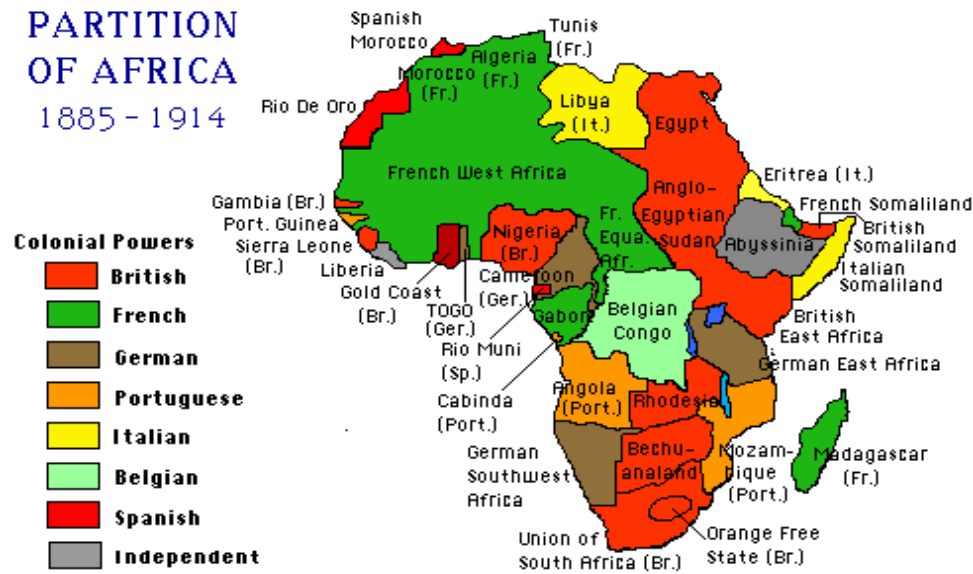


Figure 13 - Map of Colonial Africa

Source: The Medium

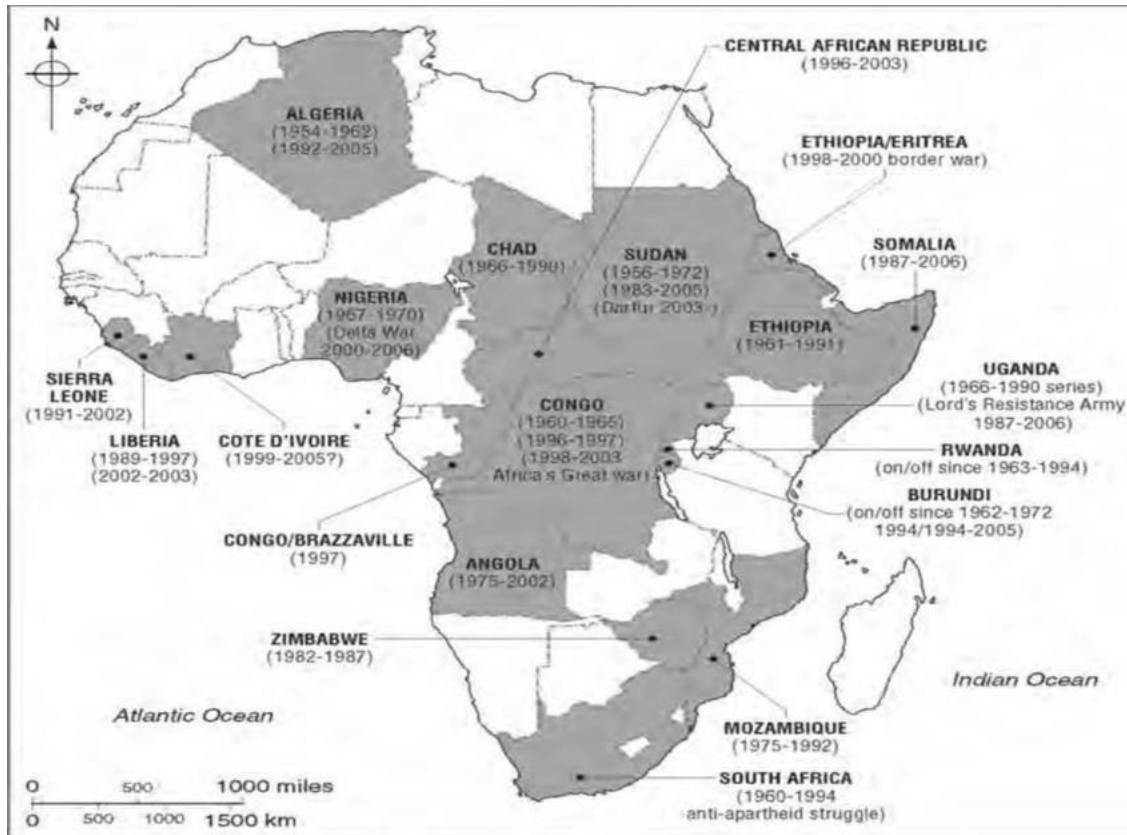


Figure 14 - Major Wars in Africa

Source: Research Gate

2.3 – Foreign Investment

Foreign capital reaches countries as either foreign direct investment or aid. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) defines foreign direct investment (FDI) as the investment of an enterprise in a foreign economy (2002, 245). According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), FDI has surpassed remittance, portfolio investment flows and aid to be the largest source of external revenue (OCED, 2018, 1).

Globalization has allowed companies to operate in multiple countries, however the investment of these companies has been extremely selective. Selection based strictly on a risk assessment of a

country to determine the opportunities and potential risks has resulted in Africa seeing its fair share of FDI cut. A primary reason for FDI in African countries is its large volume of natural resources (OECD, 2002, 8). Companies invest in these resource-rich countries for the abundance of resources, which might mitigate the potential risks. Political risk is a major concern in Africa, and this includes issues such as; contract violating, expropriation, an unpredictable climate and the lack of transparency.

For countries to attract foreign capital to investment in their respective territories, it is important to minimize risk. The development of adequate policies that protect investors, political stability, and a business mindset can increase the chances of attractiveness (AfDB, 2016, 1). The creation of a policy and official outline to ensure good governance and a business-healthy environment are factors that assist potential investors to minimize their risk (World Bank, 2018, 8).

China has made great strides investing in the continent to the dismay of the West. However, evidence shows that the majority of investment is in resource-rich countries with poor governance. (Kolstad and Wiig, 46). Eighty-five percent of China's exports to the continent have been focused on oil-rich nations such as; Angola, Nigeria, the Republic of Congo, Sudan and Equatorial Guinea (Broadman, 2008, 97). This is a problematic revelation because it seems obvious that China is disproportionately conducting its business with oil-rich countries. The discovery of large natural resource and a country's dependency on this one commodity is referred to as Dutch Disease (Brahmbhatt et al, 1). The case of Dutch Disease has been a problem throughout Africa's relationship with the West and it seems to be a perpetuating one. East Africa is categorized as being less-resource dependent which gives the region an advantage to build strong, resilient economies away from the dependency of one commodity. The region was recorded to have high yearly rates of growth of more than 5% (Trade and Development Report, 2018, 20). In the case of China and similar semi-periphery nations, risks do not seem to be a deterrent from conducting business. A possible explanation for this could be that most

Chinese companies are either state-owned or state-controlled and therefore allowing the government to take a loss rather than independent companies (Broadman, 2008, 98).

According to the World Bank, Africa's level of inequality is similar to that of many other developing regions; however, the continent does have the world's highest level of inequality by region (2016, 127). The exacerbation of corrupt regimes and human rights violations do not seem like befitting reasons to deter China's investment in countries with poor governance. China's foreign policy focuses on the development of friendly relations regardless of social systems or ideological alignment (Muekalia, 2004, 7). The West has worked alongside and supported many corrupt nations as well; in China's case the construction of infrastructure could assist in the economic development of these nations. Thus, I believe that once economic steadiness is acquired, citizens are more likely to be educated thus allowing them to be more involved in political processes.

Foreign direct investment alone cannot develop a nation. Furthermore, FDI alone cannot assist in the creation and maintenance of a sustainable economy, development in technology, health, infrastructure and education are important co-factors (OECD, 2002, 10). Countries need to expand beyond investment strategies to utilize their human capital. By 2045, the number of young people in Africa will double (AfDB, 2014, 142). Creating an environment for young people to thrive and find viable employment opportunities should incentivize African leaders to develop strong economies.

2.4 – Seaports in Africa

The African Development Bank pushes for a shared regional market to assist in the economic growth of the region. Regional integration and cooperation are an answer to many of East Africa's economic development tribulations. Ports are essential modes of transport to engage in international and regional trade. They can serve as economic powerhouses to generate much-needed revenue for governments. As major nodes in national and international maritime transport systems, ports play an important role in the development of modern Africa (Hoyle, 1999, 192). There are many robust ports in Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, Egypt and Nigeria that serve landlocked neighbours and the hinterlands of these respective countries. Africa heavily relies on maritime shipping as the primary mode of transportation for goods intended for export (African Development Report, 2010, 33). For at least 2000 years trade goods between African and Asian has been reliant on ports (Pouwels, 2002, 385). The exchange of goods and peoples have forever changed the landscape of the coastal cities of East Africa, particularly Mombasa.

Africa is home to 15 landlocked countries that rely on ports from neighbouring countries for international trade. In East Africa, the Mombasa port in Kenya and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania are suffering from congestion problems due to low investment and weak connections to the hinterland (African Development Report, 2010, 41). Even the expansion of the Mombasa port cannot alone meet the cargo demands for the region. The development of another port in the small island town, Lamu in Kenya can help with the cargo demands and the infrastructure constraints.

During colonization, the British built the Uganda Railway to link the hinterlands of Kenya and Uganda to Mombasa for the exploitation of raw material to Europe. Dubbed the Lunatic Express, due to the high costs of its construction, the railway was built for the sole purpose of removing goods from the hinterland; and now 122 years later the Chinese-built railway was unleashed in 2017 (CNN, 2017). The Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway (also known as the Madaraka Express) is China's East African Railway project — connecting the Mombasa Port to

the capital, Nairobi, and landlocked countries in the region for the swift delivery of goods. The project comes with a 3.8 billion price tag; however, it can be a real chance for the development of the region (CNN, 2017). The railway can make Kenya a trade hub and connect the region in an integral manner. Ports act primarily as gateways and as nodes within international transport networks (Bird, 1980, 1983 as cited in Hoyle and Charlier, 1995). Thus, their importance is immense to the further development of the continent.

Colonialism has had negative impacts on the African continent due to the blatant disregard for ethnic, religious and linguistic borders during Europe's Scramble for Africa. Many African countries are too small to be able to become economically viable on their own (Griffiths, 204). This stresses the African Development Bank's drive to create a coordinated and systematic cooperation amongst African countries to work within their regions. Landlocked countries can participate in global trade with the construction and use of large ports in coastal cities.

Port Sudan is the largest port with respect to total area, while Djibouti is the largest based on storage capacity. The port of Mombasa which provides the major export gateway to landlocked countries in the sub region (African Development Bank, 2010, 60). Each port serves a similar function but has differing capacities and capabilities. The re-emergence of Mogadishu's port can give the region an additional, much-needed corridor for international trade. For example, 70% of cargo that moves through the Port of Djibouti is Ethiopian, showcasing the importance of ports to landlocked countries (African Development Bank, 2010, 62). A large landlocked country such as Ethiopia is in great need of exports and imports. Instability in Somalia and war with Eritrea has caused the Port of Djibouti to be Ethiopia's only viable option. Recently, this has changed for the better. Ethiopia's new administration has made amends with Eritrea and begun construction on the road to the port. The construction of large infrastructure projects throughout the continent can bring forth renewed peace negotiations and regional cooperation for the goal of attaining economic growth.

Chapter Three, South-South Collaboration: Turkey's Investment in Somalia

3.1 – Turkey's Entry into Africa

Somalia, an East African country, has had a complicated recent history, involving ongoing violent conflict, natural disasters, and acute governance challenges. In 1991, rebels overthrew the presiding dictatorship sending the country into a devastating two decade-long civil war. Without a central government and the failure of the US-led UN intervention, Operation Restore Hope; the country faced major governance chaos. The world categorized the nation as a failed state and ignored it for nearly twenty years. In 2011, East Africa was hit by the worst drought it had faced in 60 years (BBC, 2011). Somalia's most fertile land was hit, and the drought claimed 260,000 lives in Somalia alone (UN News, 2013). The fragile nation was unable to cope with the devastating famine.

Since the fall of the Barre regime in 1991, Somalia has been in a state of anarchy. Similar to many other post-independence regimes, the country was subjected to warring clansmen seeking to claim power over the nation. In 1993, Somalia was dubbed a "failed state" after the American-led *Operation Restore Hope* ended in a battle which resulted in the death of American soldiers and their corpses dragged through the streets of Mogadishu. After this devastating blow to the United States, Somalia was left to its own divisive ways. A year later, the United States refused to play any role during genocide in Rwanda, quoting that they did not want a "repeat of Mogadishu." Without a stable government or international assistance, warlords, islamists, and involvement from neighbouring nations significantly impacted the recovering nation from rebuilding itself. Today, Somalia may not have strong governmental institutions, but it has nevertheless come a long way. The United Nations recognized the Somali Transitional Federal Government until 2012 which subsequently lead to the formation of the permanent Federal Government of Somalia. A recognized international government allows Somalia to establish relationships with potential investors and depend less on foreign aid thus allowing Somalia to

make much of its own decisions. More recently the government has attempted to undertake large scale infrastructure development with the help of foreign involvement in order to increase revenue generation.

Turkey is one dominant semi-periphery nation that has shown considerable interest in Somalia's peacebuilding process. After the 2011 East African famine that devastated the region and Somalia's breadbasket, Turkey supplied much-needed humanitarian relief. Semi-periphery states have taken a benefactor role and Turkey's partnership with Somalia shows its willingness to get involved in conflict settings (Sucuoglu and Stearns, 5). Thereafter, the nation continued developmental projects to redevelop the airport, seaport, hospitals, roads, schools and have given scholarship packages to Somali students.

As the international community mobilized to ensure food was getting to the places most affected by drought, Turkey went a step further. Since Turkey does not have a colonial relationship with African nations, it relies on a Muslim connection to forge relationships (Wheeler, 43). During Ramadan in 2011, a fasting month for observant Muslims, Turkey's president Recep Tayyip Erdogan became the first non-African head of state to touch down in the country for two decades (Al Jazeera, 2011). He brought along his family and four ministers to show the crippled nation that Turkey was serious in its effort to feed, build and bring Somalia back into the international community's attention. His appeal to the Muslim world raised \$315 million during an emergency Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC) meeting in Istanbul (Reuters, 2011). Turkey appealed to the Muslim world to help where the West had failed. Erdogan's visit caused a domino effect of important figures visiting the war-torn nation. Soon after Erdogan's visit, then-secretary general of the United Nations, Ban Ki-Moon paid a surprise visit (New York Times, 2011).

Many of the worst hit drought areas were in the areas concerned by Somalia's radical Islamists group, Al Shabab. Within their held territories, foreign NGOs were not allowed to operate. However, Turkish NGOs were given permission by Al-Shabaab to provide humanitarian relief through Somali partners, solidifying Turkish success (Ozkan and Orackci, 349). Turkey was also successful in gaining the administration of the Somali population. After the Turkish leader's successful visit, Somalis began to name their sons Erdogan and daughters Istanbul (BBC, 2014). Turkey has attempted to deal with intrastate relations and regional cooperation to boost the peace process within Somalia's borders and among its neighbours. A safer and solidified East Africa can ensure economic efficiency and a prosperous future.

Turkey's policy in Somalia has three focal points: first, humanitarianism; second, development policies implemented on the ground; and third, stabilizing the regional balance to prolong the peace process (Ozkan and Orackci, 346). Turkey is using Somalia as an example to showcase its willingness to undergo massive undertakings in the African continent. Turkey's performance in Somalia regardless of the outcome will shape the future of Turkish-African relations (Ozkan and Orackci, 349). The international community needs Somalia as much as Somalia needs the international community; a welcoming relationship can strengthen the nation's capacity to hamper terroristic activities, piracy, famine and intrastate warfare to finally emerge as an egalitarian state. According to Farrell, Somalia's oil and natural gas deposits can bring stability and economic development to the nation which in turn strengthens peace in the East African region (as cited in Ozkan and Orakci, 348). Peace in the Horn of Africa symbolizes a renewed inception to one of Africa's longest troubled regions.

Turkey identified Africa as an important region in the 1980s but did not focus its policy on the continent until 1998 (Rudincová, 202). However, due to internal conflicts and economic shortcomings, the policies were not implemented on ground until the Justice and Development Party (AKP) rose to power in 2002 (Rudincová, 202). Turkey's relationship with Africa as the

Ottoman Empire focused on economic empowerment with considerable freedom in maintain African culture, ideals and systems (Enwere and Yilmaz, 223). This peaceful history with Africa allowed the Turkish to forge new economic and politically relevant relationships. Turkey thus began to open new embassies throughout the continent and hold important global conferences. A relationship with Africa allowed for new markets for Turkish products as well as a new source for Turkey to acquire of cheap raw materials (Enwere and Yilmaz, 225).

Post-conflict is defined as a process involving accomplishments of peace milestones rather than a particular event (Brown, Armin and Stewart, 2011, 4). The world may not consider Somalia as a post-conflict nation, but it is imperative to recognize the huge strides that the nation has taken and the renewed perspective of the local and diasporic Somali population pertaining to peace and prosperity. Post-conflict states have a difficult path to overcome their dark past portrayals and visualize a peaceful future for their citizens. Post-Conflict Peacebuilding (PCPB) has been an important part of the humanitarian agenda for both core and semi-periphery countries as well as international organizations.

Intervening in a post-conflict nation usually causes strife between external and local actors (Krause and Jütersonke. 452). If the peacebuilding process is not conducted in a respectful manner with legitimate participatory dialogue between the external and local actors, peace objectives cannot be attained. After the Balkan crisis, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) initiated a weapons collection in Kosovo, but that initiative failed because they assumed since the same program worked in Albania, Kosovo would be no different (Krause and Jütersonke, 453). The “one size fits all” attitude has hindered legitimate progression in peacebuilding efforts throughout the world.

Evidently, the media has vilified many African countries such as Somalia as a war-torn nation that has become a hotbed for terrorists. Though some parts of the nation are having trouble with

security matters, this is not the case for the entire country. “Most post-conflict reconstruction efforts take place in situations where conflict has subsided to a greater or lesser degree but is ongoing or recurring in some parts of the country” (Brinkerhoff, 4). The Federal Government has focused most of its large-scale development projects in the capital, Mogadishu. There have been random violent attacks in the country’s capital, but the city is a relatively safe and a free zone to conduct business.

3.2 – History of the Mogadishu port

Somalia is an East African country situated in the Horn of Africa. It borders the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean and is bordered by Djibouti to the northwest, Ethiopia to the west and Kenya to the southeast. The capital, Mogadishu, has played a significant role in international trading throughout history.

Understanding the history of the Mogadishu port is an important factor that with help can shape the capital’s maritime viability. Pouwels discusses the fact that during certain times of the year, boats historically were unable to reach the Mozambican channel, and this forced ships to, “‘winter’ in East Africa until the gentler winds and weaker currents of September permitted a less turbulent return trip (Pouwels, 2002, 387). Due to this, Mogadishu became an important place for the Sofala (province in Mozambique) gold trade (Pouwels, 2002, 387). Ancient Somalis have traded with many people including the Egyptians, Persians, Chinese, Romans, Arabs, Greeks and Gujaratis (Arnoldi 1986; Mire 2006; Smith and Wright 1988 as cited in Mire, 2007). History shows that Somalis have been trading with the world for centuries and understand the importance of ports. However, modern port planning is different, and Somalia does need assistance in terms of construction, investment and emerging into the international maritime sphere.

The north portion of the Somali coast served a vital provider of produce and timber for the Middle East and further towards the Western part of the Indian ocean (Pouwels, 2002, 388). The Yemeni coast was unable to feed its own population and greatly depended on East Africa for essential nutritious foods, guards for armed services, timber to build homes and slaves to provide labour (Pouwels, 2002, 389). The food exports from East Africa were also crucial in assisting the Middle East with adequately feeding their own populations (Pouwels, 2002, 389). Somalia was not only an important place for gold, but the country was a lifeline for the Middle East.

3.3 – Building/Vision of the port

The Mogadishu port has become the latest large-scale development project for the Somali government. The redevelopment of the port has modernized and introduced container shipping arrangements, introduced heavy machinery as well as an improved logistics system (Omar and Sheikh, 2014). The seaport is a significant employer in the city. For a nation that has undergone such uncertainty, the port has become a beacon of hope for many people seeking viable employment in the city. Unfortunately, as a result of the contract signed between the Turkish Company, Al-Bayrak, who is building the port and the Somali government, the next 20 years may be responsible for a large volume of Turkish workers migrating to the Horn of Africa. According to Al-Bayrak's website, the country will also see 45% of the profits made from the port lost to the company while the government takes the remaining 55%. It is imperative for the government to have an agreement with the private company to train and prepare Somali locals to be competent and capable to take on as many different positions in the port's job listings as possible. The vision for the port is to reach international standards. Somalia's north is where the Gulf of Aden meets the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, 60% of the world's maritime trade passes through this area. Somalia can benefit from the importance of its waterways.

According to the Ministry of Finance of the Federal Republic of Somalia's Document from 2017, the government and Al Bayrak have concluded that the port will be built in three stages with a completion date for 2045. The first stage focuses on the construction of the container terminal with central port service development, operation is to start in 2020. This includes port services such as a fire station, port authority building and medical service centre and one berth for container vessels available. Infrastructure such as water supply, sewage system, stormwater management and utilities network will be built during this first phase. Thereafter, the multi-purpose terminal development will be constructed starting in 2025 with operation ready for 2027. This will increase the port's handling capacity of 2,300,000 tons per year with three berths available for general cargo, dry bulk vessels, and RoRo vessels (Ministry of Finance of the Federal Republic of Somalia Document, 2017, 23). Port services will also be extended with a maritime control tower, security force building and customs building. The final phase will begin construction in 2028 and operation will start in 2030. The handling capacity will be upgraded to 484,000 TEU per year during this phase with an additional area for empty containers built and an additional berth for container vessels. Figure 14 shows the master plan for this public-private partnership large-scale project. The cost of the three phases is estimated at about \$380 million US (Ministry of Finance of the Federal Republic of Somalia Document, 2017, 36).

The port is being rebuilt to match the capacity, technical ability and physical conditions of modern international ports. Al-Bayrak has fenced the port area for security reasons, reconstructed damaged ground structures and built emergency, fire, administration and maintenance buildings to assist in the modernization of the port. The company has purchased 7 cranes for swift off-loading and on-loading of vessels. One crane has a capacity of 100 tonnes while the 6 others can accumulate up to 10 tons each (Al Bayrak). Somalia's off-loading and on-loading was done by workers which was difficult, time-consuming labour. The use of cranes has decreased the need for many workers but has increased the efficiency of the port. The containerization of the port helps while also upgrading its organization and efficiency

(UNCTAD, 2018, 63). Figures 7, 8 and 9 showcases the future and current modernization of the Mogadishu port. The port has improved under the supervision of Al-Bayrak but according to government documents, there are a list of weakness that have been identified, including:

- Old port infrastructure;
- Traditional system (no rotating shifts or overnight shifts);
- Lack of machinery to handle cargo;
- Unsafe work practices;
- Absence of clear national port policies;
- Lack of port legislation and regulations;
- Lack of environmental management planning;
- Absence of human capital plan (training of unskilled workers for all functions of the port)
- Inadequate safety and security standards; and
- Lack of navigational support system (Ministry of Finance of the Federal Republic of Somalia Document, 2017, 5).

The modernization of the port can serve as an important first step to revolutionize more Somali ports along the Indian Ocean. However, before the government undertakes the challenging task, national policies need to be put in place to protect Somali interests, citizens and the environment. The enactment and implementation of these policies as well as careful port planning strategies can minimize any vulnerabilities on the part of the government and showcase to potential investors that Somalia has a clear vision. The protection of infrastructure, jobs and citizenry interests will make way for stronger and more efficient ports with a clear mantra of Africans safeguarding themselves. The government needs to learn from the mistakes that were done during the signing of the deal with Al-Bayrak to guarantee that future deals have a clear objective to train and equip Somalis with the tools, equipment and knowledge to run their own ports in the very near future.

The Somali government's agreement with Turkey has caused unease for many average Somalis. Many of the previous workers of the port were labourers with no much alternative in a poor nation ravished by war and instability. The efficiency of the port equates to less workers needed, especially labourers. Before the introduction of Al-Bayrak labourers were earning \$6.60 per 50-kilogramme load but since the inception of the agreement labourers were told by the Somali government their new payment would be \$1.80 per 50-kilogramme load (Hiiraan Online, 2014). Protests have been conducted by port workers due to the unfair treatment by the Somali government. Port workers have called the agreement between the government and Al-Bayrak a secret and the future of port employees is not promised (Hiiraan Online, 2014). The Somali Congress of Trade Unions (SCTU) estimates that 5,000 labourers work at the port, their families comprise of approximately five people which equals to about 25,000 people without promised income (Hiiraan Online, 2014). This could become a large problem for the government, if the needs of the workers are not addressed.



Figure 15 - Cranes purchased by Al-Bayrak

Source: Dynamix Logistic Services



Figure 16 - Cranes off-loading a vessel in Mogadishu's modernized port

Source: Somali Enterprise



Figure 17 - Rendering of the Mogadishu port

Source: Youtube – Dekada Cusub ee Muqdisho (The New Port of Mogadishu)



Figure 18 - Port workers protest after the announcement of Al-Bayrak's takeover

Source: Hiiraan Online

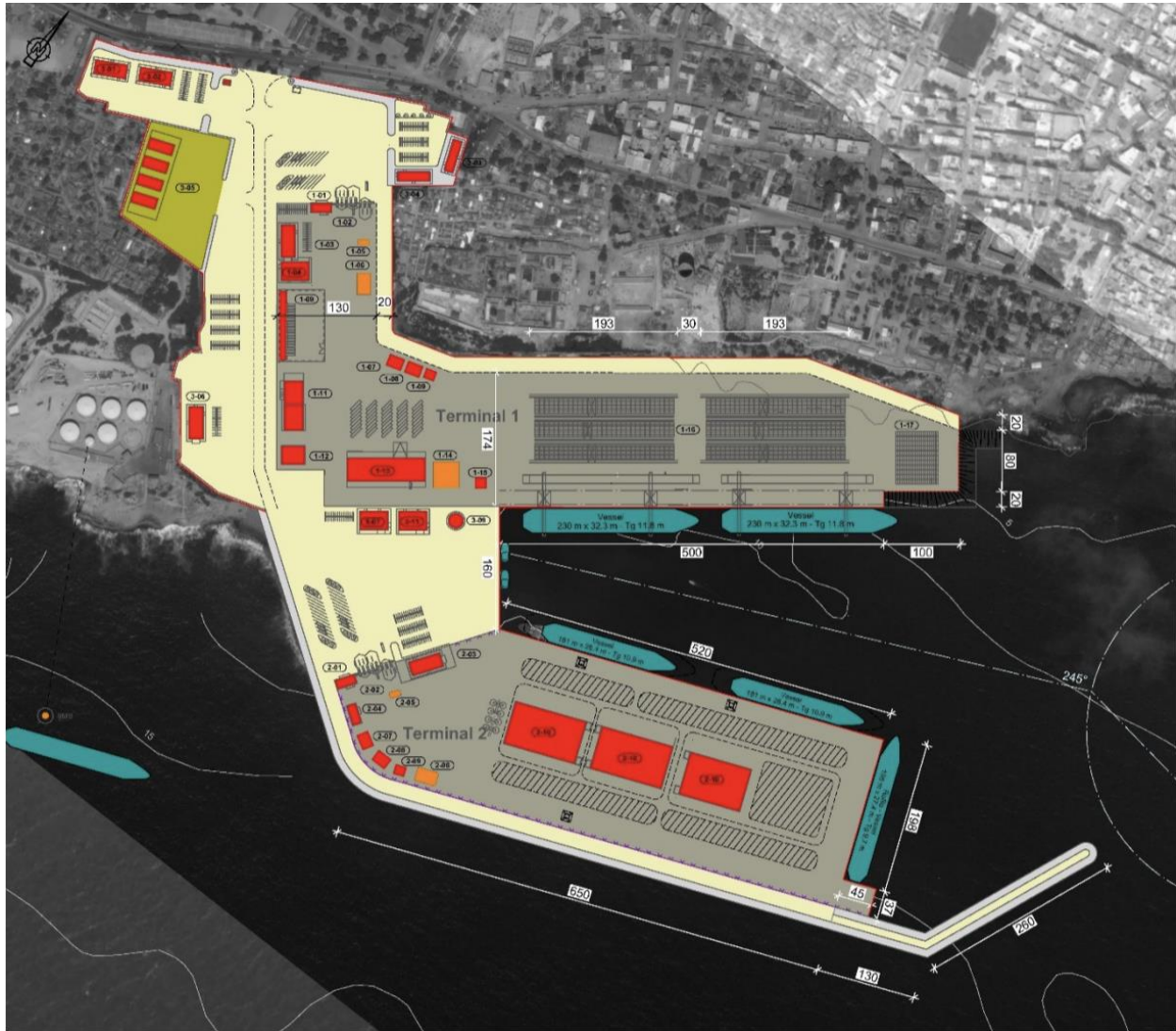


Figure 19 – Master Plan of Mogadishu Port 2045

Source: Government Document

Chapter Four, *An East Asian capital in Kenya*

4.1 – Japan's loan and China's railway infrastructure project

Mombasa is East Africa's largest port and a lifeline to landlocked countries within the region. The Kenyan Ports Authority (KPA), under the Ministry of Transport manages the port of Mombasa and other Kenyan ports along the Indian Ocean. All of the port's operations are under the direct authority of KPA (Kenyan Port Authority, 2017, 9). The Port of Mombasa is a vital link in Kenya's management chain, since port infrastructure is at the centre of regional integration (Hope, 98). The port, however, has capacity issues that needs to be adequately addressed such as: inadequate railway systems, ineffectiveness in cargo approval, and technological constraints that have made it expensive to conduct business at the port of Mombasa (Niga, 2011, 3). To deal with these constraints, the Kenyan government has taken loans from the Japanese government to expand the port of Mombasa and revitalize the port of Lamu in order to deal with some of the overcapacity. It has also allowed the Chinese government to conduct an expansive railway infrastructure project to connect the port of Mombasa to the hinterland, mainly the capital Nairobi. In this regard, China's \$3.4 billion railway project will ensure the 300 miles trek will take only four and half hours on a speed train (CNN, 2017).

Japan and China are now competing for greater stakes in Africa as a result of its abundance of natural resources. Though south-south collaboration may not be the equal relationship low-income countries strive for, the paternalistic attitude of the West is not a problem within this sort of relationship. Semi-periphery countries outline the exchanges to countries of interest deliberately outlining the quid pro quo nature of the transaction. Since port efficiency has been an increasing problem both within Kenya and for neighbouring landlocked countries, the Kenya government received a \$270 million loan from Japan (Reuters, 2015). A Japanese company, Tokyo Construction Co., Ltd is responsible for the second phase of the Mombasa Port Development Project (Reuters, 2015). Similar to many countries, Japan has an agency responsible for international development, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Most

recently, JICA signed a 40-year loan period with the Kenyan government to repay the expansion of the port.

Japan is no stranger to directing foreign direct investments into African economies. From 1991 to 2000, it was the only Asian country to do so, although it only amounted to 0.1% of Japan's total product supplied (UNCTAD, 2002). This illustrates that Africa was not a priority to the country until recently. In 1992, Japan vowed to provide aid for economic development, social and political transformations in the developing world (Hook and Zhang, 1051). Aid was established as a vital component of Japan's economic growth for two reasons: recipients adapt to international market forces and the host country benefits from the accumulated interest (Hook and Zhang, 1052). Japan is a fascinating nation; it is an East Asian nation that is part of the core category, rather than the semi-periphery like China. However, since it lacks a colonial past with Africa, the country is now trying to create a relationship with the continent quickly. The Japanese government conducted some environmental assessments before the expansion of the port of Mombasa. They concluded that the area where the port is situated is not a sensitive zone and therefore the project will not likely significantly impact the environment (JICA, 2015).

4.2 – History of the Mombasa port & its importance to East Africa

Kenya is bordered by Somalia to the northeast, Ethiopia to the north, South Sudan to the northwest, Uganda to the west and Tanzania to the south and southwest. Mombasa, a city bordering the Indian Ocean is Kenya's second largest municipality and a strategic zone that has been fought over for centuries. The Mombasa port currently serves as an important means for Kenya's hinterland to engage in importing and exporting activities. Mombasa also serves as a gateway port to the continent's interior, serving Uganda, Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and to some extent southern Sudan, Somalia and southern Ethiopia (Quinn et al, 1449). The port has not only played a vital role in modern East African trade, but it has always been a vital ancient trade destination. By the 16th century, the port of Mombasa served as the center of port power in East

Africa (Quinn et al, 1449). The Swahilis in ancient Mombasa built a strong town and an even stronger port that showcased two worlds: a Muslim state on the Indian Ocean and modern independent Africa, respectively (Hoyle, 2001, 183). This uncovers Mombasa's fascinating history that has shaped much of its current state.

The colonial administration entered Kenya in the 19th century while important industrial changes were occurring, globally. Such as the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the increased size of ships and the rising significance of railways (Hoyle, 2000, 4). The port of Mombasa has been a cargo-handling one since 1895, after historic dhow traffic lined the busy port (Kenyan Port Authority, 2017, 6). It was not until 1926 that the modern port began to take form. Thereafter, expansions occurred as the nation was freed from the shackles of colonialism and trade continued to grow (Kenyan Port Authority, 2017, 6).

4.3 – Vision for the port and its future capabilities

East Africa's busiest port, the port of Mombasa has been undergoing an expansion project. The *Kenya Vision 2030* is the government's aim to achieve social, political and economic development from 2008 to 2030 (Hope, 98). Building on their 2030 Vision, the Kenyan government's acceptance of a loan to expand the port in three phases also includes road construction to ensure all infrastructure mirrors one another regarding capabilities and efficiency. According to Kenya Port Authority, container traffic is an important indicator to measure the status of ports. From 2005 to 2016, the port increased its current status as one of Africa's leading container ports (KPA, 2017, 7). As the region grows, neighbouring nations have put immense pressure on Kenya to expand its container and efficiency capabilities. Kenya signed a \$270 million-dollar loan with Japan to purchase cargo handling equipment, finance new container terminal and support the construction of another terminal already in the works (Reuters, 2015).

The Mombasa Port Development Project in 2005 developed a 25-year Port Master Plan to concentrate on the capacity to efficiently serve the growth of cargo volumes (Daily Nation, 2018). The port has two phases to revitalize and expand the port: 1) to develop a second container terminal with a large capacity, and 2) to increase the capacity even further. The port of Mombasa's expansion is critical to the development of the region as it serves as the gateway to East and Central Africa (Kenyan Port Authority, 2017, 9). It is connected to over 80 ports, internally and critical to the economies of landlocked neighbouring countries. The expansion of this critical node will not only bring increased economic viability to Kenya, but to the entire region.

Kenya's Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) connects Nairobi to the port of Mombasa. The passenger railway connecting the two cities has worked wonders for travels; however, the cargo railway has proved to be a disaster. The latter railway has experienced countless delays because there usually is not enough cargo to leave the port and customs processing has been slow (Economist, 2018). The old British railway was functional by moving 5m tonnes of cargo annually in the 1980s. (Economist, 2018). The Kenyan government could have renovated this railway, which would have been a far cheaper expenditure. However, China would not have provided loans (Economist, 2018). Figure 11 shows the current, the planned and the future railway lines that can connect East African nations for the integration of a sustainable East African economy. Approximately 80% of the funds to build the new railway was provided by China (BBC News, 2017).



Figure 20 - Future railway lines are planned to Somalia, South Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda

Source: BBC News, January 17, 2017

Chapter Five, *Foreign investment as development planning: Was it all worth it?*

5.1 – Comparisons of the relationships: Turkey and Somalia to East Asia and Kenya

The relationships between East Asian nations and Kenya to Turkey and Somalia is an easily comparable one. The latter have a shared religion and an unbreakable brotherhood that was fortified during Somalia's drought in 2011. In this case, the semi-periphery country took lead to redevelopment major infrastructure projects for the benefit of Somalia. The Aden Abdulle International Airport in Mogadishu underwent a major facelift to modernize it. The country has been provided with fresh roads that have been in disrepair for decades, construction of mosques and schools. Turkey has also used its international position to advocate for Somalia by hosting international conferences attended by the United Nations and governments throughout the world.

It is important to note that Turkey's work in Somalia is a strategic plan by the Erdogan administration to pave a way into the rest of the continent. Influence and soft power is significant for semi-periphery nations (Gullo, 2012, 5). Turkey has been successful in gaining the trust of Somalis because not only are they a Muslim country, they do not have a colonial relationship. It is easier to trust countries that have do not have an exploitative and brutal history. Entering Somalia was a huge risk for Turkey, but this illustrates the geo-political ambitions of the nation.

In 2014, Somalia leased over the port of Mogadishu to Al Bayrak to head the operational and managerial tasks. This lease has greatly helped the cash-strapped government to look forward to monthly payment and redevelopment the decaying port to international standards. Details of contractual agreement between the company and the government have not been made public but the government will receive 55% of earned revenue.

East Asian countries China and Japan have given considerable loans to Kenya to build railways, roads and expand the port of Mombasa for the betterment of the nation and surrounding countries. This contractual agreement is different from Somalia's because the Kenyan

government has, to some degree, the capacity to repay these loans. The port of Mombasa is a busy port and it may currently have capacity strains, this is due to its importance to landlocked nations. The Kenyan Port Authority still has all authority of the port of Mombasa while the Somali government handed the entire state-owned port to foreign company, Al Bayrak. There are difficulties in the latter exchange. Many Somalis have accused the government of corruption since the contract has yet to be made public and the company is owned by Erdogan's son-in-law. According to Al-Bayrak's website, the port of Mogadishu is the second port and first foreign port that they are working on. This does not sit well with many people.

5.2 – Who are the real beneficiaries?

As ports get more digitalized and technologically advanced, the number of workers needed will greatly diminish; this has been the case at the port of Mogadishu. Labourers were no longer needed to load and unload cargo due to the introduction of cranes and the container system. However, the need for educated workers with an understanding for transportation regulations, logistics and regional cooperation are needed. This can serve as an opportunity to utilize the young human capital that Africa has an abundance of. Streamlining young people into maritime positions will help Somalia have a workforce ready to take over once the Al-Bayrak two-decade long deal expires. Also, since Somalia has many ports along the Indian Ocean, the government can use this opportunity to sign more port deals as a way of ensuring employment for young people.

In the case of the Mombasa Port expansion, Kenya will benefit greatly in terms of developing into a regional transportation hub but also contribute positively to the economic growth of the nation. Neighbouring landlocked countries rely on the Mombasa Port to engage in global trade such as Ethiopia, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Zambia, eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Sudan. The East African Community (EAC) is a regional organization which consists of Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Burundi, South Sudan and Uganda to ensure the regional

cooperation towards political, economic and social prosperity (EAC). Before the expansion of the Mombasa Port, landlocked countries were receiving infrequent, unreliable and costly transport services but with the improvement of efficiency, the country will be able to increase the gross domestic product (GDP) to \$1.8 billion (VOA 2013).

According to the African Development Bank, inequality is on the rise in Kenya as well as food insecurity however, in Rwanda and Burundi it is on the decline (2014, 4). Throughout the generation of economic growth, Kenyans can be pushed out of poverty. When ports are constructed to become efficient, many businesspeople in the respective and neighbouring countries are able to exchange in the import and export industry. However, corruption is a huge issue in both Somalia and Kenya and the primarily beneficiaries will always be the government. The local people may not, initially, feel the impact of the development but this may force locals to hold their leaders accountable.

5.3 – Same game, same outcome?

In closing, we will not be able to see the ramifications of the involvement of semi-peripheries for a long time since the relationships are still new. However, according to what is currently happening, both Somalia and Kenya are in vulnerable positions. Somalia is on the United Nation's list of the low-income countries in the world since it is still building itself back from the effects of the devastating civil war (United Nations: World Economic Situation and Prospects). While Kenya is in the lower-middle income category, corruption and poverty have perpetuated Kenya to its current vulnerable position.

The Chinese construction of a \$3.8 billion high-speed railway project is an expensive development. Kenya will be paying back that this loan for a long time which does not include the Mombasa Port expansion which has come with a loan from Japan. As low-income countries, both Kenya and Somalia are susceptible to being shackled by large loans and high interest rates.

According to the East African, Kenya's public debt reached \$4.4 billion during the 2017/2018 period (2018). Though there's no public record of Somalia's current debt, it would not be surprising if the nation owed money before the 1991 collapse of the central government. The nation is not able to repay any sort of debt in its current state. However, major infrastructure developments have positive spillover effects in terms of continuing to construct much-needed infrastructure. Due to the security situation in Somalia, it is difficult to find any country willing to invest money in the volatile climate. However, Turkey's successful construction of the port, airport and roads can be an eye-opener for other countries, especially semi-peripheries willing to invest.

Somalia has given all rights over to a foreign company with no factual evidence of experience in foreign ports. The government has refused to disclose details of the agreement to the public and have not addressed the needs of port workers. Somalia has handed over operations of the port to Al-Bayrak and signed 55% of the revenue for its, however details of how Al-Bayrak proves monthly income has not been revealed (Hiiraan Online, 2014). The desperation of the Somali government's secret contract with Turkey for the construction of the port can have detrimental effects of corruption on both sides. The ordinary citizens will not reap the benefits of the infrastructure projects until economic growth can push for a change in government.

Semi-periphery dealings in Africa is a new form of colonialism. Foreign aid has blindsided many African countries with large sums of capital without the backing of important infrastructure and strong sectors such as healthcare, education and social services for the country to attain development. The Eurocentric nature of the theories shows that foreign aid is an extension of the colonial system. First, countries were shackled in a physical manner but that was upgraded to being shackled financially while politically independent. Western nations' have always regarded Africa as a primitive continent rich in resources but lack intellectual humans. The colonial history between Africa and Europe does not help forge equitable relationships. With the growth

of middle-income economies, countries such as Turkey and China with trading histories with much of the developed world have been able to secure infrastructural and mineral extraction projects with little oversight from the signing government. The lack of negative relationships between the developing world has allowed for a more trustworthy process. The Western world's concern of Sino-African relations is not an honest one since their paternalistic approach has resulted in disciplinary actions such as the withholding of aid for non-compliance standards as well as pressuring poorer countries to adhere to doctrines deemed acceptable to the West. However, structural dependencies on any nation, including semi-periphery nations have

In conclusion, development from semi-periphery countries seem to be the new norm in Africa. Today, the new scramble for Africa consists of middle-income countries loaning large sums of money, constructing large infrastructure projects and in the case of Turkey, speaking on behalf of the country on the world stage. Decades of paternalistic attitudes from Western governments and agencies has led to African leaders fostering new relationships with their Asian counterparts. Though the actors are new, the game has remained the same. Development has existed for decades and billions have been spent yet African countries have remained poverty-stricken. The concept of development is not one that has assisted in the economic, social or political growth of the continent; therefore, development is an outdated and ill-advised policy prescription to keep the developed world in a vulnerable position, particularly resource rich countries. The term development, in my opinion, has a case-by-case definition which depends on a country's vision to build sectors that will eventually lead to a better living standard for the population. The only way for poorer countries to change their fate is to invest in its human capital, especially the younger generation. It is critical for low-income countries to have clear objectives on what development means to them.

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