



WAPSN Workshop 17th-18th of May 2018,
University of Portsmouth
Programme

First Day, 17th May 2018

Registration and Coffee/Tea: 10:00-10:30

10.30-11:30 **Keynote one:** Prof Isaac Albert “Non-military crisis management in West Africa.”

11:30 - 13:00 **Panel 1 - Foreign powers and West African security**

Chair: Mr Paul Melly, Chatham House

- Prof Tony Chafer, Portsmouth University/ Prof Gordon Cumming, Cardiff University / Dr Roel van der Velde, Cardiff University:

“Muddling Through or a New Model of Military Intervention? French Coalition Building in Africa.”

- Dr Richard Alemdjrodo, University of Lome:

“ECOWAS and the Resolution of Regional Conflicts: Solving the French Equation”

- Ms Francesca Mercurio. University of São Paulo (Brazil):

“Toward a Regional Security Complex in the South Atlantic? Brazilian Defence and Security Cooperation with West African Countries.”

Lunch - 1 hour 13:00 -14:00

14:00-15:30 **Panel 2 -The AU and ECOWAS repertoire of mechanisms for addressing peace and security on the continent**

Chair: Dr Melita Lazell, University of Portsmouth

- Ms Lilian Seffer (Germany), Hertie School of Governance:

“ECOWAS: Response to Transnational Organized Crime”

- Mr Adiat Abiodun, Obafemi Awolowo University:

“ECOWAS and the Challenges of Human Security in West Africa”

Break 30 mins

16:00-17:30 **Panel 3 - Non-state actors and violent extremism in West Africa**

Chair: Dr Ed Stoddard, University of Portsmouth

- Mr Akin Oyawale, University of East Anglia:
“Lived Experiences of Boko Haram and Counterterrorism: A Vernacular Security Approach”
- Ms Jessica Moody, Kings College London:
“What’s past is prologue: Explaining the absence of remobilisation in post-conflict Cote d’Ivoire.”
- Dr Aïcha PEMBOURA, Université de Yaoundé II:
“The use of vigilance committees in Cameroon: from operational efficiency to the need to think post-war.”

End of the First workshop day

Second Day, 18th May 2018

9:00 – 10:00 Tea and Coffee

10:00 – 11.00 **Keynote two:** Dr Linda Darkwa "Tools in a Tool box: The African Union's repertoire of mechanisms for addressing peace and security on the continent."

Break 30 mins

11:30-13.00 **Roundtable discussion - Security and Identity in West Africa**

Chair: Dr Ed Stoddard, University of Portsmouth

Participants: Prof Tony Chafer, Portsmouth University; Prof Isaac Albert, University of Ibadan; Mr Paul Melly, Chatham House; Dr Melita Lazell, University of Portsmouth

- Dr Isaline Bergamaschi, Universite Libre de Bruxelles:
“Working Misunderstandings” and Ambiguity: The Labels and Practices of International Intervention in Mali since 2012.”

Lunch - 1 hour 13.00 -14.00

End of the Second workshop day

WAPSN Workshop
Abstracts

- **Prof Tony Chafer, Portsmouth University/ Prof Gordon Cumming, Cardiff University / Dr Roel van der Velde, Cardiff University:**

“Muddling Through or a New Model of Military Intervention? French Coalition Building in Africa.”

Since the end of the Cold War, there have been conflicts affecting every region of Africa. In response, Western powers such as France initially moved away from unilateral action towards multilateral missions under EU, UN and African Union (AU) auspices. While this evolution brought in many more actors and was consistent with the mantra of ‘African solutions to African problems’, the limitations of these modes of intervention soon became clear as international organisations failed to cope with the scale of the challenge (intra-state and ethnic conflict, rising populations and terrorism). Ultimately, these formalised coalitions with their rigid rule-bound approaches lacked the necessary flexibility, resources, and purpose. Over the last decade, therefore, leading Northern powers such as France have favoured ad hoc modes of intervening involving coalitions of the willing. But how should we understand the concept of ‘coalitions’? How are they formed and obstructed? This paper presents the pre-field research findings of a Leverhulme-funded project into coalition-building that will home in on the cases of Mali, CAR, G5-S, and Somalia. These cases are a manifestation of France’s new hybrid forms of coalition-building, which derive much of its legitimacy, resources, and manpower from a range of regional, state and non-state sources. This paper explores different interpretations of the term coalition, as a structured group of physical actors; a forum of negotiation; a ‘cluster’ of norms. Each definition has different implications for the cohesiveness, sustainability, and effectiveness of coalitions. Next, it outlines the processes by which coalitions are mobilised or re-mobilised, with a focus on the role of lead nations (France, Germany, UK), intra-EU bargaining and operational issues. It then identifies key challenges: budgetary constraints, competing norms, free-riding. Finally, it illustrates the workings of coalition-building in Mali. It concludes by assessing the potential of this form of ‘clustering’ for understanding future interventions in Africa.

- **Dr Richard Alemdjrodo, University of Lome:**

“ECOWAS and the Resolution of Regional Conflicts: Solving the French Equation”

ECOWAS is the African subregional organization that best achieves its economic and even security integration, with the existence of an armed force that has the experience of military interventions, notably in Liberia and Sierra Leone. With this experience, ECOWAS has obviously an edge on the AU. However, with the entry into force of its Charter, the AU insists on the respect of its doctrine of deployment of military missions: it is first of all the responsibility of the AU to intervene or to authorize any subregional organization intervention. Because of the structural and financial weaknesses of the AU, several subregional organizations are challenging its leadership. Even the countries in conflict sometimes find it difficult to call on the AU (for example Central Africa Republic). This leadership dispute between the AU and ECOWAS benefits a third party, France, whose omnipresence in West Africa is a challenge for both ECOWAS and the AU. The weaknesses that prevent the AU from deploying troops quickly are known, but ECOWAS officials insist that the problem of non-deployment of troops is not due to structural weaknesses, but especially to the AU's willingness to block any veil of independence of subregional bodies. To support this statement, the case of Mali is often mentioned. Indeed, France's intervention in this country came after much procrastination by the AU and ECOWAS on the ground. This French intervention led ECOWAS to call for greater clarification in the interpretation of the rules. Could the new memorandum on the division of roles between the AU and the subregions allow ECOWAS to better control its Agenda? This paper is based on interviews conducted at ECOWAS and AU headquarters.

- **Ms Francesca Mercurio, University of São Paulo:**

“Toward a Regional Security Complex in the South Atlantic? Brazilian Defence and Security Cooperation with West African Countries.”

The longstanding Brazil-Africa cooperation has witnessed growing dynamism in security and defence fields in the last decades. It has been mainly oriented toward relaunching an area of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic (ZOPACAS), and increasing Brazilian influence, presence, and power in the maritime area located between its coasts and African ones. The privileged instruments of Brazil’s strategy have been the armed forces’ recurrence to soft power, including joint military actions and exercises, arms transferences and the overseeing of strategic partners for alliances. This paper focuses on the cooperation with West African countries as representative of one of Brazil’s foreign policy priorities in the 21st century. The oriental frontier represents a source of resources, power, and development, feeding the perception of the South Atlantic as a place that Brazil needs to secure and control from certain third parties’ interests (of both states and non-state actors) stemming from their awareness of the underwater mineral resources and the growing threats to international security, including piracy, terrorism and organised illegal crime, fostered by regional instability. The main objective of this paper is to analyse, through a theoretical debate focused on Regional Security Complexes and Realism in Security Studies, to what extent the expanding cooperation in defence and security has contributed to a more peaceful region in South Atlantic, under Brazilian leadership. It also asks whether African countries’ perceptions and behaviours have converged in the Brazilian project while drawing implications for the position assumed by the EU and other powers towards this region.

- **Ms Lilian Seffer, Hertie School of Governance:**

“ECOWAS: Response to Transnational Organized Crime”

While organized crime (OC) entered the security discourse first in the US, which was constitutive for a global threat framing, there are unique meanings and processes attached to it on national and regional levels (Stritzel, 2012). Nonetheless, there is no systematic analysis on how and whether OC has been securitized in West Africa. With regards to the EU, it has been acknowledged that OC has impacted matters of external security and that policy responses are potentially traversing the makeup of respective security sectors. Carrapiço and Trauner analyzed how “the production of organized crime reports have been directly related to the evolution of the European police office [...]” (Carrapiço & Trauner, 2013). This is in line with the concern raised by experts on security sector reform, who highlight that, since 09/11 there is an increased push for a centralized security sector, especially in the area of intelligence, law enforcement and military action with greater influence on states’ security policy, which may contradict the original goals of reform towards transparency and accountability (Schnabel & Erhart, 2005). While security sector reform is vital to many West African post-conflict societies, there are no comprehensive assessments of the impact of emerging threats on regional security practices in West Africa. The paper, therefore, aims to conduct a critical discourse analysis to dismantle ECOWAS response to OC.

- **Mr Adiat Abiodun, Obafemi Awolowo University:**

“ECOWAS and the Challenges of Human Security in West Africa”

This work broadly identified and discussed the challenges to human security in West Africa and further examined ECOWAS mechanisms in addressing these challenges. The study also investigated the importance of regional framework in strengthening and promoting human security in the sub-region, as well as the establishment of a nexus between human security and conflict prevention in West Africa. The study used both primary and secondary data. For the primary data, in-depth interview method was adopted. The researcher consequently conducted 22 in-depth interviews with respondents who are chosen purposively from the ECOWAS Commission, Selected Embassies in West Africa and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria. Secondary data were sourced from ECOWAS document such as protocols establishing the various organs, institutions and modus operandi of the institution. The data obtained were analysed using descriptive and content analysis. The study revealed that ECOWAS mechanisms which include its various policies for addressing human security challenges in the sub region are good, but they have not been effective due to some factors which include: lack of political will by member states to implement protocols, weak infrastructure within the member states and inadequate funding. Through the regional body, human security agenda has gained more importance in most of its member states. Also; the study revealed that there is a strong correlation between human insecurity and state instability. This implies that human security can serve as a conflict prevention mechanism. This is evident in the drastic reduction in the prevalence of civil wars across the various countries in the sub-region. The study concluded that the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) which is the organisation’s primary means of promoting human security in the region can ensure the region’s peace and stability. Hence, the ECPF signifies the importance of regional framework in promoting and strengthening of human security in the sub-region.

- **Mr Akin Oyawale, University of East Anglia:**

“Lived Experiences of Boko Haram and Counterterrorism: A Vernacular Security Approach”

This article draws on critical ethnography to examine the different ways in which publics in Nigeria view and discuss their security vis a vis terrorism and counterterrorism. The article uses forty-one in-depth interviews with Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) at IDP camps and host communities in Northern Nigeria to explore their lived (in)security experiences. This was supplemented with participant observation and field notes. The article begins by situating my research within three pertinent academic kind of literatures: The first is the human security approach which prioritizes the individual as security’s ultimate referent; the second relates to broad constructivist and poststructural approaches, especially in their emphasis on treating security as a socially situated and discursively produced and/or reproduced practice; the third is postcolonial studies which identify the importance of addressing how (post-)colonial experiences inflect (in)security with contextualised meaning. The final section introduces five main images of counterterrorism that emerged from the discussions namely, views of counterterrorism as Necropolitical; Discriminatory; (state as) limited in security provision; (government as) corrupt; and counterterrorism as (creating a) ‘Suspect Community.’ In conclusion, the article explores these heterogeneous views and their contribution to security studies more broadly.

- **Ms Jessica Moody, Kings College London:**

“What’s past is prologue: Explaining the absence of remobilisation in post-conflict Cote d’Ivoire.”

Since the 2002-2011 conflict ended in Cote d’Ivoire, the government and international donors have been seeking to demobilise, disarm and reintegrate (DDR) ex-combatants into Ivorian society. The government and many members of the international community have praised this programme, declaring it an indubitable success. But many ex-fighters are disgruntled with the progress made and increasingly complain of corruption within the programme, lamenting the lack of employment prospects offered and the extreme poverty many of their friends are now living in. Simultaneously, neighbouring Mali is witnessing a worsening conflict that is drifting further south towards Cote d’Ivoire. Actors in that crisis have periodically sought to recruit ex-combatants, and operate in Cote d’Ivoire. However, the number of former fighters seeking to remobilise to join any of these armed groups in Mali is extremely limited. This finding stands in contrast to literature that suggests that grievances and opportunities to remobilise are what motivates the decision to take up arms again. Thus, this paper seeks to understand why it is that despite experiencing many grievances and being provided with opportunities to remobilise, ex-combatants in Cote d’Ivoire have overwhelmingly declined to participate. It argues that this decision is heavily based on the formative experiences of ex-combatants during the 2002-2011 conflict. It will be contended that we cannot understand the lack of mobilisation in Cote d’Ivoire without taking into account the way in which the first conflict fighters were involved in has shaped their identities and their perceptions of future combat. Ex-combatants perceive themselves to be peacemakers, believe they are still closely connected to the current Ivorian government, are weary of conflict and fearful of trusting new mobilising agents. This acts as a powerful, though not complete, deterrent to remobilisation.

- **Dr Aïcha PEMBOURA, Université de Yaoundé II:**

“The use of vigilance committees in Cameroon: from operational efficiency to the need to think post-war”

Il est important de reconnaître l’implication et le rôle essentiel joué par les comités de vigilance dans la lutte contre Boko haram à l’extrême-nord du Cameroun. Ces groupes d’auto-défense, constitués de civils sans formation militaire particulière mais dotés d’un courage et d’un patriotisme à toute épreuve, sont devenus au fil du temps des adversaires sérieux de Boko Haram aux côtés des forces de défense et de sécurité. Ayant eu l’opportunité grâce au conflit d’exister et d’être : des acteurs respectés et craints à la fois, des citoyens héroïques, de petits chefs de guerre, n’y a-t-il pas de risques que ces comités ne se restructurent en milices après le conflit pour continuer à vivre de la violence ? L’objectif de cet article est de montrer la capacité de transformation ou de mutation des comités de vigilance au gré de l’environnement sécuritaire et par conséquent la nécessité de planifier aujourd’hui un processus de désarmement, démobilisation et réintégration socio-économique de ces membres. La théorie du choix rationnel associée au constructivisme structuraliste permet de démontrer qu’en réalité les comités de vigilance sont le résultat d’une construction sociale. Cependant, ce sont des acteurs rationnels capables de développer des stratégies pour tirer avantage de l’environnement sécuritaire national et sous-régional (Bassin du Lac Tchad). Dans cette optique, les risques qu’ils représentent à long terme sont énormes et nécessitent une réflexion sur le démantèlement progressif et la réintégration socioéconomique de leurs membres. Une telle analyse débouche sur des recommandations en termes de DDR.

WAPSN Workshop

Presenters

- **Prof Tony Chafer, University of Portsmouth**

Tony Chafer is Professor of French and African Studies at the University of Portsmouth. He is a historian specializing on francophone Africa and French relations with Africa in the late colonial and postcolonial periods. His monograph *The End of Empire in French West Africa: France's Successful Decolonization?* was published in 2002 (translation into French forthcoming). Recently, he has published articles on French Africa policy, including 'France in Mali: towards a new Africa strategy?', in *International Journal of Francophone Studies* (2016), 'French African policy in historical perspective', in T. Young (ed.), *Readings in the International Relations of Africa* (2016); 'Françafrique – the state of relations between France and Africa', in *Europa Regional* (45, 2017); and 'Hollande and Africa policy', in *Modern and Contemporary France* (22:4, 2014). Recent edited works include *Francophone Africa at Fifty* (with Alexander Keese) (2013).

- **Prof Gordon Cumming, Cardiff University**

Gordon Cumming is Professor of Language-Based Area Studies in the School of Modern Languages, Cardiff University. In this capacity, he has taken on a range of roles including Director of Research/ Postgraduate Research/ Postgraduate Teaching/ Research Ethics and School Admissions Officer. A fellow of the Royal Historical Society, the Learned Society of Wales and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, he has served as a Professeur Invité at the Centre d'Etudes d'Afrique Noire, Bordeaux, and at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Lyons. He has built on his earlier career in the Foreign Office and United Nations by producing practice-oriented research on French, British and European foreign and development policies as well as on civil society capacity-building. With support from research funding bodies, he has written books including *Aid to Africa* (2001), *French NGOs in the Global Era* (2009), *New Approaches to the Challenges of Africa* (2011) and *France, Europe and Development Aid* (2013). He is currently on the Steering Group of Cardiff University's Phoenix Project and engaged in an ESRC-funded capacity-building project with Welsh development NGOs.

- **Dr Roel van der Velde, Cardiff University**

Roel van der Velde completed his doctoral degree on historical French-South African arms trade in 2017, after receiving an MSc(Econ) in International Politics at Aberystwyth University in 2012. He is currently working on the project on international coalition-building and military intervention in the Sahel at Cardiff University, led by Professors Cumming (Cardiff) and Chafer (Portsmouth). His research interests include French military and foreign relations, strategic culture and contemporary conflict.

- **Dr. Richard Alemdjrodo, University of Lome**

Richard Alemdjrodo is a lecturer at the Faculty of Law, University of Lome, Togo. He holds a PhD in Law from the University of Saarland, Germany. He also held a postdoctoral position at the University of Montreal, Canada, and was a research fellow at the University of Paris V, René Descartes. His research and teaching interests include international law, law and society, trade, and international security. He is a 2016 recipient of the Social Science Research Council's African Peacebuilding Network's Individual Research Grant.

- **Francesca Mercurio, University of São Paulo**

Francesca Mercurio obtained a bachelor degree in Political Science - International Studies at the University of Bologna. She holds a Master's degree in International Relations at the University of Minho (Portugal), and she is currently a PhD candidate at the Institute of International Relations of the University of São Paulo (IRI-USP) and King's College London (War Studies Department) in a joint-degree programme. Currently, she carries out research activities on topics such as South-South Cooperation, Security Studies, Brazilian Foreign Policy and West Africa. Among her topics of interest are also BRICS, Regionalism, and South America.

- **Lilian Seffer, Hertie School of Governance**

Lilian Seffer holds a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from the Freie Universität (FU) Berlin, with a semester abroad at the American University in Cairo. At the Hertie School of Governance, she studied International Affairs, specializing in security and sustainability. Lilian completed a professional year with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) in the support project to the ECOWAS Commission in the Peace and Security Component. Her further professional experience includes working as a Junior Advisor in the GIZ Police Programme Africa, as a student assistant at the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Politics, FU Berlin and as a consultant for TheReformist, a pan-African youth magazine. She is currently working as a freelance consultant.

- **Adiat Abiodun, Obafemi Awolowo University**

Adiat Abiodun is a graduate from the Department of Political Science, Obafemi Awolowo University. He also holds an MSc in International Relations from the same Institution, and he is currently a Doctorate student of the same institution.

- **Akin Oyawale, University of East Anglia**

Akinyemi Oyawale is a PhD candidate and Associate Tutor in Politics and International Relations at the University of East Anglia. His research focuses on a bottom-up investigation of the impact of (counter)terrorism on the (in)security of publics in Nigeria, and he is supervised by Professor Lee Jarvis and Dr Alexandria Innes. Akin has an MA in International Security from the University of Sussex and a Bachelor in Counselling Psychology with Politics from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Akin is a national and state award winner for distinguished community service and development in Nigeria. Before undertaking doctoral studies in 2015, he worked temporarily in academia and was elected as the pioneer president of the Postgraduate Association at the University of Sussex in 2012. Akin currently teaches and supervises undergraduate and MA students in politics and security studies at the University of East Anglia.

- **Jessica Moody, Kings College London**

Jessica is a PhD candidate in the War Studies Department at KCL under the supervision of Dr Kieran Mitton and Professor Mats Berdal. Her PhD research focuses on the connection between DDR and transitional justice in post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives in Cote d'Ivoire. She is conducting extensive field research throughout Cote d'Ivoire to ascertain how important reconciliation is for the success of reintegration programmes, as well as the implications effective reintegration has on reconciliation efforts. Jessica has written articles and reports for IHS Janes' Terrorism and Insurgency Centre, the Economist Intelligence Unit, Risk Advisory Group and African Arguments.

- **Dr Aïcha PEMBOURA, Université de Yaoundé II**

Aïcha PEMBOURA is a teacher-researcher, holding a Ph.D. / Ph.D in political science. She is a teacher at the University of Yaounde II in Cameroon. Specialized in defense, peace, and security, she also teaches at the Ecole Supérieure Internationale Guerre (ESIG) in Cameroon. She is a soldier peacekeepers trainer for the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in collaboration with the ACOTA program and is also an Instructor at the Alioune Blondin Beye Peacekeeping School in Bamako-Mali. Author of many scientific publications, she is also the author of the book entitled: The military elite and the formation of Cameroonian strategic culture, published in Harmattan Paris in 2016.

- **Dr Isaline Bergamaschi, Université Libre de Bruxelles**

Isaline Bergamaschi, Université Libre de Bruxelles. She specialises in the sociology of international development and foreign aid, and the transformations of international intervention in Mali.

Thanks for participating in the West Africa Peace and Security Network's annual workshop

"New Thinking on West African Security Challenges" 17-18th of May 2018.

For further information about the West Africa Peace and Security Network, please visit our website.

<http://www.westafricasecuritynetwork.org/>

For further questions about the workshop, please contact Dr Claudia Lueders,

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