

**T.C.
TURKISH- GERMAN UNIVERSTY INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL
SCIENCES EUROPE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
DEPARTMENT**

**THE ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION IN
WEST AFRICA:
IMPLEMENTING THE MARSHALL PLAN WITH AFRICA FOR
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND STABILITY**

MASTER'S THESIS

Abdoul Yoro Diallo

(1681011113)

ADVISORS

Prof. Dr. Hartmut Marhold

Prof. Assist. Ebru Turhan

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PREFACE

The aspiration to shape a better world probably begins with a personal commitment to make one's person a researcher. Finding answers is what makes people knowledgeable, but understanding their meanings is what makes them useful.

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my childhood friends Abdoulaye War, Bamar Tamedou, and Aly Gueye. I am grateful to my family especially to Magatte Diatta (mother). I give many thanks to my advisor Prof Hartmut Marhold for his great help and support, to my co-advisor Prof Ebru Turhan, all members of our department starting with Prof. Wolfgang Wessels, and my classmates. I also extend my greetings to my hosting country (Turkey) and my country of heart Senegal for the opportunities provided.

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TÜRKÇE ÖZET

TEZ ADI: BATI AFRİKA'DA KALKINMA İŞBİRLİĞİNİN ROLÜ

Bu çalışmada Avrupa ve Batı Afrika arasındaki kalkınma işbirliği konularıyla ilgili başlıca argümanlar ele alınmıştır. 21. yüzyılın başında, Sahra Altı Afrika'nın karşı karşıya kaldığı ekonomik ve güvenlik zorluklarının tabiatı gereği benzersiz olduğu açıktır. Afrika kıtasının geleceği ile ilgili konular, ekonomi ve güvenlik konularında uluslararası gündemde önemli bir yer tutarken yaşam koşullarının iyileştirilmesi ve en vazgeçilmez ihtiyaçların karşılanması çoğu ülkenin çözmeye çalıştığı ikilemlerdir. Tezin temel amacı, ekonomik kalkınma ile politik ve sosyal istikrar ikilemini belirlemek için Batı Afrika'daki kalkınma stratejilerinin başarısız olmasına sebep olan nedenleri incelemektir. Bazı çalışmalar ekonomik gelişme ve güvenlik konularını ayrı alanlar olarak incelemiş olmasına rağmen, vurgu, Batı Afrika'daki nispeten istikrarlı ülkelerde ekonomik gelişme ile sosyo-politik istikrar arasındaki ilişki üzerinde olmamıştır. Bu nedenle, teorik çerçeve, Güvenikleştirme teorisini (Yapılandırmacılık ile Klasik Gerçekçilik arasında bir orta yol olarak) kullanarak, ekonomik gelişmeyi güvenlik endişeleriyle ilişkilendirme amacıyla olmuştur.

Tezin metodolojisi olarak, ekonomik gelişme ve güvenlik açısından mevcut zorlukların tarihsel kökene sahip olduğunu göstermek için nitel yöntemler (belgesel analizi ve söylem analizi) uygulanmıştır. Bu metodolojik yaklaşım tercih edildi çünkü uluslararası ilişkilerde başlıca konular arasında bulunan göç, terörizm ve ekonomik kalkınma gibi sorunların iyice kavranmasını sağlamaktadır. Çalışma, bulgularını aktarmak için aşağıdaki yapıyı uygulamıştır. Konunun kapsamı ve bağlamına genel bir bakış sağladıktan sonra, çalışma ilk olarak ekonomik anlaşmalar ve ticaret sözleşmeleri (Yaoundé, Lomé veya Cotonou) aracılığıyla bölgesel kurumlar ve devletler (Avrupa ve Batı Afrika'da) arasındaki

ekonomik ilişkilerin kritik durumunu incelemektedir. Liberalleşme şartlılık ilkesi ve kalkınma ile ilgili ticaret anlaşmalarının amacı, tercihli ticaret anlaşmalarını (PTA) ekonomik ticaret anlaşmalarıyla (EPA) kıyaslamak ve karşılaştırmak için hazırlanmıştır. Bu inceleme, Afrika kıtasında bölgesel örgütlenmelerin kurulmasına sebep olan ve ekonomik küreselleşmenin yolunu açan nedenleri aydınlatmayı sağlamıştır. Bu yazılarda, ekonomik göstergelerin açıklamaları ve analizleriyle karşılaşmak mümkündür. Bununla birlikte, bu tez niceliksel bir yaklaşıma sahip olmayı amaçlamamaktadır, çünkü politika oluşturma sürecine ve bu anlaşmaların sosyal etkilerine odaklanmaktadır. Sonrasında, tez, Batı Afrika'da göçün temel nedenlerini (tarım ve sanayi sektörlerinin başarısızlığı ile) ve güvenlik sorunlarını (terörizmin artması ve eğitim sisteminin başarısızlığı ile) açıklamak için ekonomik ve ticari ilişkilerle ilgili reaktif ve proaktif politikaların derinlemesine incelenmesini sağlamıştır. Son olarak, sonuç bölümünde ekonomik, politik ve sosyal politikaların başarısızlığına neden olan birçok parametre belirtilmiş ve Avrupa ülkeleri ile Batı Afrika ülkeleri arasındaki ekonomik ilişkilerin karşılıklı çıkarlara dayanmadığı savunulmuştur. Ayrıca, entegrasyon modelinin ve Batı Afrika'daki az gelişmiş ülkelere yardım etmek için resmi kalkınma yardımının (ODA) asimetrik ilişki ve mevcut kalkınma endişelerine katkıda buldukları sonucuna varılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, Afrika ile Marshall Planı (Almanya Federal Cumhuriyeti öncülüğünde) karşılıklı çıkarlara dayanan yeni bir işbirliği modeli olarak Batı Afrika'ya uluslararası ilişkilerde hakettiği yeri verebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ekonomik gelişme, işbirliği, güvenlik, göç, Marshall Planı, Batı Afrika, terörizm.

Tarih: Aralık 2018

ENGLISH ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION IN WEST AFRICA: IMPLEMENTING THE MARSHALL PLAN WITH AFRICA FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND STABILITY

This paper discussed the main arguments that deal with the issues of development cooperation between Europe and West Africa. At the turn of the 21st century, it is clear that economic and security challenges which Sub-Saharan Africa faces are unique in nature. While the issues concerning the future of the African continent occupy a prominent place on the international agenda in matters of economy and security, the improvement of living conditions and the satisfaction of the most indispensable needs are the dilemmas that most countries are trying to resolve. The primary objective of the thesis was to examine the reasons which contributed to the failure of development strategies in West Africa to identify the dilemma of economic development and political and social stability. Despite the fact that a number of studies have examined economic development and security issues as separate domains, the emphasis has not been on the correlation between economic development and socio-political stability in the relatively stable countries in West Africa. Therefore, the theoretical framework was an attempt to associate economic development with security concerns by utilizing Securitization theory (as a middle ground between Constructivism and Classical Realism).

The methodology of the thesis applied qualitative methods (documentary analysis and discourse analysis) to demonstrate that the current difficulties, in term of economic development and security, have historical roots. This methodological approach was preferred because it enables to thoroughly comprehend issues like migration, terrorism, and economic development which remain among the central

issues in international relations. The paper applied the following structure to present its findings. After providing an overview of the scope and context of the topic, the paper first examines the critical nature of economic relations among regional institutions and states (in Europe and West Africa) through their economic agreements and trade conventions (Yaoundé, Lomé, or Cotonou). The liberalization conditionality and the purpose of trade agreements on development are elaborated to compare and contrast the preferential trade agreements (PTA) with the economic trade agreements (EPA). This scrutiny served to illuminate the motives which led to the establishment of regional organizations in the African continent and the path to the economic globalization. In these writings, it is possible to encounter descriptions and analyses of economic indicators. This thesis does not, however, intend to have a quantitative approach because it focuses on a policymaking process and the social impact of these agreements. Next, the thesis provided an in-depth examination of reactive and proactive policies related to economic and trade relations to explain the root causes of migration (with the failure of agricultural and industrial sectors) and security issues (with the increase of terrorism and the failure of the education system) in West Africa. Finally, the concluding chapter acknowledged several parameters which caused the failures of economic, political, and social policies and argued that the economic relations between European states and West African countries were not based on mutual interest. It is also concluded that the integration model and the official development aid (ODA) to assist the underdeveloped nations in West Africa contributed to the asymmetric relationship and current development concerns. Consequently, the Marshall Plan with Africa (under the leadership of the Federal Republic of Germany) as a new cooperation model based on mutual interest could give West Africa its rightful place in international relations.

Key Words: economic development, cooperation, security, migration, Marshall Plan, West Africa, terrorism.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ACP	: African, Caribbean and Pacific
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	: African Union
CAP	: Common Agricultural Policy
CPA	: Cotonou Partnership Agreement
EBA	: Everything but Arms
EDF	: European Development Fund
EGRP	: Economic Growth Recovery Plan
EPA	: Economic Partnership Agreements
ECSC	: European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	: European Economic Community
EIB	: European Investment Bank
ECOWAS	: Economic Community of West African States
EU	: European Union
FCFA	: Franc for the French Colonies in Africa
FTA	: Free Trade Agreement
GATT	: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
IOM	: International Organization for Migration
LDC	: Least Developed Countries
MDG	: Millennium Development Goals
NATO	: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAFTA	: North American Free Trade Agreement
NEPAD	: New Partnership for Africa's Development
NTS	: Non-traditional Security Issues
NTS issues	: Non-traditional Security issues
ODA	: Official Development Assistance
OAU	: Organization of the African Unity
PTA	: Preferential Trade Agreement
RTA	: Regional Trade Agreement
SAP	: Structural Adjustment Programs
UEMOA	: West African Economic and Monetary Union
UN	: United Nations
USA	: United States of America
UNDP	: United Nations Development Program
WTO	: World Trade Organization
WWII- I	: World War II/I

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INTRODUCTION

It is becoming increasingly difficult to disregard the repercussions of economic challenges which various African countries are currently facing in a global and regional context. Recent developments intriguing researchers in the academic field of International Relations have led to the renewed interest in attempting to understand the paradox which exists between economic growth and the gradual deterioration of the living conditions of people in Africa.

Currently, it is possible to observe that despite the steady pace of overcoming social inequalities, poor governance or unsuitable development policy, several African countries have experienced a positive growth rate at the beginning of the third millennium (Hope on Sub-Saharan Countries Economic 2018). This could mean that their economic performances do not appear to play a pivotal role in the rapid reduction of poverty within the social strata and the improvement of people's living conditions. The confirmed diagnosis of such contradictions is presumed to broaden the outlook of the African economic paradigm. Various people, who paid attention to this differences, might observe that prior to the decline of raw materials' prices several countries were able to maintain an annual growth of five percent (Zamfir 2016).

These exceptional conditions characterized by a constant evolution of the Gross Domestic Product (henceforth, GDP) were due to a considerable increase in the prices of international products (oil or mining products) following the intense demand on a worldwide scale. The central issue that needs to be highlighted with this economic breakthrough in Sub-Sahara Africa is precisely the fact that this economic growth was predominantly the result of favorable exogenous factors rather than domestic factors. Contrary to the golden age of the early 21st century, the deceleration of the annual GDP after the Arab uprisings, the gradual deterioration of international commodity prices, and the vulnerability of states due to political and social instability could largely explain the failure of attempts to properly maintaining their economic performances.

In addition to these unfavorable international and national circumstances, the last two decades have coincided with a significant upsurge in global terrorist activities. This has led to an intensification of the flow of political and economic migrants, which already

had a steady pace in the past. On this point, Beri (2017) has made a concrete analysis of the problematic of terrorism and how such a phenomenon would represent a major dilemma for African countries in the foreseeable future. It is particularly remarkable to observe how terrorist activities can hinder the maintenance of peace and economic development in a very large number of countries in the sub-region.

In addition, the crusades against 'rogue states' and the states sponsoring terrorism in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks have caused an international confusion on the issue of international terrorism. It has leastwise unlatched new sources of threats in an increasingly internationalized world. Indeed, globalization should not be considered merely in an economic dimension it may further refer to a system that has become international with the blossoming of international institutions, governmental or non-governmental organizations, or regional organizations which are actively involved in politics, economy, and security. The permeability of borders have progressively transformed domestic issues and national borders of countries into an interdependent world, therefore the internationalization of issues has paved the way for a highly integrated society.

Traditionally speaking, one might elaborate distinctive approaches to understanding a potential linkage between economic development and security issues. Focusing first on the term economic development, it is interpreted as sustained economic growth for a country for a long time. In the twenty-first century, however, the definition of economic development extends beyond improving people's economic conditions. It further considers the socio-economic well-being of people, the easy access to the healthcare or education systems, and the capacity of governments through national policy to stabilize the socio-economic and political conditions. Considering the path of economic development and the effects of globalization, some countries encounter enormous obstacles in implementing an appropriate policy program for national development. In fact, globalization could have a positive as a negative influence on the economic and security policies of some states. In other words, the opening of economic borders offers several possibilities for powerful states while the underdeveloped countries bear the brunt of this economic dominance.

It would, therefore, be of great importance to note here that the term economic development is broader than economic growth. In the introductory part of *Development as Freedom*, Sen (2000) goes further to argue that economic development reflects social and economic progress, and being able to realize such progress (social and economic) demands economic growth. It has become obvious that economic development cannot occur without a sustained economic growth. Thus, economic growth is a fundamental element but not the sole factor to ensure economic development. Hence, the concept of economic development which is currently discussed can include social justice, opportunities for the youth, freedom, capabilities, good governance, development or cooperation policy, and so on. Our primary aim with this paper is to focus on the aforementioned elements and their impact on societies in West Africa. It should also be noted that interpreting the indicators of economic growth remains outside the scope of this thesis because the proposed analysis is not statistical but rather qualitative.

Why the term security became also complex as economic development?

Assuming that economic development cannot only be limited to economic growth, but the study of security has also revealed that apart from the conventional methods (i.e., the use of military power) often used by countries, there is another category of security issues which makes these methods almost obsolete in certain cases. Simultaneously, the complexity arises from the non-differentiation of domestic and international matters are proofs that security issues can no longer be simply pictured as in its traditional image with solely a militaristic or conventional view.

Indeed, a more exhaustive understanding could demonstrate the intricacy and the depth of issues regarding security. For instance, the post-Cold War era characterized by the new balance of power, globalization, climate change, and global terrorism has given birth to a new category of threats capable of undermining the integrity of all states. This uncertainty for individual states to efficiently deal with these matters has led Europe and Africa to encounter similar challenges regarding new security issues, consequently shifting security threats from simplicity to perplexity. The situation is no longer between peace and security, as it was, but it might be a period of ‘no peace no war’ as Buzan and Wæver (2003) declare. The subject matter under discussion on the issue of security is to understand the new generation of these security threats and how their impact could

deteriorate the living conditions of populations in West Africa. Issues directly affecting regional or national stability like economic and political emigration or the proliferation of terrorist activities will be further discussed. Grasping, however, the significance of security before discussing the aforementioned concepts becomes relevant.

According to Makinda (1998) security is defined as “the preservation of the norms, rules, institutions, and values of the society” (pp. 281-292). Furthermore, these norms and values, which reflect the presence of institutions under the sovereignty principle, bind the society as a single body, and any state has to maintain this cohesion against military and non-military threats. Elaborating more on the approach of preservation, it is necessary to clarify that the thesis’ theoretical focus, as said earlier, is not a traditional point of view of Realism although it is undeniable to acknowledge that one of the primary objectives of states in the international system is survival. In this perspective, Buzan (1991) denotes that threat to survival is a pivotal element when studying security in the international system. Although the thesis theoretical framework recognizes the importance of state survival because of military threats that states might encounter, its scope puts more emphasis on unconventional threats which require less the direct use of military power. Thus, the study will use a theory which attempts to underline the objective and subjective ways of understanding security. This justifies the choice of Securitization theory as a middle ground between Constructivism and Classical Realism.

Caballero-Anthony (2016) on “An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies” refers to these threats as Non-traditional Security issues (henceforth, NTS), threats which move beyond the scope of military might (pp. 2-31). Caballero-Anthony et al. (2006) still describe the NTS issues as “Challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources (climate change, environmental degradation, economic crisis, terrorism, and globalization)” (p. 6). The NTS issues could be analyzed under different levels (global, regional, state, or individual level) giving them, therefore, a considerable place in international politics. In exceptional situations, exceptional measures might be required to grasp the leeway of the challenges which the global community is facing on the issues of economy and security.

So far, however, there has been little discussion about establishing a linkage between economic development and NTS issues for relatively stable countries in West Africa which have not experienced major conflicts, and this is the gap that the thesis aims to fill. Assuming every nation believes that economic progress ranks high on their agenda, several other elements as the example of security, the rule of law, democracy, education, health care, infrastructure, and good governance are the bedrock of a progressive society and can maintain the internal structure of states intact. Therefore, this proves that economic development without political and social stability is unsustainable.

Based on this aforesaid assumption, it might, therefore, be a bit confusing to some when the term security is discussed with the so-called fragile states or crisis states. It is discussed because those states are susceptible to crises and have less resilience to cope with domestic and international changes (e.g., economic and security issues). They might also share some similarities with failed states, but fragile states are easier to institutionally reorganize and socio-politically more stable. Indeed, for the purpose of this thesis, the focus centers around successful or relatively secured states in West Africa, Nigeria and Mauritania in particular, to demonstrate how it might be easier and much cheaper to deal with those relatively successful states rather than dealing with failed states. Attentively examining the incentives from developed countries to assist least advanced nations in peacekeeping and development initiatives could be an interesting debate acknowledging the paramount importance of International Relations and globalization. Nonetheless, questioning the reasons for wealthy countries is thoroughly legitimate because it could reveal purposes which are far from altruistic acts. Accordingly, naturally assuming that help or economic cooperation is always motivated by altruism would be naïve.

With the current international system, policymakers have remarkably recognized that the limit of national interest is beyond national borders. Because, globalization, the blurry demarcation between domestic and international politics and the complexity to deal with the security issues make the concept of national interest no longer limited within a national border. The synergy on maintaining peace and prosperity in the global system can be justified on the basis that the security issues have established a sole global security complex regardless of geography. Likewise, the national strategy of

individual states to preserve order has become almost obsolete against these issues. For many European countries, this has led onto redesigning relationship with Africa in terms of development cooperation and especially with the Federal Republic of Germany and Europe.

Was the Marshall Plan based only on altruism? How a new Marshall Plan might be applicable in Africa?

By taking a compelling example from the Marshall Plan, one of the most considerable experiences on development cooperation, this initiative helped Europe to rebuild its economy and consolidate peace and stability. Therefore, it was not a success to store in a drawer when on the 60th anniversary of the Marshall Plan Hubbard and Duggan (2007) proposed a similar plan for Africa. They argued, “Marshall’s logic applies to Africa today: a thriving business sector is a key to improving political and social progress” (para. 3). These new plans, to identically implement development cooperation like the old Marshall Plan, were being scrutinized by most of the European leaders who regarded economic prosperity as one of the indispensable elements to fight poverty and insecurity. It is worth highlighting that Europe was under construction during that period, and the recovery plan was a total success in maintaining prosperity, peace, and stability. The 21st century, however, offers a contrasting context to justify development cooperation.

Despite several attempts to grasp the essence of development cooperation, contemporary researchers are still reviewing countless issues to attenuate the inefficiency of development cooperation. By re-examining certain aspects more closely, it is not peculiar for some skeptics to regard that the economic models of North-South cooperation are merely meant to control the immense resources of the Third World countries. Consequently, the thesis attempts to contribute not only to the renewed vision of development cooperation, but it moreover offers the potential to provide further information on the efficient implementation of possible appropriate development cooperation in West Africa.

With this rationale in mind, the present examination of development cooperation intends to address numerous challenges which several African countries encountered to satisfy

their economic and social demand. This study simultaneously provides how European countries could tackle some security threats such as terrorism and mass migration by means of cooperation. It is equally significant to note that the term ‘Marshall Plan with Africa’ is principally based on the successive G 20 summits in Germany, the German vision of cooperation, and EU-African Union dialogues.

Schneldman (2017) asserted that a Marshall Plan with Africa has the potential to stimulate the economic sector by massively investing in key sectors to boosting the economic development. The German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development developed a comprehensive framework of a 33-page blueprint regarding development cooperation between Europe and Africa based on the original Marshall Plan. Although the initiative of redefining the relationship between Europe and Africa is a must, it is substantial to indicate this study seeks to provide further insights into the role of reactive and proactive development policies. The Marshall Plan with Africa would play the role of sustaining the economic structure by providing millions of jobs, decrease migration influx and insecurity problems, therefore, standing as a mutually beneficial cooperation model. Acknowledging the paramount importance of this vision, Minister Muller reckoned that, “If the youth of Africa can’t find work or a future in their own countries, it won’t be hundreds of thousands, but millions that make their way to Europe” (Reuters 2016, para. 5). This may imply the phenomenon of mass migration is not just a problem concerning African countries, but it is also an issue that could disrupt the internal structure of Europe.

(1) The first chapter introduces the relevant concepts to comprehend the essence of development cooperation. The theoretical framework is expected to establish the major theme to articulate arguments which correlate development cooperation and security issues. The scrutiny of such evidence could facilitate to disclosing various sources in academic literature. Examining the related literature intends to demonstrate that the academic study was and still is a significant subject matter to the research. Moreover, this chapter seeks to present more empirical evidence which justifies the relevance of the present research to the case of West Africa (i.e., Nigeria and Mauritania). Thus, by developing a thorough analysis of the empirical data, the study wants to pursue its main objective.

(2) The second chapter deals with the methodological part. The methodology rests on qualitative data analysis with a specific focus on documentary analysis combined with multiple cases designed to examine the validity of using such methods. The Marshall Plan implemented after the Second World War is scrutinized to sufficiently establish a potential linkage between economic development and security issues. The legacy of African post-colonial states and the type of economic cooperation between Europe and West Africa are studied and compared with the cooperation used by Americans during the implementation of the Marshall Plan in Europe. The methodology combined with the theoretical framework proves the justifiability of the scrutiny and its roots in previous research.

(3) Chapters three and four dedicated to the presentation of research results, two research questions are thoroughly discussed in these chapters. First, chapter three presents findings to the central research question by investigating the economic linkages between Europe and the post-colonial states in West Africa. Conventions and agreements between regional organizations and EU-ACP countries or EU-ECOWAS, particularly, are examined by focusing on the regionalization process, globalization, and trade liberalization.

(4) Lastly, chapter four intends to discuss the impact of reactive and proactive policies implemented after independence. The presentation of the findings rests on the examination of reactive policies resulting from economic policies in West Africa. It is also significant to examine how such policies (with documentary analysis as a method) have affected the economic evolution of the region. The analysis of migration patterns in Mauritania concludes this specific section. The other part explores proactive policies and the role of education in national development and identity. Furthermore, it discusses the political and social instability and the role of education in Nigeria.

(5) In the final chapter, the conclusion and the scrutiny of the findings are to facilitate the understanding of the fundamental question of the thesis: how suitable development cooperation policies could consolidate economies and eliminate security threats in West Africa? This concluding chapter is, therefore, to reveal whether the Marshall Plan with Africa is relevant as a development cooperation model within this economic and social context. The reactive and proactive policies proposed in the German Marshall Plan with

Africa are briefly discussed by underlining the most important policies and reform proposals as recommendations. Since the primary motivation of this thesis is to contribute to this initiative, thus the conclusion part also presents further recommendations.



CHAPTER 1. DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION, MIGRATION, AND SECURITY ISSUES IN WEST AFRICA

1.1 DEFINITIONS AND INTRODUCTION OF CONCEPTS

1.1.1. DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION VS. OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA)

The complexity of the global interdependence between domestic and international issues implies that certain notions are defined accordingly to the political or economic context to which they are subject. As one of the most core concepts in International Relations, they are diverse ways to explain development cooperation. It is certainly not uncommon to objectively compare development cooperation with other concepts such as development aid or official development assistance (ODA), because of the intended purposes for which they are designed, particularly in a highly globalized world (Di Ciommo 2014, 3-6).

Di Ciommo (2014) discusses that although development cooperation represents 10 percent of the global official development initiative, it is likely to increase in the forthcoming years. Motivated by the desire to build a shared interest based-model of cooperation and experience of observing the inefficacy of aid, the emerging economic actors aspire to alternate strategies in their fight against poverty (pp. 4-5).

Based on these facts, the core objective of development cooperation aims to decrease the economic imbalances between wealthy nations and developing countries considering the value of international cooperation to resolve economic difficulties. Various people advocate that development cooperation should use with a more extensive definition because of its necessity of the coordinating efforts from the international community since it incorporates other fundamental aspects like foreign direct investment, foreign policy, and security. This leads to comprehend how countries could mutually come to concrete objectives of their cooperation.

According to Alonso and Glennie (2016), development cooperation has to consider more the underdeveloped nations for the need to support the key elements of economic development and to adequately provide essential and harmonious social standards. In addition, the gradual emergence of current economic powers outside of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (hereafter, OECD) such as China, the most important provider with \$5.5 billion in 2011, demonstrates the progressive tendency of development cooperation and the sustained decrease of ODA (Di Ciommo 2014, 5). Looking first at the conventional significance of the ODA used by the wealthy countries for decades, financial resources have to palliate the primary needs of underdeveloped countries. Janus et al. (2014) underlined, however, the fact that the eradication of poverty in low-income countries is beyond simple. A holistic approach to development cooperation should, therefore, allegedly include aspects beyond economic factors such as social inequality, insecurity, migration policies, and other various issues related to economic underdevelopment.

In contrast to this traditional understanding, development cooperation offers the potential to properly balance the most critical problems with regard to economic development issues. Now that the definition of economic development has become more normative with the inclusion of multiple concepts, aid is yielding its value because of globalization and the changing international context associated with a plurality of actors. This makes many (Alonso 2018, 9 and Di Ciommo 2014) to thoughtfully examine the practical utility of ODA to respond positively to contemporary challenges on economic development.

Regarding the political and social stability of developing countries, it is vital to stress the boundlessness of the upcoming role that development cooperation might play. Such a decisive role could enable these unstable states (in term of security issues and economy) to achieve performance leading to economic development. To such a degree, the concept of development cooperation not only discusses the conditionality of development programs between countries, but it also considers the traditional understanding of economic aid to clarify the potential differences. The ultimate point to the enlightenment of the thesis rests on the centrality of the principal goal of development cooperation and the model of economic cooperation which European

countries proposed (and still propose) to the least developed nations to tackle poverty and security issues. This is more explicitly discussed in the following chapters. Development cooperation and the gradual reduction of economic poverty remain not only a problem between states, considering the extent of matters caused by economic underdevelopment; it further involves intergovernmental agencies and non-states actors.

To uproot the causes of poverty in the developing countries, the United Nations Development Program (henceforth, UNDP) and the UN General Assembly (2000) adopted the resolution to implement the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for a period of fifteen years to effectively fight poverty and injustice around the world. This approach tries to promote a bottom-top method by using development aid with a micro-level approach. Recognizing the fact that the state to state initiative has failed to deliver effective results, the international community wants to use this ideas to directly impact the living conditions of poor people (UN report 2000). Ndikunama (2016) suggests that a micro-level approach is more suitable for Sub-Saharan Africa because the backbone of such an initiative is to include everyone in the development path. To note that the EU schema used for decades vis-à-vis African countries was different from this new approach.

However, these recent years with regard to its External Action and Foreign Policy Initiative, the EU and its member states, in particular, Germany, try to propose an alternative path of economic cooperation to reduce poverty (EU External Action 2016). For the EU, for example, international cooperation and economic development constitute a chief priority to efficiently implement development policies as written in chapter one, articles 208 and 211 on Development Cooperation with the Lisbon Treaty (Euro-step 2013). The EU highlighted its legitimate objectives to voluntarily cooperate with developing countries by encouraging its member states and international institutions to collaborate with third countries to achieve this specific goal. For these reasons and others, Germany with the support of the G 20 member states and the EU, wants to redesign its relationship with the rest of the world, in particular with Sub-Saharan Africa, based on the ideas of democracy, social justice, security, and economic prosperity.

1.1.2. MIGRATION: NEW OR OLD TREND

Among the most conventional definitions of the term migration, several scholars agreed that it is not a recent phenomenon and can serve various purposes whether it is voluntary, temporary or permanent. When people migrate from one place to another to seek semi-permanent or permanent location across political borders for political, economic, or just social reasons, this movement is defined migration (Study Lecture Note 2015). In the current international context, the exponential increase of people moving inside or outside of national borders lengthens the economic and social issues derived from migration to provide the international community a participatory approach to reduce the effects.

Recently, the UN Secretary-general Ban Ki-moon states before the UN General Assembly, “Migration is at the heart of the new global political landscape and its social and economic dynamics” (UN News 2016). It is straightforward to stress that migration issues cannot entirely be matters of domestic politics to solve. The implication of the UN with the collaboration of the International Organization for Migration (henceforth, IOM) is an attempt to strengthening the global cooperation to provide solutions beyond the political sphere to reduce issues linked to international migration. The annual report of the IOM (2018) estimates at 244 million the number of international migrants representing 3.3 percent of the world population (World Migration Report 2018, 15). As previously discussed to understand the motivations of people migrating, there is the undeniable fact that they migrate to improve their living conditions and find a peaceful social environment to prosper.

There is, therefore, a need to propose a definition which correlates the following terms: migration, economic development, and security issues. This is to have a better understanding of the impact of development cooperation policies in West Africa. For these reasons, the study focuses on the root causes of migration in West Africa by particularly centralizing the research on Mauritania, a country considered as a new migration hub in West Africa. Aiming to illuminate the potential connections amidst policy implementation and the roots of migration, the previous partnership initiative between the EU and West Africa is carefully scrutinized. This contributes to discern

how post-colonial development policies impacted in West Africa to comprehend the current issues faced by these states in the field of economic development.

Furthermore, the end of the Cold War had once again introduced an intense debate between the political and military elites over the direct use of armed force to tackle security issues. This blurriness unveils the complexity of the state agenda to set goals beyond their survival in the international system. The consideration of the current international system, as a multi-polar system, implies the fact that decision-makers have to consider other priority when deciding national policies which may include economic, social, and environmental issues.

The reconceptualization of security issues (which considers less the use of direct armed force), the proliferation of international organizations/non-states actors, and regional organizations characterized by inter-states interdependency after the Cold War are all factors to consider with a potential redefinition of security threats. In this fashion, the debate between viewers of traditional security (Classical Realism) and the proponents of Securitization Theory becomes omniscient (Buzan 1998; Ruyter 2015; Balzacq 2005 and Wæver 2011).

It is substantial to emphasize that the primary objective of this chapter is not to centralize the examination around the differences of Securitization Theory and Classical Realism. Indeed, this part represents an attempt to elucidate the use of Securitization Theory and to provide explanations to the particular assumption that economic development without security is unsustainable. Security issues are not thus discussed in a traditional approach (as in Classical Realism), it is scrutinized within a broader view to properly investigate a complex phenomenon which could internally affect the political, social and territorial integrity of independent states of the relatively stable states.

Wæver et al. (1998) argue that the theory of Securitization is a subfield of Security Studies which offers a broader definition of current political and security issues. By using a Constructivist view to investigate the evolution of international politics, Securitization theory attempts to fill the gap between Classical Realism and Constructivism (pp.1-4). Stritzel (2014) also assumes that Securitization Theory tries to

harmonize the strong view of Classical Realism and broad interpretation of Constructivism. With this way of analyzing the new generation of issues, these scholars try to connect opinions of Realists, who defined security as the primary objective of states survival, and the speech act of Constructivists, who give a primary importance of the audience's interpretation of security issues.

Buzan et al. (1998) investigated different factors to establish a possible linkage between Securitization theory and economic development. This scrutiny of security issues might contribute to discern how Securitization theory is related to economic development of weak states in West Africa by examining securitization, sectors, and regional security complexes.

1.2. ANALYSIS OF WEST AFRICAN STATES THROUGH SECURITISATION THEORY

1.2.1 SECURITY THREATS AND THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE

First, it appears to be a necessity to comprehend the meaning of security threats before further proceeding on the scrutiny. According to Wæver (1995), one of the leading pioneers of Securitization theory, security threats are not objective. He continues his arguments by saying that states do not have natural security threats, especially after the Cold War era. Considering these facts, security threats have are meaningless when isolated from their social context, a compelling idea of Social Constructivism. Furthermore, Wæver (1995) states, “In this usage, security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real... is the act. [...]. By saying the word, something is done” (p. 55).

Therefore, securitizing is the process to which issues become designated as potential threats by political actors. For menaces to be identified as serious ones, they have to be existential threats by having the possibility to jeopardize the internal functioning of any state. Such a problem would certainly require prerequisite measures to prevent negative consequences such as the examples of economic inequalities, mass emigration, and radicalism religious (Wæver 1995). Buzan et al. (1998) argue that the speakers, who could be economic and political elites, civil-society organizations international and regional organizations, or citizens, and the audience, citizens, are usually in a process of

negotiating the issues which deserve to be qualified as security threats, so they could determine the security measures when confronted with a problem (de Wilde et al. 1998, 30).

For instance, political leaders could consider adopting policies for regulating migration. However, this decision has to recognize the significance of these issues which may directly affect the stability of the state. The example of immigration which could lead to negative consequences may result in the increase of criminality, the nationalism, or just worsen the economic situation during the period of crises. Considering the spill-over effect from insecurity problems, its repercussions can threaten the existence of other neighboring states by creating a regional instability. Based on this assumption, the emergency is to define the issue as a referent object by political leaders. Hence, the legitimate authorities (whether democratically elected or authoritarian regimes) could propose a course of action leading to tackle such issues. The efficient methods to convince the audience have to produce compelling arguments to prove the nature of threats Wæver (2011).

In relation to the thesis, the necessity of designating underdevelopment and few job opportunities in some Sub-Saharan states as security matters could be based on this assumption. This should lead to finding efficient development cooperation with relatively stable states to avoid economic or political mass emigration and to prevent the spread of terrorism as the referent objects. Related to the thesis, the necessity of designating underdevelopment and lack of job opportunities, as security matters, could be based on such an assumption. This leads to the idea of finding efficient development cooperation with relatively the stable states in order to prevent mass emigration and terrorism.

Securitization theorists warn on the falsity of some phenomena as global threats such as terrorism. Eroukhmanoff (2018) confirmed this idea by stating that terrorism does not evenly affect everybody around the world. Additionally, Eroukhmanoff (2018) reasonably explains that one of several methods of finding the referent objects is to seek the subsequent questions, “Security for whom? Security from what? And security by whom?”

These questions are developed in the following chapters by presenting data and provide concrete examples.

1.2.2 SECURITY THREATS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

In the second place, the term sector is important to underline because Securitization Theory goes further than merely proposing the military sector as capable of solving all threats to security. The theory additionally includes economic, societal, or political means of dealing with security threats (Buzan 1998; Rythoven 2015; Balzacq 2005; Wæver 2011). One possible way of interpreting the concept of ‘sectorializing’ threats is that issues, although important, have various objectives in accordance with the mechanism and context (Šulović 2010, 4). The economic sector remains a focal point to consider when tackling security issues in West Africa.

1.2.3 REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX (RSC) STILL MATTERS?

As has been discussed, it is clear that West Africa is composed of states closely bound in several fields. Apart from the economic and political relations that these different countries have shared since independence, their cultural and historical relations suggest that this dependence is irreversible.

Exhaustively examining the eloquent case of Nigeria, the political leaders in understanding that terrorism represents a real threat that may even endanger the survival of the federation may justify the use of extraordinary measures to solve this problem. With a legitimate choice of employing the most appropriate and effective means to deal with security issues, states have genuine sovereign rights to guarantee their own survival.

Not long ago, President Buhari acknowledges the fact that unconventional means are indispensable to solve security issues. He states, “We need to adopt a multifaceted approach of good governance, economic development, and creation of job opportunities for our youth” (Odunsi 2018, 11). Buzan (1991) also confirms the offensive and defensive capabilities could be used by independent states when facing security threats (p. 20). For instance in Nigeria, dealing with security concerns is more about solving political, economic or educational problems while strengthening defensive capabilities.

In line with this idea, Buzan (1991) added that the enhancement of economic opportunities contributes to the maintenance of military and political security by preserving state welfare and allowing people to culturally and religiously preserve their distinctive identity (p. 20). As a result, this academic paper exhaustively examines threats to security beyond the military sphere.

Subsequent to the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the multi-polarity of the international system has immensely contributed to the ongoing process of regionalization or the creation of subsystems. Buzan and Wæver (1998) have argued that geographic proximity in the post-Cold War era would play a crucial role in International Relations. This is because economic interdependence has contributed significantly to expanding security issues by establishing permeable boundaries between states as evidenced by the formation of regional economic blocs. This economic interdependence has had a profound impact on the rapid spread of security problems in a short time. For example, West Africa with its various regional institutions is characterized by a unique regional security complex with a multitude of issues shared by most states. On the basis of this hypothesis, this undoubtedly constitutes a relevant illustration of the subject that must link economic development and security issues in West Africa. Buzan (2003) mentions, “The central idea in RSCT is that, since most threats travel more easily over short distances than long ones, security interdependence is normally into regionally based clusters: security complexes” (p. 4).

Despite economic globalization establishing global interdependence between states, regional organizations have taken the initiative to promote multi-faceted cooperation, such as the EU and ECOWAS. Geographic proximity is a substantial issue, and Dalby (2002) argues convincingly that security remains a political and discourse-related term. Although the continent of Europe is not directly connected to the African continent, security issues could still be a barrier to any possibility of isolation. A more recent illustration shows subsystems can resolutely face a common challenge, most of which is related to the economic disparity of development in neighboring regions. People migrate where they believe their economic and social conditions can improve leading to economic migration.

1.2.4 SECURITISATION THEORY: A USEFUL THEORY FOR THE SUBJECT MATTER?

The use of Securitization theory to examine political and economic issues is challenged by some social scientists because of the predominant practice of military experience that overwhelms the problem of security in International Relations. Many have criticized political decision-makers for reconsidering several issues beyond normality to justify the use of force because such measures might reflect their particular political objectives. This makes (Wæver 2000; Wæver 2015) to criticize some political leaders when they attempt to utilize issues that are no longer accepted as threats to justify the use of unconventional measures. These political leaders might require the use of what Wæver (2000) refers as “the disproportionate power of the state in placing success and failure securing the audience rather than the actor of securitization.” To clarify this blurriness the proponents of Securitization theory suggest the concept of ‘de-securing’ or returning to traditional politics.

A spare argument is related to the broadening of security definition since it may be determined by a cultural or historical comprehension making it justifiable in each specific circumstance. Having said that, Dalby (2002) notes, “Security is thus always a political construction in specific contexts”. (p. xxii). It is imperative to emphasize that securitizing actors, in addition to being politicians, can also be the police, intelligence services, media, customs, immigration services, armed forces, and other agencies. When the subject is well treated, security issues may well contribute to permanent solutions even though opinions on security issues may vary from one individual to another. This provides the theory with a bottom-up approach to problem-solving as a prerequisite for effective implementation of beneficial development cooperation.

To summarize, the thesis attempts to outline, with the Theory of Securitization an approach that integrates the current generation of security threats such as migration, poverty, and terrorism with economic development. In the context of globalization and the multi-faceted challenges facing countries in sub-Saharan Africa, examining different ways of solving economic underdevelopment and security problems is puzzling the Theory of Securitization. Associating economic development with security problems, as demonstrated during the implementation of the Marshall Plan in Europe, this demarche

of combining security and economic development proves once again the choice of the theory.



CHAPTER 2. LINKING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY ISSUES

2.1. METHODOLOGY

This part is devoted to the methodology. It aims to explicate the relationships between economic development and security issues with a specific focus on political and social stability. Thereby, to a certain significant extent, this research is a qualitative study based on a documentary analysis method (as primary data) and a discourse analysis method (as secondary data). The academic research seeks to properly address queries regarding the motivation of political elites to accept or reject policies, the programs they prefer to follow on the demand of their community based on their comprehension or interpretation of security threats.

The above-mentioned research model is preferred because of the recent phenomena that drive international relations, namely mass emigration, economic development, poverty, and terrorism. It is therefore empirical in nature and presents real-life events which combine multiple sources of evidence. The research methodology and data collection procedures will be conducted with various means. The leading sources of data collection are academic literature, official government statements on the subject, press releases, summit summaries between Europe-Africa, Germany-Africa, and the results of debates in the German or European Parliament. Recognizing the need for extensive research in numerous countries and the problems of lack of mobility, it is significant to mention that freedom of movement and financial problems are one of the primary limitations of this research.

Context of Economic Development and Security

Taken history into consideration, the European continent witnessed one of the most dramatic changes in the aftermath of the Second World War (henceforth, WWII). Devastated, ruined, and left with deep scars, societies in Europe had suffered from one of the biggest tragedies of the 20th century when the rivalries (e.g., economy and security) between states reached its paroxysm. Having to bear this in mind, European and American political elites came to the assumption that peace without economic development might be obsolete (Judt 2005, 13-14). However, when the Cold War was

about to divide Europe even before the end of the 1940s, the anxiety of experiencing a new conflict in Europe weakened hopes for a federal Europe (Judt 2005, 129-130).

The willingness to extend issues beyond a nation-state approach took into account two vital areas. On one hand, with the intention of enabling countries to maintain an appeased social atmosphere, the first logical step to take was the continuous improvement of economic conditions in Europe. Postulating that economic competition was the dominant cause of inter-state conflict, Johnson (2016) compares the effects of the economic crisis in the early 1930s to the one in Europe. The author asserts that the failure of maintaining good economic performance in the old continent brought the world into its 'knees' with the rise of fascism and Nazism. Hence, this economic instability in international relations inevitably triggered a devastating war. As argued by historians, Americans assumed that the stabilization of Europe had to pass through economic cooperation with which the principal antagonists, e.g., France and German, would have to work hand to hand to a collective interest, namely for economic prosperity and peace. In order to successfully rebuild Europe and appease the political and social climate, the European Recovery Program or the so-called Marshall Plan, named after the Secretary of State George C. Marshall, was thus launched to play a reactive and proactive role in restructuring economies in Europe (CVCE.EU by UNILU 2016, 6-8).

The first part of this chapter attempts to explicitly develop arguments of how the Marshall Plan in Europe played a reactive role by positively enhancing cooperation through economic investment, the development of agriculture or industry and at the same time a proactive role that aimed to sustain peace and security by using transparency and solidarity. The study of the Marshall Plan in Europe serves as an anchor to discover the correlation between development cooperation, economic development, and security.

The second part of this chapter considers the discussion over the similarities and the differences of the Marshall Plan vis-à-vis foreign aid and the nature of cooperation between Africa and Europe during the post-colonial era. The key objective of this comparative analysis undoubtedly constitutes a focal point when examining the role of development cooperation policies. Hence, comparing the various strategies that facilitate or hinder economic development in Europe and West Africa would constitute

a significant part. Furthermore, the way which economic policies were able to overcome or worsen issues are also studied (in depth).

Another issue, which is partially the objective of the discussion, is to comprehend the impact of the economic and political colonial legacy in Western Africa. Being more explicit requires depicting the current political or economic system and how history influenced the dynamism of the current state system. It is envisaged that this would facilitate the understanding of the benchmark of Europe and West African relations.

2.2. DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION IN EUROPE: THE USA MARSHALL PLAN

In Europe, the turnout of the WW II undoubtedly played a crucial role by drastically changing the internal political and economic structures. One of the impetuses behind such transformations for Europe becoming economically prosper and enjoying a durable peace among nation-states was the Marshall Plan. Moreover, the political and economic institutionalization of these agencies to endeavor for the common interest of Europe became the cornerstone of the European integration. Higgs (2005) and McMillan (2009) debated the involvement of the USA into European affairs as no longer being regarded as 'taboo', because of the USA's implication in the post-WWI settlement, and the WWII confirmed the American hegemonic status quo (para. 3-6 and para.15-18). The time to 'scare the hell' as President Truman said before the Congress in 1947 had launched the plan to assist the European continent to recover. According to Truman, Turkey, and Greece, after the withdrawal of the Brits, economically devastated by the war had to be stabilized to prevent public anguish, and he added that "the key to preventing the overthrow of free nations was to attack the conditions of misery and want that nurtured totalitarianism."

Having the opportunities to widen its liberal democratic principles, the USA would then extend the economic assistance in Western Europe as part of a plan to eradicate poverty, hunger, desperation, and chaos. Kirkland (n.d) declares that the Marshall Plan provided financial aid and technical assistance to the reconstruction of Europe between 1947 and 1951 with approximately \$13 billion. The latter also argues the importance of rebuilding Europe to stabilize its political and economic dimension with regard to the normalization of international politics. Considering the importance of preeminent

development strategy, it becomes a priority to mention the focus of the Marshall Plan on reconstructing the infrastructures, promoting free market, or developing the agricultural sector as the backbone of the European economic model (Thakkar and Payne 2012, 133-135).

Nevertheless, Tucker (1997) denoted the Marshall Plan was an instrument of the USA to have a stronghold in the European continent based on the belief to establish a new world order granting a centralized role to the Americans. Consequently, the establishment of international institutions by the USA was to dominate the global system. In Krug's memoirs, the secretary of the interior states, “the Marshall Plan, essential to our own continued productivity and prosperity, it is as if we were building a TVA every Tuesday” (Tucker 1997, para. 16). By supporting Europe to solve the economic and social inequalities, the US and Western Europe enjoyed a glorious economic prosperity which confirmed the significance of cooperation.

2.2.1. THE MARSHALL PLAN AND THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN EUROPE

The European continent before the WWII was characterized by economic and political fragility. This volatile situation, which had the possibility to turn any incidence into an impasse, made the balance of power ineffective although the system was ‘purported to generate stability’ as discussed by (Booty 2011, para. 6-7). The advent of the WWII would, therefore, have two significant outcomes for Europe. On one side, Europe was no longer able to maintain its economic supremacy since the conflict devastated its economy and infrastructure. On the other side, the emergence of the USA and the Soviet Union as superpowers marked a new era characterized by a bipolar system. The economic weakness of Europe and the confirmation of the USA as a global power in the aftermath of the war did not hinder efforts to relieve Europeans with which it shared historical ties.

A considerable decision taken by the USA to assist Europe was a firm resolution of remedying the ‘German issue’ (US Department of State 2009). Brawlby (2017) referred to this issue as a persistent distrust of Europeans towards Germany and added: “After World War Two, there was much debate about whether Germany should possess any armed forces. An end had to be made, it was argued, to a cycle which began with Prussian militarism and ended in Nazi war crimes.” (para. 6). This question

intrigued the French more than any other in Europe regarding their security, especially when the Americans isolated the possibility of reconstructing the continent without Germans. Ismay, a British general, and the first NATO secretary general were remembered for his famous expression, “to keep the Russians out, the Americans in and the Germans down”. This paved the way for the creation of NATO, the main European defense organization that defended West Europe during the Cold War (Hanson 2017, para.1).

In the economic field, the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (henceforth, ECSC) in 1951 by six countries of Western Europe including West Germany showed the enthusiasm to reorganize the free movement and fair competition of these necessary goods. This had the potential to regulate competition over natural resources and also to enhance the living standards by means of economic cooperation as stated in its Article 2 (EU source 2018). This was a milestone to the future integration, and the introduction of the High Authority enabled the monitoring of the technical areas of the market economy such as the respect of rules, transparency, and fair competition. Jean Monnet, the president of the first High Authority in 1952, underlined the upcoming mission of this institution and foresaw the creation of the common market and other institutions (Strasbourg 1952).

Despite several challenges characterized by internal and external crises during the following years, the ECSC worked to reform and extend its domain of competence leading to additional cooperation sectors. This progressively introduced the concept of ‘supranational institutions’ in Europe. Bulmer & Joseph (2015) and Bulmer & Joseph (2016) reported that European integration is similar to a loose hegemonic enterprise. They also consider the European integration as a project that encourages the members to come to a settlement, a far-reaching program of actions principally based on the interest of the leading countries, nevertheless, takes into consideration the interest of other groups to tackle conflicts and promote a collective goal (pp. 725-748). The constructive discussion over the principles of regionalism as an ideology or project would further be developed.

With regard to the role of the Cold War in the European integration process, the ideological differences that opposed Western Europe to the rest had a positive effect by economically integrating economic sectors to a considerable, and the US Marshall Plan

further contributed to the strengthening and consolidation of liberal economic regulations which delayed the rapprochement with the Communist bloc. Cameron (2014) confirms, indeed, the difference of ideologies hampered changes of the political system in West Europe. This had a positive outcome in the sense that Western Europe learned the benefit of cooperation to accomplish common interest, perhaps making European integration a project. The Marshall Plan somehow triggered political and economic progress that elevated Europe as a world economic power. In his memoirs, George Papandreou, a former French President stressed the significant role the Marshall Plan played for the future of Europe. These remarks again illustrate the importance of economic cooperation between countries.

2.2.2. THE MARSHALL PLAN AND ACT OF GENEROSITY OR INTEREST BASED?

As Payne and Thakkar (2012) agree on the Marshall Plan, it represents, “the most prolific foreign humanitarian aid program from the United States to Western Europe in history” (p.133). This testifies that the economic and social transformations of Europe could hardly be achieved without the Marshall Plan. Nevertheless, many political scientists held debates on the genuine motivations behind the mind of Americans and the impact of the Plan in Europe. Some arguments questioned the Marshall Plan on the grounds that it was an interest-based initiative whereby Americans used to extend their sphere of influence on a global scale (e.g., diplomacy and economy) while other evaluated the Plan as humanitarian mission destined to rescue Europe (Barjot et al. 1997, 342; Diefendorf et al. 1993, 537 and Silva 1999, 376).

Bordoff (2017) maintains the view that the Marshall Plan contributed to the strengthening of the American foreign policy simultaneously by bringing Europe to its side during the Cold War period. Nevertheless, it is clear that Eastern Europe which was the main supply of the West for years, especially with fuel, coal, and food, underwent profound alterations with the arrival of the Soviets that changed the political and economic system. Political uncertainty, chaos, and poor economic management provided the USA with an opened door and a leeway to reorganize the European market.

Despite many interrogations on the motivation of Americans, both sides had made declarations that galvanized people on the necessity of the Marshall Plan. Winston

Churchill called it, “the most un-sordid act in human history”. Harry Truman praised it as “one of America’s greatest contributions to the peace of the world”. Some authors who advanced the imperialism concept with the establishment of the international and financial institutions such as the institutions of Bretton Woods considered less the fact Americans externally protected Europe with NATO since 1949. Steil and Rocca (2018) affirmed that the guarantee of European security during the Cold War made the Marshall Plan successful. If investment represented the internal strategy to sustain the economy of states, providing security for Western Europe was the external means to keep intact and protect social and political cohesion. In other words, economic development without peace is unsustainable.

As observed during the implementation of the Marshall plan in Europe, the protection against external threats played a pivotal role in maintaining domestic economic growth. Sharing liberal and democratic values, Europe and the USA could be considered as being natural allies. This largely contributed to bolstering a model of cooperation based on good terms. However, the decolonization period was going to introduce a new form of relationship between Europe and the newly independent African states.

2.3. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LEGACY IN WEST AFRICA: CONTINUITY OF RUPTURE?

2.3.1. LEGACY OF NEW STATES AND THE RISE OF THE THIRD WORLD

For centuries, Africa had undergone unprecedented upheavals which ravaged lands and scattered its inhabitants destroying simultaneous bedrock of indigenous societies. The colonization associated with a fierce foreign imperialism that saw these resources exploited without limit or precaution, left no chance to the young nations to begin with a solid foundation when they gained their independence during the 1960s. Even now, this domination is under different forms giving the example of France.

Lawal (2016) argues that France still exercises economic slavery toward African states sharing the FCFA Franc for the French Colonies in Africa (hereafter, FCFA) by controlling their foreign exchange reserves. Protecting the economic exploitation in 14

countries having to deposit 85 percent of their foreign exchange reserves in Paris, the French government might employ different necessary means to preserve its interest. For instance, during the 2010 post-electoral crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, the French government blocked the country's foreign exchange reserves to oust Laurent Gbagbo from power. Lawal (2016) also relates what a German newspaper wrote when former president Chirac confirmed that France to steadfastly maintain its economic power thoroughly relies on the revenues from Africa which is estimated to be €440 billion of taxes every year. This paradoxical situation, that animates most African countries, has roots in the political and economic heritage from former colonial powers which wanted to maintain their colonial dominance.

After political independence, several African countries were initially confronted with a lack of infrastructure and bureaucratic personnel because of educational deficiency and the mismanagement of resources during the colonial era. This considerably hindered the potentialities of establishing sturdy economic foundations. However, Gilley (2017) defended colonialism by stating that colonialism had only positive effects in the colonized world. On the other hand, many academicians claim that the limited infrastructure built during this era remained the work of the indigenous people. They were forced to construct railways and roads to facilitate the plundering of raw materials. In a similar vein, Haleta (2017) affirms, "colonialism included the invasion and takeover of foreign lands, slavery, and unthinkable brutality, subjugation of indigenous peoples, dispossession and economic exploitation through authoritarian and ruthless rule". Historians advanced that the world should not underestimate the anguish of colonized people who underwent exploitation, mass murder, genocide, oppression, or discrimination simply based on the principle of 'white supremacy.'

Taking into account the difficulties in the past, the problems of Africa to build a stable state system are cultural, economic, and security. It is evident that African countries have to construct its cultural identity to rewrite African history from an African perspective. This might participate in the process of recovering a cultural and political identity, a starting point for economic progress. The former president of Ghana Nkrumah stated, "Political independence without economic independence was meaningless" (Thompson 2018, para. 3). For researchers studying contemporary African issues, the colonization and slavery are the main causes of African

underdevelopment in Africa (Anor 2010 and Ayittey 2002). Thompsell (2018) added that inexperienced leadership with a new political system, lack of national identity, energy dependency, and lack of infrastructure locked the economic development of the continent.

2.3.2. WEST AFRICA AND EUROPE: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The way which the European powers managed their colonies in Africa had immensely contributed to shaping the social and economic order after the political independence. Thus the post-colonial states took solid foundations from the colonial administrative system to implement a new system (Bayeh 2016, 23-24). Recognizing the direct impact of the administrative system during the colonization era, it is imperative to elaborate theories which discuss the economic and social situation of these states before the colonization period. Indeed, such a focus may lead to the conclusions that the colonies were more prospered before the colonization, and the European imperialism was the main factor which led to the impoverishment of the continent.

Indeed, countless scholars discuss the idea of the reversal of the fortunes to explain the current problems of Africa. On one hand, authors like Kendhammer (2017) presented an analysis which displays the economic and political gap within the post-colonial world.

These compelling arguments confirmed that prospered and politically organized societies before the colonization presented more problems after independence as the typical example in West Africa. The choice of policies used to exploit resources in these colonies, as Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) discussed, gave no considerations to the political rights of locals and upcoming generations. Indeed, this resulted in the conflict of interest, promoted the minority while neglecting the majority and divided people who lived for centuries, a strategy to create mistrust and hatred among people (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012, 386-395).

On the other hand, these plausible arguments illustrate that in less developed territories such as the current USA, where colonizers by enforcing the rule of law, protecting property rights, promoting agriculture and local industry could quickly overcome issues after independence. Thus, comparing current international political and

economic facts, it could be assumed that Africa was among the richest of the colonies. As remarked by Robinson and Helling (2014), considering the political and economic exploitation, racism, and discrimination negatively impacted the development of Africa, it does not, however, explain the entirety reasons of poverty.

Did the political legacy determine the current economic system?

The replacement of indigenous institutions into a European type of administration system restructured the basis of the African societies (Farah et al. 2011, 2). To better understand the impact of such changes and their implication in the current political and economic system, it becomes crucial to analyze the colonial administration systems in Africa. In line with this idea, Wyk (2007) states, “Contemporary state in Africa is a remnant of a colonially imposed system” (p. 3).

Broadly, three types of administration systems dominated the colonial era in Africa, namely the direct rule, the indirect rule, and the assimilation policy. This scrutiny is to facilitate our perception of the historical roots of political and economic problems which impeded the economic development of Sub-Saharan Africa.

The first generation of African leaders faced numerous challenges to reorganize the political system and the economic structure of their state. Bayeh (2015) discusses the fact that the majority of democratic issues in Sub-Saharan Africa began in the colonization period. Moreover, evidence shows that post-colonial states adopted a centralized administration system which focused on ethnic groups and authoritarian based political culture (p.90). This caused several issues regarding the democratic political transition.

The French colonial legacy

The French and the British people were among the most influential colonial powers in Africa. Each colonial power used an administrative system that suited their interest to effectively exploit the dominated people. To use the full potentialities of their colonies, the French administration employed a direct rule system by proposing a cultural, political, and economic domination. Their colonies were regarded as the smallest circle of the administration system and with the Metropole they formed a single unity (Austin 2010, 11-32).

As previously said, France tried to maintain the same economic ties based on economic and financial dominance as the establishment of the FCFA in West Africa and the military presence to protect its interest. In theory, it is argued that France gave African countries political independence while retaining the same pre-colonial economic advantages. However, some internal and external factors could be partly responsible for keeping such a relationship.

For instance, the Cold War characterized by the security dilemma in international relations and the political vulnerability of newly independent states enabled France to protect its 'exclusive hunting ground' without much concerns (Copson 2001, 12). French governments to preserve their interest supported friendly leaders whether democratic or authoritarian regimes. Copson (2001) still underlined, "this competitive Cold War involvement, critics maintain, tended to strengthen governments on both sides that were anti-democratic and following inefficient, state-oriented economic policies, often marked by considerable corruption" (p.13).

Currently, there is a belief that France forcefully seeks to maintain its economic domination with former colonies which is known as 'France-Africa' or neo-colonialism (Pean 2012, 85). For instance, Pean (2012) discusses the Franco-African relations since independence and how the term France-Africa has emerged in the literature. To demonstrate this dominance in the international system, Pean (2012) investigates the French adopted approach to convey its political and economic agenda. By illustration, the Organization Internationale de la Francophonie or just the 'Francophonie' gathers 57 countries most of which are former colonies in Africa, and this organization not only promotes the French language or culture, but it is also involved in political and economic issues (Ba 2014). It can be observed that new generations constantly hold critics toward their political leaders, especially in West Africa, with regard to the political and economic privileges given to French corporations.

Copson (2001) argues that the Francophonie, a form of cooperation, contributes to the stabilization of the African continent by providing military assistance whenever needed as the French intervention in Mali in 2013 (p. 13). However, Wing (2016) regards this intervention as a long-term regional presence to counter-terrorism and preserves French interest by securing for instance companies exploiting the Uranium fields in

Niger or the oil and gas in Algeria. Maiga and Adam (2018) also believe that the military presence of France in the Sahel to fight global terrorism with the USA, particularly after the overthrow Gadhafi in 2011, is backed by Europe to break the migration corridor through Niger. In line with this initiative, Germany and Italy have recently reinforced their military footprint in the G5 Sahel countries (Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Chad) to limit migration flows (Maiga and Adam 2018).

The British colonial legacy

There is a distinctive body of literature which testifies that the former British colonies compared to the rest had produced a better economic performance. North (2005) and Lipset (1994) shared the ideas that the British compared to the French brought useful legislation for the implementation of a working market economy during the colonization era. In fact, these authors argue that British indirect rule considered less restructuring societies during the colonization era which benefited countries after independence. The British administration did not have to deal with individual and instead dealt with chiefs and traditional African rulers, in whom they instilled ideological and administrative values.

Lee and Schultz (2012) disagree that the focus should not only be on economic growth and macroeconomic aggregates (pp. 2-7). Several reasons suggest that the British people preferred a model that was more suitable for profit maximization inasmuch as the British taxpayers had less to support maintaining colonies. However, the national unity of colonies territories after acquiring independence was difficult to achieve because of tribalism. Schwarz (1966) highlighted the presence of several tribal and linguistic groups in Nigeria (p. 22) and postulates “but it is not the small groups that are causing the trouble. It is the rivalry of three big groups: the Hausa of the North, the Ibo of the East, and the Yoruba of the West” (p. 460). To illustrate that, Biafra that unilaterally declared independence was initiated by the Ibo people because of the oil resource in the Eastern part of Nigeria (Encyclopedia Britannica 2018).

From the perspective of rational choice and dependency theorists, it is agreed that institutions during colonization were unable to implement, as Austin (2010) describes, “a full-blooded capitalist system, based upon private property and thereby generating the pressures towards competition and accumulation necessary to drive self-sustained economic growth” (pp. 11-32). This led to the concern for states' incompetency to

develop their economic capability, and the dependency theory takes into consideration “the primacy of foreign agency in determining historical outcomes” (pp. 11-32). Bayart (2000) argues that these linkages urged political leaders to reconsider former colonial masters when setting policies which in turn resulted in the ‘extraverted’ model of current political economy in Africa (pp. 67-217).

Despite the privileged economic and military relations that France and Great Britain maintain with the countries in Africa, the former colonial states are among the poorest in the world. Though, it is noteworthy to stress that Europe has used a more multilateral approach with a regional setup when cooperating with Africa. Furthermore, the EU has been trying to negotiate economic conventions and agreement with less involvement in military issues. This economic relationship with West African states is further discussed in chapter three.

2.3.3 INTEGRATION MODEL: UNITY OR REGIONALISATION IN WEST AFRICA

Commonly described as the richest continent with unlimited potentialities and valuable resources (e.g., youth, oil, gold, or diamonds), Africa produces fewer resources than any region in the world. Despite the efforts made since the 1960s, many states have failed to tackle political and economic issues. This incapacity of unfolding the basic development priorities is worsened by the lack of security and infrastructure which lessen opportunities for youth employment. Economic development with a state-centric approach had little influence on the living standards, thus political elites assumed that solutions would come from the integration model of development. Harsch (2002) argues that among the primary objectives after the achievement of independence, many African leaders like Cheikh Anta Diop or Kwame Nkrumah regarded the unity of Africa as a prerequisite to overcome political and economic difficulties. The Organization of the African Unity (henceforth, OAU) was established by 32 countries which became the African Union (henceforth, AU) in 2002. Currently regrouping more than 50 independent states, the continental organization performed a considerable role in maintaining artificial borders created by the colonizers to prevent an avalanche of requests for the revision of borders (African Union 2018). Nevertheless, this philosophy of a united Africa encountered various obstacles because a number of African leaders embodied a colonial vision. Mohiddin (1998) described the African

leaders as “the rulers and masters of their peoples” who however had three options to govern during the early years of independence (p. 6). The first one proposed a change of behavior and an equal partnership with Europeans, that is, “business as usual”. While the second possible option opted for a rupture with the implementation of a socialist model, the final one was the freedom of self to choose their path (pp.6-7). Many leaders chose continuity which hampered the convergence of ideologies.

Moreover, it should be noted that the degree of involvement of the OAU was expanded by the magnitude of issues and the means of persuasion that the organization had. Moller (2009) interpreted this situation as the result of a lack of leadership, the inability of finding legitimacy, first and foremost the absence of values and norms in a continental structure (p.2). Because of this failure, regional organizations have thereafter sprouted like mushrooms to better handle the question of a closer integration mostly imposed by Europe. In West Africa, the Economic Community of West African States (henceforth, ECOWAS) established in Nigeria during the mid-1970s was a change of direction from unity to regionalism.

Söderbaum (2003) defines regionalism as followed, “Regionalism represents the body of ideas, values and concrete objectives that are aimed at transforming a geographical area into a clearly identified regional social space” (p. 6). This establishes the fact that states may seek to strengthen their potentialities within a limited geographical area by mutually agreeing upon some areas of economic cooperation. Hveem (2000) clarifies the choice to move toward the process of regional integration could be both, a project or an ideology based initiative (p. 73). In other words, it might inadvertently occur because some actors could perceive regionalization as a maximization of their combined capacities. From a normative or liberal point of view, Söderbaum (2003) considers the benefits from establishing a regional institution. Nonetheless, he underscores the possibilities that such a process might generate negative outcomes owing to the asymmetric power relations between states (pp. 6-7). Whether regionalization represents an adequate model for West Africa to implement development strategies is further discussed in chapter three.

CHAPTER 3. ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN REGIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

The dominance of politics over economic policies has considerably increased with the interdependence of states. This interstate dependence is mostly due to the fact that globalization has integrated national economies into a global economic and financial system. Interconnections are therefore characterized by fewer trade barriers between nation-states. In addition, the creation of regional blocs associated with international institutions marked the era of global economic liberalization (Surugiu and Surugiu 2015, 138).

Economists and political scientists have provided a diversity of arguments on the issue related to political and economic dominance of developed countries over international institutions and the process which this asymmetric relationship had considerably contributed to trade liberalization and simultaneously deepened inequalities. Amstrong (1981) believes that the most influential countries may use their political and economic power to change important decisions (p. 401). In other words, the wealthy states have the power to influence the resolutions of international bodies during the adoption of economic policies. Assuming that they have more viable options on the negotiation table, the developed countries could guide the agenda-setting. These options could include military threat, economic pressure or other options.

Economists and political scientists have provided a diversity of arguments on the issue related to political and economic dominance of developed countries over international institutions and the process which this asymmetric relationship had considerably contributed to trade liberalization and simultaneously deepened inequalities. Amstrong (1981) supports the ideas that states use their economic capability to influence the bureaucracy of intergovernmental or interstate organizations (p. 401). Indeed, countries with considerable economic resources are susceptible to guiding the economic agenda by somewhat imposing their policies vis-à-vis the less dominant ones. Being able to use more options on the negotiation table, rich countries have a better leverage and could use military threat or economic pressure to obtain positive outcomes.

Lavallée and Lochar (2015) explained the ways which France resorted to its political and economic capabilities against the former African colonies to consolidate its

privileged economic ties. This significantly contributed to the imbalance of the international trade which led to the deterioration of the terms of exchange in the global market (p. 2). This political and economic inequality between countries facilitates the industrialized nations to have a substantial advantage to assert their authority and maintain the roadmap. Pereira and Teles and Pereira (2011) asserted that political institutions whether they are formal or informal play a significant role when determining the constraints and incentives faced by the elites in a given society. These issues combined with the economic liberalization has led the least developed countries (henceforth, LDCs) to an unfavorable position, thus negatively impacting on agriculture and infant industry. The weakening and progressive deterioration of the pivotal sectors, e.g., agriculture and industry, are interpreted to be root causes of unemployment and emigration.

Something that is to be clarified before proceeding further is how the asymmetric relationship between states has an impact on international institutions. The asymmetrical power relations and the motivations when negotiating agreements will be scrutinized through a discourse analysis framework to understand issues which West Africa countries are currently facing (e.g., emigration and the failure to find a suitable development path).

This could establish the fact that the European countries when developing economic cooperation with West Africa and the ACP countries were neither motivated by lightening the heavy burden of poverty nor promoting political and social stability.

It is indisputable that the cooperation path was a distinctive model from the Marshall Plan which provided economic, political and social stability for West Europe as previously argued in chapter two. Therefore, this part aims to provide arguments from the subsequent question: Were the development cooperation policies between the EEC/EU-ACP based on common interests? Through a critical reflection and an in-depth analysis of qualitative data from the EEC/EU-ACP countries, the suggested arguments attempt to exhibit explanations to debunk the characteristics of the cooperation model between European countries and the LDCs. The objective is to demonstrate that the economic liberalization was inadequate in solving economic, political, and social challenges. The findings of the abovementioned question are explicitly analyzed. The first part of this analysis explores an overview of the European

Union and the European Economic Community (henceforth, EEC before the Treaty of the EU in 1992) with the group of African, Caribbean and Pacific (henceforth, ACP) regarding the non-reciprocal principle that has existed since the first Yaoundé Convention in 1964. It is important to bear in mind that the WTO/GATT exceptional rules for the preferential trade agreements and arrangements (hereafter named as PTA) formally ended in 2007 even though some countries are currently using the same regime.

Second, an analysis of trade agreements on development and the impact in the socio-economic sector could serve to evaluate the PTAs on the development process. The last section examines the integration conditionality (proposed by the EU) under the WTO regime and the consequences of economic liberalization in West Africa.

3.1. ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND THE ROLE OF TRADE AGREEMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A central benchmark when addressing the issue of trade agreements and economic partnerships is distinguishing the strengths and weaknesses that each side evaluates to understand the impacts it could contribute to their domestic economies. Since 1964, the EEC and ACP countries maintained strong economic ties under the PTAs principle which intensified the economic dependency. It is important to underline that preferential trade arrangements are unilateral preferential arrangements which characterized the economic relations between the EU/EEC and the LCDs such as the ‘Everything but Arms’ (EBA) whereas preferential trade agreements are bilateral or multilateral by nature (Panagariya 2002, 1415-1425).

3.1.1 THE YAOUNDE CONVENTIONS (1964-1975)

The Yaoundé conventions represented the first association agreement between the EEC and a group of 18 associated countries plus Madagascar. Meanwhile, Nigeria, a former British colony, signed a separate association agreement based on the fact that the British were also negotiating for membership of the Community. Recognizing the value of the convention and the possibility of the United Kingdom to join the EEC, the independent Commonwealth countries were considered as future members of the regional economic cooperation (Community, n.d, Topic 26, 5). Therefore, the association agreement stated that “Under the terms of this agreement Nigerian exports

to the Community will be subject only to the customs duties which the member countries at present apply to trade between themselves” (Community, n.d, Topic 26, 5).

The Yaoundé Conventions instantly gave several export opportunities to the ACP countries and the EEC countries. In a stunning contrast with the infant African industry, the modern European industry had no concerns toward facing a direct African competition in this field. Hence, products from the ACP countries could penetrate the European market with no potential restrictions and quotas. Panagariya (2002) persuasively argues, under Lomé conventions, 99 percent of the industrial products from the ACP countries were commercialized under the trade preferences model of the EU (pp. 1419-1420).

The EU farmers, having more advanced equipment to boost their agricultural productivity, receive considerable subsidies for their agricultural goods from the EU budget. For instance, the EU farmers received €58.82 billion from the total EU budget of €160.113 billion in 2018 (The Common Agricultural Policy at a Glance 2018). The CAP funds approximately represent the total GDP of ten ECOWAS countries except for Nigeria, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, and Senegal.

Palitza (2017) asserted that the EU, the largest food exporter to Africa, gains €18 billion each year by exporting agricultural products. Palitza (2017) also states that the financial subsidies of the EU farmers enable them to politically negotiate when fixing prices which they determine without including the production costs. The EU farmers could export their surplus of goods to anywhere around the world without enduring serious competition. Therefore, the unfair competition exposes the African market when it comes to selling their domestic products.

3.1.2 THE LOME CONVENTION AND THE WAVES OF CHANGE? (1975-2000)

The first Lomé convention signed in 1975 allowed the two blocks to maintain economic ties and until 1990 there was little change, nonetheless. The question of poverty was a relegated issue in the EEC/ACP relations. Love and Disney (1976) discusses how the nine member states of the EEC came with forty-six developing countries to consolidate their economic cooperation (pp. 95-116). The end of the Cold

War, however, changed the direction of the EU-ACP cooperation by introducing new areas of cooperation beyond the simple trade cooperation. With the world sharing a common ideology since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the EU became more engaged in sustaining peace, promoting economic development and sharing human rights values.

Besides the €4 to €6 billion of aid which the EU provided every five-year, the Lomé IV brought the issue of human rights and the environmental protection as the prerequisite for economic cooperation (Panagariya 2002, 1420-1421). The EU began to develop other aspects of its cooperation with the ACP countries. This was to fill the gap in that new era of global economic actors which confirmed the multi-polarity of the world system.

After Lomé, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (henceforth, CPA) introduced a change of direction concerning cooperation which this statement underlies as followed, “The central objective of ACP-EC cooperation is poverty reduction and ultimately its eradication; sustainable development; and progressive integration of the ACP countries into the world economy” (Part 3, Chapter 1, Article 19 of the CPA). This shift was due to several factors among which trade liberalization and the confirmation of new economic blocs.

3.2. LIBERALISATION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION: EU-WEST AFRICA

Salama and Dearden (2002) described the fall of the Soviet Union as a time of fundamental changes in the international system. They write, “Democracy and the market economy became the dominant ideology, with many ACPs embracing democracy” (p 2). The triumph of liberal democratic values resulted in a more interdependent world with the intensification of trade and the establishment of international organizations.

The beginning of the new millennium also brought a vision beyond economic partnership by introducing new fields of cooperation. The African countries, until then isolated because of the Cold War, had to be more active in international trade to tackle the poverty issues and improve their domestic institutions as recommended by the EU.

3.2.1. GLOBALISATION AND THE MEANING OF EPA'S IN WEST AFRICA

3.2.1.1. THE WTO REGIME AND THE END OF PREFERENTIAL TRADE AGREEMENTS (PTA'S)

In addition to economic cooperation, other fields of cooperation became paramount with the emergence of international organizations and the increase of actors. Refreshing the EU-ACP countries' relations became an emergency and the Cotonou Agreement carried this new message of change. The liberalization of trade on a global scale started the process of a multi-level economic institutionalization around the globe.

The EU-ACP countries had to follow this course as written on the following, “The CPA enshrines a new vision of development, one based primarily on trade and private investment. It envisages a significantly changed basis for the EU-ACP relationship, drawing on the results of the Uruguay Round.” (The World Trade Organization 1994, 43-57).

The purpose of enhancing the economic cooperation fields under Cotonou agreement was to improve the living standards in the ACP countries and make trade fairer. Consequently, it focused on the spirit of equality in cooperation between the ACP countries and the EU (EU Parliament 2004). The inclusion of elements like the political stability and security introduced with the abovementioned agreement was to change the direction of cooperation. The European Parliament (2004) writes in its report, “Its main aim is the eradication of poverty through an integration of ACP States in the world trading system. It also reinforces the institutional and political dimension of their relations, with such fundamental aspects as human rights, democracy, and good governance” (Article 310 EC, para 1, European Parliament 2004).

The article 2 of the CPA highlighted the equality of the partners, the propositions of the projects by the ACP countries with regard to their development strategies, the non-state actors' involvement, and more importantly the negotiations toward differentiation and regionalization. However, the circumstance which several authors considered as a tremendous shift in trade cooperation was the introduction of Economic Partnership Agreements (hereafter, EPAs). The EPAs were supposed to be applicable in 2008 a date which coincided with the end of the WTO waiver for the ACP countries' favor

(Gathii 2013, 259). The Lomé Conventions allowed the ACP countries to benefit from non-reciprocal trade preferences proffering them the possibility to export industrial goods without tariffs. Emphasized by the WTO, the LDC's are not under the obligation to grant the same arrangements vis-à-vis the developed countries (Gathii 2013, 494).

Anticipating the PTAs termination date in 2008, the EU had to negotiate a different trade agreement to manage with the recent challenges of the international economic system. The negotiations on the EPAs which officially started in 2000 as written in article 36 (1) of the Cotonou Agreement had to be ratified to respect the fundamental principle of equality and fair trade amid independent nations. There is a need to remark that the PTAs were no longer in line with the WTO/GATT because of the principle of reciprocity and the multilateral aspect of the EU-ACP countries trade agreement.

The removal of trade barriers to intensify international trade and support the LDCs to decrease poverty had to be applicable in equal terms (WTO E-Learning 2018, 494-495). From the EU part, opening the European market to all LDCs without discrimination could negatively impact on the EU economy. As early discussed on the influence of developed countries over the international organizations, the WTO had exempted the Regional Trade Agreements (henceforth, RTAs) against such rules (WTO 2018). With the increase of the RTAs amongst regional organizations, e.g., EU, NAFTA, ASEAN or ECOWAS, numerous members of the WTO are involved in the RTAs due to the fact that FTAs, 82 percent of all RTAs, are easier to establish compared to customs unions which need common trade policies and a deeper economic integration. The WTO thus sees the RTAs as “reciprocal preferential trade agreements between two or more partners” (WTO E-Learning 2018, 487).

The EU has chosen to sign the EPA by using a regionalism format to comply with the WTO regulations as stated in Article XXIV GATT 1994 and Article V of the GATS. It is relevant to note that the abovementioned articles facilitate the regional organizations, members of the WTO, to guarantee beneficial treatments to the LDCs for goods and services without typically extending similar arrangements to the other WTO members (WTO E-Learning 2018, 487).

However, numerous interrogations remain central to understand the motivations of the EU in determining the conditions of such an integration model for the ACP countries. By changing the PTAs to EPAs, several ACP countries doubt on the real motivations

of the EU knowing that these agreements could expose them against the global competition which deepens the economic problems and encourages economic migration. The mechanism to adopt the EPAs in West Africa led to the European integration model in the African continent.

3.2.1.2. COMPARING THE PTA'S AND THE EPA'S

The analysis of the PTAs potential adoption is a major theme to discuss in the EU-ACP countries future relations. Examining the economic and social impacts of the EPAs in Sub-Saharan Africa before the ratification is the responsibility of both parties. By analyzing the impacts of the PTAs in the past, the living standards in the post-colonial states marginally improved because of several reasons.

On one hand, from a European perspective, the PTAs did not have the potentiality to eradicate poverty and enable the developing countries to emerge because of the asymmetric character of the relationship. For instance, the European Commission on its final Green Paper of the 20th century on EU-ACP relations acknowledged, “as regards impact, in general, the Lomé trade preferences have not been sufficient to enhance export growth and increase diversification (...).Neither have they managed to diversify exports significantly and most still rely on a few primary products” (CEC-DG VIII 1996, 17). Despite the chief importance of the PTAs given on the development cooperation and trade policy of the EU, the PTAs were criticized by policy-makers or economic analysts arguing about their insignificant contribution on the process of economic development in the LDCs (Borchert 2009; Panagariya 2002; Brenton and Ikezuki 2006). Francois et al. (2006) write, “The jury remains out on whether trade preferences have actually made a substantive difference in the welfare of recipient countries (...). Most analysts would agree that the major constraints on export diversification and expansion in Africa are the investment climate and supply capacity” (p. 197). This concludes that Europe with the PTAs failed to make the linkage between cooperation and development.

On the other hand, recognizing the importance of the EPAs and the potential perils which a free trade agreement could impact in the economies of West African nations, hesitation and skepticism emerged from the political, economic and civil society actors. This situation pushed many West African countries to renegotiate the terms and denunciate the risks even though the EPAs have provisionally been applied in

Cameroon, in Eastern and Southern Africa since 2014 (UN Economic Commission for Africa (UN/ECA) 2016, 1). The UN/ECA (2016) also states that the signing and the ratification of the EPAs would be an uneven arrangement for the LDCs. Besides the considerable benefits that Europe might have if the EPAs become effective, a decrease in inter-state trade is to forecast, especially the revenues from taxes (p.1). As Gathii addresses, the issue, West African countries would substantially lose customs duties from import. The author also criticizes the lack of awareness from the EU regarding the development chapters in the interim of the EPAs, and added, “The Interim EPA has provisions for the removal of any quantitative restrictions on trade” (p. 265).

In April 2018 during an ECOWAS meeting, President Buhari stated that “We are not enthusiastic about signing the EPA because of our largely youthful population. We are still struggling to provide jobs for them, and we want our youths to be kept busy” (Why Nigeria Is Reluctant to Sign EPA with EU-President Buhari 2018). Some political elites asked the ‘why EPAs question’, to comprehend the reasons for ratifying the EPAs if the principle of ‘Everything But Arms’ (hereafter, EBA) could be beneficial for them. The EBA principle is also compatible with the GATT/WTO rules as written on Article XXIV and Article V GATT/GATS. This might result in the loss of countless jobs in the industrial and agricultural sectors foremost providers of employment for millions of young Africans.

3.2.1.3 WHERE ARE WE WITH THE EPA’S

The EPAs, so far, have been signed by 13 of the 16 West African states although expected to be applicable by 2020. The ratification process is also a source of controversy over the legitimacy of the regional and national political institutions to finalize the negotiations. Therefore, the EU with the involvement of the Parliament proposed an investment fund of €6.5 billion to minimize the negative effects which the EPAs might bring (EU Parliament, 2016). Between 2015 and 2020, the fund could contribute to financing projects in relation to trade liberalization by building adequate infrastructures (UN/ECA, 2016, p.1 and the EU Commission 2016). A 25 percent tariff could be added to protect weak sectors is also included in the agreement (European Commission 2017).

3.2.2. REGIONALISATION AND THE EPA'S

Despite having the plausibility to ratify the EPAs on a bilateral basis, the EU desires to conclude the deal with a regional framework (European Commission, 2017). Interpreted as a very remarkable regional organization, the EU represents a unique type of regional body which has the autonomy to legislate laws on several policy fields based on the principle of shared sovereignty. This makes the EU not only a legitimate actor in international but also political powerhouse by possessing the capabilities to override domestic regulations, thanks to the principle of conferral. Since its creation, it has been promoting regional integration along with development cooperation under a joint strategy to bring national member states and the EU institutions to increase the efficiency of its programs for development (European Commission 2017).

In line with this philosophy, the EU Commission explicitly expressed the idea that “Development policy is a cornerstone of European integration, today it is a manifestation of Europe’s identity in the world at large and a major plank in the Community’s external policies generally” (European Commission 1982, 8 as cited by Bretherton and Vogler). Haas (1971) has discussed the fact that countries may promote regionalism for their desire to maintain peace and pacific co-existence by increasing their interdependency which could include economy, security, or just politics. However, Oyeranmi (2014) stated that integration in Africa is, “as a mere talking shop or mere caricature of the EU” (p. 10). This blurriness not only shows the weak legitimacy of bureaucratic institutions, but it also raises ‘why’ questions on the purposes of integration in Africa. It is believed that integration in Africa is a technical process that Europe uses for its own purpose and not a construction project which should reflect the needs to cooperate (Kühnhardt 2008, 4).

Since the 1960s, the African continent has more than eight regional associations and political leaders could hardly find the answers to how these regional institutions should melt into a strong and purposeful African Union. In West Africa, for example, it is common to observe the involvement of several states in more than a single regional organization. This is how since 2002 establishing the African Union (hereafter, AU to replace the OAU) and the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (henceforth, NEPAD) joined the list of other regional organizations like the UEMOA and the ECOWAS (African Union 2017). Kühnhardt (2008) also acknowledged that the

investigations in the overlapping of membership in West Africa and the motivation of political leaders to choose this path of integration model are under-researched subjects (p. 4).

Gottschalk and Schmidt (2004) emphasized the necessity for Africa to proceed with an integrated model to solve economic issues. They also highlighted that the purpose of integration in Africa is still a problematic matter due to its blurriness (pp.138-158). The Institute for Strategy-Politics-Security and Business Consulting (hereafter, ISPSW) in Berlin concluded that the weak states in Africa might contribute to the failure of the integration process. Confirming this hypothesis, Kühnhardt (2008) affirms, “Strong regional integration requires solid, functioning and accountable national structures” (pp. 1-10). He insisted on the fact that regional integration cannot reform the nation-states and a successful integration model necessitates, “a solid preparation of each member state of a regional grouping” (African Regional Integration and the Role of the European Union 2008, 10-18 and Kühnhardt 2008).

Despite this reality, the EU insists that integration is the model for West Africa to achieve economic development. Therefore, the EU seeks to implicate other regional institutions such as the ECOWAS and the UEMOA on the EPAs negotiations. As conditionality, the EU puts the Cotonou agreement as the core of economic trade cooperation. Udombana (2004) argues that economic and trade cooperation is possible to achieve with regional integration, and it is among the conditions for the LDCs to actively participate in international trade (p. 96). According to the European Commission, West Africa has to deepen its integration to accelerate the path to economic development.

In 2015, the integration process hit a milestone when the ECOWAS Single Common External Tariff became effective following the adjustment of Article (3) of ECOWAS. As beforehand recommended by the EU, the measures to move to a free trade zone with the harmonization of trade policies marked a significant step for the ratification of the EPAs and to trade liberalization (ECOWAS 2017).

The European Commissioners believe that this settlement has the ability to reduce issues associated with cross-border trade and enhance investment in the region.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa also reported that the ECOWAS was negotiating to have a common investment market. This could facilitate to set competition policies and increase investment in the region (ECOWAS-Trade and Market Integration 2015). Another beneficial viewpoint which the integration could help to boost is its increasing role to make more efficient trade exchanges across nation-states. An integrated model enhances the feature of infrastructure and limits obstacles in the fields of education, research, and health.

A striking discrepancy between the EU and the ECOWAS with regard to the trade volume (e.g., import as well as export) depicts different pictures. Although the ECOWAS is a free trade area with a common external tariff and a customs union, the intra-regional trade is just weighing between 8 to 11 percent. According to the UNCTAD database (2016), this is below its potentialities. Zannou (2009) reckoned that the common currency (in the francophone countries) have a marginal contribution to change the economic situation because the intra-ECOWAS trade has remained steady in the past ten years (p. 677).

The EPAs mostly designed for free trade and economic liberalization would diminish the intra-ECOWAS trade. Before the expiration of the Cotonou Agreement in 2020, therefore, several questions relevant to the framework of integration are examined between the EU and the ACP countries trade relations.

3.3. TRADE AGREEMENTS AS DEVELOPMENT MODEL?

Moltke (2004) discussed that the relationship between trade agreements and development remains a highly arguable subject in international relations. The prior analysis indicates the fact that powerful countries are likely to impose policies on weaker states during negotiations. For instance, Moltke (2004) asserts, “It is important to distinguish between economic theory—which frequently promises significant development advantages from trade negotiations—and the complex agreements that have been reached by the process of negotiation in the GATT/WTO” (p.2).

For these reasons, several scholars insist on the necessity of adopting efficient development strategies with development cooperation policies. The consideration of the social context in the African states is an imperative measure to take to implement a suitable cooperation model. Article 2 of the ACP agreement states its importance as

following, “states shall determine the development strategies for their economies and societies in all sovereignty” (Kuijpe et al. 2013, 449).

Countries usually set various priorities and objectives to overcome their concerns by considering that all political and civil institutions operate with efficiency. Nevertheless, several ACP countries have limited maneuvers when they aspire to implement development projects. The lack of transparency in finances and the weakness of political institutions constitute some hindering factors to transparency as the Department for International Development (n.d.) reported.

A critical view on international institutions regulating trade portrays discontinuities and negligence of many trade aspects. In particular, the question of comparative advantage within the international institutions confirms the inequality between nations (Kappel 1996). Kappel (1996) denounces the marginalization of developing countries in the earlier rounds of the GATT negotiations.

For instance, the agricultural and textile goods became a veritable source of discussion in international trade because of their pivotal role in providing capital goods to the developing countries to earn foreign exchange. Several issues regarding the proposal of industrialized countries to remove trade barriers on these products came out during the Uruguay Round in 1986 (Stiglitz and Charlton 2005, 42-45).

Many people believe that the North-South trade agreement model is more beneficial for rich countries. Challenging this supremacy has become a reality with the emergence of new economic actors in the international system. To be well prepared to seize any opportunity, however, the LDCs have to rely on their own solutions to solve most of their problems.

Conditionality and Trade Agreements

For decades, the mechanisms put in place by the EU and its member states have maximized their advantages over African countries. For instance, most of the traded goods which Europe takes from the ACP countries’ market are unprocessed raw materials at a very low price. Although the interests of European countries vary from individual member states, it is interesting to note that negotiations to push Africa to liberalize its economy benefit all actors. However, to demonstrate their commitment to respect human rights and democratic principles, the EU usually puts these democratic

values in the spotlight. For the European states, for example, economic liberalization should not only aim to promote democratic principles in the world but also to encourage countries to strengthen the global economy because barriers between nations, whether poor or rich, should not exist in order to promote growth (Hunter-Wade 2005).

Moreover, investment and aid, as they argue, consolidate the economies of LDCs countries by contributing to tackling the most urgent issues although this has deepened the economic asymmetry. In 2016 the OECD estimated the total development aid at \$131.6 billion, an increase of 6.9% from the previous year (Development aid rises again in 2015, spending on refugees doubles). However, the ODA could provide incentives to control the institutions of the LDCs. The first pillar of Cotonou, therefore, provides a financial and technical assistance and the central institutional body responsible for financing the ACP countries is the European Development Fund (henceforth, EDF) whose budget depends on the individual participation of its member states. Countries like France or the UK have to contribute more because of their special relationship with the ACP (D'Alfonso 2014, 12). Between 2003 and 2008 the EDF financed an amount of €13.5 million for development projects. The European Investment Bank (hereafter, EIB) also provides an investment facility for the private sector by supporting private small or big business companies.

To demonstrate that these institutions are just instruments to control the resources of the LDCs, Hickel's research (2017) on global money flows in 2012 found that developing countries received \$1.3 trillion aid for investment and income from the developed countries. At the same time, \$3.3 trillion flowed out of the developing countries. Hickel (2017) concludes that \$16.3 trillion, approximately the GDP of the US, outflowed from the developing countries to the developed countries since 1980 and this amount alone could have triggered the economic development of the African continent (Aid in reverse: How poor countries develop rich countries, Hickel 2017).

The assumption that trade agreement and cooperation could not have considerable impacts on the living conditions in the ACP countries demonstrates that the EU-ACP as a model of development cooperation has failed to produce positive outcomes for the LDCs. After several decades, to respond to various challenges with regard to economic trade, the EU countries have proposed countless regulations to the ACP countries.

Nevertheless, the economic cooperation model brought by Europe has failed to deliver positive outcomes, thus bringing more difficulties to achieve economic development for future generations. With new global issues, every country faces the same challenges making social and political stability harder to accomplish without global cooperation.



CHAPTER 4. REACTIVE AND PROACTIVE POLICIES IN WEST AFRICA

There is persuasive evidence that modern states represent the most relevant and legitimate institutional organizations to determine development strategies and to put in place the necessary means to accomplish them. So far, no country has achieved economic development without resorting to a sufficient development program thus responding to the socio-economic requirements. That said, it is imperative to stress that the political and economic elites have the burden of proposing and supervising the smooth running of these policies. In this sense, Torjman (2005) addresses the complexity and breadth of the word policy. However, he distinguishes two types of policy: “The first is concerned with the legislation, programs, and practices that govern the substantive aspects of community work. The second type of policy focuses largely on administrative procedures.” (p. 2).

By comparing the national and the international system of governance, it is apparent that there is a distinction regarding how the political structures function. While individual states maintain a hierarchical structure, the principle of sovereign equality among states typically defines the international system. However, one should distinguish the difference between governance and government. International governance enables the global community to discuss and resolve urgent matters which are somewhat beyond the capacity of national states to handle therefore providing a chief role to governmental and non-governmental organizations (Allegret and Dulbecco 2002, 173-182).

The scrutiny to reveal the relationship between domestic and international institutions provides evidence that countries may need international cooperation to achieve their development goals. By closely examining this relationship, it is possible to observe that globalization has transformed the hierarchical enmeshment of states into a multilateral realm. Cooper (1968) discusses the ways to increase the efficiency of international economic actors by supporting policies which may contribute to improving global trade. Nevertheless, he insisted on the fact that nation-states (as the

only sovereign entities) should have a leeway to follow their national economic goals (p.5).

Earlier works highlighting a potential source of conflict of interest between national and international actors support the view that international institutions significantly affect state policies. With the present research design, the research question examines the essential issues of how international agencies influence national development policies of states. Such an analysis, therefore, enables presenting answers to the following question: how the impact of reactive and proactive development policies in West Africa failed to achieve the expected results?

Chapter four discusses the following inquiries: To what extent the failure of reactive policies fueled the migration issue? The examination of the root causes of emigration is examined to provide a contextual analysis on Mauritania (a transit country for emigration to Europe). The second question attempts to investigate the impact of proactive policies in West Africa. It is done to explain the role of education in political and social stability. Therefore, it focuses on the Nigerian educational system, an example of a relatively stable country in West Africa.

4.1. THE FAILURE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AND IMPACT OF REACTIVE POLICIES

Anyone could acknowledge the fact that the initiatives and the desire with regard to the proposals of ideas for the economic development of Africa have never been in a shortage since independence. The dilemma, however, lies in the effectiveness and success of these development policies. Observations are quite remarkable because no development policy has enabled the African continent to permanently tackle development issues.

On the basis of the evidence presented in previous chapters, the clear differentiation between economic growth and economic development has elucidated many questions to understand development issues for African countries. Starting from this remark, a comprehensive study to determine the impact of development policies implemented in West Africa could, therefore, serve as an anchor for understanding the current problems. This section analyzes the links between reactive policies and the role of political

economy in West Africa, and how national or international policy preferences, such as agriculture and industry, have shaped the current economic situation.

Early studies, as well as ongoing work, highlighted a lack of correlation between economic development policies and the ideas of African political leaders. Delgado (1995) criticized the fact that African policymakers have frequently resorted to unsuitable agricultural development strategies (p.1). In fact, compared to Europe with the common agricultural policy (hereafter, CAP), Africa has lacked success to positively correlate politics and agriculture. Many authors noted that this failure might be the result of an external influence during policy-setting (Swinnen 1994 and Anderson et al. 2013). They also claim that colonialism has negatively influenced the choice of policies in Africa.

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The assumption that poverty could be tackled by the agricultural sector was ignored during decades. The proposal for reactive policies to economically develop Africa had not produced the expected results due to the lack of political experience of many leaders and the unsuitability of the European cooperation model. Hoeffler (2011) is still intrigued by how agricultural policies in Africa have failed, considering the importance of agriculture even before the decolonization era. Other aspects regarding the geographical diversity, the favorable climate conditions in Africa, the presence of lands adapted to agriculture, and the availability of the workforce, it is hard to believe that agriculture was not regarded as the most relevant strategy to build a solid foundation for economic development (Hoeffler 2011, 31). The remarkable experience of European

states has provided sufficient proofs that food security is the backbone of economic development.

Affirming this evidence, the World Bank report on World Development confirmed that the agricultural sector has not only the capacity to develop the continent but could help to strengthen the social cohesion by bringing stability, food security and the development of the rural areas. To demonstrate the necessity of linking policies and economy the report underlines that, “A better understanding of the political economy of agricultural policy making is necessary to address the continuing policy neglect and under-and disinvestment in the sector” (World Bank 2007, 42 as cited by Hoeffler 2011, 30).

However, many researchers consider less the fact that the failure of political economy in West Africa is partially caused by the inadaptability of cooperation policies, in particular, the policies implemented under the EU-ACP cooperation. Regarding this issue, Bates (1981) and Bates (1983) illustrated the reasons why poverty could not recede in this region of the world. The lack of policy autonomy, the negative effects of liberalization, and the influence of international financial institutions are some factors which participated in the deterioration of the conditions in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Proposed by the EU during the 1980s, the structural adjustment programs (hereafter, SAPs) had often imposed a macroeconomic model of development for African countries. Judging from factual evidence, such an economic model to promote growth and economic development could not adequately go along with the socio-economic context during the 1980s and 1990s (The World Bank 2005). Torjman (2005) argues to eradicate poverty there are many factors to examine such as public policies and the socio-economic conditions (p .6). In West Africa for instance, literacy or educational levels, health, security, and income inequality between rural and urban areas are necessary elements to study before implementing development policies.

For instance, the SAPs sought to enhance the macroeconomic indicators and such policies purposely encouraged states to follow market liberalization and deregulation policies. Thus many agree on the fact that this model failed to bring inclusive growth because the role of domestic institutions was ignored (United Nation Economic

Commission for Africa 2011, 1). From an academic point of view, the effective management of political institutions is a requirement to realize development goals because any development policy which does not take the needs of the general public into account is doomed to fail. The World Bank (2005) confirms that because of the complexity of economic development, any development strategy should explore a multitude of models to determine the most contextual and appropriate one. The report (2005) says, “There is no universal set of rules. That growth entails more than the efficient use of resources.” (pp. xii-10).

The pressure of settling underdevelopment problems without adopting proper measures has resulted in the failure of multiple policies in Africa. The proposed reactive measures to deal with development issues marginalized several parameters. Many believed that the asymmetric relationship between partners and the nature of the development cooperation strategy were the principal reasons for this failure. In addition to this, the international and domestic pressure coupled with the unsuccessful interventions of international financial institutions had produced a range of ineffective policies. This situation has contributed to the weakness of domestic institutions and market failure to provide incentives for the youngsters. Thus, exploring horizons beyond the continent has become a solution for millions of jobless people.

4.2. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

A considerable amount of literature has established the fact that the intra-inter migration movements (this includes immigration or emigration flux) in West Africa was the result of its historical, political, economic performance, and socio-ethnic factors. Although the discussion over the appropriate use of terminologies characterizing the movement of people in Africa is a vivid subject, for the sake of this paper the term migration is preferred vis-à-vis circulation.

As previously scrutinized with the colonial legacy in West Africa, for several years migration movements followed an intra-regional pattern because of cultural affinity, religion, ethnic, and economic interdependency shared by many countries after the independence (Adepoju 2010, 300). Regarding this intense mobility in the region, a

study reveals that 88.4 percent of West African people moves across national borders for economic and academic purposes (Adepoju 1988; Adepoju 2010, 300; UNICEF 2011, 4).

Looking from a more contextual perspective, it is not uncommon to observe that migratory phenomena have principally taken a South-North circulation and several countries have gained the status of immigration and emigration centers. A UNICEF report (2011) finds out that, “In the context of international migration, West African countries have become countries of origin, transit and destination for migrants, including a large number of adolescents and youth” (Migration, Employment, And Youth: Perspective from West Africa, UNICEF 2011, 3). Adepoju (2010) has identified the fact that the features of migration are constantly changing because of political and economic circumstances in the region. For instance, Nigeria, Ghana, and Côte d’Ivoire were once considered countries of immigrants. However, the status varies according to their domestic economic and political reasons. As has been previously described in the literature, the principal root causes of emigration are political instability and economic disparities which exist between the developed and developing countries (UN 2007; OECD 2005).

Despite understanding the root causes of emigration, European leaders appear to be incapable of dealing such issues while the international community perceives it as a lost cause. Because of the failure of previous development policies and the continued demographic growth, Africa urgently needs to provide employment to 205 million young people between 15-24 years (UNICEF 2011). The interconnection of domestic and international made the issue of migration a complex matter for individual states and international organizations to resolve. To have a better understanding on how these issues emerged from the past, it appears worthy to address the case of Mauritania because it gathers several patterns of migration in West Africa.

4.3. MAURITANIA: A NEW MIGRATION CENTRE?

Considering the motivation of public representatives and the ways people usually perceive migration, it is clear that policies on migration remain a fundamental element in domestic and international politics, but whether it represents a threat to societies is

highly a debatable question. Indeed, the Europeanization of migration policy, which began during the 1980s, was observed as a destabilizing factor on domestic integration which could alter European identity, thus impeding the project of European regional integration (Huysmans 2000). However, examining migration as a menace to the social cohesion or to the political and economic stability could present a paradoxical view in most African countries because of the fact that migration represents a solution to poverty. Based on the assumption of Securitization theory, this scrutiny of migration movements analyzes the migration as an existential threat which could deteriorate the social stability of Africa and Europe, thus making the migration issues a common challenge (Dobrowolsky 2007; Huysmans 2000).

Supposedly in current European politics, the migration issue constitutes a genuine concern for the internal stability of European countries because of the rise of anti-immigration movements and extreme right parties. It has also negatively affected the economic, political, and social lives of many African countries (Dobrowolsky 2007; Huysmans 2000). It is evident that the dangerous passage to Europe of immigrants has echoed in European political debates and causing from time to time confusion. Europe proposes several measures to handle the issue in its deepest roots. To note that a large number of these immigrants begin their journey in Mauritania, a northwest African country.

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania or Mauritania constitutes one of the migration centers where immigrants begin their perilous journey to Europe. The investigation is significant and relevant to the research because of the geo-strategic position of Mauritania in West Africa. From the Atlantic Ocean (western part), Mali (eastern part), Algeria and Morocco (northern part), and the Sub-Saharan African countries in the south, Mauritania is at a crossroads of migration in Africa. Having all these characteristics, it has recently become a country of immigration, emigration, and transit. Table 1 illustrates the key features to understand how this country became a center of migration in the past two decades.

Table 1: Mauritania features (geography, human, economic, migration)

Population (2017 in million)	4.42
Total area (2017 sq km2)	1.0307
Population growth rate (2017, %)	2.7
Population density (2017 people/km2)	4.3
Population aged 15-64 years (2017, %)	56.9
GDP (2017, in billion \$)	5.12
Employment to population ratio (2017, %)	44.4
Adult literacy rate (2017, %)	52.12
Youth literacy rate (2017, %)	62.64
Refugees and asylum seekers (2018, from Mali)	58,497
Refugees and asylum seekers (2018, from Western Sahara)	26,420
Refugees and asylum seekers (2018, others)	1,701
EU Funding with EDF in million € (2014-2020)	160
Immigrants stock (2015)	138,162

Sources: UNHCR: the UN Refugee Agency, 2017; World Data Atlas, 2018; Reliefweb, 2018

Mauritania, as several other countries in West Africa, has undergone various migration stages. Adepoju (2005) discusses the economic and political challenges, which some countries usually encountered, play a non-negligible role in changing this regional dynamism on migration (p. 13). Unlike the pre-colonial era, emigration in West Africa was temporary and serves a specific purpose. Recent observations nevertheless reveal immigration became permanent for the residents of several West African countries. Many researchers have investigated in the origins, the time, and the places which most people from Africa immigrated during the last two decades.

A 2007 OECD report evaluated the number of foreign-born people from Sub-Saharan countries living in the OECD countries as more than four million. Mayer (2001) estimated at 23 000 graduate students and 50 000 executives who leave Sub-Sahara Africa each year whereas more than 40 000 Ph.D. degrees have already settled out of the region. For instance, in southern European countries (i.e., Spain, Portugal, Italy or Greece) the foreign population annual growth is about 10 percent (as cited by Adepoju 2010, 307-308; McManus 2015, 1).

As previously explained by Adepoju (2010), West Africa was a region where migration was inter-regional within African states (p. 300). But because of the failure of development policies on key economic sectors, as agriculture which represents more than 70 percent of the labor force, the fast population growth coupled with the political instability and repetitive droughts in the Sahel region, the stock of immigrants stationed in Northern Africa started to increase (Adepoju 2005, 1). The first south-north migration wave during the late 1970s until early 2000 stopped in Libya and Algeria because of the seasonal and employment opportunity that these countries offered. The current situation seems to prove otherwise when the case of Mauritania is analyzed.

How Mauritania has become a migration center?

Considering that most people from North Africa could no longer make the trip to Europe because of the introduction of visa policy by the southern countries of Europe following the adoption of the Schengen agreement, it raised the immigrants stock in these countries (Mixed Migration in West Africa 2017, 6). The Pew Research Center (2018) indicates that since 2010 a million people leave Africa every year (At Least a Million Sub-Saharan Africans Moved to Europe Since 2010, Pew Research Center 2018). The difficulties of visa regulations and the turmoil in Libya after the fall of Gadhafi in 2011 combined with economic and political issues of other states greatly contributed to the migration crisis of 2015. Most immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa thus tried to find different roads to reach Europe.

After two decades, Mauritania has become an immigration, transit and emigration country (Mixed Migration in West Africa 2017, 6). Mohamed-Saleh (2008) underlines the fact that Mauritania is also under pressure because of its juvenile and unemployed

citizens. Table 1 shows that 15 to 64 years old constitutes 56.9 percent of the total population and represents more than 44 percent of the unemployment rate (as cited by the MPC 2013 and World Data Atlas 2018). Unlike ‘Tigers in Asia’, as evidence shows, most African countries are incapable of transforming their youthful population into economic assets (African Population Studies 2011, 298; Adepouju 2011, 303). The ILO (2007) stated that more than 26 million people in West Africa were earning less than \$2 per day. Taking into account the deterioration of the situation and high-income inequality with Europe, emigration is one of the rare options available for the youth (ILO 2007; Vittorio et al. 2017, 8).

In 2005, the joined efforts from the EU and USA to increase the security control regarding the mobility of people as a regional strategic initiative against terrorist organizations was set to control the North African region. Following this initiative, more than 20 000 people embarked in small pirogues left Nouadhibou to reach the European coast (also known as the Barcelona Process) and about 40 percent of these people perished during the journey. In 2007, Mauritania joined Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria as a buffer zone, the last rampart before immigrating to Europe (Cross 2012, 64; Baldwin-Edwards, 2005; Choplin 2008, 85). The geographic proximity of Mauritania with the Spanish Canary, its vast and inhabited territory with limited resources to control illegal emigration, make challenging to prevent the migration flows. The IOM (2016a) warns on the issue of border control because, for 5 000 km of land and 800 km of coastline, there are only 47 border posts to cover the entire place.

By collaborating directly with transit countries (Mauritania, Morocco, or Libya), countries could provide durable solutions. The EU political leaders seek to resolve it by externalizing the question of migration and asylum. Therefore, the EU and European states will put the issue in its global context to promote cooperation between countries because of the complexity and the interconnections of global issues (Streiff-Fenart and Poutignat 2008). It is worth stressing that no country can effectively prevent all global issues. Acknowledging this situation, irregular migration from West Africa has become a global issue which needs international cooperation.

4.4. IMPACTS OF PROACTIVE POLICIES

Many people acknowledge the fact that reactive development programs failed to deliver positive results in West Africa. Political and economic leaders have explored various policies programs to get the continent out of underdevelopment (reactive as well as proactive policies).

Different from reactive policies, proactive policies are long-term development strategies. National leaders could adopt programs such as training and learning programs to ensure the future of their nation. Based on this assumption, educational programs are the most effective strategies to implement development programs for future generations. According to Killick (1992), there are four reasons which hindered the process of economic development in West Africa. He stated that “The influence of the world economic environment, the influence of colonialism, the influence of domestic policy mistakes, the influence of sociological factors and of political systems” (p. 16). It is accepted that the educational system did not participate in solving the poverty issue. So far, no country has the means to overcome these issues without suitable educational means.

Since some of these matters have been discussed in the previous chapters, this part only focuses on knowledge resources based on the ideas that progress was unachievable because of the failure of implementing an adapted education system in the post-colonial states. Considering that policymakers could undertake long-term projects to secure future generations with proactive policy initiative, education, in this sense, represents the backbone to sustain any economic development in long-term.

4.4.1. WHY EDUCATION MATTERS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Ozturk (2001) believe that “No country can achieve sustainable economic development without substantial investment in human capital. Education raises people’s productivity and creativity and promotes entrepreneurship and technological advances” (p. 1). From this statement, education could be recognized as the fundamental ingredient which could unveil the secrets leading to economic wealth and social well-being regardless of the development model used. One of the most prominent challenges of post-colonial states was to reform the educational system imposed by colonial powers. Since the systems

were based on economic, cultural, political, and cultural domination, reforms to transform the entire system became a necessity to make the new system respond to the social reality.

It is noteworthy to highlight what Woolman (2001) said on the role of education during the colonial era. He argues education during this period was used to prepare and maintain the African elites under the colonial domination. The centrality of the discussion was, therefore, to restructure a system which would enable the indigenous population to acquire knowledge and skills by scale, a condition for social change and economic transformation (p. 27). Concerning this issue, Killick (1992) has criticized the lack of education and training personnel in West Africa in the post-independent period. According to the latter, it was understandable because of the education systems implemented during colonization was to subjugate the people by forming elites who shared the same colonialist vision of Europe. Even though political resistance was less common, because it would require the organization of a well-formed political entity, several African leaders preferred to follow a cultural or religious form of resistance against colonialism. Among such leaders who showed the importance of education and its linkages with culture was Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, the founder of Muridism in Senegal. Through his literary production, he has demonstrated a form of cultural regency against colonialism.

Fieldhouse (1986) states, "There were no universities in the French territories and only a few in the British colonies. There were few technical schools or colleges to provide industrial and managerial skills" (as cited by Killick 1992, 43). Policies regarding education, research, training, and the acquisition of skills turned to be the central elements in economic development when the idea of human capital could be used to increase the living standards by applying the skills and the knowledge acquired in health, agricultural and industrial sectors (Ozturk 2001, 2). In the early 1960s, researchers pointed out that education had a considerable impact on the economic development of western economies (Denison 1962, 67; Schultz 1961). By imposing political and economic domination, education was contributing to subjugate the colonies, thus could not play a role to prepare future generations. Psacharopoulos (1984) carried on a survey in more than 20 underdeveloped countries on the contribution of

education in their economic growth. The latter found that education could greatly participate to increase the efficiency of human or material resources thereby contributing positively to economic growth, as the example in Ghana demonstrated with an increase of 23 percent.

Although political leaders understood that education was the pillar of economic development, the policies failed for several reasons. First, there were unsteady connections between education and economic productivity considering the role of human capital for economic growth. Second, Woolman (2001) argues that the education system should reflect the cultural reality and the state-building process (p. 27). It is evident that the relationship between education and culture was weak which negatively participated in the social cohesion of states.

4.4.2. ROLE OF EDUCATION IN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Coming to understand the role of education in the process of nation-building in West Africa, several questions emerge with regard to the decisive role of knowledge and training skills. Supposing that education is the conveyer of national unity, establishing a potential connection between education and economic development has long been discussed by former colonial states. The decolonization was a time of change to fashion a national identity based on reconciliation and construction which would link cultures and languages. Many believe the choice of a foreign language, as the official language of the state by political leaders, brought numerous issues. This opinion was based on the fact that the western education model implemented considered a marginal part of the population and the cultural and religious differences made it hard.

Awobuluyi (2013) says that this choice seems to have profound sociolinguistic justifications rather than an obligation because all Sub-Saharan Africa chose a foreign language as an official language after independence (p. 71). The centrality of the discussion is not to argue on the way that the former colonial masters 'brainwashed' officials in the former colonized territories to adopted French or English as official languages leaving their indigenous ones, however it is to defend the idea that education could serve as a driving force to the implementation of economic policies. In order

words, people have to understand what they learn, how they learn it, and “what is meant by ‘national development’” (Woolman 2001, 28). Thus, the most reasonable demarche was to develop a language of the people. The current education problems in Africa have their origin in the choice of the language of education.

4.4.3. HUMAN CAPITAL AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

It is essential to acknowledge from a neoclassical approach that education can positively affect economic growth in the way that human capital could improve productivity by sharpening skills or methods and by creating technological improvement (Seetanah 2009, 139-143). Education playing a human capital role is based on the assumption that the increase in productive capacity could result in highly-skilled labor. As said early, the human capital factor involves complex macroeconomic analyses, thus limiting the investigations. However, this is particularly important when investigating how economic development could be the result of various interactions between variables rather than the relationship between input as education and output as economic growth. For example, studies support a positive correlation between agricultural productivity, the use of technology and the level of education of farmers. (Moock and Jamison 1994, 13) demonstrated that farmers in Nepal who had higher school level raised the productivity of their harvest in wheat (by 25%) and rice (by 13%). (Birdsall 1993, 75-79) completed a similar study when his observations concluded that more educated farmers were likely to use fertilizer and modern technics of production to increase crops. In West Africa with the rural exodus rural to urban areas of young people hoping to find employment, women with low level of schooling are usually in charge of developing farms which led to a negative impact on growth. Kelleher (2014) found critical the literacy rate in Africa because out of 774 million adults (+15 years old) who cannot write or read in their country’s official language, 493 million are women. Most of the time, agricultural policies and services are not favorable to them because of their low educational level, a paradox, because with the mass migration women’s role in development is central (McMillan et al. 1989, 356-359).

4.4.4. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN SOCIO-POLITICAL STABILITY

Woolman (2001) discusses the role of education in the nation-building process when it is used as a mediation element (p. 26). For instance, variables like political and social instability may depend on the ways they (ethnic groups) represents other groups. Educative institutions base their teaching programs on historical facts and cultures. If the schools are institutions which participate in making societies more stable, education plays a decisive role to stabilize the nation. Assuming that stable countries have more advantages to enhance their economic capability because a stable society has the potentiality to bring political stability and promote investment programs. The problem of associating the benefits of education and policies is/was the source of many economic and security concerns.

Generally, economic growth could potentially come from two elements. The first one depends on the exploitation of natural resources (characteristic in most African countries) a model that suited the West when developing cooperation programs with West Africa states. Indeed, this allows Europe to have an abundant supply at a low price, however, makes African states weaker. Woolman (2001) argues that the colonial heritage and political elites play a negative role in bringing conformity between education policy decisions and economic development (p. 29). For instance, in the 1960s and 1970s, several African countries adopted state-led development strategies whereby governments played a pivotal role in keeping the national resources.

It is important to underline that many leaders, who were under a strong influence of former colonial powers to adopt policies they wanted, ignored the importance of education and training programs (Governing development in Africa: The role of the state in economic transformation 2011, 1). The cooperation between EU-ACP countries contributed to the consolidation of this economic model based on the export of raw materials at the exclusion of agricultural products which represented the future of local economies.

Moreover, the African continent suffers from a chronic brain-drain because of a substantial outflow of the best qualified Africans vis-a-vis other regions and international agencies (Killick 1992, 9). Understanding the importance of the

knowledge-based economy and the advantages of globalization, developed countries have been absorbing the most talented people in Africa. In 2005, for instance, Germany introduced a migration law that gave opportunities to recruit academics and specialists in the field of technology by allowing them to permanently stay in the country (Adepoju 2011, 306). A study of the OECD (2007) estimates at 4 million the number of foreign-born population of Sub-Saharan Africa staying in the OECD countries. France, Portugal, and the UK have almost half of it (African Population Studies 2011, 306). These issues are among the hindering factors for education to play its role.

4.5. NIGERIA: EDUCATION VS. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTABILITY

The motivation of choosing Nigeria, the most populated African countries, is driven by the current security issues which undermine the social, political and territorial integrity of the country and other countries in the region. The analysis of this section focuses on the answers to understand whether education and poverty contribute to the deepening of insecurity in Nigeria, especially the one linked to terrorism. A widely held opinion among academicians, politicians, and civil society leaders, is that poverty and lack of education can directly or indirectly be linked to terrorism.

Regarding terrorism as directly connected to education and economic deprivation might present valid evidence, however, insufficient knowing the complexity of finding a common understanding of the term terrorism and the motivation of terrorist organizations could defer from time and space. The discussion, thus, will not be focused on comprehending the difference between a freedom fighter and a terrorist but rather puts an emphasis on the circumstances and cultural biases linked with the education system and poverty (Krueger and Malečková 2003). In essence with the theory employed, the scrutiny of this part is in line to demonstrate that there is a linkage between economic development and security issues, whether it is positive or vice versa. One way or another, the security issues in northern Nigeria have a strong correlation with economic disparities that exist within the country and the lack of implementing an adequate education system.

Krueger and Malečková (2003) presented a definition which could enlighten the audience (s) about the motivation of terrorists. They insinuate that terrorists, seeking to establish fear among the civilian populations, give more importance to the message rather than the harm itself. This is based on the idea that terrorists want to show their presence among communities to send a clear message to people (p. 120). Rapoport et al. (1994) has studied the impact of cultural diversity on the conduct of political terrorists. He distinguishes two types of cultural differences which may determine the behaviors of terrorists. While giving a significant place to the nature of the relationship of individuals to the cultural group they belong, his research showed that there are clear distinctions between individualist and collectivist cultures regarding their terrorist acts.

On one hand, the behaviors of people who live within individualist cultures (most of the time the Western countries) are guided by their personal goals. In these societies, when conflicts arise, they tend to be self-oriented people to achieve personal goals (p. 1-2). However, in the case of Nigeria, the grievances and the rejection of the state system reside on the fact that people are in collectivist society. Rapoport et al. (1994) stated that in a collectivist cultural system, individuals give more importance to the community's objectives rather than their particular goals because in these communities the identity of people comes from the group and not from personal attributes (p. 2). In addition to the socio-economic disparities that exist between rich and poor countries, in Nigeria, there are inequalities between the urban and rural areas marked by an imbalance distribution of ethnic groups. Several scholars argue that the inappropriate behaviors of certain communities originated during the colonial era and the problems of the education system after independence fueled the conflicts (Moumouni 1968; Ogunyemi 2010; Woolman 2001, 29).

For many, the problem is not that former colonies have adopted certain cultural aspects of the Europeans, but the rejection of the majority of cultural practices and the way in which pre-colonial societies operated was (and still is) a source of conflict. The best way to deal with this conflict was, perhaps, to provide the educational system its true place in society. However, many first post-colonial elites had little consideration on these facts. Mazrui (1978) describes, "Very few educated Africans are even aware that they are also in cultural bondage. All educated Africans [...] are still cultural captives of

the West” (p. 13). It is necessary to underline that the Western education system is not criticized, but its incapacity of linking education and cultural reality because if such a link exists, it could contribute to the process of socialization and economic development based on the hybrid system between indigenous model and the Western model of education.

For an educational system to play its role, it needs to be based on a society concept that wants to promote a model of a citizen. So far, West African countries have failed to accomplish this goal because programs usually serve various purposes and are often ambiguous (Kahne and Middaugh 2008; Westheimer and Kahne 2003). Woolman (2001) denounces the ambiguity of connecting education and national development. He added, “The traditional roles of education, socialization of youth and cultural transmission, have been submerged by the political mandate that schools must function as the servant of government policy” (p. 34). For instance, Woolman (2001) also pointed out that the Second National Development Plan (in Nigeria) which came after a military coup (1970-1974), gave equal opportunity to members of all ethnic groups to reinforce the social justice and the democratic principles because of the incapacity of political leaders to promote such ideas after several years of governance.

Furthermore, the non-consideration of Islamic scholars is another illustration which shows the social contraction of what some people desire and what the governments propose as the education system. Woolman (2001) gave the example of Islamic Koranic schools which many Sub-Saharan African countries regard as informal and vain even though it is deeply rooted in the society (pp. 29-31). The politicization of education to serve elites created a significant gap between people's cultures and the role of education, and such an example demonstrates the case of Nigeria. Started during the 14th century, the Koranic education remained outside of the school programs. It is noteworthy to argue on this fact because Western education began in 1842 in the North where the society practices Islam and are very attached to their culture. Odukoya (2013) writes, “By 1914, it was estimated that about 25,000 Quranic schools were already in existence all over Northern Nigeria” (p. 3-4). These facts demonstrated that the colonization could less damage the functioning of these communities in the North.

The opposition between Islamic and Christian philosophical schools is not the origin of terrorism. It, however, acted as a fuel because of the marginalization and the inconsideration of education's mediator role in society. For instance, since 2009, Boko Haram (literally translated means the forbidden book) has become a threat to Nigerian national security. This terrorist group based on collectivist culture is against the western education model.

In Nigeria, it is important to note that the terrorism dilemma is more complex than discussing religious differences.

Joshua and Olanrewaju (2016) argue, "The presumption is that there exists a linkage between terrorism, education and other aspects/institutions of the Nigerian society" (p. 64). Beside this domestic complexity, Nigeria could not be analyzed as an isolated political entity because of globalization and the linkages between national and international issues. Weinberg and Eubank (cited by Rapoport et al. 1994, 24) argued that terrorism in developing countries is different from the one in developed countries because most of the developing countries have collectivist cultures which underwent multiple ethnic conflicts. Rapoport et al. (1994) believes that such collectivist societies see the others are outgroups.

Thus, the reason why Boko Haram attacks schools, killed teachers and students is not a coincidence. In 2014, the abduction of 276 girls in Chibok illustrates the fact that these terrorists considered less the Islamic precepts. Rapoport et al. (1994) also highlighted the international aspect of such terrorist acts because cultures and religious transcend national borders of states, especially in the case of West Africa. For these reasons, they utilize different means have an international posture. The Chibok girls were also used to release some of their commanders captured by the federal authorities who mismanaged the crisis during its early stage (Joshua and Olanrewaju 2016, 59-61). This situation has been widely broadcasted, allowing the terrorists to gain an international momentum given the importance that everyone attaches to girls' education in the world.

In Nigeria, there is a strong belief that the political elites have taken the country hostage. Considering that more than a hundred million people are still living in poor conditions, the corruption in several institutional bodies makes the issue of terrorism and insecurity

a serious matter to resolve. With deficiencies on the educational level and a high unemployment rate among young people who dispose of a few options, northern Nigeria is a fertile ground for the proliferation of terrorism. Joshua and Olanrewaju (2016) denote, “The grievances and provocation arising from deprivation seem to have instigated anger against the system” (p. 60). Significant shreds of evidence, in certain respects, suggest that people tend to be more motivated to commit crimes if they are less educated and poor (Ehrlich 1973; Freeman 1996; Piehl 1998). Nevertheless, poverty and education might not always be related to terrorism for the simple reason that all poor people are not terrorists and well-educated people may also be terrorists.

Currently, Nigeria is the 7th in the Global Terrorism index, and Boko Haram still targets the western educational model (Osundefender 2013 as cited by Joshua and Olanrewaju 2016). There are several reasons which make the scrutiny of Nigeria's security issues worth. First, Boko Haram has already destroyed more than 900 schools, killed 176 teachers, and thousands of innocent civilians are massacred. The insecurity caused by Boko Haram has affected more than ten million people and has created a regional instability. More than 120,000 students could not attend school because of the temporary or permanent closure of more than 85 educational institutions (Joshua and Olanrewaju 2016, 69-70). Second, like all terrorist organizations, Boko Haram wants to create confusion, hatred, and desperation by using the most vulnerable populations. Finally, knowing that education represents the future in Africa, security issues have the potential to hinder economic development. For this reason, a country like Nigeria needs a suitable cooperation model to overcome these issues.

This chapter offered a detailed analysis of policies implemented in West Africa under the EU/ACP cooperation framework. First, it demonstrated how the failure of reactive policies accelerated the migration process by scrutinizing the political economy in West Africa. Showing that these policies have negative consequences in the region, the study has focused on agricultural development policies between Europe and Africa. This section is completed by the examination of the migratory situation in Mauritania and West Africa.

The other part of this chapter also discussed the impact of proactive policies. In exploring the role of education and its influence in the process of economic

development, this analysis has shown the role of education in the future of countries in Africa. To better understand its role as a provider of peace and security, the investigation of the education system in Nigeria has been necessary to identify several issues related to the importance of socio-economic stability.



CHAPTER 5. THE CONTEXT OF THE MARSHALL PLAN WITH AFRICA: CONCLUSION-RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. RELEVANCY OF THE MARSHALL PLAN WITH AFRICA

Nelson Mandela once said, “What happens in Africa impacts on its relations with the world. Sustainable growth and development, therefore, require peace, security, and stability [...]. Peace is the greatest weapon for development” (The London School of Economics and Political Science 2018, 1). This statement underlies the fact that the rest of the world, especially in Europe, should develop a strong and beneficial partnership with African states and putting peace and stability at the core of the relations.

Thanks to globalization and geographical proximity between Europe and Africa, establishing an efficient cooperation ground to consolidate economic and political relations becomes urgent after realizing the failure of ODA. The incapacity of implementing suitable and inclusive development cooperation to boost the economic development of the African continent in the past led to countless challenges which threatened the social and political cohesion of Europe and Africa.

The failures of reactive and proactive policies in Sub-Saharan Africa were not and cannot entirely be the responsibility of Africa considering that Europe countries, the main partners of the post-colonial states in Africa, directed most policies primarily based on their economic interest. Furthermore, the political and economic colonial legacy within the Cold War context progressively diminished the sovereign autonomy of West African states and significantly deepened the asymmetrical dependency on Europe. For more than half a century, the EU/EEC-ACP countries model of cooperation resulted in insignificant progress. Paradoxically from the economic cooperation between the United States and Europe with the Marshall Plan and the NATO alliance, the type of relationship between EU/EEC-ACP countries involved less the securitization of issues and stabilization of political and social lives in Africa (Bagoyoko and Gibert 2009, 789-814).

This generated countless challenges which evolved from local to global issues as illustrated by the upsurge of mass emigration and complex security concerns such as terrorism. The absence of conviction in the political management of the economy by West African policymakers associated with external pressure from Europe hindered the

improvement of the living standards by marginalizing the key sectors for economic development (Delgado 1995). The inefficacy of agricultural and industrial policies exposed millions of Africans to vulnerability, speeding up the process of migration and further weakening political and social stability (World Bank 2007, 42; Hoeffler 2011, 3).

5.2. DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND THE MARSHALL PLAN WITH AFRICA: WHY NOW?

Several West African countries currently propose a differentiated approach to overcome economic issues and security concerns linked with extreme poverty. Finding, however, mechanisms and propositions which can significantly change the living standards of people and eliminate security concerns, may be taken from history with the Marshall Plan in Europe. Such development cooperation strategies could have reciprocal benefits by inspiring a new cooperation model based on the same values, mutual respect, and common interest.

Several facts indicate that this cooperation model has come at the right time. For the past two decades, Europe has lost export ground in Africa vis-à-vis China, which has already proposed a different form of partnership with African states. The consequences of poverty and instability in West Africa are directly affecting the EU and its member countries by deepening the domestic crisis into regional concerns; as illustrated by the rise of far-right movements, the increase of anti-migration parties, and the recurrence of violence (Schmieg 2017, 1).

Germany (one of the leading European countries), which successfully implemented the Marshall Plan after the World War II, has therefore proposed another version of a Marshall Plan with which strategies for economic development could be based on equal partnership, common values, and interest for a better prospect between Africa and Europe.

This initiative to implement a more pragmatic and productive development cooperation is in line with the AU's vision of 2063 for economic development, NEPAD, UN, G20, ECOWAS, and several other institutions which consider cooperation and private investment as a sustainable economic model for Africa (Rudolph and Holzapfel 2017, para. 1). This idea to rethink the terms of cooperation is widely accepted by scholars to get Africa out of poverty. For instance, Soyemi (2010) believes that the cornerstone of

resolving poverty issues in Africa is to have a fairer trade with regional and international organizations.

For any development strategy to efficiently work, reforms from West African states, the international community, and Germany are needed to share their valuable experience on development and cooperation. Such collaboration within a concerted and comprehensive framework has to facilitate the method of investment, bureaucratic procedures, and define the strategic sectors to converge. Indeed Müller, the German Federal Minister of Economic Development and Cooperation stated, “The Marshall Plan with Africa outlines a new dimension in development cooperation, away from the practice of giving and take and toward more personal responsibility instead” (How German Ticks Deutschland 2018, para. 2; Federal Ministry Economic Cooperation and Development, BMZ 2017). Minister Müller also supports the idea that a prosperous Africa has to be guided by the potentials that the Africans themselves possess—because development cooperation is the key solution to boost private investment and build infrastructure in Africa.

The Marshall Plan with Africa thereby brings economic development for Africa from an African perspective. It is noteworthy that the Marshall Plan with Africa is a German initiative backed by France, the other G20 member states, the AU, NEPAD, and several other institutions.

5.3. PROACTIVE AND REACTIVE POLICIES: RECOMMENDATIONS

The Marshall Plan with Africa thereby brings economic development for Africa from an African perspective. It is noteworthy that the Marshall Plan with Africa is a German initiative backed by France, the other G20 member states, the AU, NEPAD, and several other institutions. It is important to bear in mind that the relevance of strengthening the economy of relatively stable countries, in West Africa for instance, should act as a catalyst to enhance the living conditions and simultaneously boost the European economy. Examining the so-called German Marshall Plan and the correlation of the development cooperation with its vital sectors, the thesis contends the blueprint of the German Marshall Plan (2017) coupled with ideas from EU-AU meetings, NEPAD, ECOWAS, and individual member states.

Thus, the main purpose of this paper is to briefly investigate different strategies for the implementation of such policies by European and African political elites and identifying the conditionality of this partnership. The official report of the BMZ (2017) sketched the Marshall Plan with Africa as a threefold pillar. These three pillars are to enhance the economic activity trade and employment, peace and security, and democracy and the rule of law. This initiative incorporates more than hundred reform proposals exclusively focusing on issues of/and around economic development (p.12).

Before presenting the fundamental elements of the development strategy, it is imperative to mention that the Marshall Plan with Africa has various priorities essentially based on mutual interest. Areas of cooperation such as education, training, agriculture, peace and security, the creation of a digital infrastructure, investment based-skills, and active participation of women in economic development are, in summary, the top priorities this cooperation initiative (p.12).

The realization of such an ambitious initiative passes through a paradigm shift. This is not to drastically transform the essence of development cooperation, but to focus on a joint economic cooperation into a reform partnership, which replaces charity into development initiative in long-term (Rudolph and Holzapfel 2017; BMZ 2017, 13). For any development strategy to efficiently work in long-lasting, at least partners have to accept that the basis of the relationship is mutual respect and common interest for a prosperous future. Germany, for example, pleaded, “Europe must stop speaking on behalf of Africa” (BMZ 2017, 14). This is said to argue although most of the African states are underdeveloped, they recognize the factors which hinder the economic emergence of the continent. The engagement of the African continent in the international scene is among the solutions to consolidate development initiatives by being a decision maker.

Moreover, the continent has to join the permanent seat of the UN Security Council and other fundamental international organizations to restore international legitimacy. Hubbard (2007) noted that external factors should be considered to avoid unexpected results, such as the harmonization of policies with domestic and international regulations to increase its legitimacy, participation, and accountability (pp. 2-3).

5.3.1. AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The scrutiny of chapter four facilitated to elucidate the complexity over the discussion over the role of politics in the domestic economy, the root causes of migration, reactive and proactive policies, and the causes of instability in West Africa. Such an analysis reveals that development strategies should follow a clear and logical course of action. Many agreed that agriculture should be the core of any development model because no country could overcome economic development without being able to nourish its population. It is evident that the agricultural sector could reconstruct any economy and strengthen industrial activity with the transformation of local products to create value-added. It has the potential to bring economic diversification and positive contributions to economic growth with a bottom-top model of development.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation (2017) confirmed that agriculture is the answer to economic growth and diversification in Nigeria because 60 percent of the active population working in the agriculture sector produces 24 percent of the GDP (p. 5). Privileging this sector as a development strategy is a convergent point between West African countries and Germany. For instance, the Nigerian authorities launched the Economic Growth Recovery Plan in 2017 (hereafter, EGRP) seeking to achieve short-term goal goals by boosting the agricultural and industrial sectors and improving infrastructure (Heinrich Böll Foundation 2017, 1). This initiative is in line with the reforms proposed by the German Marshall Plan with Africa.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Marshall Plan with Africa and the EGRP, in this sense, proposed a centralized concept which focuses on rural areas by empowering women in the agricultural sector. To produce positive outcomes, the Marshall Plan with Africa has to employ an inclusive technique with a bottom-top approach which necessitates investment and collaboration between public and private sectors. The Marshall Plan with Africa draws its main goals with a three-file approach (BMZ 2017, 25-27):

A. REFORMS from WEST AFRICAN STATES

- Modernize agriculture and increase research on sustainable agriculture
- Focus on the training and formation of agricultural-related business

- Redefine and set a financing system that organizes the agricultural sector
- Invest in infrastructure and strengthen interstate exchange on agricultural goods
- Favor policies on sustainable agriculture and enhance the role of women
- Promote projects and protect African agricultural goods

B. REFORMS from GERMANY

- Institutionalize and focus more on innovation and programmes that enhance the development of agriculture such as the One World-No Hunger initiative
- Consider the development of rural areas as a top priority on cooperation and promote family farming
- Encourage public research on animal breeding and agriculture passing through the modernization of agriculture and the use of technology
- Organizing multi-stakeholder forums and improving quality standards to encourage sustainable agricultural supply chains.

C. REFORMS from INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

- Helping Africa to protect the agricultural sector and access to EU market and beyond
- Eliminate agricultural subsidies at the WTO level and unfair competition
- Increase international investment initiatives in West Africa such as Global Agriculture Food Security Programs (GAFSP)
- More commitment from the G20 countries to support youth employment in the agricultural sector in rural areas
- Enhance cooperation between the international organizations for agriculture and food (FAO, World Bank, WFP)

5.3.2 PRIORITISING EDUCATION AS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

There is nothing better to use education as a strategy to promote sustainable economic development. The implementation of the Marshall Plan with Africa has little hope to succeed if the educational system in West Africa does not reflect social reality.

Reforms on educational programs have to consider the purpose of constructing national identity and economic development. For instance, Hubbard (2007) argues that the

original Marshall Plan gave a central function to the business schools because of the roles they could provide with developing research, training, and the widening of networks by increasing linkages with international institutions (p.6). It is important to emphasize two factors which may hinder the effectiveness of education in West Africa. On one hand, difficulties linked with infrastructure, training, and the formation of young people are some of the obstacles. On the other hand, the inadequacy of programs to enhance the state identity or economic development diminishes the essence of education.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Marshall Plan with Africa considers education as a significant economic factor because of its multi-dimensional role in economic development and the state building process. Indeed, education could contribute to improving the professional formation in health care, enhancing social protection, modernizing agriculture, participating in the political economy, and consolidating inter-cultural, ethnic, and religious dialogues (BMZ 2017, 31; Hubbard 2007, 7). Therefore, by combining ideas taken from the Marshall Plan with Africa, and the most recent policies of several countries, the thesis recommends these following reforms (BMZ 2017, 31-33).

A. REFORMS from WEST AFRICAN STATES

- Develop a clear strategy and increase the efficiency of the budget on education (20 per cent of the national GDP)
- Combine a hybrid model of the European educational methods and the indigenous methods to improve the educational system by making sure that programs reflect the choice of societies
- Ensure that education, formation, and training follow the needs of the market; such as the creation of specialized universities for agriculture and research or international healthcare centers
- Make sure the language of education reflects social reality

B. REFORMS from GERMANY

- Combine traditional and e-learning methods to increase benefits

- Develop more projects on the training of skilled health workers and the infrastructure
- Propose more scholarships and build specialized universities (for engineering, health, agriculture, diplomacy, and security) based on interstate cooperation

C. REFORMS from INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

- Investment from the G20 in education and programs, and encourage Africans to return after their studies
- Enhance the global partnership for education and increase the efficiency of programs
- Increase the role of digital education for women and girls
- Promote innovation and research on pharmaceuticals to develop health institutions in West Africa

5.4. DISCUSSION

It is important to note that the thesis could not consider parameters. It attempts to answer questions relative to economic development issues, migration, and security concerns in a rather limited range by centering on a qualitative methodology. The definitions and ideas are also in conformity with the discussed matter by trying to correlate historical and contextual facts.

The thesis tries to analyze the political and economic situation coupled with the economic impact of Europe when developing its partnership with the West African states to elaborate an established background on the underdevelopment and instability concerns. It is important to examine the roots of poverty and instability from the perspective of international relations to understand the influence of international issues on domestic politics. In this sense, it provides a comprehensive analysis of development cooperation. Another significant point is to clarify the fact that the Marshall Plan with Africa could be considered as one of the solutions to resolve poverty and insecurity issues, and not the single solution for Africa. It is a vital development cooperation model for Africa because it presents foundations based on mutual respect and common interest between West Africa and Germany.

5.5. CONCLUSION

This present analysis aimed to explicate the causes and consequences which led to the failure of the economic partnership between Europe and West Africa. The findings demonstrated that the economic model proposed by Europe was not suited to the economic, political, and social circumstances in West Africa. By scrutinizing different economic policies, the thesis attempts to comprehend the direct and indirect impacts of development strategies in a regional context. However, the research could not entirely use a fully elaborated and quantitative approach required to examine all the ramifications of development cooperation because of the time constraint. Consequently, there is room for a more in-depth economic analysis to explore other boundaries for the findings.

The opening chapter explained the concepts and terminologies associated with economic development, cooperation, migration, and security issues. It also scrutinizes the variations between development cooperation, aid, and the reasons why economic development in West Africa is complex. The examination of migration in a global and regional perspective served to clarify the ambiguity and the broadening of issues regarding these phenomena. Recognizing the relationship between economic development and security issues, the thesis employed Securitization theory to establish a connection between economic development and security concerns. This theoretical analysis was followed by the methodological scrutiny. If the theoretical part brought out the linkages between economic development and security issues, the methodological section used a comprehensive research design and methods of investigation based on qualitative analysis. By analyzing the original Marshall Plan in Europe and the legacy of post-colonial states in West Africa, the paper tried to illustrate the linkages between economic development and security issues in a historical and contextual perspective. Therefore, it serves as an anchor to comprehend its context.

Chapters three and four helped to present the findings. Chapter three explained the process of institutionalization of economic relations (from Yaoundé and Lomé conventions to Cotonou Agreement), the establishment of regional blocs, the form of an integration model, challenges from globalization, and the differences between PTAs and EPAs under the WTO regime. Chapter four went on by further analyzing the impact of

reactive and proactive policies in domestic and regional perspectives. This scrutiny demonstrated that the EU/EEC-ACP countries economic relations poorly contributed to socio-political stability and living standards. These issues led to the waves of migration with the case study of Mauritania as a new migration center.

This also contributed to comprehending how the failure of the education system in Nigeria worsened the socio-political situation with the rise of terrorism. Therefore, the last chapter of the thesis proposes a new vision of development cooperation with the implementation of the Marshall Plan with Africa under the initiative of Germany. It first discusses the relevancy of the German Marshall Plan and the reasons for developing this new vision of development cooperation. It then explores the most recent reactive and proactive policy-propositions in the agriculture and education.

As per recommendations, the thesis proposes that development cooperation between Europe and Africa should be based on a win-win model by re-examining the economic and political conditionality. The blueprint of the Marshall Plan with Africa was published by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development in 2017 and served as a main support for recommendations. As for recommendations, the thesis suggests that development cooperation between Europe and Africa should be a win-win model by reconsidering the economic and political conditionality. The outline of the Marshall Plan with Africa published by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (2017) is the principal support for the recommendations.

In conclusion, by proposing a documentary analysis for the research design, the study attempted to explore the impact of policies between West Africa and European countries, in a historical and contextual perspective to understand the relationship economic development and security concerns (migration and terrorism). The use of the Securitization theory, which tries to combine Classical Realism and Constructivism, provided evidence that economic development with insecurity is unsustainable in the case of West Africa.

The thesis thus achieved its goals by establishing the fact that West Africa could not achieve economic development and stability because the development cooperation

model proposed by the EU/EEC and its member states was not a suitable development model and West Africa needs a new development cooperation model—such as the Marshall Plan with Africa.



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CURRICULUM VITAE

EDUCATION AND QUALIFICATIONS: 2018-2011

- Graduate student at the Turkish-German University (Turkey)/Erasmus Program at Cologne University
- Study Trip 2 : Paris, Brussels, Cologne and Berlin: Embassies, Foreign Ministries, Think Tanks/ Universities, Business Consortia, Conferences, EU Institutions and Mood Court Simulation (Belgium): An alternative Partnership for Turkey and UK, A Multispeed Europe
- Jean Monnet Module /CETEUS/University of Cologne/Turkish-German University/FEUTURE/INSITER/Round-table INSITER/Istanbul Policy Center (IPC): “A New Neighborhood for everyone? Trends of transition in Turkey, the EU and the wider region”
- Study Trip 1: Ankara, EU delegation in Turkey, Turkish Foreign Ministry, German Embassy, Ministry for EU affairs.
- Graduated from International Relations at Yalova University. GPA 3.91 with Honours (Valedictorian of the Faculty and department) (2016)/ Junior student, Political Science and International Relations at University Da Beira Interior (Portugal) Erasmus GPA 4.
- Youth in Action Programme (Youthpass and European Commission), teachings and leanings: Communication in mother and foreign tongues; Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology; Digital competence; Social and civic competences; sense of initiative and entrepreneurship; Cultural awareness and expression.
- Seminaries in leadership skills and developing themes and sub-themes in social life organized by Youth and Sport Coordination/Globalcv programme Business administration department: Practical Work Team and Strive To Amaze/Globalcv programme Business and administration department: Successful People and Career Paths in Banking/Ankara University -Tomer, Turkish language Preparation school level C1 duration 8 months. African Work Desk theme Current African issues at Yalova University (International Relations department): Conflict Resolution Desk.
- Senior student at Cheikh Anta Diop University (Senegal) Department of Geography and History

EXPERIENCE/PUBLICATION/AWARD

- Best Student Research Paper Published (INSITER): AVU114, Abdoul Yoro Diallo, “European (2017) External Action Service” (<https://insiter.tau.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/AVU-114-Yoro.pdf>)
- French and English Teacher in joined program with International Project Club, Youth Action, European Commission, and International Students Union. (2015-2016)
- POMEAS: Project on the Middle East and the Arab Spring Title “Arab Spring, Africa and Terrorism”2015 (article)
- Training and learning Painting Waste Glass by Youth in Action programme 2014
- Istanbul III Conference on Mediation, organized by the Turkish Foreign Affairs (Topic: Are the Regional Organizations up to the task to Prevent and Promote Peace) (2013)
- Yalova University, International Desk and research Title Current political issues in Africa 2013 article/Conflict Resolution Desk Program (2013-2016)

-President of International Students Union (ISU) at Yalova University/Member of Conflict Resolution Desk.

LANGUAGES: French (C2), Wolof (native), Pular (A2), English (C2), Turkish (level C1), Portuguese (A2), Spanish (A2), Arabic (A1), German (A1).

