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A European perspective on the European cooperation with Africa



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Abstract

This study focusses on the European perspective of the change of the European cooperation with Africa. Based on the language in the European policy documents, a content analysis is conducted. The asked research question is *A European perspective: How did the European African cooperation change between 2003 and 2016?* Furthermore, two hypotheses are analysed based on the literature. The *first hypothesis* is that, the focus of the European African cooperation was on the economic factors of the cooperation in 2003. Whereas the *second hypothesis* finds that, the focus of the European African cooperation was on the securitization of the cooperation in 2016. The unit of analysis are the analysed documents: European Security Strategy and European Union Global Strategy. The content analysis and a longitudinal study, showed that both hypothesis were rejected. Instead a change of cooperation occurred in the type of securitization. The focus of the cooperation in 2003, is on combatting the immediate threats. Contrary to the focus of 2016, which is on the core of the threats and to implement policies on migration in order to combat the threats.

Keywords Africa, cooperation, economic factors, Europe, European Security Strategy, European Union Global strategy, securitization

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1.0 Introduction

In general Africa is considered to be the ‘forgotten continent’, with little interest of international actors. However, the European Union thinks otherwise. This is guided by three principles: to focus on structural stability, put emphasis on regional integration and provide support for international law (Kotsopoulos & Mattheis, 2018, p. 445; Sicurelli, 2016, p. 6). Besides, the interest of the European Union (EU) in Africa has been present in policies of the European Union since 1992. Within this year, the European cooperation with Africa outlined in European policies started with the Maastricht treaty, where a new dimension of European policy came into play which is the ‘Common Foreign and Security Policy’. This policy outlines the developmental help, it states that it focusses on ‘sustainable economic and social development of the developing countries and their disadvantages among them, to smooth and gradual integrate the developing countries in the world economy and campaign against poverty’ (Frisch, 2008, p. 22).

Since the start of the European interest in cooperation with Africa outlined in policies, the cooperation has had some turbulent times with many challenges and expectations. These turbulent times resulted in changes within the policy environment. This thesis will focus upon two of those policies, which both are a security strategies of the EU.

In 2001 the Global War on Terrorism began as a reaction upon the attacks of September 2001. As a response to the violent times in the post-cold war, the first security strategy of the European Union, the ‘European Security Strategy’ came into force in 2003. This policy addresses immediate threats towards the Union, it prioritizes to help failed states, in a military and humanitarian way if necessary. Besides this policy focusses on cooperation with the United States of America (European Council, 2003, p. 3, 15).

Since 2013 and with an outburst in 2015 the European migration and asylum regime is in a phase of crisis (Pastore & Henry, 2016, p. 53). In 2015 there were 1.8 million irregular border crossings into the European Union, which was an increase of 546 percent compared with 2014 (Europol, 2016, as cited in Dinan, Nugent, & E. Paterson, 2017, p. 102). Most of the migrants are from African countries and seek asylum. As a reaction upon this crisis, the EU foreign policy became more dominated with migration management (Collet, E., Ahad, 2017, p. 3). This resulted in the policy of European Union Global Strategy, which was signed in 2016 by the European Union. This is a security strategy which puts more emphasis on linking visions in regards to the implementation of migration policies, while focussing on cooperation with African countries. This is needed to strengthen Europe as a security community and to make it

more resilient, hence Europe becomes securitized (Mälksoo, 2016, p. 381). An example of the changing policy environment towards securitization is the Migration Partnership Framework, the goal of this European policy is to reduce migration to Europe with enhancing the support for origin, host and transit migrant countries. At the same time, strengthen the borders, expand the return of unauthorised migrants and address the root causes of the reasons why migrants leave (Collet, E., Ahad, 2017, p. 3).

These turbulent times are defined in the policy environment, with a shift of the focus in the policies on the European African cooperation. Several studies were conducted on what this shift entails, this literature, such as Cardwell (2018) and Pastor (2016), suggest that the changes in the policy environment is one of a shift from economic factors towards securitization. Simultaneously, the literature shows that the core focus of cooperation shifted to just securitization of the cooperation after the migration crisis of 2015. Since the literature suggests this, this thesis will study what the core focus of the European African cooperation in 2003 and in 2016 was. To study the practice of the European African cooperation based on the literature. Furthermore, there is not known yet what the focus of the actual active cooperation was, the literature solely suggests this. Hence, the study in this thesis is essential due to the fact that it will investigate the core focus of the European African cooperation in two turbulent moments in time which influenced the policies of the cooperation of the European Union with Africa. So, the objective of this research is to determine what the focus of cooperation was in 2003 and in 2016 as shown in the European security strategies in those respective years. The focus of this study will be on the cooperation of the European Union with Africa, this study is approached through studying the language of the policy documents of 2003 and 2016.

The structure of the thesis begins with this *Introduction*, which will be introductory for the rest of the thesis as well as to provide the research questions and the relevance of the thesis which is done in the next two paragraphs. The second chapter, which is the *Theory* will provide known research of the European African cooperation. All to provide a view of what the world should look like. After this, the *Method* section provides details about how the research has been conducted, while trying to be as transparent as possible for the reproductivity of the thesis. The *Analysis* is the core of the thesis, providing answers to the asked sub-research questions as well as giving detailed information about the European African cooperation to provide a better understanding of the change of cooperation. In the *Conclusion* answers are given to the main research question, as well as a discussion and suggestions for further research.

1.1 Research question

For this thesis, the focus is on the European African cooperation and how this changed between 2003 and 2016 while investigating this with the European policies of those two moments. Therefore, and building upon the *Introduction*, the following research question will be the main research question addressed within this thesis.

*A European perspective:
How did the European African cooperation change between 2003 and 2016?*

There is a need to address this matter, and this research question is important due to the fact that it will investigate the change of the European African cooperation at two different moments in time. The prelude towards both years were turbulent times. So, the focus is on the difference of the European African cooperation at two turbulent moments of time. At the same time, the research question focusses on the practice of the European African cooperation, and how this cooperation is mentioned in the policy documents of the European Union.

In order to answer the main research question a set of three sub-research questions is addressed as well. The first sub question focusses on the concept of cooperation: *What is cooperation?* This sub question is important due to its theoretical understanding of the concept of cooperation, which is needed to understand the study of this thesis. In the literature a certain focus of the European African cooperation is suggested. Based on this, two sub questions are asked. The second sub question is: *To what extent was the focus of the European African Cooperation in 2003 on economic factors compared to the focus on securitization?* This sub-research question is based on the literature and investigates which focus the European cooperation with Africa has in that specific moment of time. This sub question is convenient to answer before addressing the main research question. Besides, this question is crucial to see what the European African cooperation entailed in 2003 and what the language of the European policy states about the European African cooperation. A third and last sub question is: *To what extent was the focus of the European African Cooperation in 2016 on economic factors compared to the focus on securitization?* This question is based on the literature as well, and it investigates which focus the cooperation in the policy document has of the respective year. The third sub question is convenient, due to the fact that it is necessary to see what the European African cooperation entailed in 2016 before a change can be detected or explained. These last two sub-questions are essential due to the fact that they investigate what the focus of the cooperation was in practice and what sort of type the cooperation entails.

1.2 Relevance

In this section the scientific and societal relevance of this study is provided for. With the Maastricht treaty in 1992 not only the European Union came into force as it stands today, a new policy field was introduced as well.

This new field of policy is the developmental policy and it was the beginning of the Common Foreign and Security policy. The new policy outlines the beginning of the cooperation of the European Union with Africa on a policy level. Their cooperation from then on has known turbulent times. One of the first turbulent times occurred in a post-cold war area, to be more specific, an area after the terrorist attacks on September 2001 in the United States of America. As a response to these turbulent times, the European Union introduced its first Security strategy, which was the European Security Strategy. Another turbulent time occurred in 2015. At this moment in time, the migration crisis had been going on for a while and the amount of people who migrated had an outburst in 2015, hence the migration crisis had its peak. The reaction of the European Union was that the foreign policy domain of Europe became dominated with migration management. This resulted in another security strategy implemented in June 2016, this was the European Union Global strategy. So, the turbulent times acknowledge a different atmosphere where the policy documents were written in. Henceforth, the essence of this thesis is to see what the change of the European African cooperation entails, as shown in their respective policy documents.

Equally important is that since this thesis focusses on the practice of the European African cooperation and not on the literature, which has been done in other studies. There can be stated that this study in particular will provide new scientific insights, this due to the fact that this thesis is a new study in this context of research. At the same time, in this thesis, the language in the policy documents will be studied. This is done to see what the difference of the focus of the European African cooperation of 2003 and 2016 entails. In addition, through studying the language in the policy documents an estimate is made to show if indeed what the literature expects, can be applied in practice as well.

In a similar way, this thesis has societal relevance. The societal relevance of this thesis is to better understand the society, in this case to see the practice of the European African cooperation as presented in European policy documents. In particular through studying the European African cooperation at two moments in time and both implemented after a period of turbulence, to see how the European African cooperation changed from a European perspective. This is important for the society due to the fact that it influences the amount of securitization

of Europe towards Africa. Due to which other countries or continents can react as well, besides an increase of the tensions between the two actors can be expected. This is reflected in the society as well, and it is expected that a tense period is not something to look forward to. To add, this thesis approaches a new direction to study the European African cooperation as stated in the European policy documents, providing knowledge for the gap. What is more in regards to the knowledge gap, is that other studies have focussed on the cooperation and the fact that it shifted. The study in this thesis will try to conduct an analysis on what the European perspective of the European African cooperation is, as shown in the documents. This will, in the end show what the European African cooperation in practice from a European perspective entails.

On the whole, as scholars who work more on the Public Administration side of the spectrum, the author is motivated by her own curiosity and the evident gap in knowledge about the extent to which the European African cooperation has indeed been transformed and what this transform is.

2.0 Theory

The European Union represents itself as the supporter of world order based on the rule of law, where multilateralism is the driving force behind collective actions to solve common problems and resolve disputes (Farrell, 2005, p. 256). Besides, the European Union favours the use of soft power to exert influence in the international stage, with an agenda that is considered to have a normative tone. These normative aspects of the European foreign policy extend across its cooperation with every region or continent, like Africa (Farrell, 2005, p. 265). According to Manner, normative power is a concept in the study of European Union's external relations, it acknowledges the normative foundations of the supranationalism of Europe and the European predisposition to act in accordance with embedded ethical principles concerning human well-being (Manners, 2002, as cited in, Langan, 2012, p. 244). The use of normative and soft power is defined in several agreements between Europe and Africa.

For this thesis a deductive theory approach is used, commonly known as theory testing. With which a theory is a systematic explanation for observations that relate to a particular aspect of life, and theories explain the observations by means of concepts (Babbie, 2004, p. 43). Within this part a first focus is on the cooperation of the European Union with Africa, as well as the change of the cooperation in accordance with the literature. As a second, the focus of the section

is on the European Union African cooperation policies, which are presented in an historical order.

2.1 Cooperation

In this part a general approach to the concept of cooperation is presented at first, after this the European African cooperation is displayed. Cooperation is a topic of interest in disciplines such as: economics, sociology, psychology, political science, organization theory, and strategic management (Smith, Carroll, & Ashford, 1995, p. 9).

To begin with, cooperation is the coordination effected through mutual forbearance, identifying cooperation as a special type of coordination, on its turn coordination is an appropriate basis to build a concept of cooperation, for it articulated the idea that cooperation is of mutual benefit to the parties directly involved (Casson, 1989, p. 42). In particular writer and scholars have emphasized the critical importance of cooperation for the achievement of objectives, such as Fayol (1949), Mayo (1945), Barnard (1938), Thompson (1967) and Lawrence and Lorsch (1969) (Smith et al., 1995, p. 8). Besides, cooperation is necessary for innovation and competitive success (Beer et al., 1990, as cited in, Smith et al., 1995, p. 8). Cooperation theorist further suggest that international institutions might serve to extend the shadow of the future, by regularizing interaction, to facilitate the information flows and to monitor if necessary to make the mechanisms of conditional retaliation work (Fearon, 1998, p. 270). What is more is that cooperation theorist observed that if states interact repeatedly on a particular issue, then mutually beneficial cooperation might be sustained by the implicit threat that ‘if you try to shoot down our satellites, we will shoot down yours’ (Fearon, 1998, p. 270). So, it is certain that cooperative relationships are socially contrived mechanisms for collective action, which are continually shaped and restructured by actions and symbolic interpretations of the parties involved (Ring and van de Ven, 1994, as cited in Smith et al., 1995, p. 10).

The cooperation of the European Union with developing countries has been present since the very beginning of the joint European enterprise, significantly being a feature of the external cooperation of the European Union (Jrgensen, 2015, p. 11). Besides, the European Union is the biggest export market for African products and is the biggest donor of development aid (Scheipers & Sicurelli, 2008, p. 607). In short, the relation of European African cooperation pre-dates the institutional framework of the European Union (Farrell, 2005, p. 263).

The European African cooperation started with the Lomé convention in 1975. This agreement was signed with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, and its objective is to promote an integrated approach to development (Bach, 2011, p. 34). In 2000, the Lomé

convention was replaced by the Cotonou agreement, which provided a map towards an interhemispheric partnership based on: common political norms, trade reciprocity and Economic Partnership Agreements (Bach, 2011, p. 35). This Cotonou Agreement has been hailed as a new departure in terms of substance and approach towards Europe-Africa cooperation (Farrell, 2005, p. 264). The map of the Cotonou agreement is an instrument for European Union and African cooperation in order to benefit from the globalisation, such as development and modernisation in Africa (Olivier, 2011, p. 55). Yet, the Cotonou agreement appears to be development branding of the Economic Partnership Agreements, which close down the policy space for a genuine economic development in the African countries while furthering the common and commercial interests of the European Union (Langan, 2012, p. 265). In 2007 another agreement was made, which was the JAES, short for Joint Africa-EU strategy. This strategy agreement stresses the importance of the partnership of equality and it promotes a global framework for the treatment of European African cooperation. With this it focusses on: peace and security, democracy, good governance and human rights, human development, sustainable and inclusive development and growth and continental integration, global and emerging issues (Bach, 2011, p. 40, 41). On the whole, these mentioned agreements all focus upon economic factors (Sicurelli, 2016, p. 4). There could be said that Europe is interested in Africa due to the economic benefits and profit. Even the idealistic view recognizes that the ‘current neo-liberal hegemony of ideas sits with the self-interest of political elites and the outward-orientated fraction of the capitalist class in the European member states’, implying an economic interest in Africa for the European self-interest (Hurt, 2003, as cited in, Farrell, 2005, p. 280). Thus, economic factors, like trade, are the major building block of the cooperation between the EU and Africa (ECDPM, 2003, p. 15, 17).

Contrary to 2015, when the European Union had its deepest existential crisis in the form of a migration crisis. The world has become more connected, contested, conflictual and complex. As such, another approach for these fundamental changes is necessary. Foreign policy remains at the margin of the European public space, touching the daily lives of Europeans while having external origins. Such as: terrorism, energy insecurity, uncontrolled migration or economic insecurity (Tocci, 2016, p. 462). Due to this migration crisis, with most migrants from Africa, the European Union responded with immediate actions and with more securitization in regards to the transit, host and origin countries of migrants. These immediate actions were outlined in the Agenda on Migration of June 2015. The Agenda designed four pillars to manage migration better. The first is to reduce the incentives for irregular migration. To ‘address the root causes through: development cooperation and humanitarian assistance, migration as a core issue for

European delegations, apply a stronger action so that third countries fulfil their obligations to readmit their nationals, the adoption of a Return Handbook and monitoring of the implementation of the Return Directive, at last the reinforcement and amendment of the FRONTEX legal basis to strengthen its role on return' (European Commission, 2015, p. 10). The second pillar is border management with the key actions to: 'strengthen the role of FRONTEX and capacity, have an Union standard for border management, strengthen the European coordination of coast guard functions, and strengthen the capacity of third countries to manage their borders' (European Commission, 2015, p. 12). The third pillar is a strong common asylum policy. To establish a Common European Asylum System and to guide it, while making guidelines to fight against abuses of the asylum system, promote systematic identification and fingerprinting (European Commission, 2015, p. 14). The fourth pillar is a new policy on legal migration, such as: modernisation and overhaul of the Blue card scheme, stronger action to link migration and development policy, re-prioritising funding for integration policy and cheaper, faster and safer remittance transitions' (European Commission, 2015, p. 17). In short, the aim of the European Union towards their cooperation with Africa becomes a securitized view. Besides, the European Union aims for a European migration policy with the help of the aforementioned four pillars (European Commission, 2015, p. 17). As such there can be stated that the European African cooperation becomes securitized.

In a nutshell, Europe is understood as a normative power and represents itself as a supporter of the world order based upon the rule of law, where multilateralism is the driving force behind collective actions and to solve disputes (Farrell, 2005, p. 265). Besides, according to Manner, Europe is understood to work to alter normal behaviour in international affairs through a processes of norm diffusion. Hence, Europe is said to exert normative power to change the external partners' policy objective via six main forms of communication: contagion, informational diffusion, procedural diffusion, transference, overt diffusion and cultural filtration (Langan, 2012, p. 246). Since Europe exerts its normative power as well as norm diffusion, the following section will focus on the informational diffusion, which is a communication form by means of European Union policy documents.

2.2 European African cooperation policies

In line with the former paragraph, this paragraph will go in depth of the European African cooperation policies, linked to the informational diffusion. There are three main policies and they will be outlined in this section in accordance to historical order.

The European cooperation with Africa in regards to cooperation policies, was for the first time outlined in 1992. This policy had a focus on developmental policies and it was outlined in the Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992 (Frisch, 2008, p. 22). In the Maastricht Treaty the 17th title is devoted to ‘development cooperation’, consisting out of article 130u until article 184 (Communities, 1992, p. 60-72). In addition, as stated in Article 3 of the treaty ‘(n) encouragement for the establishment and development of trans-European networks’ as well as ‘(q) a policy in the sphere of development cooperation’ and ‘(r) the association of the overseas countries and territories in order to increase trade and promote jointly economic and social development (Communities, 1992, p. 12, 13). This aforementioned development cooperation imply the goals of: sustainable economic and social development of the developing countries and the most disadvantaged, to smooth and gradual integrate the developing countries into the world economy as well as campaigning against poverty (Frisch, 2008, p. 22). What is more is that the treaty contained a proposal for ‘the development of the Western European Union institute into a European Security and Defence Academy’ (Communities, 1992, p. 245). This resulted into an innovative new policy in regards to developmental policies: the Common Foreign and Security Policy, in short CFSP (Frisch, 2008, p. 22, 24). This Common Foreign and Security Policy is designed to resolve conflicts and foster international understanding all based upon diplomacy and respect for international rules. It seeks to: preserve peace, strengthen the international security, promote international cooperation, promote to develop and consolidate democracy. This dimension is attached to the concept of European integration. Which is ‘a process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones’ (Haas, 2004, p. 16). The Common Foreign and Security Policy is the basis of other European foreign policies.

After the turbulent times of 2001, in 2003 the first European Security Strategy, in short ESS, was published. Javier Solana, the High Representative / Vice President of the European Union until 2009, published it with the title ‘A secure Europe in a better world’ (European Council, 2003, p. 2). The main targeted audience was the United States of America (Mälksoo, 2016, p. 375, 378). In this security strategy it stated that ‘the European Union is a global player and should be ready to share the responsibility of global security and in building a better world. Because security is a precondition of development, otherwise economic activity is impossible, and effective multilateralism is central’ (European Council, 2003, p. 4, 6; Mälksoo, 2016, p.

379). Hence, the European Union is seen as a multi-institutional organization providing all types of crisis management tools within an unique framework (Bagoyoko & Gibert, 2007, p. 790). So, the European Security Strategy focuses upon development, good governance and security to make economic activity possible, which is called the ‘multi-functional approach’.

In 2016 the European Union Global Strategy was implemented with a title of ‘Shared vision, common action: a stronger Europe’. Which was implemented after the peak of the migration crisis in 2015. This strategy is made for Europe to engage in the wider world, to point the way forward and to be actionable. It strives for a stronger Europe because the European project is under threat (EUGS, 2016, p. 13). Therefore it focuses on the origin, transit and host migration countries in Africa. Consequently, the purpose of this security strategy is twofold. The first is a process of strategic reflection which culminated in the strategy, extensive and intensive process succeeding in achieving considerable convergence among all players. A second is the common action, publishing the European Union Global Strategy to start the engines on implementation in areas where it matters most (Tocci, 2016, p. 471). Part of this strategy is the Migration Partnership Framework, which is a policy implementation of the European Union Global Strategy. Within this implementation common and tailor-made approaches are made towards the migration countries in regards to: development, diplomacy, mobility, legal migration, border management, readmission and return (EUGS, 2016, p. 27). This framework aims ‘a coherent and tailored engagement where the European Union and Member States act in coordinated manner combining their tools and leverage in order to reach comprehensive partnerships with third countries’ (European Commission, 2016). Additionally, migration becomes one of securities concerns due to the interplay between public opinion, mass media, national governments and an increasing number of migrants crossing borders. In sum, migration becomes a securization discourse type, motivated with the need of national governments to control influxes and comfort public opinions against the ‘fear of being swamped by foreigners’. Creating boundaries between us and them, inside and outside, can endanger the livelihoods of newly arrived migrants. So, this securization can threaten human rights, peaceful coexistence, freedom and justice (Buonfino, 2004, p. 24). Besides, there can be stated that the European Union Global Strategy is a securitized strategy for the European African cooperation.

2.3 Assumptions

In this section assumptions in accordance with the aforementioned theories can be made, resulting in two testable hypothesis.

A general concept of cooperation, is that cooperation is a socially contrived mechanism for collective action and is continually shaped by actions and symbolic interpretations of the parties involved (Ring and van de Ven, 1994, as cited in Smith et al., 1995). This is reflected in the European African cooperation and the European policies on this cooperation as well. Because it is presented in the responses of the European Union by means of implementing a policy after a turbulent moment in time. The cooperation between the two actors began with the Lomé convention in 1975. Whereas their cooperation in a policy form started with the new dimension of the European Union policies. When the Common Foreign and Security Policy came in to play with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The European African cooperation around 2003 focusses on economic factors, which are the building block of the European African cooperation at that time (ECDPM, 2003, p. 15, 17). While implying an economic interest of the European Union towards Africa for the self-interest of the Union. On the other hand, the cooperation in 2016 focusses on a securitized Europe, which occurred after the migration crisis of 2015.

In sum, both concepts are linked to several key words. The key words belonging to the concept of economic focus are: common interest, economic development, trade, benefits, external relations, relationship, investment, opportunity, growth, cooperation and multilateralism. Whereas, the focus of securitization is linked to a different set of key words. These key words are: humanitarian assistance, migration, migrants, return and readmission, border management, policy and policies, transit and transition, security, threats, defence, human rights and Africa. Thus, the data of this theory yields two testable hypothesis, which are stated in *Table 1*.

Table 1: Hypotheses

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>Hypothesis 1</i> | In 2003 the focus of the European African cooperation was on the economic factors of the cooperation. |
| <i>Hypothesis 2</i> | In 2016 the focus of the European African cooperation was on the securitization of the cooperation. |

Hence, through the *Theory*, these two hypothesis are formed. These hypotheses, with the help of the theory, state in the *first hypothesis* that the focus of the European African cooperation was on economic factors around 2003. Contrary to this, in 2016 the focus of the European African cooperation was on securitization of their cooperation, as presented in the *second hypothesis*.

3.0 Methods

For this thesis explorative research will be conducted, for the purpose to satisfy the researchers' curiosity and desire for a better understanding as well as to test the feasibility of undertaking a more extensive study (Babbie, 2004, p. 44). This thesis is explorative due to the fact that this thesis researches the focus of the European perspective on the European African cooperation, as presented in two policy documents of the European Union. So, the focus of the study is on how the European African cooperation is mentioned in the documents of the European Security Strategy, and the European Global Security Strategy.

Within this part at first the *case selection* will be described, this section describes which cases are analysed in the *Analysis* chapter. After this section the *data collection* follows, this part focusses on the approaches towards the analysis. The third part is the *operationalization*, in this part the concepts are made measurable in order to test them in the *Analysis*. At last, the section of *analysis strategy* follows, which clarifies step by step the procedures as followed in the *Analysis*.

3.1 Case selection

For the sake of simplicity for this thesis, the European perspective on the European African cooperation is researched upon. In addition, to study the European African cooperation focus, two moments after a turbulent time are chosen, when a policy was implemented. The first document is the European Security Strategy. This European policy is a European security strategy and is implemented in a post-cold war area after the attacks of September 2001. The second document is the European Union Global Strategy. This European policy was implemented after the outburst of the migration crisis in 2015, and this policy is a security strategy too. Combined, these two documents will be used for the *Analysis*. The specifications of the security strategies are presented in *Table 2*, which is stated below.

These documents were chosen due to five points. The first is that both policies are part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, which is the foreign policy section of the European Union. The second point is that both documents are implemented after a turbulent period of time. A third point is that both of the documents are European policy document which are already implemented. Moreover, both of these strategies have a focus upon building aspirations and the ontological security concerns (Mälksoo, 2016, p. 377). At last, both security strategies were written with the High Representative / Vice president of the European Union at that moment in time. The first, which is the European Security Strategy, was written

in a tight circle in the office of Javier Solana, the High Representative / Vice President until 2009. For the other document, during its drafting procedure, the High Representative / Vice President Frederica Mogherini consulted several actors, including think tanks, European Union Member states as well as European Union committees, the Commission itself and the European Parliament (Mälksoo, 2016, p. 383). This resulted in the European Union Global Strategy. All in all, both documents of the European Union seem to be a proper fit to conduct the study of the European perspective on the change of the European African cooperation.

3.2 Data collection

In this part the used methods, type of analysis as well as criteria for reproduction are outlined. At first, for the reproduction of the thesis, it should be clarified how the analysed documents were selected as well as which criteria were used to find the documents. The documents consist out of secondary data, such as European Union policy documents, European Union factsheets, academic literature, strategy papers, web pages, newsletters, books etc. This data was collected with the help of the databases of 'Google Scholar', 'Scopus' and 'Web of Science'. Further criteria, is that the used articles for the theory need to be published by an academic journal. As well as, the content has to be in line with the topic of research. Therefore, most of the studied data is unobtrusive verbal secondary data.

Second, the approaches of analysing the data. This is done with a content analysis which is 'a method that count occurrences of selected lexical features in samples of text or speeches' (David Dooley, 2001, p. 105). According to Babbie (Babbie, 2004, p. 314) content analysis is the study of recorded human communications, such as books, magazines, papers, newspapers, speeches, letters, email message, paintings, songs, poems, laws and constitutions, or any component or collection thereof. This approach is applied due to the fact that the language in the European documents will be studied, which is written communication. Besides, a content analysis is essentially a coding operation, where coding is the process of transforming raw data into a standardized form. A content analyst has a choice in choosing validity or reliability (Babbie, 2004, p. 318). If possible the best solution is to use both methods to cover the content (Babbie, 2004, p. 319). Thus, to be as valid and reliable as possible, this thesis will use both types, which is done in two ways. The first way is coding the manifest content, which is done in connection with content analysis, These are the concrete terms contained in communication, as distinguished from latent content. The second way is to code the latent content, which if used in connection with content analysis, is the underlying meaning of communications, as distinguished from their manifest content (Babbie, 2004, p. 319). These two combined cover

the reliability, which is tested with the manifest content, and the validity, which is tested with coding the latent content (Babbie, 2004, p. 319). Furthermore, this thesis will conduct a quantitative content analysis, based on the coding scheme in *Table 3*, as well as a qualitative content analysis, based on semiotics. Details for the approach towards both are described in *Operationalization*. To conduct the analysis through a quantitative and qualitative analysis, is in accordance with Babbie. He states that ‘although qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis may appear incompatible, research often demands that both kinds be used in the same project’ (Babbie, 2004, p. 392). This is indeed the case in this thesis. The following is the method which is a longitudinal study in this thesis. A longitudinal study is ‘designed to permit observations of the same phenomenon over an extended period and is the best way to study changes over time’ (Babbie, 2004, p. 102). This method applies to this thesis since the focus is on how the phenomenon of European African cooperation is changing over time as shown in the language of the analysed documents.

As a third, the variables. The dependent variable in this thesis is the ‘European Africa cooperation in the documents’. The unit of analysis is ‘the European Security Strategy and the European Union Global Strategy’, which are the documents where cooperation is mentioned and how the language within the documents had changed in regards to the European perspective on the cooperation. Besides, the setting is ‘the year 2003’ and ‘the year 2016’.

At last, the documents which will be part of the *Analysis*. For these documents there are five criteria points to find the proper documents to study the European African cooperation. The first is that it has to be European policies on cooperation. The second is that the policies should be implemented after turbulent times. A third is that it should be European documents and a fourth is that it should be a security strategy of the European Union. The last criteria is that the policies are already implemented. On the basis of these criteria, two documents were found, these documents are outlined below in *Table 2*. These two documents fulfil all five criteria points and will be used in the *Analysis* to conduct the research. Besides, they are the case in the study of this thesis.

Table 2: Documents for Analysis

| # | Documents |
|---|--|
| 1 | European Council. (2003). European Security Strategy (ESS). Brussels. |
| 2 | European Union Global Strategy (EUGS). (2016). Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe A Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign And Security Policy. |

The first, which is the European Security Strategy, consists out of 16 pages, whereas the European Union Global Strategy consists out of 60 pages. These two documents will be central in the *Analysis*.

3.3 Operationalization

In this part the concepts are made measurable. According to Babbie (Babbie, 2004, p. 132) ‘operationalization is the development of specific research procedures, operations, that will result in empirical observations representing those concepts in the real world’.

The analysis in this thesis is a content analysis. At first a quantitative content analysis is conducted. Which is the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomena that those observations reflect (Babbie, 2004, p. 396). Accordingly, it is the ‘the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics’ (Randolph, Gaiek, White, Slappey, & Chastain, 2012, p. 81). In this quantitative content analysis coding of the manifest content is applied to test the reliability of the content (Babbie, 2004, p. 319). The analysis itself will be conducted based on the coding scheme in *Table 3*. These concepts and key terms are based on the *Theory* section of this thesis and follow the deductive steps of the research. In the Coding scheme the concepts are defined by their linked keywords, this coding is applied with the manifest content. Do keep in mind that the following operationalization was not found in scientific literature, it is based upon the given aforementioned theoretical framework. This table will be a guideline for further research in the quantitative content analysis and with this table the *Analysis* will be conducted.

Table 3: Coding scheme

| Concepts | Key terms based on theory |
|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Economic factors</i> | Economic development, common interest, trade, benefits, external relations and relationship, investment, transit and transition, opportunity, growth, cooperation, multilateralism |
| <i>Securitization</i> | Humanitarian assistance, migration, migrants, return and readmission, border management, policy and policies, transfers, security, threats, defence, human rights, Africa |

This coding scheme will test the reliability and provide for the main insights of the analysis. Each of these key words will be counted in the security strategy documents which will be analysed, details about these in *Table 2*. With the counting of the words, connotation is applied. In language analysis, and in case of the logical distinction, connotation is identical with the content or a particular feature analysis of the content (Sonesson, 1998, p. 1). This is applied

because instead of having one specific word, it will compromise other words as well which have the same meaning. Based on the coding scheme the connotation is applied too. An example is the word ‘transit’, and a connotation of this word is ‘transition’ and ‘transitions’. The following words which belong to the concept of ‘economic factors’, use connotation: economic, economics; development, develop, developing, developed; trade, trading; benefits, benefit; external, externally; relation, relationship; investment, investments, invest; opportunity, opportunities; growth, growing, grow; cooperation, cooperative, cooperate, cooperating; multilateralism, multilateral. Connotative words belonging to the concept of ‘securitization’, are: assistance, assist, assisting; migration, migrants; management, manage, managed; return, returning, readmission; border, borders; policy, policies; threats, threat, threaten; Africa, African. These words as stated in *Table 4* are counted in the European Security Strategy and the European Union Global Strategy. Then these words will be counted together and a sum for the economic factors as well as securitization is made. Keep in mind that the European Security Strategy consists out of 16 pages whereas the European Union Global Strategy consists out of 60 pages. Since this page numbering is not representative, the outcomes of the counted key words will be divided by the amount of page numbers to have an equal distribution.

The second approach for the content analysis is the qualitative content analysis. Which is ‘the nonnumerical examination and interpretation of observations, in analysing the qualitative data we seek to discover patterns for example patterns over time’ (Babbie, 2004, p. 392). The coding for this data is approached to with the latent content, coding the underlying meaning to test the validity (Babbie, 2004, p. 319). This data is presented in *Table 6*. Moreover, in this type of analysis, there are three main analytical approaches towards the qualitative data: Grounded theory method, semiotics and conversation analysis. For this thesis, semiotics will be used to analyse the qualitative data. The semiotic analysis is a search for meaning intentionally or unintentionally attached to signs, is based on language where meaning resides in minds, and is commonly associated with content analysis (Babbie, 2004, p. 372, 373). So, to test the validity, a qualitative content analysis coded in latent content, presented in *Table 6: security strategies quotes*, is analysed upon. In the following part, the detailed steps towards the *Analysis* are outlined and discussed.

3.4 Analysis strategy

The strategy for the analysis is a detailed approach to the conducted analysis. Bearing in mind at all times to examine the European African cooperation in the documents, which are written

communication. At the same time, the goal is to unmask the change of the focus of cooperation as presented in the documents.

The first step of the *Analysis* is an introduction towards the chapter, then the *Analysis* is divided in three sub chapters. The first sub chapter is *Document details*, in this section details of the European Security Strategy and the European Union Global Strategy are given. These details are provided for to find the deeper meanings and to understand the language of the security strategies better later on. In this sub section the details of the documents are given in a historical order, this means that firstly the details of the European Security Strategy are presented. Following the historical order, the details of the European Union Global Strategy are given. The second sub chapter is the *Quantitative content analysis*, the section, in this second step, conducts the quantitative content analysis. In this analysis a first approach is to analyse the main pattern. This based on the coding scheme as presented in *Table 3* with the use of connotation for the observation of the words. Then the key terms are counted and displayed in *Table 4*. The key terms are outlined in accordance to which concept they belong to. Besides the times a word is counted in one of the security strategies is outlined in regards to that specific security strategy as well. Hence, the counting of the words is based on the coding scheme and includes connotation as stated in *Data collection*. These amount of words are counted and added up in *Table 4*, and an observation of the data as presented in the table is made. Then in *Table 5a*, the total amounts are presented and divided by the page numbers of the security strategy. For the sake of simplicity and a more graphic image, *Graph 5b* provides an overview of the outcomes of the analysed data. After the presentation and observation of these tables and the graph, the data of this analysis can be interpreted. The second sub chapter and third step is the *Qualitative content analysis*. After a small introduction, this sub chapter presents its data in *Table 6* coded with the latent content. Hence, this data is presented in *Table 6* and observed with the analytical approach of semiotics. After the observation of the data, the presented data is interpreted. The third sub chapter and the fourth and last step of the *Analysis*, is the *Overview analysis*, which is a summary of the complete analysis. Besides the summary, this sub chapter provides an interpretation to the presented data and follows the sub-research question. At last, the sub-research questions are answered in this section.

4.0 Analysis

In this part the sub-research questions and the hypotheses will be analysed. To begin with in the analysis, some more details about the European Security Strategy and the European Union Global Strategy are mentioned. Then the content analysis of the cases will be conducted. At first a quantitative content analysis is conducted to present the main pattern of the two documents. As a second, the qualitative content analysis will provide deepening details of the cooperation through a semiotic analysis of the quotes. At last, an overview of the analysis including answers to the sub-research questions is presented.

4.1 Document details

Part of the analysis is this first sub chapter. This sub chapter focusses on the details of the European policy documents, which are used for analysis as presented in *Table 2: Documents for Analysis*. This chapter follows in line with the historical order too. So, in this part the documents of European Security Strategy and European Union Global Strategy will be outlined in detail, beginning with the former.

4.1.1 European Security Strategy

The first security strategy of the European Union, is implemented after a turbulent time of the post-cold war area. In September 2001, there were the attacks on the Twin Towers in the United States of America. In this post-cold war area the key threats are: terrorism, regional conflicts, destroying human lives, social and physical infrastructures, state failure, states corroding from within, organised crime. A last key threat is an internal threat with an external dimension via cross-border trafficking, with which criminal activities are associated with failing states (European Council, 2003, p. 4, 5, 7).

Europe has to defend itself to cope with the key threats towards the European Union, these key threats are outlined in this part as well. As such, the European Security Strategy contains three strategic objectives. The first is to address the key threats. This is done via strengthening the International Atomic Energy Agency, adopting a European Arrest Warrant and focus on conflict and threat prevention. These three are needed because key threats are dynamic and require a mixture of instruments. In this first objective, there are three key threats and for each of them the European Security Strategy has a different element to address that key threat. The first key threat is terrorism, for this threat a mixture of intelligence, police, judicial, military and other is required. A second key threat is failed states, for this threat two types of instruments

are needed: military instruments are needed to restore order, and humanitarian means are needed to tackle the immediate crisis. For the last key threat, which are the regional conflicts, political solutions, military assets and effective policing is needed to address this threat in the post-conflict phase. The second strategic objective of the European Security Strategy is to build security in our neighbourhood. This implies that the credibility of the foreign policy of the European Union depends on the consolidation of the achievements in the neighbours of the European Union, such as the Balkans, the Middle East and the Mediterranean area. The third strategic objective is an international order based on effective multilateralism. With this objective the European Union is interested in further developing the World Trade Organization as well as supporting the International Criminal Court. This follows the anticipation of the European Union that the best protection for security is a world of well-governed democratic states, with which trade and development are powerful tools for promoting reforms (European Council, 2003, p. 10, 11, 12).

Besides the strategic objectives, a set of four conditions are needed from the European Union in order to achieve those objectives. The first condition is to be more active in pursuing the strategic objectives, including political, diplomatic, military, civilian, trade and development activities. The strategic culture, around this pursuing of the objective is one to foster an early, rapid and robust intervention. While supporting the United Nations in responding to threats to the international peace and security. The second condition is to be more capable: to transform militaries in flexible and mobile forces, a systematic use of pooled and shared assets, military efficiency, a stronger diplomatic capability, common threat assessments, support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector reform. The third condition is to be more coherent. Which includes bringing the different instruments and capabilities together, such as the European Development Fund, as well as the military and civilian capabilities from Member States. Equally important, is to be more coherent in the diplomatic efforts, development, trade and environmental policies. This third condition, requires a coordination between external action and Justice and Home affairs policies, which is crucial. Additionally, a coherence among the European Union instruments and the external activities of the individual Member States is needed. The fourth condition is to work with partners, where international cooperation is a necessity (European Council, 2003, p. 13, 14).

All in all, the European Security Strategy pursues their objectives with the help of multilateral cooperation, with a focus on the United States of America acting together with the European Union. Another focus is put on closer cooperation with Russia, Middle East, Latin America, Asia and Africa (European Council, 2003, p. 15).

4.1.2 European Union Global Strategy

In 2015, Europe is in a deep existential crisis due to the migration crisis. As a response the European Union Global Strategy is implemented, because the European project is under threat (EUGS, 2016, p. 13). This security strategy was presented in 2016 by Federica Mogherini, who has been the High Representative / Vice President of the European Union since 2014.

In the European Union Global Strategy, there are fundamental values which are guided by principles. These values are embedded in the interests of the European Union, and these are: peace and security, prosperity, democracy and rules-based global order. As these values are guided by principles, the principles are: unity, engagement, responsibility and partnership (EUGS, 2016, p. 13-19). In 2016 Federica Mogherini said that ‘our Union needs a strategy, we need a shared vision and common action’. To add to this statement ‘the Global Strategy will guide us in our daily work towards a Union that truly meets its citizen’s needs, hopes and aspiration. Which is a Union with the strength to contribute to peace and security in our region and in the whole world’ (EUGS, 2016, p. 4, 5). In short, Mogherini would like to have ‘a whole of European strategy for foreign and security policy’ with a strong stance on security and defence (Tocci, 2016, p. 464, 466).

In line with the shared values and principles, five priorities are pursued in this security strategy of 2016. The first priority is ‘the security of our Union’, applied to enhance the security and defence, cyber security, counterterrorism, energy security and strategic communications. The second priority is ‘state and societal resilience to our East and South’. Which supports a path towards resilience while targeting the most acute cases of economic, societal, governmental, climate fragility and to develop more effective migration policies. Resilience is the ability of states and societies to reform, withstand and recover from internal and external crises. This implies that a resilient state is a secure state, which is key for prosperity and democracy. This priority is achieved through an enlargement policy, help of the European Union neighbours, resilience in surrounding regions and a more effective migration policy (EUGS, 2016, p. 23). An example of an effective migration policy is the Migration Partnership Framework, which is a framework with common and tailored made approaches for host, origin and transit countries of migration. This framework enhances the existing legal and circular channels for migration and provides for a more effective common European asylum system (EUGS, 2016, p. 28). The third priority is ‘an integrated approach to conflicts’. The focus of this priority is to foster human security, to pursue an integrated approach through the multi-level approach and to act on the local, national, regional and global level of governance. The

last focus of this priority is to pursue a multi-phased and multilateral approach, to act at all stages of the conflict cycle, which are prevention, resolution and stabilisation. The multilateral approach engages all players in a conflict who are necessary for its resolutions. This third priority indicates that more security is a practical and principled way in peacebuilding. The fourth priority is ‘cooperative regional orders’, because naturally regional governance is a fundamental rationale for the European Union. In this priority the focus is on achievements in the European security order. To contribute to a peaceful and prosperous Mediterranean, Middle East and Africa, a closer Atlantic, a connected Asia and a cooperative Arctic. The fifth, and last, priority is ‘global governance for the 21st century’, this priority is committed to international law. In order to insure human rights, sustainable development and access to global commons. It strives for a strong United Nations, to be the bedrock of the multilateral rules-based order. Achieved via reforming, investing, implementing, deepening, widening, developing and to seek partners (EUGS, 2016, p. 7, 8, 9, 10, 41).

To achieve the principles and to pursue these priorities there will be invested in three aspects of the European Union, for a more credible, responsive, and joined-up Union. The first investment of a credible Union, is one in foreign policy with an urgency on security and defence, where the defence cooperation becomes a norm and a European defence industry is created. The second investment of a responsive Union, is one where the Lisbon treaty will be fully used. The third and last investment in a joined-up Union, is one in external policies, member states and the European institutions (EUGS, 2016, p. 10, 11).

In summary, the European Union Global Strategy pursues its values and principles through the five priorities to strengthen the security of the European Union into a credible, responsive and joined-up Union.

4.2 Quantitative content analysis

In this first approach to the content analysis, the main pattern will be analysed upon. Through the coding scheme in *Table 3* and with the analysis, observations and interpretations can be made. With these observations use of connotation is made. According to Mill in 1974, a connotative term is one which denotes a subject and implies an attribute and subject means anything that implies an attribute (Mill, 1974 as cited in Sonesson, 1998, p. 2).

In this paragraph, *Table 4* is based on *Table 3: Coding scheme*. This *Table 4* shows the difference of the amount of key terms between the European Security Strategy (European Council, 2003) versus the European Union Global Strategy (EUGS, 2016). In this table, a

distinction between two concepts has been made, ‘economic factors’ with its key terms and ‘securitization’ with its key terms, all these key terms are based on the *Theory*.

Table 4: ESS versus EUGS based on coding scheme

| # | Words | # of times | |
|----------------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| | | ESS (2003) | EUGS (2016) |
| <i>Economic factors</i> | | | |
| 1 | Common | 7 | 22 |
| 2 | Interest | 8 | 48 |
| 3 | Economic, economics, economically | 7 | 40 |
| 4 | Development, develop, developed, developing | 21 | 100 |
| 5 | Trade, trading | 11 | 26 |
| 6 | Benefits, benefit | 1 | 4 |
| 7 | External, externally | 4 | 56 |
| 8 | Relations, relationship | 10 | 23 |
| 9 | Investment, investments, invest | 2 | 43 |
| 10 | Opportunity, opportunities | 4 | 16 |
| 11 | Growth, growing, grow | 5 | 18 |
| 12 | Cooperation, cooperative, cooperate, cooperating | 8 | 86 |
| 13 | Multilateralism, multilateral | 6 | 18 |
| <u>Total of economic factors</u> | | <u>94</u> | <u>500</u> |
| <i>Securitization</i> | | | |
| 14 | Security | 33 | 146 |
| 15 | Assistance, assist, assisting | 6 | 20 |
| 16 | Migration, migrants | 1 | 28 |
| 17 | Management, manage, managed | 5 | 22 |
| 18 | Return, returning, readmission | 0 | 7 |
| 19 | Border, borders | 6 | 22 |
| 20 | Policy, policies | 12 | 83 |
| 21 | Transit, transition, transitions | 0 | 11 |
| 22 | Humanitarian | 3 | 12 |
| 23 | Threats, threat, threaten | 36 | 22 |
| 24 | Defence | 8 | 57 |
| 25 | Human rights | 2 | 32 |
| 26 | Africa, African | 6 | 30 |
| <u>Total of securitization</u> | | <u>118</u> | <u>492</u> |

In this *Table 4*, based on connotation and the coding scheme, the words are counted and added up, in regards to which concept the word belongs too. Which, on its turn, is based on the *Theory*

section. In this table the presented data can be observed. Hence, there can be observed that almost for every word, the European Union Global Strategy has a higher amount of counts than its predecessor, the European Security Strategy. However, there is one word for which this is not the case. This is the case for the key term of ‘threat’ with its connotation of ‘threats’. With this key term, the European Security Strategy has a higher count, with a total of 36 counts. Than the European Union Global Strategy, which has a total of 22 counts. Observing the two security strategies apart from each other, focussing on one security strategy is observed differently. For the European Security Strategy itself, the security strategy has a higher amount of securitization, of 24 counts more, than economic factors. On the other hand the other security strategy, the European Union Global Strategy has a lower amount of securitization, 8 counts less, than economic factors.

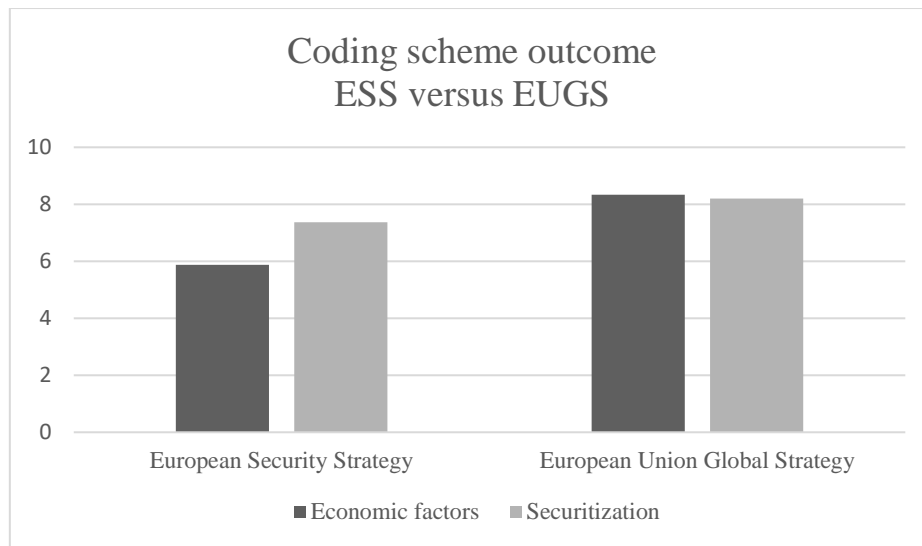
As the European Union Global Strategy and the European Security Strategy have a very different amount of pages in their report, this table cannot be interpreted yet. Due to the fact that the number of times the word has been used in the two security strategies is not representative for its outcomes. For this, the next section as well as the table and graph will provide these interpretations. Since it is difficult to interpret these numbers, due to the fact that the European Security Strategy contains 16 pages, whereas the European Union Global strategy contains 60 pages. The numbers connected to the concepts will be divided by the amount of pages linked to their security strategy. Thus, since the outcomes of *Table 4* cannot be interpreted yet, the author decided to choose for the option to see how often a word on a page is mentioned in the respective security strategy. With the information of *Table 3* and *Table 4* there was enough data to proceed with *Table 5a* and *Graph 5b*. With this the following tables below are conducted.

Table 5a: Outcomes of the coding scheme and ESS versus EUGS

| Concepts | ESS total | ESS Divided by amount of pages [16] | EUGS total | EUGS Divided by amount of pages [60] |
|-------------------------|------------------|--|-------------------|---|
| <i>Economic factors</i> | 94 | 5.875 | 500 | 8.333 |
| <i>Securitization</i> | 118 | 7.375 | 492 | 8.200 |

The results obtained from the preliminary analysis of the quantitative content analysis are presented in the table above and below. Hence, for the case of simplicity *Graph 5b* is made to provide an immediate overview of the data based on *Table 5a* and *Table 3*. This data can be interpreted.

Graph 5b: Presenting outcomes of the quantitative content analysis



As an observation, this graph above illustrates how often a word is mentioned on a page in regards to the concepts of ‘economic factors’ and ‘securitization’. As is observed from the first security strategy. Which is the European Security Strategy, the concept of securitization is mentioned more often than the concept of economic factors. Besides, the amount of both concepts in total is still lower than the amount of both concepts in total from the other security strategy, which is the European Union Global Strategy. This security strategy has a slightly higher amount of the concept of ‘economic factors’ than the concept of ‘securitization’. Hence, the most obvious finding to emerge from the analysis is that securitization has been a focus in both of the Security Strategies, which is an unexpected result. The graph above shows another interesting result too, because the securitization in the first security strategy, the European Security Strategy, is higher than the economic factors. Another important finding is that the European Union Global Strategy consists out of a slight higher amount of economic factors than securitization as presented in *Graph 5b*. The results of this study show that the total amount of economic factors and securitization is higher in the European Union Global Strategy than in the European Security Strategy. Since this finding was unexpected and it suggests that the hypothesis presented in this thesis cannot be accepted. It is true that the securitization is higher in European Union Global Strategy than in European Security Strategy, however economic factors is higher as well and even exceeds the amount of securitization in the European Union Global Strategy policy. Thus, the most interesting of this graph is that it does not agree with the literature as described in the *Theory*, as a matter of fact, the change of cooperation is that the second security strategy is more securitized and even has a higher amount of economic factors.

4.3 Qualitative content analysis

In this section, the qualitative content analysis will be presented as well as interpreted what it implies for this study. All to find the deeper meaning of the content analysis. The coding of this analysis is through latent content, analysed with the semiotic analysis. To search for intentionally or unintentionally meanings attached to signs, which is based on language where meaning resides in minds (Babbie, 2004, p. 372). In these paragraphs, at first the data is presented after which it will be interpreted.

The data as presented in *Table 6*, are eleven phrases from both security strategies. On the right hand the quotes of European Security Strategy are presented, whereas on the left hand the quotes of the European Union Global Strategy are viewed.

Table 6: Security Strategies quotes

| # | European Security Strategy (European Council, 2003) | European Union Global Strategy (EUGS, 2016) |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Our security and prosperity increasingly depends on an effective multilateral system (p.11). | Our fundamental interests are: peace and security, prosperity, democracy and rule-based global order are of vital interest underpinning our external action (p.13). |
| 2 | Europe is a prime target for organized crime, threatening our internal security via an external dimension: illegal migrants, cross-border trafficking and more (p.6). | The principles to guide our external action are: unity, responsibility, engagement and partnership. Our shared interest can only be served by standing and acting together (p.16). |
| 3 | In the developing world, poverty and disease cause untold suffering and give rise to pressing security concerns (p.4). | Resilience is the ability of states and societies to reform, withstanding and recovering from internal/external crises. A resilient state is a secure state and security is key for prosperity and democracy (p.23) |
| 4 | Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is the greatest threat to our security (p.5). | A credible enlargement policy represents a strategic investment in European security and prosperity and has contributed to peace in formerly war-torn areas (p.24). |
| 5 | Europe faces new threats, which are more diverse, less visible and less predictable, such as terrorism (p. 5). | A more effective migration policy to step up our humanitarian efforts in the origin and transit countries, focusing on education, women and children (p.27). |
| 6 | In an era of globalisation, distant threats may be as much a concern as those that are near at hand (p.8). | Pursuing a multi-phased approach, acting at all stages of the conflict cycle, investing in prevention, resolution and stabilisation and avoid premature disengagement when a crisis erupts elsewhere (p.29). |

| | | |
|----|--|--|
| 7 | Integration acceding states will increase the European security as well as bringing it closer to troubled areas. Our tasks is to promote a ring of well governed countries to the East of the European Union and on the borders of the Mediterranean with whom we can enjoy close and cooperative relations (p. 10). | European security and defence must become better equipped to build peace, guarantee security and protect human lives, notably civilians. The EU must be able to respond rapidly, responsibly and decisively to crises, especially to help fight terrorism (p. 30). |
| 8 | Regional conflicts can lead to extremism, terrorism and state failure, the latter is where civil conflicts corrode states from within (p. 6). | Forms of regional governance offer states and peoples the opportunity to better manage security concerns, reap the economic gains of globalisation, express more fully cultures and identities and project influence in world affairs (p. 32). |
| 9 | Terrorism committed to maximum violence, the availability of weapons of mass destruction, organised crime, the weakening of the state system and the privatisation of force – we could be confronted with a very radical threat indeed (p. 7). | The EU will support cooperation across the sub regions between North and sub-Saharan Africa as well as between the horn of Africa and the Middle east, to systematically addressing cross-border dynamics in North and West Africa, the Sahel and Lake Chad regions. As well as, investing in African peace and development as an investment in our own security and prosperity (p. 35). |
| 10 | Security is a precondition of development (p. 4). | Building stronger links between our trade, development and security policies in Africa. Blend the development efforts with work on migration, health, education, energy and climate, science and technology. Continuing to support peace and security efforts in Africa, assist African organisations' work on conflict prevention, counter-terrorism and organised crime, migration and border management (p.37). |
| 11 | <p>Policy implications for Europe</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - More active in pursuing our strategic objectives (p. 13). - More capable (sharing assets, transform military into flexible and mobile force, stronger diplomatic capability, threat assessment, support third countries in combating terrorism and security reform) (p. 14). - More coherent, stronger when acting together (p. 15). | <p>Policy implications for Europe</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A credible union, because the credibility hinges upon our unity. Linked to a stronger Union, enhanced via security and defence (p. 44). - A responsive union, to equip ourselves to respond more rapidly and flexible to the unknown lying ahead: needing diplomacy, CFSP and development as well as investment in knowledge baes underpinning our external action (p. 46). |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| | <p>- Working with partners: international cooperation is a necessity. Act together with the United States as well as closer relations with Russia and partners in Africa, Latin America and Asia (p. 15).</p> | <p>- A joined-up union in its external action. Via the Lisbon treaty creation of the HR/VP as well as the EEAS. Further expand in new fields of energy diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and economic diplomacy. As well, as calling for tighter institutional links between external action and internal area of freedom, security and justice (p. 49).</p> |
|--|---|--|

In the first three quotes, the European Security Strategy focus on Europe as a prime target of crime and the security concerns of the European Union. Contrary to the focus of the European Union Global Strategy in the first three, which focusses on the European interests, democracy, external action, partnership and resilience. The European Security Strategy as observed in the next three quotes, number four until six, focusses on threats, mass destruction, distant and close threats. Whereas the European Union Global Strategy focusses on designing policies for threats and addresses a multi-phased approach for all conflict stages. The following three quotes focus on the integration of states, regional conflicts, terrorism and immediate threats which is another focus of the first security strategy. Yet, defence to build peace, cooperation in Africa and regional governance opportunities to better manage security are quotes belonging to the second security strategy. The last two quotes for the European Security Strategy, target the security needed for development. For a more active, capable and coherent European Union as well as targeting the international cooperation. Unlike this the European Union Global Strategy target trade, development and security policies all for a credible, responsive and joined-up European Union.

The quantitative data in *Table 6* will be analysed and interpreted with semiotics, which is the study of signs and meanings associated with them and commonly associated with content analysis (Babbie, 2004, p. 373). On the one hand, there is the European Security Strategy. According to the presented data this security strategy puts a focal point on threats from outside Europe. Threats can be, weapons of mass destruction or terrorism, the occurrence of regional conflicts and the organization of criminals who exert organized crimes. Within this strategy there is emphasized that ‘organized crime threatens our internal security via an external dimension’. Implying a securitization concept already within the first security strategy of the European Union. In addition, the focus of securitization is essentially upon threats from outside and these threats should be contained and fought against. In fact the European Security Strategy has a higher amount of securitization, however the concept of economic factors is still present.

In accordance with quote ten ‘security is a precondition of development’, which implies that Europe should be secured at first, before there is a chance that economic factors play a role. This is present in the outcomes of the first quantitative analysis as well as the qualitative content analysis. So, through a multilateral approach Europe should become secure before development and other aspects can play a part. This is the main message of the European Security Strategy. Due to this, the essence of the policy implications for Europe is primarily put on the cooperation with partners, more coherence within Europe itself, as well as cooperating with the United States of America. All to underline a secure Europe through a multilateral approach, which is the catchphrase of this first security strategy.

On the other hand, the European Union Global Strategy can be interpreted from *Table 6* as well. In this study, it was found that the second security strategy does not have one focus point, it has three. The first, is to find more coherence within the European Union itself, which should be expanded with external action and shared interest. As follows is the second, which puts its essence on peace, prosperity, democracy, rule-based order as well as on resilience. The latter is needed in the thoughts of the European Union, for secure and prosperous States. Implying that the essence of this security strategy is securitization, because now the strategy still would like to combat the outside threats. However policies are made to handle those situations from its core as well in order to keep threatening situations outside the European Union. To combat this through policies, an enlargement policy as well as an effective migration policy are made, with a focus on education. In this security strategy, the strategy pursues a multi-phased approach, acting at all stages of the conflict cycle due to the lessons learnt after the migration crisis of 2015. Because, the European Union security and defence should be better equipped to build peace, to guarantee security and to protect human lives with which a rapid response is needed. A third focus is on the cooperation with Africa, through its trade, developmental and security policies as well as to support their peace and security efforts. This implies that the European Union addresses the source of its issues, and tries to minimize the problem in its origin, such as its overflow of people towards Europe. This is the main approach and message of the European Union Global Strategy, to attack the source from its origin and pre-empt a crisis in Europe. On another note, the economic factors are higher as well than its predecessor. A simple explanation for this, is in line with the different type of securitization addressed in the European Union Global Strategy. The essence of this strategy is to handle migration as well as to act for a stronger Europe and to fight for the Europe of tomorrow. To do this accordingly, an amount of trade and investment is needed because this will be prosperous for the future. It will declining

threats as well as decline migration if applied properly in the host, transit and origin countries of migration.

In sum, as presented in this qualitative content analysis. The European Security Strategy attacks the actual crisis, copes with the problems and puts the focus of interests and developmental policies there. Whereas the European Union Global Strategy attacks a crisis from its core and the crisis itself with the help of migration policies.

4.4 Overview analysis

In this last part of the analysis, the sub-research questions will be answered, as well as deepening insights of the analysis are given.

The first sub-research question was ‘*What is cooperation?*’. This theoretical question is partly answered in the *Theory*, providing a general concept of the term. Cooperation is a socially contrived mechanism for collective action, and is continually shaped by actions and symbolic interpretations of the parties involved (Ring and van de Ven, 1994, as cited in Smith et al., 1995). Besides, cooperation is a term which can be defined and used in different fields. On the other hand. Through the details of the documents, as stated in the section *Document details*, in the conducted *Analysis*, a full answer to this research question can be given. The European Security Strategy pursues their objectives with multilateral cooperation, with a focus on closer cooperation with other actors. Additionally, the European Union Global Strategy pursues cooperation through its values and principles to strengthen the security of the European Union. Thus, in this thesis cooperation is working together on the mutual relationship which will benefit both actors in that relationship. To be specific, cooperation is a multilateral approach and guided through values and principles from both actors.

The second sub-research question was ‘*To what extent was the focus of the European African Cooperation in 2003 on economic factors compared to the focus on securitization?*’. As outlined in the *Analysis*, the finding of the content analysis is that the focus of the European African cooperation is on securitization in 2003, with an amount of 7,4 words on each page linked to ‘securitization’. Whereas linked to ‘economic factors’ this amount is 5,9. Besides, the European Security Strategy has three objectives in its policy. The first is to ‘address the threats’, with which conflict and threat prevention is a considerable mark. The second is ‘failed states’, where military and humanitarian means are needed in order to tackle an immediate crisis. The third is ‘an international order based on effective multilateralism’, based upon the belief that the best protection for security are the well-governed democratic states (European Council, 2003, p. 10, 11, 12). These objectives show that the focus of the European Security Strategy is

upon securing threats and providing for a secure Europe. Additionally, the main message of this security strategy is ‘a secure Europe’. In sum, the focus of the European African cooperation in 2003 was on securitization.

The third and last sub-research question was ‘*To what extent was the focus of the European African Cooperation in 2016 on economic factors compared to the focus on securitization?*’. A short answer to this question, based on the conducted content analysis of this thesis. Is that the main focus of the European African cooperation in 2016 was on economic factors, however the focus of securitization was high as well, with just a difference of 0,33 more words linked to economic factors on each page. Thus, there can be stated that the focus was on both concepts. Since both security strategies have a high degree of securitization, the qualitative analysis stresses the difference of securitization between the two security strategies and other differences will provide a deepening insight into this matter. Other differences for the European Union Global Strategy, are the main message and its five priorities. Within this security strategy the understanding of security is understood as a ‘stronger Europe’. With this, the first priority is ‘the security of our Union’, whereas the second is ‘state and societal resilience to our East and South’, within this part the Migration Partnership Framework comes to live as well. The third priority is ‘an integrated approach to conflicts’, ensuring human security via peacebuilding, with which a multi-level, multi-phased and multilateral approach is set. The fourth priority is ‘cooperative regional orders’, via regional governance achieve a peaceful cooperation with other continents. The fifth and last priority is ‘global governance for the 21th century’, striving for a multilateral rules-based order achieved via for example reforming, investing and developing (EUGS, 2016, p. 7,8,9,10,41). Accordingly, the European Union Global Strategy put more emphasis upon vision with implementation through enlargement as well as migration policies (Mälksoo, 2016, p. 381). These priorities and main messages, imply that the second security strategy focusses more upon a diversity of focuses through a multilateral approach. With another focus upon migration being an immediate threat towards the security of the European Union. Thus, the focus of the cooperation of Europe with Africa in 2016 was on securitization, a type of migration policies as well as combatting issues and threats at their cores, moreover combat a problem from a multilateral approach.

All in all, these sub-research questions combined will provide an answer to the main research question due to the fact that it covers all aspects of that question. The *quantitative content analysis* presented that both security strategies have a high level of securitization. To add, there can be stated that the hypothesis outlined in *Table 1* are expected to be rejected. Instead a different type of change occurred in the European African cooperation. This took

place in the type of securitization, further researched on in the *qualitative content analysis*. Hence, there can be stated that both security strategies put an emphasize on the securitization of the cooperation. However, both security strategies have a difference of goals and main aims. As well as objectives, which belong to the European Security Strategy, and the priorities, belonging to the European Union Global Strategy. So, the qualitative analysis stressed that both security strategies had a different type of securitization. In this different type, the two security strategies have a difference of important factors, as explained above, as well as a different view of what is considered to be a threat. In the first security strategy, the European African cooperation focus in 2003 was on the securitization as it stands today, combatting immediate threats. With which the essence is on terrorism, what is happening at this moment in time, and how to combat that at this moment in time. Whereas, the European African cooperation in 2016 had a diversified focus on security with a diversity of approaches, such as a migration policy. To add, the focus of the securitization is more on migration and what is going to happened, with a view towards the future, anticipating on those expected events as well as combatting an assumed threat at its origin. Besides, in this view of combatting a threat, economic factors play a role, to improve the grip which the European Union can have on the core of the threats. Hence, the economic factors are made use of to improve the security of Europe.

5.0 Conclusion

Within this part the final answer towards the research question is given. This thesis started with a general introduction towards Africa and the European African cooperation. Which started with the Lomé convention in 1975 and the Common Foreign and Security Policy in 1992, where a new dimension of developmental help in the European policy took place.

Following this first policy on the cooperation with Africa, turbulent times approached. In a post-cold war, where the attacks on 9/11 took place, the policy world had to react to these violent times. As a result, the European Union implemented its first security strategy in 2003, addressing immediate threats of the Union. Another turbulent time approached in 2015, when 1,8 million people irregular crossed borders into the European Union, which was 546 percent more than the previous year (Europol, 2016, as cited in Dinan et al., 2017, p. 53). Again, the European policies reacted with a security strategy, this was the European Union Global Strategy. Hence, the research question addressed in this thesis is ‘*A European perspective: How did the European African cooperation change between 2003 and 2016?*’. This is a relevant study

because it will provide new scientific insights in the practice of the European African cooperation. Besides this main question, a set of three sub-research questions are asked. The first sub question is ‘*What is cooperation?*’, the second sub-question is ‘*To what extent was the focus of the European African Cooperation in 2003 on economic factors compared to the focus on securitization?*’. At last and the third sub-question is ‘*To what extent was the focus of the European African Cooperation in 2016 on economic factors compared to the focus on securitization?*’. Then, the literature in the *Theory* suggested that two hypothesis could be assumed on the basis of the deductive theory approach. The *first hypothesis* stated that ‘in 2003 the focus of the European African cooperation was on the economic factors of the cooperation’. Whereas the *second hypothesis* stated that ‘in 2016 the focus of the European African cooperation was on the securitization of the cooperation’. On the basis of this theory the *Method* section proceeds with the thesis. An explorative research is conducted with the essence of the study on how the European African cooperation is mentioned in the documents of the European Security Strategy and the European Union Global Strategy. These two policy documents are the case selection and the documents for the analysis, to study the European perspective of the European African cooperation in 2003 and 2016. The approach for analysing the data as described in *data collection* is a content analysis. A first step in the *Analysis*, before the content analysis is conducted, is to provide details about the two analysed documents. The European Security Strategy pursues a multilateral approach, which is the catchphrase of this security strategy and combating immediate threats. Whereas the European Union Global Strategy pursues to combat issues at their core with a focus on migration and enlargement policies. Then, as a second step of the *Analysis*, is to conduct the quantitative content analysis. With coding the manifest content, while testing the reliability of the study. The coding is done in the coding scheme outlined in *Table 3* and based on the *Theory*. In the analytical approach, connotation is applied to study the data in the documents. The third chapter of the analysis provides insights into the qualitative content analysis. This analysis is coded via the latent content to test the validity of this study, and the analytical approach to this data is a semiotic approach. On the basis of the total content analysis, resulting in *Graph 5b* and *Table 6*, it can be said that the amount of securitization in both security strategies is high. Besides, the qualitative content analysis proceeds with the analysis to uncover what sort of securitization both strategies entail.

Before the main research question will be answered, at first the hypothesis are rejected or accepted and an indication of the sub-research questions is made to resolve the answer of the main research question. Due to the *Analysis* chapter, the *first hypothesis* of ‘in 2003 the focus of the European African cooperation was on the economic factors of the cooperation’ is rejected.

Due to the fact that the analysis shows that the securitization is higher with 1,5 words per page. The *second hypothesis* of ‘in 2016 the focus of the European African cooperation was on the securitization of the cooperation’ is rejected as well, because the analysis shows that the amount of economic factors is higher than the amount of securitization, even though this is just 0,33 words per page. Still, the hypothesis is rejected and this influences the answers to the sub-research questions.

In the section of *Overview analysis* the main answers to the sub-research question are formulated, based on those answers the main research question can be answered. The first sub-research question was ‘*What is cooperation?*’, the answer to this question is that cooperation is working together on the mutual relationship, which will benefit both actors in that relationship and its continually shaped by both actors actions and symbolic interpretations. The second sub-research question focussed on the European African cooperation in 2003. Asking ‘*To what extent was the focus of the European African Cooperation in 2003 on economic factors compared to the focus on securitization?*’. The study has identified that the response to this question is, that the essence of the first security strategy is on securing threats and to provide for a secure Europe, with a focus on securitization. The last sub-research question was ‘*To what extent was the focus of the European African Cooperation in 2016 on economic factors compared to the focus on securitization?*’. The research has shown that the answer to this last and third sub-research question is substantial. The focus of the European African cooperation in 2016 was on economic factors, with a deviation of 0,33 words less per page of the concept securitization. Still, the total amount of both concepts was higher in 2016 than in 2003, as outlined in the respective policies of those moments in time. Another important finding was that the type of securitization differs in both years. Overall, these results indicate an answer to the main research question asked in this thesis. This question was, ‘*A European perspective: How did the European African cooperation change between 2003 and 2016?*’. This study has answered how the cooperation of Europe with Africa changed in those two respective years. All in all, the short answer to this question is that the cooperation changed in the type of securitization, while a high amount of economic factors remains important and becomes even more important with a higher amount of securitization. Hence, the study brought new scientific insights due to the fact that the literature expected a change in cooperation from economic factors to securitization, which is not the case. What is the case is that finally, the European African cooperation in 2003 focusses on a type of securitization to solve threats immediately. It focusses on the threats of today and on terrorism, another focus is on what is happening at this moment in time, all these threats are combatted. The European African cooperation in 2016

changed in regards to the cooperation of 2003. In the year when the European Union Global Strategy was implemented, the type of securitization changed in regards to its predecessor. Here, securitization its focus is on solving upcoming threats through policies. Such as, an enlargement policy or a migration policy. Furthermore, the focus is on immediate threats as well. Besides this higher amount of securitization, the economic factors play a part as well. These both concepts contribute to each other due to the fact that security can be achieved through economic stability where the origin of the threats lies. Implying that the higher the securitization is, the higher economic factors will expand as well.

5.1 Discussion

In this section the results will be discussed vis a vis another scientist at first, then the limitations of this thesis are given.

The results are discussed vis a vis another scientist, who are Mark Furness and Stefan Gänzle, they conducted a study on policy and security in the European Union foreign external policies in 2016. This study resulted in the paper of ‘the European Union’s development policy’, where a more comprehensive approach of the European Union towards the external foreign policy, up until the beginning of 2016, is addressed. The paper starts with the European Security Strategy of 2003, which affirmed that development and security policy should work together. A more comprehensive approach to security and development happened in 2009 for the Europeans external relations bureaucracy, following the Lisbon treaty. In general, ‘security’ has become a prominent feature in official European discourse in recent years, and references to security concerns are included in policy statements and documents. Besides, development aid is regarded by some European Union policymakers as an instrument of ‘soft power’ (Furness & Gänzle, 2016, p. 139). European foreign policy scholars have argued that the integration of the policy agenda from a development perspective is in favour of the development of the European foreign and security policy (Furness & Gänzle, 2016, p. 140). So, the research of Furness and Gänzle asks whose security the policy area is supposed to serve. Positing that if policymaking is driven primarily by concerns about the security of the donor, to the detriment of the socio-economic development in partner countries, then the critical perspective of securitization is legitimately applicable. In fact, the study of Furness and Gänzle states that the economic factors and securitization were together from the start. However, the study in this thesis shows that this is not the case, because this happened largely and exponential after the migration crisis. This occurred at the moment in time when the approach of the European African cooperation changed to an essence of the core of the problems. In order to address the

problems at their core, economic factors are needed. These economic factors will prevent issues from expanding, due to the fact that economic stability can prevent issues from arising. Besides, the European Union could perhaps benefit economically from the European African cooperation as well, through expanding their economic factors, reclaiming the self-interest as in accordance to the idealistic view outlined in the section of *Cooperation*.

In every study there are limitations, so is there in this thesis. A first limitation is the limited amount of time to spend on the writings of this thesis. However, the major limitation of this study is that two European policy documents were studied. In order to fully answer the change of cooperation, all possible documents should be studied. In spite of its limitation, the study certainly adds to our understanding of the change of the cooperation, providing insights into the change of approach in the cooperation, regarding securitization and economic factors. An additional uncontrolled factor is the European perspective focus. Again, in order to answer the change of cooperation fully, a perspective of both actors is needed. Whilst this is the case, it did partially substantiate the view of the European Union on their cooperation with Africa, which is one view on the cooperation. Furthermore, the study was limited by the explorative nature of the study. Hence, a shortcoming is that such a study seldom provides satisfactory answers to research questions, though they can hint at the answers and suggest which research methods could provide definitive answers (Babbie, 2004, p. 89). As such the conclusion will be tentative and incomplete (Babbie, 2004, p. 487). Despite its exploratory nature, this study offers some insights into the practice of the European African cooperation, from the European perspective. The fourth source of weakness in this study, which could have affected the measurements was content analysis. Due to this, the research is limited to the examination of the recorded communication and problems of validity are likely, unless you study the communication process per se (Babbie, 2004, p. 324). Although the current study is based on written policy documents, the findings suggest that European African cooperation from the European perspective was viewed in the studied policy documents of the European Union.

5.2 Prospect

In regards to the prospect of this study some implications can be stated for the world of policy, as well as for further research.

There is the need for prosperous relationships, because they are needed in a globalizing world. Hence, this study contains practical implications for the world of policy. Such as the fact that greater efforts are needed to ensure a prosperous European African cooperation. For this, a key policy priority should therefore be to plan for the long-term care of developmental help at

the core of the issues of the African countries, to strengthen the European African cooperation positively. A reasonable approach to tackle this could be to cooperate on a combined policy involving both actors to strengthen the cooperation. Another implication for the world of policy could be to investigate how the concept of securitization and economic factors relate to each other. Since this study found that there is a chance that these two could influence each other, because the higher the securitization the higher the economic factors as well as presented in the section of *Analysis*.

At last, this study would be a fruitful area for further work and new questions can be pointed out. Since, this study has been a global albeit specific one, focussing upon the European side of the cooperation with Africa. A natural progression of this work is to analyse the European African cooperation from an African perspective. This is needed in order to see if the actors are on the same line or if they have different findings in regards to European African cooperation. Further research might explore to continue with the outcomes of this study, with a specific question of ‘How did the European African cooperation change between 2003 and 2016 in the perspective of both actors?’. This follow up research question is made to present the European African cooperation from both sides, and how it influenced their cooperation more profound. If this research question happened to be answered, both sides of the European African cooperation will be taken into account, resolving in a complete overview of their respective cooperation. Other further research, needs to examine more closely the links of economic factors with securitization, how do they operate next to and influence each other. Besides, further work is needed to fully understand the implications of a policy implementation on the practice of the cooperation between two actors. The challenge now is to investigate all documents to provide a total insights into the European African cooperation.

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