

U.S. ARMY CIVIL AFFAIRS FORCES IN THE SAHEL: DEVELOPING AN
APPROACH TO BUILDING RELEVANT PARTNER CAPACITY IN
SUPPORT OF U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

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by

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ABSTRACT

US ARMY CIVIL AFFAIRS FORCES IN THE SAHEL: DEVELOPING AN APPROACH TO BUILDING RELEVANT PARTNER CAPACITY IN SUPPORT OF US AFRICA COMMAND, by Major Steven T. Hampson, 126 pages.

The Sahel is an arid region spanning the width of Africa from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea. Traditionally, the Sahel has been home to pastoralist groups that roamed its vast expanses in search of grazing land and water for their herds. However, a multitude of factors is rapidly changing conditions in the Sahel resulting in growing instability with the potential to affect security in other parts of the globe. Climate change, ethnic tensions, crushing poverty, and extremist organizations rank among the most pressing issues facing the Sahel. These challenges can interact and exacerbate each other in unpredictable ways. Recent examples include the 2012 military led coup in Mali, and the increasingly violent campaign waged by Boko Haram in Nigeria and surrounding countries. Civil affairs forces support the US Africa Command's (AFRICOM) objectives of deterring and defeating transnational threats, protecting US security interests, preventing future conflicts, and supporting humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. This thesis examines how civil affairs forces can build partner capacity in the Sahel that is relevant to AFRICOM's strategic objectives, and how to measure progress that supports the command's objectives.

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ACRONYMS

AFRICOM	Africa Command
CA	Civil Affairs
CAO	Civil Affairs Operations
CJTF-HOA	Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa
CMCC	Civil Military Coordination Center
CMO	Civil Military Operations
CMOC	Civil Military Operations Center
CNERV	<i>Centre National d'Elevage et de Recherches Vétérinaires</i>
CORDS	Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support
DOS	Department of State
GAO	Government Accountability Office
HES	Hamlet Evaluation System
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
JFC	Joint Force Commander
JTF	Joint Task Force
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
SOF	Special Operations Forces
UPDF	Ugandan People's Defense Force
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

He, who shall not stand the smoke, will not get the charcoal.

— Fulani Proverb

Not all interactions and relationships support achieving the desired end-state.

— Joint Chiefs of Staff,
Joint Publication 5-0, *Joint Operation Planning*

The mission of the United States Army's Civil Affairs (CA) forces is to mitigate or defeat threats to civil society and conduct responsibilities normally performed by civilian governments.¹ This broad mission requires CA forces to conduct civil affairs operations (CAO) around the globe to shape political-military dynamics in complex and often unstable environments. CA forces execute CAO through civil engagement and civil reconnaissance. CAO typically involve considerable coordination with host nation civil and military institutions, regional partners, the interagency, and indigenous populations in a culturally astute manner. The Department of Defense leverages CA forces to shape environments to help prevent conflict and obviate the need for additional resources in the future. However, when conflict becomes unavoidable, the groundwork laid by CA forces through engagement and reconnaissance can facilitate the rapid execution of decisive operations by larger forces.² CAO are therefore, in theory, critical throughout the range of military operations.

¹ Headquarters, Department of the Army, Field Manual (FM) 3-57, *Civil Affairs Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), 1-1.

² *Ibid.*, 1-7.

Informed by the lessons of the last 13 years, the Army introduced TRADOC Pamphlet (TP) 525-8-5, *U.S. Army Functional Concept for Engagement* in February of 2014. TP 525-8-5 highlights the importance of CA-like capabilities and activities to bridge cultural gaps, enhance cooperation with regional and indigenous partners, and increase the interdependence of special operations and conventional forces.³ If implemented, engagement will constitute the Army's seventh War-fighting function with numerous implications across the force. The engagement concept relies upon several key assumptions that are relevant to this thesis. The concept assumes that Army forces will conduct operations to prevent challenges that threaten U.S. interests.⁴ Potential challenges requiring action could stem from a mix of security, governance, economic development, essential services, or rule of law related issues. The breadth and complexity of these problems will require Army forces to operate interdependently with a range of actors known as unified actions partners that include other U.S. government agencies, host-nation institutions, and nongovernmental organizations among others.⁵ The purpose of these interactions is to leverage an organization's inherent strengths and mitigate its weaknesses through unified efforts that ultimately protect U.S. interests abroad. Cultural understanding and linguistic capabilities will be indispensable in achieving the unity of effort required for success. TP 525-8-5 not only underscores the importance of the civil

³ Headquarters, Department of the Army, TRADOC Pamphlet (TP) 525-8-5, *U.S. Army Functional Concept for Engagement* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), iii.

⁴ Ibid., 7.

⁵ Ibid.

domain, but its potential centrality in future operations. Therefore, the implication is CA forces will serve an important function for the Joint Force Commander (JFC).

Current and emerging doctrine approximates how CA forces shape environments. However, the conceptual leap from broad concepts to tasks in ambiguous environments is a significant challenge. One region where CA forces are attempting to translate broad concepts, such as interagency and host nation collaboration into action amidst complexity, is Africa's Sahel region. The Sahel demonstrates challenges in all of the domains that TP 525-8-5 assumed likely. However, before posing research questions or attempting to develop potential models for action that CA forces can employ, a description of the intertwined problems of the Sahel is necessary.

The Sahel is a semi-arid region in North Africa stretching from Senegal to Sudan. The name Sahel derives from the Arabic word *sāhil*, which translates to seacoast or shore.⁶ It delineates the boundary between the "sea of sand" to the north and the more pastoral savannas to the south. Hardy groups of nomadic pastoralists, such as the Fulani and the Tuareg, have roamed the Sahel for centuries in search of grazing lands. The richness of the grazing lands, and the patterns of its people, depends upon the rainy season that occurs in late summer and early fall.⁷ However, the pastoralist traditions of the Sahel are giving way to more volatile tendencies for a variety of reasons. For the

⁶ Malcom Potts et al., "Crisis in the Sahel: Possible Solutions and the Consequences of Inaction" (OASIS Conference Report, April 9, 2013), 7, accessed October 2, 2014, http://bixby.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/potts_2013_oasis_crisis_in_the_sahel.pdf.

⁷ Cristina Barrios and Tobias Koepf, eds., Report No. 19, *Re-Mapping the Sahel: Transnational Security Challenges and International Responses* (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, 2014), 36, accessed September 28, 2014, http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/report_19_sahel.pdf.

purposes of this thesis, the Sahel includes the area encompassing the countries of Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Chad.



Figure 1. The Sahel Region

Source: Ace Geography, “Case Study 9-Causes, Effects and Management of Desertification, Sahel Region Africa,” accessed April 9, 2015, <http://www.acegeography.com/causes-of-desertification.html>.

Numerous factors contribute to the Sahel’s growing instability. Climate change increases desertification and reduces pastoral lands available for livestock grazing.⁸ Muammar Gaddafi’s weapons and fighters proliferated throughout the Sahel following his overthrow. Instability resulting from 2011 revolution in Libya subsequently

⁸ Jocelyn Edwards, “Pastoralists in Sahel Losing Their Way,” *Worlddark* (Summer 2013): 16-23, accessed September 12, 2015, <http://www.heifer.org/join-the-conversation/magazine/2013/summer/pastoralists-in-sahel-losing-their-way.html>.

contributed to a rebellion and coup d'état in Mali in 2012.⁹ Ethnic and religious tensions, vast expanses of under-governed territory, porous borders, and weak or corrupt governments exacerbate the Sahel's challenges. These vulnerabilities create opportunities for extremist organizations such as Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb to exploit. The Sahel's increased vulnerability poses a threat to U.S. security interests that will take time and a coordinated effort to address.

The problems confronting the Sahel are intertwined and do not exist in a vacuum. There are many drivers of instability in the region; however, the challenges generally fall into three broad but related categories: violent extremism, lack of sustainable development, and poor governance. Many organizations and institutions view violent extremism and the lack of sustainable development as symptoms of poor governance. However, violent extremism in the Sahel has attracted the most media attention in recent years. Since 2007, kidnappings, murders, and embassy attacks conducted by various radical groups have contributed to a growing sense of instability in the Sahel.

⁹ House Committee on Foreign Affairs, *The Growing Crisis in Africa's Sahel Region*, 113th Cong., 1st sess., 2013, H. Doc., serial 113-72, 4, accessed September 25, 2014, <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA16/20130521/100886/HHRG-113-FA16-Transcript-20130521.pdf>.

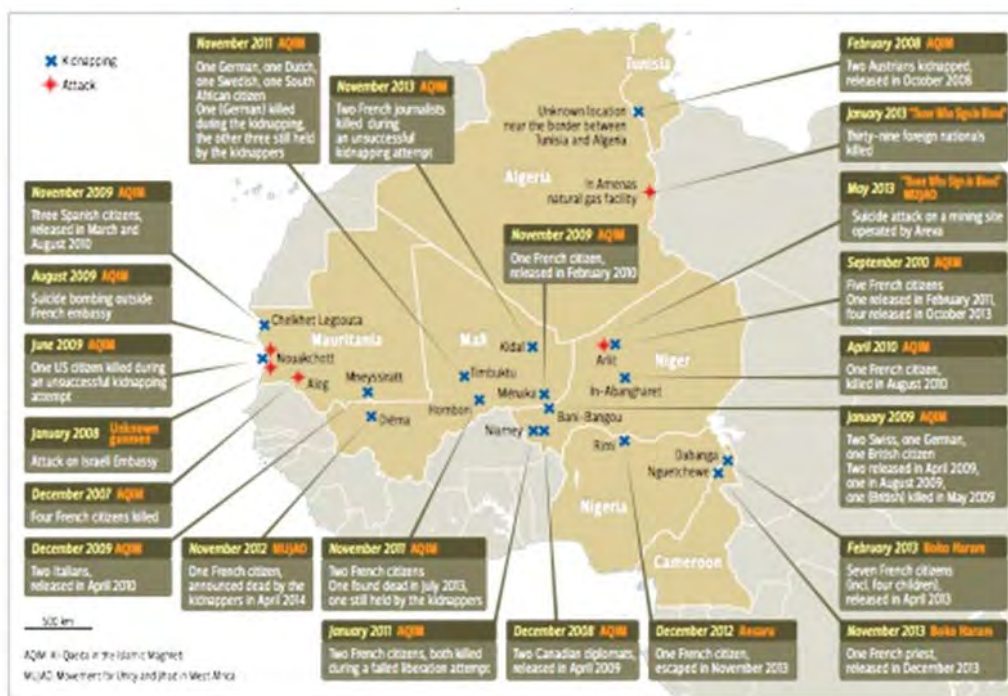


Figure 2. Attacks in the Sahel 2007-2013

Source: Cristina Barrios and Tobias Koepf, eds., Report No. 19, *Re-Mapping the Sahel: Transnational Security Challenges and International Responses* (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, 2014), 19-24, accessed September 28, 2014, http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/report_19_sahel.pdf.

Some analysts and policy makers fear the development of an “Afri-ghanistan” or an “Arc of Terror” stretching from the Horn of Africa to the West African coast.¹⁰ The term “Afri-ghanistan” connotes a large swath of under-governed territory where extremist organizations would have the time and space needed to train, equip, and plot attacks against the West and within the region. However, others reject this as an exaggeration

¹⁰ Barrios and Koepf, 19-24.

and maintain that radical groups in the Sahel are regional, or even local threats, and their capabilities are greatly overstated.¹¹

Although assessments of their capabilities and agendas vary considerably, extremist organizations pose a serious problem for the governments of the Sahel. The sheer number of groups and their recent activities give cause for serious concern. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and its affiliate, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa exploited opportunities created during the Tuareg rebellion in northern Mali in 2012. The Tuareg separatist group called the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad initially led the rebellion. Interestingly, the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad benefitted from Tuareg fighters returning from post-Qaddafi Libya. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa then further assisted (or exploited) the rebellion.¹² Collectively, these and other groups expelled the central government from northern Mali and took control of key cities such as Gao, Timbuktu, and Kidal. The revolt triggered the displacement hundreds of thousands of people within Mali and into neighboring countries that were ill equipped to deal with a crisis.¹³ Claiming frustration with Bamako's handling of the situation,¹⁴ the Malian Army overthrew a democratically elected government once touted as a potential

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7-8.

¹³ Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁴ BBC News, "Mali Coup Leader Amadou Sanogo 'in Complete Control'," March 24, 2012, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-17498739>.

model for the region.¹⁵ These events necessitated an intervention by French military forces to check the rebel advance and restore order.



Figure 3. Malian Territory Controlled by Militants (2013)

Source: Political Geography, “Map Update: Mali Rebels Lose 2 Towns,” accessed April 9, 2015, <http://www.polgeonow.com/2013/01/map-update-mali-rebels-lose-2-towns.html>.

In Nigeria, Boko Haram has menaced large swaths of territory for several years. Boko Haram is a “collective” of extremist groups that is part religious movement, part sect, and part militant organization that seeks to impose Sharia law in areas it controls.¹⁶

¹⁵ House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1.

¹⁶ Barrios and Koepf, 19-24.

Boko Haram gained international notoriety in mid-2014 with the abduction of almost 300 girls from a secondary school in Chibok, Nigeria.¹⁷ The organization kidnaps westerners, conducts violent attacks, and creates instability that inhibits development and governance. Boko Haram's reach now extends beyond Nigeria and adversely affects neighboring countries.

At the local and regional levels, Boko Haram's terror campaign has accelerated greatly in recent months. In the northern Nigerian town of Baga, up to 2,000 people were slaughtered by the group in its bid to dominate territory and carve out a caliphate.¹⁸ The exact number deaths is difficult to determine because the Nigerian military downplayed the event. However, Boko Haram's extremely violent tactics are indisputable. The group has committed numerous atrocities in other locations such as Damasak, Nigeria. In Damasak, Nigerian Security Forces found citizens with their throats slit and others beheaded when they retook the town from Boko Haram.¹⁹ To complement its bloody campaign at the local and regional levels and gain additional international notoriety,

¹⁷ Isobel Coleman and Sigrid von Wendt, "Beating Boko Haram: Why It Attacks Schools--and How to Fight Back," *Foreign Affairs*, May 10, 2014, accessed September 15, 2014, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141409/isobel-coleman-and-sigrid-von-wendt/ beating-boko-haram>.

¹⁸ Reuters, "Nigeria's Military Says 150 Killed in Boko Haram Clashes in Baga," January 12, 2015, accessed January 20, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/12/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0KL26J20150112>.

¹⁹ The Guardian, "Scene of Slaughter Found in Nigerian Town Recaptured from Boko Haram," March 21, 2015, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/21/scene-of-slaughter-found-in-nigerian-town-recaptured-from-boko-haram>.

Boko Haram declared allegiance to the Islamic State.²⁰ This declaration perhaps indicates the intent to expand operations beyond the Sahel and pose a greater threat internationally. These events prompted the AFRICOM commander to express his desire for an increased role for the United States in countering the Boko Haram insurgency.²¹

The media attention that violent extremist organizations have recently garnered also highlights the significant development, humanitarian, and governance challenges present in the Sahel. Sahel countries typically rank at the bottom of human development indices. With very limited capacity, Sahel nations simply cannot effectively absorb the shock of manmade or natural disasters. Unfortunately, the occurrence of shocks to its fragile systems is increasing. The United Nations Environmental Program, labeled the Sahel the “ground zero” of climate change.²² Situated on the southern edge of the Sahara desert, the Sahel typically experiences severe droughts at a rate of approximately one every ten years.²³ However, climate change is greatly increasing the frequency and the severity of the droughts to every other, or every three years. Fragile systems and lifestyles do not cope well with these conditions and the droughts greatly exacerbate the already

²⁰ Eric Schmitt, “African Training Exercise Turns Urgent as Threats Grow,” *New York Times*, March 7, 2015, accessed March 7, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/08/world/africa/african-training-exercise-turns-urgent-as-threats-grow.html?_r=2.

²¹ Kevin Baron and Molly O’Toole, “AFRICOM Commander Wants Full Counterinsurgency Plan for Boko Haram,” *Defense One*, January 27, 2015, accessed January 27, 2015, <http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2015/01/africom-commander-wants-full-counterinsurgency-plan-boko-haram/103929/>.

²² Edwards.

²³ Ibid.

persistent problem of food and livelihood insecurity.²⁴ Most agricultural activity hinges on a single wet season that occurs between July and September,²⁵ known by its French name *l'hivernage*. If the wet season does not arrive or does not provide the rains necessary, there is little chance to recover. This forces pastoralists to roam increased distances to find fodder for their herds. This sometimes brings pastoralists into conflict with sedentary populations that cultivate the land. The situation also contributes to an influx of people into impoverished cities and increases the strain on already scarce resources. Chronic food insecurity and malnutrition are thus commonplace.²⁶

Development agencies accept these environmental conditions as the norm for the Sahel and emphasize proactivity through resilience. However, there are significant obstacles that hinder resilience and thus sustainable development. Development and humanitarian organizations are reluctant to work in many areas due to the threat of abduction by extremist organizations. Insecurity, corruption, and vast distances have undermined or negated the effectiveness of development campaigns making it exceedingly difficult to consolidate gains and produce more results.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Barrios and Koepf, 36.

²⁶ Ibid., 39-41.

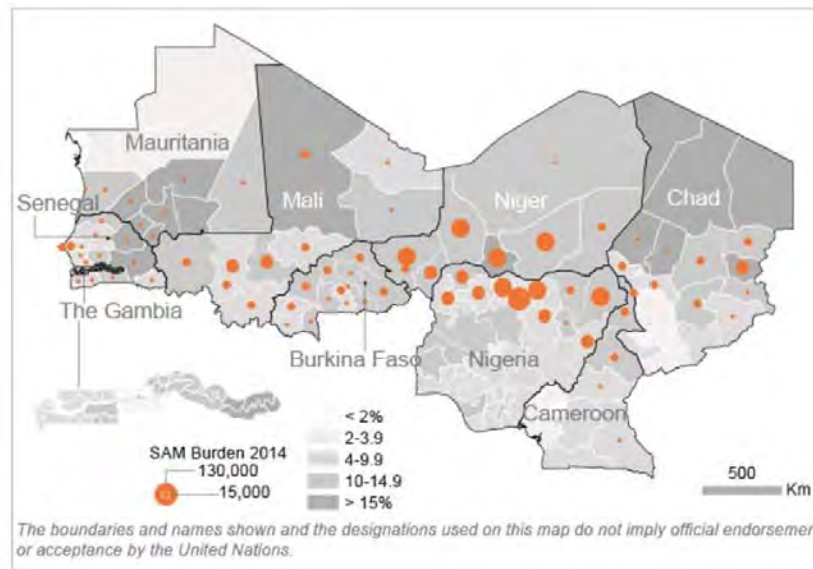


Figure 4. Malnutrition in the Sahel

Source: Cristina Barrios and Tobias Koepf, eds., Report No. 19, *Re-Mapping the Sahel: Transnational Security Challenges and International Responses* (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, 2014), 39-41, accessed September 28, 2014, http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/report_19_sahel.pdf.

Most organizations seeking to aid the Sahel countries posit that its greatest problem is weak government institutions. They typically view the challenges of violent extremism and a lack of sustainable development as symptoms of this larger problem. The European Union defines a weak or fragile state as one with a weak civil society, weak institutions, and a political elite that neglects or does not strengthen the state. External donors also exert considerable influence and often undermine the development of stronger institutions within the fragile state.²⁷ Unfortunately, Sahel countries fit this definition exceedingly well. Since gaining independence approximately 50 years ago, Niger, Mauritania, and Mali have each experienced multiple coups that highlight

²⁷ Ibid., 45.

widespread internal rivalries and discontent with central governments. Given this poor record of accomplishment, promoting effective governance is clearly an immense challenge in the region.²⁸

To confront these types of problems in the Sahel and elsewhere on the African continent, The U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) developed a strategy consisting of four “Cornerstones,” or strategic objectives, that help define a framework to focus CAO. The AFRICOM Cornerstones are:

1. Deter and Defeat Transnational Threats by engaging with partners to deter the threat posed by al-Qa'ida and other extremist organizations, deny them safe haven, and disrupt their destabilizing activities.
2. Protect U.S. Security Interests by ensuring the safety of Americans and American interests from transnational threats, and by strengthening the defense capabilities of African states and regional organizations.
3. Prevent Future Conflicts by working with African militaries and regional partners to address security concerns and increase stability on the continent.
4. Support Humanitarian and Disaster Relief by providing military assistance, when directed, in response to human and natural crises.²⁹

The AFRICOM cornerstones are an essential starting point. They are the basis from which the research questions of this study are deduced. In light of the significant challenges the Sahel confronts, the primary research question this study seeks to answer is, can CA forces build partner capacity in the Sahel that is relevant to AFRICOM objectives? The scope of the Sahel’s problems are certainly beyond the capability of any single agency, organization, or government. Therefore, actions by CA forces require

²⁸ Ibid., 46

²⁹ United States Africa Command, “Cornerstones,” accessed September 30, 2014, <http://www.africom.mil/about-the-command/cornerstones>.

effective integration to avoid duplication and contribute to AFIRCOM objectives. This study will explore potential models that CA forces could employ with the intent of building partner capacity in the Sahel that is relevant to AFRICOM objectives. If CA forces can in fact build relevant partner capacity in Sahel, it is necessary to have a framework that measures progress. Therefore, a secondary research question that this study seeks to answer is, how do CA forces measure progress and link it to the strategic objectives of AFRICOM? The actions of CA forces will likely span civil and military domains and may require varying methods of capturing results.

Although this study seeks to answer its primary and secondary research questions in the context of the Sahel, it will examine case studies from other regions to identify potentially relevant themes and theories to assist in answering the research questions. This study will consider only unclassified information, and is not funded. The researcher's experience conducting comprehensive research is limited. However, the researcher has firsthand experience operating in the Sahel as the leader of a civil affairs team that served as a civil military support element. Deployment experience to the Sahel brings the clear benefit of firsthand experience and a broader understanding of the operational environment, but also increases the risk of researcher bias.

By attempting to answer the proposed research questions, this study seeks to identify and describe potential models that CA forces operating in the Sahel can employ. Chapter 2 will review existing literature on Joint and Army doctrine related to civil affairs, civil affairs case studies, internal defense and development, and linking the military to civil society. Chapter 3 will outline the research methodology utilized during development of this thesis, the basis of which was grounded theory methodology.

Chapter 4 will analyze relevant data to help determine potential models that may guide CA forces in the Sahel. Chapter 5 will conclude this thesis with a response to the primary and secondary research questions, recommendations for action, and recommendations for additional research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Building partner capacity is a complex topic even when focused on a specific region or country. It is especially complex in the Sahel given the region's immense socio-political challenges and volatile dynamics. To gain a sufficient understanding of a potential process to build relevant partner capacity in the Sahel, a review of diverse categories of literature is essential. The researcher's intent for this literature review is to extract and link key concepts that emerge in various literary categories. The synthesized concepts will facilitate the development a methodology describing how CA forces might operate in the Sahel to build partner capacity that is relevant to AFRICOM "Cornerstones."

The researcher employed Grounded Theory Methodology in writing this thesis to identify a core phenomenon and develop a methodology for potential action in the Sahel. Chapter 3 covers this process in detail. The development of a framework for action in the Sahel serves as the starting point for chapter 4. The primary research question this thesis seeks to answer is, can CA forces build partner capacity in the Sahel that is relevant to AFRICOM objectives? The secondary research question this thesis seeks to answer is how do CA forces measure progress and link it to the strategic objectives of AFRICOM? Literature for this thesis was divided into broad categories with each category intended to provide a different facet of what the researcher believes pertinent to answering the research questions. The literary categories reviewed in this chapter are Joint and Army

Doctrine, Civil Affairs Case Studies, Internal Defense and Development, and Military-Civil Society Links.

Doctrine

Joint and Army doctrine serve as the starting point for this thesis' literature review for two primary reasons. First, before the researcher attempts to determine if CA forces can build relevant partner capacity in the Sahel, the specified and implied expectations and tasks of CA forces require analysis. The intent of this approach is to increase the likelihood that the analysis and recommendations for CA actions in the Sahel are feasible and acceptable to CA practitioners and joint force commanders (JFC). Second, the Army published a large number of doctrinal sources directly or indirectly related to CA in the last several years. This contributed to an exponential growth in materials linked to the "human domain." In 2001, one doctrinal publication for CA existed; currently there are over 30. This indicates the presence of vigorous discussion and analysis that the researcher intends to incorporate into this thesis.

Chapter 1 references TP 525-8-5 and FM 3-57 to define the types of operations that CA forces conduct and provide assumptions about the importance of the civil domain the in future. The ideas contained in these publications link to those in Army Doctrine Reference Publication 3-07 *Stability*, and underscore the inherent joint and interagency aspects of operating in the civil domain. Figure 5 shows a depiction of the links from Army Doctrine Reference Publication 3-07. To achieve the end-state conditions shown in figure 5, significant levels of coordination are required.

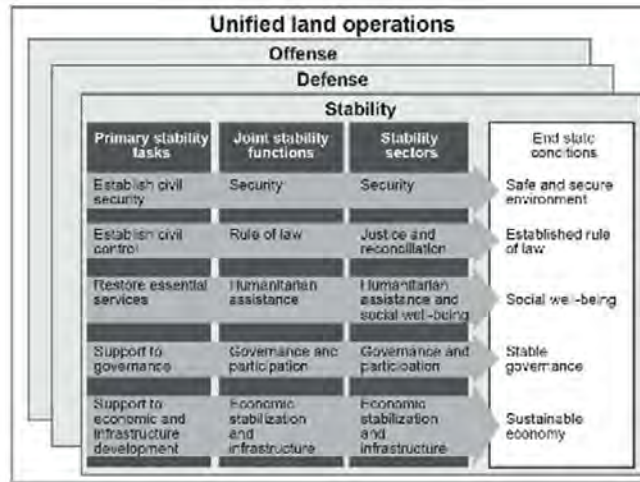


Figure 5. Stability Tasks in Unified Land Operations

Source. Headquarters, Department of the Army, Army Doctrine Reference Publication (ADRP) 3-07, *Stability* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2012), 2-7.

Joint Publication (JP) 3-0, *Joint Operations* states that Civil-Military integration is key to unified action. Unified action is a comprehensive approach to coordinating, integrating, and synchronizing military operations with the activities of other government agencies, intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations to achieve unity of effort.³⁰ This definition implies that CA forces, located at the confluence of the civil and the military domains, can serve a critical role in achieving unity of effort through interactions with an array of unified action partners. Unity of effort is important to all phases of a joint operation. However, unity of effort is especially important in phases 0, IV, and V where CA forces in conjunction with unified action partners typically play a large role. Unity of effort ensures the efficient use of limited resources controlled

³⁰ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication (JP) 3-0 *Joint Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), I-11.

by various agencies and organizations. The researcher considers the Sahel countries to be phase 0 environments.

JP 3-0 subsequently states that the JFC should delegate to certain joint force organizations the authority for direct coordination with key outside agencies such as the Department of State (DoS), the intelligence community, and USAID.³¹ JP 3-0 explicitly identifies the CA directorate (J-9) as an organization that should possess coordinating authority to the extent necessary. Coordination with outside agencies and organizations by CA personnel enables the JFC to detect changes in the operational environment stemming from the civil domain and facilitates decision-making.³² The JFC can also direct the establishment of a civil military operations center (CMOC) staffed by CA personnel to allow information sharing with unified action partners that include members of the nongovernmental organization (NGO), Intergovernmental Organization (IGO), and interagency communities. A CMOC, through its inherent mission to coordinate with unified action partners, allows a JFC the potential to leverage capabilities that do not reside in the JTF to address issues within the operational environment.³³ Although a CMOC may or may not be present in a phase 0 Sahel environment, JP 3-0 indicates that regardless of their composition, CA forces must coordinate extensively with a variety of actors to shape the operational environment in a positive manner. This type of coordination requires sound judgement and the ability to understand the cultural nuances of vastly different agencies and organizations.

³¹ Ibid., I-10.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., V-27.

Achieving unity of effort through unified action is contingent upon effective interorganizational coordination described in JP 3-08, *Interorganizational Coordination during Joint Operations*. Interorganizational coordination requires firm commitment and attention from key leaders in a JTF. It helps achieve military end states by determining areas of common interest with non-military stakeholders working in a joint operations area.³⁴ As indicated by JP 3-0, the range of non-military stake holders in a joint operations area can be vast. Non-military stakeholders in a joint operations area may include the interagency, host nation civil authorities, intergovernmental organizations such as elements of the United Nations, and nongovernmental Organizations that vary widely in size, affiliation, scope, and capability.

Each of these entities have interests and capabilities that can affect the joint operations area. For example, the Mission Strategic Resource Plan of a US Country Team sets goals for assistance and diplomacy for every country with which the US has diplomatic relations. A JTF must consider Mission Strategic Resource Plans and engage in dialogue with the Department of State to ensure complementary activity and reduce interagency friction.³⁵ Some NGOs may refuse to collaborate with military forces given their humanitarian mission and desire to remain neutral in a hostile or potentially hostile environment.³⁶ The degree to which these entities are willing to collaborate will therefore vary widely based on time and circumstances. Interagency coordination, especially with

³⁴ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication (JP) 3-08, *Interorganizational Coordination during Joint Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), I-1.

³⁵ Ibid., IV-5.

³⁶ Ibid., IV-12

the Department of State and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) will likely be essential in achieving unity of effort with IGOs, NGOs, and the private sector. However, given their potential to enhance or inhibit the military's mission, effective engagement with interorganizational partners is necessary for any semblance of unity of effort. Non-military stakeholders affect the systems that exist within a joint operations area and they are likely to play a role in the effective execution of civil-military operations (CMO). Therefore, a JTF's ability to be successful particularly in phases IV and V of a joint operation will hinge upon effective interorganizational coordination.

Joint Publication 3-57 *Civil Military Operations* defines CMO as activities of a commander performed by designated CA or other military forces that establish, maintain, influence, or exploit relationships between military forces and indigenous populations and institutions.³⁷ Additionally, military forces conduct CMO in permissive, hostile, or uncertain operational areas to facilitate military and US national objectives. This occurs through developing a host nation's human and material resources with the intent of addressing critical vulnerabilities that contribute to instability.³⁸ CMO have inherently strategic aspects because CMO are a way in which the military instrument of national power integrates with the non-military instruments of national power and other unified action partners.³⁹ CMO fall at the intersection of the US instruments of national power, the NGO and IGO community, and the host nation government. For this reason, CMO are

³⁷ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication (JP) 3-57, *Civil Military Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), I-1.

³⁸ Ibid., I-6.

³⁹ Ibid., I-1.

essential to addressing threats to national security in regions like the Sahel. However, in occupying this unique position CMO can be complicated and cumbersome without extensive planning and coordination prior to execution.

The planning of CMO should be holistic, cumulative, integrative, and synergistic to facilitate transition or mitigate threats.⁴⁰ From this description, additional inferences about CMO planning can be deduced. CMO planning requires a systems approach that thoroughly considers the operational variables (political, military, economic, social, information, and infrastructure) for potential short and long-term impacts on the operational environment.⁴¹ This necessitates the involvement of actors and experts outside of military spheres of influence to understand challenges in the civil domain of an operational environment. CMO executed without a robust understanding of the problem in an environment can waste energy and resources. The capabilities of unified action partners help the JFC overcome these challenges when relationships with them are properly maintained and leveraged. However, not all interactions and relationships support achieving the desired end-state.⁴² The tendencies and potentials of relevant actors require thoughtful consideration.⁴³

Key to the planning, execution, and assessment of CMO are civil affairs operations (CAO). Civil affairs personnel conduct CAO to facilitate CMO by focusing on

⁴⁰ Ibid., I-2

⁴¹ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication (JP) 5-0, *Joint Operation Planning* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), III-8.

⁴² Ibid., III-11.

⁴³ Ibid.

the execution of the CA core tasks: Support to Civil Administration, Populace and Resource Control, Foreign Humanitarian Assistance, Nation Assistance, and Civil Information Management.⁴⁴ Through CAO, CA personnel manage relationships among military forces, civil authorities, US government agencies, IGOs, NGOs, indigenous populations and institutions, and the private sector to support the JFC's intent.⁴⁵ CA personnel conducting CAO identify vulnerabilities that subversive actors can exploit, create country and region specific supporting plans, and develop a series of activities that foster unity of effort in support of the JFC. CAO, and the CA personnel who orchestrate them, are a critical component of the effective execution of CMO. When executed soundly, CAO should inform the development of a common operational picture, and enable the commander's decision-making cycle.⁴⁶

Joint and Army doctrine indicate that CA personnel should be masters in achieving unified action through unity of effort. CA personnel should enable a joint force commander to leverage capabilities that do not reside inside a task force to affect the civil domain. CA personnel should be instrumental in finding common interests that influence non-military stakeholders to coordinate efforts with military forces to the greatest extent possible. This process will likely be challenging and produce varying results based on the circumstances. However, there is significant opportunity to shape the civil domain and thus the operational environment through effective coordination.

⁴⁴ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication (JP) 3-57, *Civil Military Operations*, IV-3 – IV-5.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., IV-6.

Civil Affairs Case Studies

Case studies concerning CAO and CMO are informative and provide real-world examples that highlight current doctrinal concepts. The case studies examined during the course of this research were not limited by timeframe or location and provide both positive and negative examples of CAO and CMO in action. The concepts that govern the sound implementation of CMO have historical precedent. However, emphasis on those concepts has ebbed and flowed for a variety of reasons. Recent experiences in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere underscore the difficulty the US military faces in implementing and advancing CMO concepts. Some argue that proactive engagement, of which CMO can be critical, is an effective middle ground between large-scale intervention and inaction. However, there are two principle issues with proactive engagement in phase 0, modest resources and a lack of a clear definition of victory in phase 0.⁴⁷ This often leads to a lack of direction and unity of effort in phase 0 environments.

In 1964, LTC Neil B. Mills, US Marine Corps, examined operations described as “Civic Action” to suppress communist insurgencies in several Asian countries that included British Malaya and Vietnam. In the case of Malaya, LTC Mills noted the British military, in conjunction with local Malayan administration, successfully relocated hundreds of thousands of disenfranchised ethnic Chinese squatters to “new villages” and

⁴⁷ Linda Robinson et al., *Improving Strategic Competence: Lessons from 13 Years of War* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2014), 71, accessed January 26, 2015, http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR816.html.

gave them a stake in Malayan society.⁴⁸ In the new villages, the British and local administrations focused on the basic needs of the Chinese Malaysians to elevate their standard of living and isolate the communist insurgency. British and local government agencies identified development needs in consultation with the inhabitants of the new villages.⁴⁹ This strategy increased ownership at the local level and provided an excellent example of an external military force working in conjunction with an indigenous government to influence the population.⁵⁰

The British and their Malayan counterparts clearly understood that civic action was not simply humanitarian work. They employed civic action to accomplish a military objective, which was the defeat of a communist insurgency emanating from the ethnic Chinese population in Malaya. In fact, it was British High Commissioner in Malaya, General Gerald Templer who stated “the answer [to defeating the insurgency] lies not in pouring more soldiers into the jungle, but rests in the hearts and minds of the Malayan people.”⁵¹ The phrase “hearts and minds” hackneyed in recent years, evokes cliché images of CMO such as handing out soccer balls to locals and is a contemporary oversimplification. However, the British understood that “hearts and minds” meant a competition for influence, which the researcher defines as the ability to shape and manipulate an environment or population in favor of the influencer. LTC Mills noted

⁴⁸ Neil Mills, “An Analysis of Civic Action in Selected Underdeveloped Countries” (Master’s thesis, Command and General Staff College, 1964), 60.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 74.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 74-75.

⁵¹ Ibid., 64.

civil and military participation in civic action in Malaya were often indistinguishable because of the thorough integration.⁵² In modern doctrinal terms, this is a clear example of unified action. Although it is highly unlikely that the US military would participate in a resettlement operation as the colonial British administration did, the examples of integration with local administration, local ownership, and the isolation of subversive elements from its support base are instructive. The British and Malayan administrations were successful in suppressing the communist insurgency and provided enough stability for a transition to independence in 1957.

Through his analysis of civic action case studies in Asia, LTC Mills developed ten guidelines that are as relevant today in the Sahel as they were a half century ago in Asia. In chapter 4, an analysis that marries LTC Mills' guidelines with modern concepts will be presented to assist in establishing a methodology for CA action in the Sahel. The civic action guidelines developed by LTC Mills are:

1. Undertake self-preparation to become familiar with the concept of civic action and to learn as much as possible about the host country.
2. Understand the US national objectives relative to the host country and how civic action fits into the country plan.
3. Determine the needs of the people and orient civic action to those needs.
4. Do not be handicapped by a restrictive definition of civic action.
5. Coordinate with other US agencies in the area and work through command channels within the Country Team.
6. Be aware of external assistance available for civic action.

⁵² Ibid., 70.

7. Make every effort to get indigenous military forces to participate in civic action.
8. Be prepared for reluctant acceptance and lack of interest in continuing civic action projects by the recipients.
9. Do not hesitate to actively participate in civic action projects
10. Ensure that measures are taken to publicize civic action to indigenous civilians.⁵³

During the Vietnam War, senior military and civilian leaders recognized that coordination between the military and civilian agencies was deficient because individual agencies pursued their own agendas. This deficiency led to the development of the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) program. General Westmoreland noted at the time that the Viet Cong were far better at influencing the population and political, military, economic, and security programs required integration to be successful.⁵⁴ Westmoreland's sentiments at the time are very similar to those of the current US Army Special Operations Commander Lieutenant General Charles Cleveland who bluntly stated that the United States is "horrible at influence operations."⁵⁵

CORDS was a multifaceted program that combined military personnel with those of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), USAID, the Departments of State and

⁵³ Ibid., 4-5.

⁵⁴ Dale Andrade and James Wilbanks, "Cords/Phoenix: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Vietnam for the Future," *Military Review* (March-April 2006): 10, accessed December 26, 2014, <http://cgsc.cdmhost.com/cdm/ref/collection/p124201coll1/id/35>.

⁵⁵ Sydney Freedberg, "Killing Is Not Enough: Special Operators," *Breaking Defense*, December 16, 2014, accessed December 16, 2014, <http://breakingdefense.com/2014/12/killing-is-not-enough-special-operators/>.

Agriculture, and the US Information Service to achieve unity of effort.⁵⁶ CORDS promoted economic aid and development, good governance, and public safety. It also employed various measures that today, would be described as populace and resource control and Military Information Support Operations.⁵⁷ The CORDS program leveraged the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES) to assess progress.⁵⁸ The Hamlet Evaluation Scoring System assessed civic action within the context of broader issues such as security, government administration, health, education, and welfare, and information activities.⁵⁹ Although the US failed to achieve its objectives in Vietnam, some regard CORDS as a successful program that largely pacified South Vietnam by 1970. In Rand's *Improving Strategic Competence*, it was noted that CORDS director William Coby, who would go on to lead the CIA, referred to the period between 1971-1972 as "victory won" in large part due to CORDS which included civic action as a key element.⁶⁰

Developed by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Program Analysis and Evaluation, the Hamlet Evaluation System was a framework to enable the Military Assistance Command - Vietnam to measure and assess pacification efforts in

⁵⁶ Jeremy White, "Civil Affairs in Vietnam," Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 29, 2009, accessed December 22, 2015, <http://csis.org/publication/civil-affairs-vietnam>.

⁵⁷ Andrade and Wilbanks, 10.

⁵⁸ White.

⁵⁹ Anders Sweetland, *Item Analysis of the HES (Hamlet Evaluation System)*, accessed December 26, 2015, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/documents/D17634.html>.

⁶⁰ William Colby with James McCargar, *Lost Victory: a Firsthand Account of America's Sixteen-Year Involvement in Vietnam* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1989), 291.

South Vietnam.⁶¹ HES evolved during the course of the war and included three major versions of the program.⁶² However, the core idea of the program was that District Senior Advisors reported progress on approximately 140 indicators (at its greatest number) on a monthly and quarterly basis. HES evolved because the original method of measuring progress in hamlets was overly simplistic. The CIA run Phoenix program used the number of Viet Cong neutralized as the primary measure to assess progress.⁶³ HES was developed for Military Assistance Command-Vietnam because by 1967 it was clear that a more comprehensive method of evaluating progress that took multiple indicators into account was required.⁶⁴ The system sought to eliminate the “gut call” subjective assessments of effectiveness that continue to be problematic for stability, counter-insurgency, and phase 0 operations. The HES indicated that over 94 percent of the hamlets in Vietnam were pacified by 1972. The program appears to have contributed significantly to dismantling the infrastructure and auxiliary that the Viet Cong relied upon. This forced the North Vietnamese to resort to conventional military operations in 1972 and 1975 because the Viet Cong were no longer effective.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Stathis Kalyvas and Matthew Adam, “The Dynamics of Violence in Vietnam’ An Analysis of the Hamlet Evaluation System,” *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 3 (2009): 340.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 342.

⁶³ Patrick Howell, “Unraveling Cords: Lessons Learned from a Joint Interagency Task Force (Jiatf)” (Monograph, School of Advanced Military Studies, 2009), 46.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

A 1968 RAND study explains the indicators assessed by district senior advisors. At this point in system's evolution, it comprised six major stability indicators that included:

1. VC Military Activities,
2. VC Political and Subversive Structure,
3. Security (Friendly Capabilities),
4. Administration and Political Activities,
5. Health, Education, and Welfare, and
6. Economic Development.

Each major indicator had three sub-indicators with an associated evaluation scale ranging from A to E; A being the best and E being the worst. A code of VC indicated that the hamlet was under Viet Cong control. To evaluate a Vietnamese hamlet, an advisor would grade sub-indicators on the A to E scale. For example, the "Economic Development" indicator included the following sub-indicators:

1. Self Help Activity (Civic Action)
2. Public Works (require outside expertise; affect at least village)
3. Economic Improvement Programs (Farming, Economic Improvement Programs (Farming, Fishing, Land Reform, New Urban Industries, etc.)

To evaluate how "Economic Improvement Programs" impacted "Economic Development" in a hamlet, an advisor would use the evaluation criteria listed in table 1. Note that each sub-indicator had its own evaluation criteria and table 1 shows only the criteria used for evaluating economic improvement programs. Each indicator also included a confidence score that the evaluator used to convey the degree of certainty

associated with the evaluation.⁶⁶ HES enabled Military Assistance Command-Vietnam to see trends over time. The HES certainly had a degree of subjectivity, but it relied on field observation to develop a relatively accurate picture of the ground truth with respect to security, administration, and capacity across South Vietnam. It is unlikely that a system of this scale could be implemented in a phase 0 environment, but it does provide a useful construct to help assess progress.

Table 1. HES Economic Improvement Programs Grading Scale

A.	Some projects completed; local pride general; continuing external interest and support for new projects. IN SOME URBAN AREAS NO SUCH PROJECTS NEEDED.
B.	All programmed projects under way, chose to satisfy aspirations; popular participation with outside aid.
C.	Projects from RD OR OTHER PROVINCE PROGAMS OR CIVIC ACTION chosen with local consent and some LOCAL participation in those started.
D.	People assist in selecting projects but outsiders do most of the work
E.	None.

Source: Anders Sweetland, *Item Analysis of the HES (Hamlet Evaluation System)* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1968), 15, accessed December 26, 2015, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/documents/D17634.html>.

Since 9/11, CMO and CAO have evolved as they have in previous conflicts such as Vietnam. However, contemporary examples have a mixed record of success. In 2010,

⁶⁶ Anders Sweetland, *Item Analysis of the HES (Hamlet Evaluation System)* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1968), 1-5, accessed December 26, 2015, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/documents/D17634.html>.

two critical reports, one by the US Government Accountability Office (GAO), and the other by the Feinstein International Center, were published concerning the use of CAO and CMO by the Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA). Although not stated in the doctrinal terms described previously, the reports highlight that without effective coordination with unified action partners, unity of effort cannot exist. Another key component of the reports is that without host nation involvement, CAO and CMO will probably fail to produce meaningful effects or produce marginal results confined to the tactical level.

The GAO report found that approximately 60 percent of task force's activities were civil affairs projects. However, CJTF-HOA did not perform long-term follow-up activities to determine if the activities achieved the desired effects.⁶⁷ Interagency partners in the region such as DOS and USAID noted these flaws. DOS and USAID expressed a concern that the numerous civil affairs projects did not appear to fit into the larger strategic framework for the region.⁶⁸ Subsequently, DOS and USAID began to steer CJTF-HOA's projects in a direction they deemed more appropriate. However, this direction may not have supported the commander's intent to the greatest extent possible. Additionally, the report noted that Djibouti, while appreciative of the assistance projects,

⁶⁷ U.S. Government Accountability Office. GAO-10-504, *DOD Needs to Determine the Future of Its Horn of Africa Task Force* (Washington, DC: Government Accountability Office, April 2010), 13, accessed September 15, 2014, <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-10-504>.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

preferred US military assistance to expand Djibouti's internal military capabilities;⁶⁹ a hand up rather than a hand out.

CJTF-HOA's execution of CAO prior to 2010 appears to have been robust in terms of the volume of its activities, but was simultaneously shortsighted and ineffective. The key point that emerges from this report is synchronization of CAO and CMO at the tactical and operational levels is critical, as it is in any other type of military operation. CAO and CMO will not contribute to strategic objectives unless they are coordinated meticulously with interagency partners and the host nation government. Additionally, the report recommends that CA teams should work to expand host nation military capacity to conduct CAO and CMO to contribute to strategic objectives. The Djiboutian official's expressed disappointment with American efforts to expand his country's internal military capacity supports this assertion.⁷⁰

A lack of interagency and host nation coordination, in addition to a lack of host nation ability to employ its own CA capabilities, serves only to undermine US interests. The report lends credibility to this assertion by citing examples of dilapidated projects with placards stating, "Donated by CJTF-HOA."⁷¹ In addition, CAO and CMO conducted in this manner pigeonhole CA personnel into a project management role. This limits their operational and strategic impact. The resulting effects are either non-existent or fleeting at the tactical level.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 16.

⁷¹ Ibid.

The Feinstein International Center's report on the Horn of Africa revealed similar themes as the GAO report but also challenged some of the basic assumptions underlying CAO in the region. The Feinstein report stated that small, scattered, and under-resourced projects call into question US intentions amongst indigenous populations in developing nations.⁷² Indigenous populations sometimes perceive civil affairs activities as half-hearted or even suspicious, especially if there is no long-term follow-up. Further reinforcing this perception is the conduct of lethal military operations in same the area. Unique to the Feinstein International Center's report however, were challenges to the basic assumptions for conducting civil affairs activities in the Horn of Africa.

The report states that while it can be argued that CA forces achieved some level of tactical success in the region by facilitating the military's entry into certain areas, the goal of winning over "hearts and minds" in vulnerable populations is too often conflated with the larger goals of addressing underlying conditions that lead to instability.⁷³ An interesting assertion made within the report is that the acceptance of aid does not automatically translate to the acceptance of the organization providing the aid or support for its objectives.⁷⁴ Providing aid in the form of projects or handouts is an oversimplified approach to what are very complex problems that are often difficult for a foreigner to comprehend. The report noted a variety of factors influence attitudes within populations

⁷² Mark Bradbury and Michel Kleinman, *Winning Hearts and Minds? Examining the Relationship Between Aid and Security in Kenya* (Boston: Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, 2010), 5, accessed September 14, 2014, <http://fic.tufts.edu/publication-item/winning-hearts-and-minds/>.

⁷³ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 5.

such as their relationship with their own government, local leadership, media, and the impact of US foreign policy abroad.⁷⁵

In contrast to the negative examples identified in the GAO and Feinstein reports, Uganda provides a recent example of how CMO can positively shape the environment in order to achieve military and strategic objectives. In 2006, fighting between the Ugandan People's Defense Force (UPDF) and the Lord's Resistance Army concluded when the Lord's Resistance Army fled to South Sudan. Northern Uganda was left devastated from 20 years of a conflict in which both sides committed horrific acts against the population. However, the UPDF recognized a need to change its approach in Northern Uganda and made CMO an instrumental part of its post conflict operations. The UPDF educated its force with doctrine adopted from the US and western militaries and conducted training sessions on human rights and the Law of War with representatives from the International Committee of the Red Cross.⁷⁶

Following the conflict, the UPDF was one of the only government agencies with the available capacity to assist the population in Northern Uganda. Given this responsibility, UPDF shifted its mindset and collaborated with civil society, IGOs, and NGOs to facilitate post conflict reconstruction.⁷⁷ The UPDF leveraged these partners to expedite stabilization and reconstruction while simultaneously demonstrating its good

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Laura Perrazola, "Civil-military operations in the post conflict environment: Northern Uganda Case Study" (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2012), 63.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 69.

intentions and enhancing its reputation with the population.⁷⁸ In conjunction with these initiatives, the UPDF established civil military coordination centers (CMCC) which were similar to the US doctrinal concept for a CMOC.

The CMCCs were an integration point where civil society partners, police, development organizations, and the military could coordinate to address issues.⁷⁹ This indicates the UPDF was aware of the inherent necessity of interorganizational coordination in CMO and leveraged it to facilitate the accomplishment of military and national objectives. Ultimately, the UPDF achieved a good degree of success in stabilizing and alleviating conditions in northern Uganda because it executed CMO by integrating with unified action partners. The UPDF nested its CMO from the tactical to the strategic level which enabled it to dramatically increase its standing with the people of Northern Uganda. The UPDF was uniquely postured to affect change in northern Uganda because it was one of the only Ugandan government entities with the capacity to do so. This theme reoccurs amongst African militaries and is important for CA practitioners to understand. The stability that the UPDF helped to facilitate enabled economic growth and increased support for Uganda's national government, thus providing some insight into potential indicators to assess the impact of CMO.⁸⁰

The researcher deployed to Mauritania for 9 months in 2011 and observed both the positive and negative effects of CMO that are similar to those in the previously discussed case studies. The negative examples generally stemmed from poorly conceived

⁷⁸ Ibid., 72.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 74.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 78.

efforts that lacked synchronization with the Mauritania government. Predictably, the results were dilapidated or delayed projects that had little if any affect beyond the immediate area and probably served only to undermine US interests. However, significant progress occurred when the CA team began to coordinate with the Mauritanian Army and Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. Ahead of the multi-national exercise Flintlock 2013, the US CA team trained three teams of Mauritians on CAO and CMO. The Mauritanian Army aligned its teams with different “Wilayaa” or states that would host units for Flintlock.

The US CA team that initiated the CMO training in 2011 and subsequent US CA teams were able to link the Mauritanian Army to development initiatives. The US CA team worked in close coordination with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development to select locations for livestock corrals used to contain animals during vaccinations and de-worming. Through coordination with the ministry, the US CA team identified a program that trained veterinary technicians in the capital of Nouakchott for several weeks. Once trained, the technicians expanded the ministry’s ability to assess livestock and environmental conditions around Mauritania. The CA team leveraged the support of the NGO Spirit of America who funded the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development to conduct training for the veterinary technicians from the locations identified for the corrals. Additionally, Spirit of America funded the purchase of legitimate de-worming medication from a variety of sources to overcome local desires to purchase the cheapest medication available. This component of the initiative sought to change human behavior through providing information and a demonstration. Some livestock were given the commonly used and suspected to be counterfeit de-wormers

readily available at local markets. However, other livestock in the same herds were administered quality deworming medication so the results were apparent to the villagers. By transferring knowledge and demonstrating the benefits of the appropriate de-wormers, livestock health improved. This contributed to food security, economic development, and to the resiliency of the communities.

An additional positive outcome of the veterinary assistance initiative occurred within the Mauritanian Army. In an interview given to the Armed Forces Network, LTC Mohammed Lemine, provided a Mauritanian Army perspective on the collaborative effort. LTC Lemine stated that if a government does not assist its population, it provides an opportunity for subversive elements to gain the trust of that population. LTC Lemine underscored the importance of leveraging CMO to counter the threat of subversive organizations and that its employment was an important consideration for the Mauritanian Army.⁸¹

This effort synchronized the actions of the US CA team, an NGO, the Mauritanian Army, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. The program came to fruition when the Mauritanian CA teams were established and provided a venue for the newly minted CA practitioners to enhance the military's understanding of the operational environment prior to Flintlock and permitted the identification of civil vulnerabilities. More importantly, it set a precedent for unity of effort among military and civilian actors within in the Mauritanian government. The Mauritanian personnel trained in CMO and CAO deployed to Niger the following year to instruct African counterparts

⁸¹ Armed Forces Network Europe Regional Media Center, *Veterinarian Civil Affairs Project*, accessed January 23, 2015, <https://www.dvidshub.net/video/193685/veterinarian-civil-affairs-project#.VR61WkKWRmA>.

on the concepts they acquired from the US CA teams. In addition, as in Uganda, the Mauritanian military was uniquely capable of accessing populations and taking action to address needs. The Mauritanian Army supported its civilian administration by enhancing its capabilities or simply by stepping in and acting when the civilian government lacked the capacity to provide necessary services.

Case studies of CAO and CMO spanning a half century highlight many of the same key concepts. Achieving unity of effort through unified action is imperative. Host nation involvement and ownership is indispensable and facilitates transition. However, enabling a host nation to address issues will probably require outside assistance in the form of funding or expertise. CMO must be nested tactically, operationally, and strategically, and must have measures to assess its overall impact.

Internal Defense and Development

Civil Military Operations will likely require the involvement of a military in development activities that build capacity and promote stable environments. It is imperative that CA forces understand how to nest with or even lead development initiatives that contribute to the accomplishment of military or national objectives. In some cases, the military may be the only government entity that can access remote and underserved populations and assist in capacity building initiatives. It may also be the only government entity with sufficient technological and human capacity to make a meaningful impact. However, what is building capacity? And, in what development domains should a military act?

International Relief and Development, a US based NGO, defines capacity building as a coordinated, participatory process that engages individuals, organizations,

and communities to develop and strengthen skills that increase their self-sufficiency.⁸² Self-sufficiency equates to resiliency and sustainability, a topic for later discussion. USAID conducts development activities to build capacity in the following domains: agriculture and food security, democracy, human rights, governance, economic growth and trade, ending extreme poverty, environment and global climate change, gender equality and women's empowerment, global health, and water and sanitation. USAID also works to relieve suffering in crises and conflict.⁸³ However, CA forces are not humanitarian organizations and the focus of CAO will likely be in an area of military interest. Additionally, working in some domains may be politically or culturally infeasible.

To identify mutual interests with the development community and increase the chances of effective collaboration, an examination of "The Nine Principles of International Development and Reconstruction" by former USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios is informative. Natsios' development principles are based on the Principles of War and can help CA forces determine where and when to act in a given environment. The first three principles of ownership, capacity building, and sustainability form an "iron triad" of development and reconstruction projects.⁸⁴ Cutting corners and ignoring the principles that form the iron triad comes at the risk of alienating the

⁸² The Resource Foundation, "Investing in Capacity Building," accessed April 3, 2015, http://resourcefnd.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/CapacityBuilding_Revised.pdf.

⁸³ U.S. Agency for International Development, "What We Do," accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.usaid.gov/what-we-do>.

⁸⁴ Andrew Natsios, "The Nine Principles of Reconstruction and Development," *Parameters* (Autumn 2005): 11, accessed December 28, 2014, <http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/Articles/05autumn/natsios.pdf>.

population in which CA forces are attempting to gain influence. There are no quick fixes in development and solutions require extensive engagement and coordination with multiple actors.

Principle 1: Ownership - Build on the leadership, participation, and commitment of a country and its people.

Principle 2: Capacity Building - Strengthen local institutions, transfer technical skills, and promote appropriate policies.

Principle 3: Sustainability - Design programs to ensure their impact endures.

Principle 4: Selectivity - Allocate resources based on need, local commitment, and foreign policy interests.

Principle 5: Assessment - Conduct careful research, adapt best practices, and design for local conditions.

Principle 6: Results - Direct resources to achieve clearly defined, measurable, and strategically focused objectives.

Principle 7: Partnership - Collaborate closely with governments, communities, donors, non-profit organizations, the private sector, international organizations, and universities.

Principle 8: Flexibility - Adjust to changing conditions, take advantage of opportunities, and maximize efficiency.

Principle 9: Accountability - Design accountability and transparency into systems and build effective checks and balances to guard against corruption.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Ibid., 4-19.

Natsios equated selectivity (principle 4) to mass in the Principles of War because when selecting a location for a development initiative, the application of resources needs to occur where foreign policy interests, political circumstances, and ground level need intersect. This is similar to how a tactical commander employs the greatest amount of firepower at a decisive point.⁸⁶ Natsios also likened assessments (principle 5) to mission analysis in the Military Decision Making Process or the Joint Operational Planning Process. Starting a development initiative without thorough assessments is like conducting a military operation without mission analysis according to Natsios. Assessments also help determine the results (principle 6) and provide an objective to focus unity of effort. The Nine Principles of Development and Reconstruction assist in mission analysis, provide evaluation criteria, and drive course of action development for CMO in conjunction with host nation partners.

USAID publications also highlighted the need for development initiatives that enhance resiliency. The concept of resiliency is important to the Sahel due to environmental factors such as climate change discussed in chapter 1. USAID defines resilience as “the ability of people, households, communities, countries, and systems to mitigate, adapt to, and recover from shocks and stresses in a manner that reduces chronic vulnerability and facilitates inclusive growth.”⁸⁷ The agency’s conceptual framework for

⁸⁶ Ibid., 11-14.

⁸⁷ US Agency for International Development, *Building Resilience to Recurrent Crisis: USAID Policy and Program Guidance* (Washington, DC: USAID, December 2012), 9, accessed December 30, 2014, <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1870/USAIDResiliencePolicyGuidanceDocument.pdf>.

resilience provides a broad construct for application in regional or country specific circumstances.

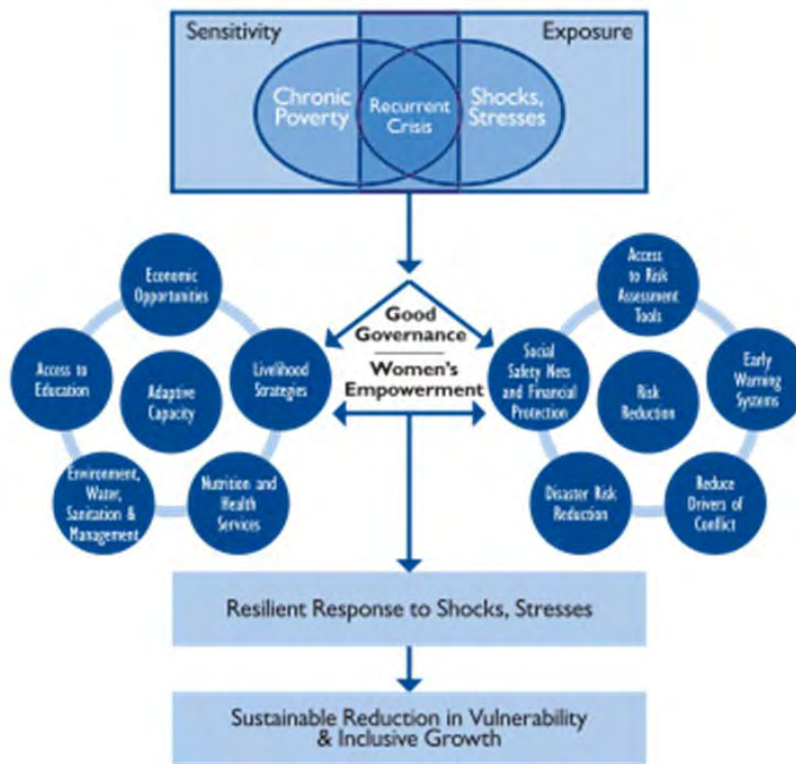


Figure 6. USAID Conceptual Framework for Resilience

Source: US Agency for International Development, *Building Resilience to Recurrent Crisis* (Washington, DC: USAID, December 2012), 10, accessed December 30, 2014, <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1870/USAIDResiliencePolicyGuidanceDocument.pdf>.

USAID identifies the Sahel as a region where chronic poverty combines with shocks and stressors, such as drought, to produce recurring crisis.⁸⁸ The resiliency concept builds upon ideas underscored by Andrew Natsios and helps to define potential

⁸⁸ Ibid., 10.

domains where CMO can be effective in the Sahel. USAID’s policy guidance also provides criteria for selecting areas of focus for use in Sahel countries at regional and local levels. This is a useful tool for CA forces engaging with a population.

Recurrent Crisis	Historically high levels of USAID humanitarian assistance in areas of chronic vulnerability
Vulnerability	- High rates of chronic poverty - Persistently high acute malnutrition - Persistent humanitarian caseloads - Conflict/fragility risk - Exposure to hazards, including natural hazards
Enabling Environment	- Political will and institutional performance - Effective and responsive leadership at the local, national, and regional levels - Resilience activities already under way by partner countries and communities - Minimum level of security exists to achieve resilience objectives
Comparative Advantage	- Existing USAID humanitarian programs - Existing USAID development programs - Programs, presence, and capabilities of other U.S. Government agencies

Figure 7. USAID Criteria to Identify Potential Resilient Initiatives

Source: US Agency for International Development, Building Resilience to Recurrent Crisis (Washington, DC: USAID, December 2012), 13, accessed December 30, 2014, <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1870/USAIDResiliencePolicyGuidanceDocument.pdf>.

Other sources reviewed for this research included the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development’s *Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations* and *Supporting State-building in Situations of Conflict and Fragility*. The prevalent themes in these documents were largely synonymous with those of USAID. However, USAID’s policy guidance provided the most applicable information

for CA forces operating in the Sahel. Additionally, when linking development initiatives to CMO, CA forces must also consider that there are guidelines for relations between US Armed Forces and NGOs in hostile or potentially hostile environments that the United States Institute for Peace developed. CA forces, when seeking to achieve unity of effort with unified action partners, must be mindful of the guidelines while engaging with the actors involved on an individual basis.

Military-Civil Society Links

One of LTC Mills' guidelines that emerged from his analysis of civic action in Asia was that host nation security forces should be involved in civic action whenever possible. However, involving the forces of a host nation in CAO and CMO can be problematic due to a lack of professionalism and skill. In *Advancing Professionalism in Africa*, Emile Ouedraogo describes four main challenges to military professionalism in Africa; a legacy of colonialism, ethnic and tribal biases, persistent politicization of the military, and weak operational capacity.⁸⁹ Some of these challenges require political reform that diplomats rather than soldiers would likely encourage, but ultimately the host nation must undertake the necessary changes that lead to meaningful reforms in government and society.

Ouedraogo highlighted that traditional African values are consistent with military professionalism and under colonialism these values began to erode. Protection of the kingdom, submission to the king, and loyalty and respect towards the community were

⁸⁹ Emile Ouedraogo, *Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa* (Washington, DC: Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2014), 15-30, accessed September 25, 2014, <http://africacenter.org/2014/07/advancing-military-professionalism-in-africa/>.

key components of African values prior to the colonial era.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, since the colonial era, militaries tend to have been used as vehicles to achieve power.⁹¹ Since 1960, multiple successful coups and coup attempts occurred in Chad, Niger, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, and Mali.⁹² This created fear and distrust of militaries by the general population and limits the popular support necessary to counter insurgencies and other threats.⁹³

Most countries also lack a coherent national security strategy and fail to train troops for the legitimate security challenges they face.⁹⁴ Sahel nation militaries, like African militaries more broadly, inherited their designs from former colonial powers. Consequently, Sahel militaries organize more for fighting conventional, externally based threats. This posture does not match the real requirements to conduct counterinsurgency and constabulary-type operations, and indicates a need for reform.⁹⁵ Of note, internal threats are not purely Islamist in nature. Other threats include separatist movements in various regions such as Casamance in Senegal and the Niger Delta in Nigeria.⁹⁶

Senegal is an example of Sahel country that employs CMO reasonably well through its Armée-Nation Concept. The Armée-Nation concept involves the Senegalese

⁹⁰ Ibid., 6.

⁹¹ Ibid., 1.

⁹² Ibid., 8-9.

⁹³ Ibid., 1.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 31.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 34-35.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 29-31.

military in development activities to cement relationships with the citizens of Senegal. Senegal has a tradition of good civil-military relations since independence. Many attribute the lack of coups and civil wars that have plagued other African countries since independence to these good relations.⁹⁷

The Armée-Nation Concept that blossomed from Senegal's tradition of strong civil-military relations sets a precedent for a military's involvement in internal development. The Senegalese Army has assisted in the following areas: health, infrastructure development, agriculture, education, national service, environmental protection, border management, and human security.⁹⁸ The military's consistent involvement in these development areas creates a self-reinforcing cycle. Good results encourage further involvement and increase efficiency over time according to Diop. However, it is unclear what metrics assessed progress.

The international community relies upon the Senegalese Army to participate in peacekeeping and emergency response situations given its emphasis on CMO. The Senegalese Army's habit of acting outside the security domain makes it a good candidate for these types of operations.⁹⁹ Despite the success of the concept, Armée-Nation suffers

⁹⁷ Birame Diop, *Senegal's Armée-Nation: Lessons Learned from an Indigenous Model for Building Peace, Stability and Effective Civil-Military Relations in West Africa* (Washington, DC: Partners for Democratic Change), 1, accessed January 1, 2015, [http://www.partnersglobal.org/where/africa/senegal/Senegals%20 Armée%20Nation.pdf](http://www.partnersglobal.org/where/africa/senegal/Senegals%20Armée%20Nation.pdf).

⁹⁸ Ibid., 4.

⁹⁹ Reliefweb International, "Haiti: Les FPU Senegalais Menent Des Activites Humanitaires a Cite Militaire," May 7, 2007, accessed January 4, 2015, http://reliefweb.int/report/haiti/ha%C3%A9ti-les-fpu-s%C3%A9n%C3%A9galais-m%C3%A8nent-des-activit%C3%A9s-humanitaires-%C3%A0-cit%C3%A9-militaire?utm_campaign=mailto.

from three main deficiencies: the lack of a formal legal framework, the lack of adequate planning and programming processes, and the lack of effective cooperation. Diop asserts:

The absence of a coordination office within the Ministry of Defense to manage the work with relevant Ministries is inhibiting efficiency and causing resources to be wasted. To improve interagency coordination it has been suggested that a liaison office and/or an interagency coordination team be created. National seminars on the concept of *Armée-Nation*, uniting military and civil society leaders could help assess what has been done and determine the way forward. Similarly, regional and base commanders need to be better kept abreast of operations planned and occurring in their respective areas. Furthermore, closer coordination is needed between the military department in charge of communication matters and the country's media to better educate the population on the involvement of the military in development.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

The literature surveyed for this thesis underscores several key themes that will be important for future analysis. Numerous joint publications to include JP 3-0, JP 3-08, and JP 3-57 stress the critical nature of unity of effort. For CMO, unity of effort and therefore meaningful impact on the operational environment cannot occur without effective interorganizational coordination. Interorganizational coordination helps ensure that actions at the tactical level nest with operational and strategic objectives to avoid what occurred in CJTF-HOA's area of operations. Literature describing the CORDS program is particularly instructive in demonstrating the importance of interorganizational coordination facilitated by an agreed upon framework of evaluation.

Case studies of Uganda and Malaya, as well an analysis of the *Armée-Nation* program in Senegal convey the importance of the military's involvement at the grassroots level for accurate assessments. Legitimate needs are then determined in conjunction with the population so there is ownership of the problem. Ownership by the recipient of

¹⁰⁰ Diop, 4.

assistance is critical and dramatically raises the chances of successful CMO and increased influence with a specific population. However, while grassroots involvement and ownership are essential, nesting tactical level actions with operational and strategic objectives is paramount. The CORDS program again provides a good example. In addition, Colonel Diop's analysis shows that without an entity to synchronize CMO, effects tend to be marginal. CA practitioners enhance effects in the operational environment when outside assistance adds value to their efforts as it did in Mauritania. LTC Mills also highlighted the importance of leveraging non-military assistance in his case study analysis of civic action in Southeast Asia.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The Sahel confronts numerous challenges that are complex and interwoven. Governments across the region are chronically and acutely fragile. The weakness of central governments results in under-governed spaces, widespread social issues, and an inability to counter violent extremist organizations without assistance. These problems are beyond the scope and the capacity of any single government or organization to remedy. Improving the Sahel's volatile condition and mitigating the threats that stem from it requires a unified and comprehensive approach. However, the vast array of foreign governments, nongovernmental organizations, and intergovernmental organizations operating in the Sahel make effective coordination a significant obstacle. Understandably, organizations face a degree of ambiguity when determining how and where to apply resources to build capacity in the Sahel. There is also disagreement concerning the impact and effectiveness of initiatives that are undertaken.

This study seeks to answer the following primary research question: can CA forces build partner capacity in the Sahel that is relevant to AFRICOM objectives? The secondary research question this study seeks to answer is how do CA forces measure progress and link it to the strategic objectives of AFRICOM?

Limitations and Delimitations

Before describing the researcher's methods of data collection and analysis, an overview of limitations and delimitations is necessary. Limitations to this study include

time and sample sizes. The volume of material for review exceeds the time available to saturate emerging literature categories. The survey population size was small, and only eight of thirty-five invitees participated. The survey invitees were selected due to specific skill sets and experiences that provide relevant insight to answering the research questions. However, available personnel with experiences relevant to this study are limited due to constraints such as deployments and training requirements. This study is not funded and the researcher will not travel to the Sahel or AFRICOM headquarters for additional information. This will prevent field observation of recent processes, actions, and interactions that may be informative to the researcher and hinder a holistic analysis. The study considers themes emerging from data in the development and military communities. However, to identify those themes the researcher also examined case studies and materials from areas beyond the Sahel.

Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Methodology

Qualitative research seeks to ascribe meaning to social or human problems. The qualitative research process is typically emergent, and the researcher attempts to develop a complex description and interpretation of a problem.¹⁰¹ The researcher collects data from the field and interacts directly with people over time to observe how they behave and interact. Qualitative research uses multiple sources of data to include interviews or surveys, observations, and documents. It is an inductive process where researchers develop patterns and themes and organize them into increasingly complex categories and

¹⁰¹ John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2007), 37.

phenomena over time.¹⁰² The researcher focuses on learning the meaning that participants ascribe to a problem, and allowing for further development of themes and patterns. Ultimately, qualitative researchers interpret the data they have discovered and attempt to develop it into a holistic account of a problem or phenomenon.¹⁰³ The qualitative researcher may not follow a prescribed process.

The basis of this thesis' methodology is grounded theory methodology. In a grounded theory study, the goal is to move beyond a complex description and interpretation and develop a general explanation, or theory, about a process, action, or interaction. The researcher considers building partner capacity to be a process. The theory is "grounded" in observation, literature, and the views of survey participants. The researcher is a key instrument in all forms of qualitative research, but is especially important in grounded theory. The grounded theory researcher typically has assumptions about a problem prior to conducting research. The researcher brings a theoretical lens,¹⁰⁴ or a particular perspective, to the research that leads to theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling assists the researcher in developing the best possible theory. It takes factors such as relevant experience into consideration and helps to prioritize who and what the researcher observes or surveys.¹⁰⁵

Grounded theory methodology begins with open coding, a process where the researcher organizes data into broad categories. Grounded theory methodology relies on

¹⁰² Ibid., 37-38.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 39.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 37.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 64.

the constant comparative method of data analysis. The constant comparative method allows the researcher to continually compare new to existing data to refine the categories and ultimately identify one core phenomenon that links the other categories.¹⁰⁶ This process is known as axial coding. The categories linked to the core phenomenon are causal conditions, potential strategies taken in response to the core phenomenon, intervening conditions (factors that influence), and consequences of following the strategy. The relationship between these categories is depicted graphically in chapter 4 through a model called an axial coding paradigm. The final step in grounded theory methodology is to execute selective coding which puts forth a hypothesis that interrelates the categories.¹⁰⁷

The role of the researcher in this study is largely consistent with that of grounded theory. The researcher deployed to Mauritania in 2011 to conduct CAO and developed assumptions about how CA forces should act to build relevant partner capacity and measure its impacts. The researcher must allow for the potential emergence of a theory and not presuppose one based on experience. This is a challenge for all grounded theory researchers.

Data Collection and Analysis

A variety of sources including surveys, case studies, testimony, and research papers contributed the data for this study. The primary means of collecting data was electronic. The researcher acquired data by querying the Sahel in databases of academic

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 37-38.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 64-65.

institutions, governmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and intergovernmental organizations. The citations listed within those sources provided access to other sources on topics such as governance, development, and extremism in the Sahel. The researcher employed the constant comparative method of data analysis to evaluate sources. The survey questions focused on personnel with relevant experience in the Sahel. The responses to questions posed in the survey are available in Appendix A of this thesis.

The data analysis process began with open coding which grouped literature into the following categories: doctrinal sources, CAO/CMO, the operational environment (the Sahel), development, host nation military development, and unified action with nongovernmental organizations. All of these categories contain data that can potentially shape an approach to building relevant partner capacity in the Sahel. Through axial coding these categories were refined to doctrine, civil affairs case studies, internal defense and development, and military-civil society links. The core phenomenon that ultimately emerged was a lack of indigenous CA capabilities within partner nation militaries. The identification of a core phenomenon enabled the researcher to analyze causal conditions, strategies for addressing the core phenomenon, intervening conditions that impact strategy, and the consequences of following or not following the strategies to address the core phenomenon. This analysis is a component of chapter 4.

Survey Questions

This thesis incorporated a survey to assist in answering the primary and secondary research questions. The individual survey questions ranged from theoretical, such as describing how CAO could disrupt violent extremist organizations, to tactical level

inquiries concerning CAO in Sahel countries. Table 2 lists the survey questions, the type of response, and the research question supported.

Table 2. Survey Questions Posed in support of Research Methodology

No.	Survey Question	Response Type	Research Question Supported
1.	What Sahel countries have you worked in?	Selection (from a menu of Sahel countries)	Primary
2.	How many cumulative months have you worked in the Sahel?	Selection (of a range in cumulative months)	Primary
3.	Are Civil Affairs Operations (CAO) denying safe haven to violent extremist organizations?	Yes/No/Unsure	Primary
4.	Explain how CAO impacts extremist organizations?	Written	Primary
5.	Are CAO disrupting the activities of extremist organizations in the Sahel?	Yes/No/Unsure	Primary and Secondary
6.	Are CAO strengthening the internal defense capabilities of Sahel nations? Explain.	Yes/No/Unsure with a written response	Primary
7.	Are CAO preventing future conflicts by increasing stability on the continent? Explain.	Yes/No/Unsure with a Written response	Primary and Secondary
8.	Does this protect US security interests?		Secondary
9.	Describe the domains (health, education, military) in which you facilitated building partner capacity	Written	Primary
10.	How should the effects of these efforts be assessed? Describe challenges when measuring effects.	Written	Secondary
11.	What was critical or lacking in your partner capacity building efforts? (host nation involvement, NGO involvement, access to or lack of funding, etc)	Written	Primary
12.	Describe the degree to which host nation military forces were involved in the process of building partner capacity and their overall interest in Civil Military Operations (CMO)	Written	Primary
13.	How would a dedicated (organic) CA capability within the militaries of Sahel nations facilitate the process of building partner capacity and measuring effects over time? Please describe successes or challenges you've experienced in this area	Written	Primary and Secondary

Source: Created by author

In addition to assisting in answering the primary and secondary research questions, the survey also sought to identify relevant themes in building partner capacity

and measuring progress. The participants surveyed all supported AFRICOM in the Sahel. The population size was small (35 individuals invited), but purposely selected for their relevant experiences in the region. Grounded theory methodology typically leverages field observation and a large numbers of interviews. Given time and other constraints, these options were not feasible. The survey facilitated triangulation, a qualitative research technique used to ensure a robust account of a phenomenon through analysis of multiple data sources.¹⁰⁸ It also provided a method of collecting the insights of CA personnel who served in the Sahel during the survey's administration.

Conclusion

Validating the findings generated by this thesis' methodology requires implementation in the field with time to measure results thus necessitating additional research. Validation could take several years because building institutional capacity is a slow process that requires extensive engagement. In chapter 4, the researcher will initially provide an analysis of the causal conditions that contribute to the core phenomenon. An analysis of the surveyed literature will also present strategies (low-level substantive theory) for addressing the core phenomenon and potential consequences (positive and negative) associated with the strategies.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, "Triangulation," Qualitative Research Project Guidelines, accessed May 8, 2015, <http://www.qualres.org/HomeTria-3692.html>.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

Analysis of relevant materials facilitates the development of a methodology for CA engagement in the Sahel and the identification of a core phenomenon. These are important steps in answering the primary and secondary research questions posed in this thesis. The primary research question this research sought to answer was, can CA forces build partner capacity in the Sahel that is relevant to AFRICOM objectives? The secondary research question was how do CA forces measure progress and link it to the strategic objectives of AFRICOM? This chapter begins with the development of a methodology for CA engagement in the Sahel through an analysis of Mills' and Natsios' materials discussed in chapter 2. The researcher then presents the core phenomenon in accordance with grounded theory methodology. By applying the framework to address the core phenomenon, the researcher can propose a low-level substantive theory to address challenges associated with CAO in the Sahel. This is consistent with Creswell's interpretation of grounded theory methodology and is conveyed in a visual model called an axial coding paradigm. A description of the perceived causes of the phenomenon, strategies to address it, intervening conditions, and the potential consequences of implementing strategies follows the core phenomenon.

Methodology for CA Engagement in the Sahel

The starting point for the development of a methodology for CA engagement in the Sahel was a comparison and synthesis of LTC Mills' civic action guidelines and

Andrew S. Natsios' Nine Principles of Reconstruction and Development. The intent was to establish linkages that facilitate the development of the researcher's methodology for CA engagement in the Sahel. To answer the primary and secondary research questions the researcher first answered the following question; what is a methodology that explains a potential process to build partner capacity in the Sahel that is relevant to AFRICOM objectives?

Table 3. A Comparison of Mills' and Natsios' Frameworks	
LTC Mills' 10 Guidelines for Civic Action	Andrew Natsios' Nine Principles of Development and Reconstruction
Guideline 1. Undertake self-preparation to become familiar with the concept of civic action and to learn as much as possible about the host country	Principle 1: Ownership - Build on the leadership, participation, and commitment of a country and its people
Guideline 2. Understand the US national objectives relative to the host country and how civic action fits into the country plan.	Principle 2: Capacity Building - Strengthen local institutions, transfer technical skills, and promote appropriate policies
Guideline 3. Determine the needs of the people and orient civic action to those needs	Principle 3: Sustainability - Design programs to ensure their impact endures
Guideline 4. Do not be handicapped by a restrictive definition of civic action.	Principle 4: Selectivity - Allocate resources based on need, local commitment, and foreign policy interests.
Guideline 5. Coordinate with other US agencies in the area and work through command channels within the Country Team.	Principle 5: Assessment - Conduct careful research, adapt best practices, and design for local conditions.
Guideline 6. Be aware of external assistance available for civic action.	Principle 6: Results - Direct resources to achieve clearly defined, measurable, and strategically focused objectives.
Guideline 7. Make every effort to get indigenous military forces to participate in civic action.	Principle 7: Partnership - Collaborate closely with governments, communities, donors, non-profit organizations, the private sector, international organizations, and universities.
Guideline 8. Be prepared for reluctant acceptance and lack of interest in continuing civic action projects by the recipients.	Flexibility - Adjust to changing conditions, take advantage of opportunities, and maximize efficiency
Guideline 9. Do not hesitate to actively participate in civic action projects	Principle 9: Accountability - Design accountability and transparency into systems and build effective checks and balances to guard against corruption
Guideline 10. Ensure that measures are taken to publicize civic action to indigenous civilians.	

Source: Neil Mills, "An Analysis of Civic Action in Selected Underdeveloped Countries" (Master's Thesis, Command and General Staff College, 1964); Andrew Natsios, "The Nine Principles of Reconstruction and Development," *Parameters* (Autumn 2005): 4-19.

In the analysis that follows, Mills' and Natsios' guidelines will be referenced by "M" or "N" with a corresponding number. For example, N7 represents Natsios' seventh principle of partnership. The first apparent connection between these two constructs is the need to understand the environment at a level of detail that goes beyond that of a simple mission analysis. M1 states that those executing civic action must understand as much as possible about the country they are operating in, while M2 underscores the importance of knowing how civic action fits into the larger US objectives for a particular country. A CA practitioner cannot build capacity (N2) that solves relevant issues without understanding the environment. CA forces must understand how to nest their goals and objectives with the country team goals, and ultimately the objectives of the theater special operations command and the combatant command.

Define the Problem

To solve problems that build capacity relevant to AFRICOM objectives, CA practitioners must first understand the environment to define a problem to facilitate detailed planning. A model that CA practitioners can leverage derives from the Army Design Methodology.¹⁰⁹ The model includes four broad questions to focus CA forces toward a desired set of conditions that contribute to the accomplishment of the objectives of the ambassador and the JFC. The questions are:

1. What is going on in the environment?
2. What do we want the environment to look like?

¹⁰⁹ Headquarters, Department of the Army, Army Doctrine Reference Publication (ADRP) 5-0, *The Operations Process* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2012), 1-4.

3. Where—conceptually—do we act to achieve our desired state?
4. How do we act and speak in order to achieve our desired state?¹¹⁰

In his article “A Practical Guide to Design,” LTC Celestino Perez noted, “the practice of Design benefits from a multiplicity of perspectives, whether these come from military officers, scholars, interagency representatives, nongovernmental organization (NGO) workers, or indigenous persons.”¹¹¹ This model is helpful for CA forces who are uniquely postured, especially through the Civil Military Engagement Program, to collaborate with all of these actors. It also helps to better define the ambiguous problem sets that Special Operations Forces (SOF), and SOF CA forces in particular confront in phase 0 environments. Defining a problem permits selectivity (N4), which Natsios equated to the Principle of War “Mass,” and is a result of careful assessment (N5) and analysis. Decreasing ambiguity makes it easier to develop a course of action and promote a shared understanding with others who may be able to assist. It also facilitates “massing” available resources on a critical problem or in a key area.

Clearly defining a problem within a Sahel country identifies gaps in resources or knowledge. No single entity can address the challenges of the Sahel independently, and resources and knowledge from a variety of actors are critical. LTC Mills identified that it was essential to coordinate with other available US agencies (M5) and that leveraging external assistance enhances civic action (M6). LTC Mills specifically highlighted the importance of involving the indigenous military in civic action (M7). These guidelines

¹¹⁰ Celestino Perez, “A Practical Guide to Design: A Way to Think About It, and a Way to Do It,” *Military Review* (March-April 2011): 41-51.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

correlate to Natsios' partnership principle (N7). Natsios' view of partnership is comprehensive and includes governments, communities, non-profit organizations, the private sector, international organizations, and universities. The Mauritania example discussed in chapter 2 provides a case of a multi-nodal partnership that leveraged the knowledge and resources of the actors involved. The CA team conducted civil reconnaissance to identify key locations for the emplacement of livestock vaccination corrals. The corral locations were further refined through close coordination with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. To augment this initiative, the nongovernmental organization Spirit of America funded the training of veterinary technicians. The ministry, in close consultation with community leaders, selected the veterinary technicians who received training at the National Center for Animal Breeding and Veterinary Research in Nouakchott (CNERV–French acronym). This helped link communities to the government.

Once trained, the technicians returned to their communities where they not only provided a service to the community, but also assisted the government. The technicians acted as a part of an early warning network for infectious diseases that decimate livestock, reduce food security, and increase instability. In 2013, a veterinary technician identified rift valley fever in livestock and prompted government intervention to neutralize the disease.¹¹² Spirit of America utilized crowd funding via its website and contributed significantly to initiate and sustain the veterinary technician portion of the program. The key idea that emerged was that outreach is an essential component to CA

¹¹² Mark Atkinson, discussion with author, Fort Leavenworth, KS, December 2014.

action in the Sahel. A small team can amplify its effects greatly when it leverages the knowledge, skills, and resources of a variety of relevant actors. The most essential of which are indigenous populations and institutions.

Outreach to Partners

CA teams operating in the Sahel must outreach to partners while also facilitating indigenous ownership. The benefit to a population's well-being or a host nation institution's objectives must be apparent. Additionally, the more layers of value partners can efficiently provide, the greater the impact the initiative will have, and the more US influence or the influence of the US supported host nation government will spread. Defining the problem that needs to be solved, and knowing specific partners with relevant capabilities can assist are essential steps in the methodology for CA engagement in the Sahel.

Develop Evaluation Measures

Developing effective evaluation measures before implementing an initiative is critical to success. Following this step helps describe conditions at a desired end-state. This is analogous to producing evaluation criteria at the end of mission analysis before proceeding to course of action development. Developing evaluation mechanisms is often difficult for CA forces in the Sahel because the countries are vast and consistent observation is often problematic. However, the Hamlet Evaluation System discussed in chapter 2 provides a potential model to assist CA practitioners in the Sahel. CA practitioners must avoid oversimplifications about assistance to indigenous populations and its ability to disrupt extremist organizations. CA forces mitigate oversimplifications

with well-reasoned evaluation frameworks developed through an interorganizational process

The Hamlet Evaluation System included six major categories with sub categories and criteria that assessed progress in a hamlet. Most West African countries are former French or British colonial possessions with local, regional and national level political and military structures that in theory provide for the safety and well-being of their citizens. CAO and CMO in the Sahel must be evaluated in a broad context as the HES did with civic action and related activities. The HES examined Viet Cong Military Activities, Viet Cong Political and Subversive Activities, Friendly Security Capabilities, Administration and Political Activities, Health, Welfare, Education, and Economic Development. Associated with each component was a scoring system to evaluate progress in each area. Overlaying this concept on existing host nation military and political structures provides a model for CA to assess and refine its ability to achieve MSRP goals and the JFC commander's objectives for a particular country and for the Sahel more broadly. Therefore, measuring the results of CA action requires a broad context encompassing the domains of security, development, and governance. This concept correlates to M2 and N6. The HES categories are broad, and a modern version of it for the Sahel would thus require significant interorganizational cooperation and an approach nuanced to the individual Sahel country and its political/military subdivisions. The host nation would undoubtedly be central to monitoring and assessing progress in conjunction with CA forces and other organizations. This implies that an entity that can consistently collaborate with CA forces and interact with other organizations to facilitate progress is particularly important.

Connect People and Institutions

Developing effective evaluation mechanisms will show gaps and vulnerabilities over time. Identifying gaps and vulnerabilities also indicates where there are opportunities to connect people with legitimate indigenous institutions. Providing a viable option to supporting extremist organizations is contingent upon establishing security and governance in an area. In many circumstances, the military is the only institution with the human and material capital to shape the environment and thus set the conditions for continued development. This does not mean that a Sahel nation military can or should do everything in loosely governed portions of a country, or supplant civilian governments. However, the military can provide security, conduct assessments, and pass information up the chain of command to military headquarters for dissemination to other ministries. In other words, a military can affect security, capacity, and legitimacy simultaneously. However, information sharing does not have to be limited to internal dissemination, and could include dissemination to NGOs and IGOs. This process would probably be slow, but may result in a more measured, sustainable approach to expanding governance and thus connecting people and institutions (N2 and N3). Incremental small victories will be key to building relevant partner capacity. Small victories also provide concrete action that a Sahel nation can then publicize and use as part of an information campaign (M10).

Connecting indigenous populations to indigenous institutions may require the direct involvement of the nation's military or its indirect support. Therefore, host nation militaries require more than just a cursory understanding of CAO and CMO. Sahel militaries should have capabilities to conduct CA core tasks like civil information

management and support to civil administration. Executing these core tasks requires an analytical capability that would also facilitate the replication of successes and the exportation of effective models.

Replicate Success

Each country within the Sahel has its own specific challenges, but there are also many similarities. A one-size fits all approach to a problem set in the Sahel is probably not possible, nor advisable, but one size (initiative) might fit some, or even most. For this reason, CA forces in the Sahel and their partnered military forces must be able to share information and replicate successes. Sharing effective models captures key lessons but allows flexibility. For example, if it is determined that community based veterinary technicians are a component of connecting people to institutions, then why not replicate the initiative? This is precisely what the researcher experienced in Mauritania. The Islamic Development Bank funded a veterinary technician-training program previously developed by CNERV. CNERV already proved it successful, so the CA team in conjunction with Spirit of America replicated the initiative in areas where the population had a tenuous connection to indigenous institutions. Something similar may not work in Nigeria, but it might work in Niger, Chad or Mali. However, that cannot be determined without exporting the model around the region. Once an initiative has a track record of success, it becomes a good teaching point for host nation forces and something tangible to discuss with partners who may be able to provide additional assistance. This type of coordination can help CA forces synchronize actions across vast distances in multiple countries and perhaps provides a window of opportunity to achieve operational and

strategic level successes across the Sahel. These concepts correlate very strongly to those recorded by LTC Mills a half century ago.

To export successful models, CA forces must understand how they, and their counterparts, fit into the larger framework and what the objectives are for the country, the region, and AFRICOM (M1). The basis of a model's potential success must be an assessment of relevant needs of a population (M2). Therefore, CA forces cannot be hampered by an overly restrictive definition of CMO (M3). Solutions to problems may not fit into an approved list of projects. Unfortunately, current authorities do in fact restrict funding for CMO to certain types of activities and thresholds that do not provide adequate flexibility (N8). The veterinary technician initiative in Mauritania would not have been possible without the assistance of Spirit of America because it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for a CA team to fund the initiative independently. This is a significant point of discussion but is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Ensure Sustainability

Key to replicating success is ensuring sustainability and resilience. USAID sources previously described the Sahel as an environment prone to repeated shocks. Therefore, sustainable initiatives must build capacity that is resilient to external pressures like drought and food insecurity. Sustainability however, has two related but distinct components as it pertains to the Sahel; sustainability of initiatives, and sustainability of the capacity to execute initiatives. CA forces are of marginal importance to building relevant capacity if initiatives are not sustainable. However, the host nation must have the capability to implement sustainable initiatives for long-term success. This implies the

ability to plan, resource, outreach, monitor, and potentially provide security. The institutions most capable of conducting these activities within the context of the Sahel are its militaries. Thus a CA methodology to build relevant partner capacity for AFRICOM in the Sahel is:

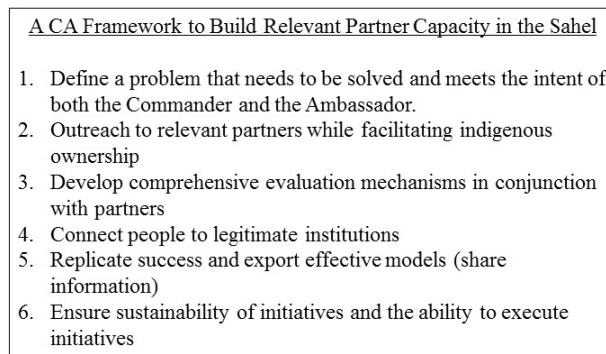


Figure 8. A Methodology for CA Engagement in the Sahel

Source: Created by author.

Core Phenomenon: Lack of Indigenous CA Capabilities

The core phenomenon present is thus ironically an absence of indigenous CA capacity in Sahel militaries. The literature review and subsequent analysis enabled the researcher to develop a methodology for CA engagement in the Sahel. For the methodology to be effective however, it is necessary to go one-step further. The framework is a product developed through examination of materials that discuss executing CAO, CMO, and related activities predominantly from a US perspective. The problem with this is that it is not clear what our partners should do in terms of CMO, and

it is not clear what CA forces should do to facilitate partners with the execution of CMO. LTC Mills stated that host nation military forces should be involved to the greatest extent possible, but what does this mean? Most soldiers and diplomats are familiar with the phrase, “by, with, and through.” However, does this mean that host nation security forces provide security for a medical or veterinary engagement? Or, does it mean that host nation security forces are actively involved in the design, planning, execution, and assessment of CMO? This researcher contends it is the latter option and that simply “putting a host nation face” on an action is an oversimplification.

A Theory on Building Relevant Partner Capacity

The researcher’s theory is to build partner capacity in the Sahel relevant to AFRICOM objectives; CA practitioners must focus their efforts on building host nation CA capabilities at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels of the host nation military. It is simply not adequate to train partner units in Sahel militaries on CMO concepts through Joint Combined Exercises for Training or other forms of security cooperation. This approach limits host nation CA capabilities to the tactical level and does not provide the supporting mechanisms such as CMOCs or outreach sections to make CMO successful in the long term. A closer look at the Armée-Nation concept in Senegal supports these assertions.

The Armée-Nation concept provides tremendous benefits to the Senegalese population and its military. It links the population to legitimate institutions and is cited as a contributing factor in Senegal’s relatively stable post-colonial experience. However, as underscored in chapter 2, the Armée-Nation initiative has three serious shortcomings; the lack of a formal legal framework, the lack of adequate planning and programming

processes, and the lack of effective cooperation.¹¹³ CA capabilities in the form of personnel and organizations that were permanent, as opposed to ad hoc, could mitigate these deficiencies to a great degree. The synchronization of CMO at the operational level is essential. This is difficult to do unless the capability to plan and arrange exists in the first place. The Armée -Nation concept appears to be a partial solution. The intent and the initiative are commendable, but the program is limited in its ability to coordinate and synchronize CMO across Senegal. This reduces the overall efficacy of the program as COL Diop noted. This problem is similar to those faced by United States forces in Iraq and Afghanistan with respect to the coordination and synchronization of CMO. Without dedicated mechanisms at all levels, CMO becomes everyone's responsibility and no one's responsibility at the same time.

However, CA capabilities are essential to Sahel militaries. Sahel militaries inherited the structure of their colonial overlords following independence and remain organized for conventional conflict. However, the lack of conventional state on state conflict, and the abundance of unconventional threats such as Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Boko Haram, and separatists movements make a strong case for CA capabilities that are organic to Sahel militaries. These unconventional threats in the Sahel require support systems just as the Viet Cong created in Vietnam. Civic action through the CORDS program was a key component to reducing the Viet Cong Infrastructure that supported subversive activities.

Finally, the most valuable component to an organic CA capability within a Sahel military would be its ability to outreach. Given the immense humanitarian challenges

¹¹³ Diop.

these nations face, NGOs are generally in abundance. However, the varied scope and capabilities of these organizations often hinders unity of effort. The volatile security situation in parts of the Sahel also inhibits the application of NGO and IGO resources in the most austere locations. A Sahel military that is capable of and willing to outreach to partners in the development and humanitarian assistance communities can greatly amplify its ability to shape environments. Initiatives developed through close consultation between military forces and local populations, and facilitated by partner organizations could be very powerful and sustainable. It would likely generate additional traction and more success as the host nation militaries and NGOs see the benefits of their cooperation. However, what caused this phenomenon? What strategies could alleviate it? What are intervening conditions that may affect the implementation of this strategy? And finally, what are the consequences of following the strategy? Potential answers to these questions and their relationship to the core phenomenon are shown in the axial coding paradigm. The text that follows the axial coding paradigm is a narrative that provides possible answers to the key questions stemming from the core phenomenon.

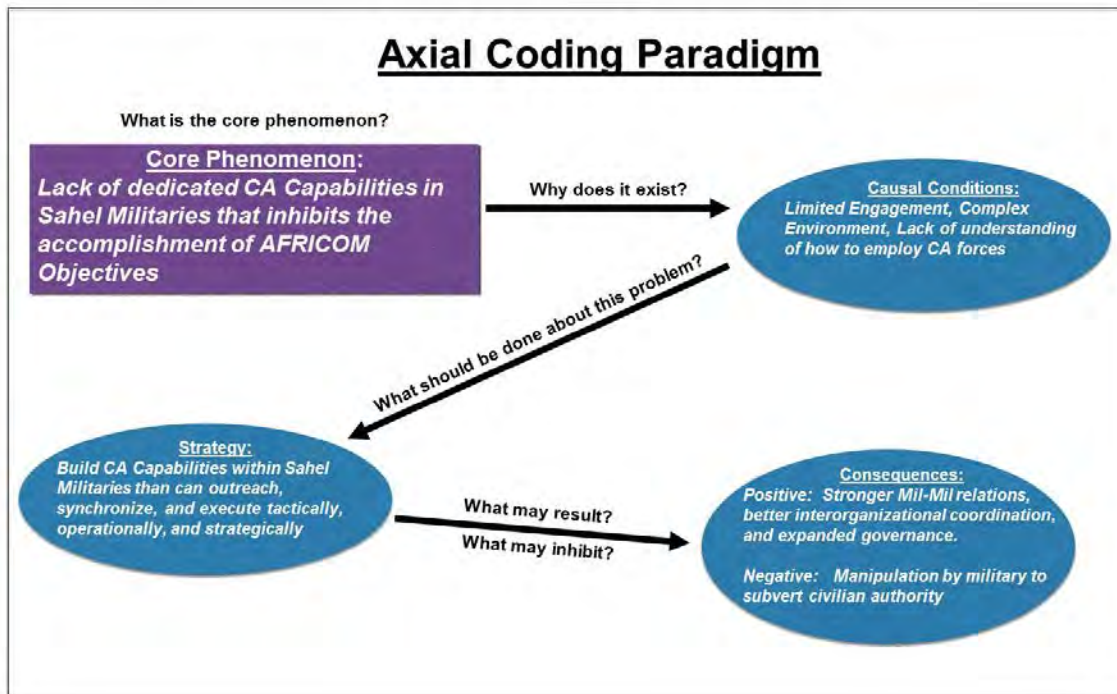


Figure 9. Axial Coding Paradigm

Source: Created by author.

Causes of the Core Phenomenon

Possible causes of the phenomenon are varied and complex. The literature review revealed that Sahel militaries, and African militaries more broadly, tend to organize for external conventional threats rather irregular threats. This paradigm is shifting given the rise of groups like Boko Haram, but the ability of Sahel nations to deal effectively with irregular threats has only recently become an issue that garners serious attention and outside support. This is not surprising considering that only after significant challenges in Iraq and Afghanistan did the US Army experience a counterinsurgency renaissance and thus a renewed interest in countering irregular threats. Survey responses indicated support

for this viewpoint citing the ongoing development of US CA forces. If the US Army struggled to develop the institutional expertise to counter irregular threats, it is not surprising then that this particular capacity is lacking in the militaries of developing Sahel nations.

CAO and CMO are key components to countering irregular threats from non-state actors or extremist groups. However, within the US Army, only a single doctrinal publication guided the employment of CA forces at the start of the Global War on Terror in 2001. Following more than fourteen years of conflict, there are now over 30 doctrinal publications guiding the employment of CA and more are in progress. In parallel with doctrine development, the institutional capacity to develop active duty CA forces within the US Army has also expanded dramatically. Therefore, it is not surprising that Sahel nations, or any nation where the US Army conducts security cooperation or foreign internal defense, would lack indigenous CA capabilities because CA forces in their current form and capacity are a relatively recent phenomenon within the US Army.

The doctrinal publication that guides the Civil Military Engagement Program, which SOF CA forces in the Sahel operate under, was not published until October 2013 even though CA forces had operated in the region well before that time. In light of all these factors, US CA forces may not even have understood that developing indigenous CA capabilities could have numerous potential benefits. The case studies surveyed in chapter 2 also provide potential insight to explain a lack of indigenous CA capabilities in the Sahel. The desire for CA capabilities typically occurred as a reactionary measure to problems that were beyond the scope of combat oriented forces. CMO thus became everyone's problem and no one's problem simultaneously because it was not clear which

function or agency “owned” the activity. In Malaya, the British turned to civic action because they realized that the solution to defeating the communist insurgency did not involve “pouring more soldiers into the jungle.” The United States realized it had to pacify South Vietnam and mitigate the threat posed by the Viet Cong, and thus developed an approach that included civic action as a cornerstone.

Therefore, there are numerous potential causes of the core phenomenon. First, a conventional threat focus as previously discussed. Second, the US Army provides various forms of security assistance to Sahel militaries, but only recently developed a cadre of active duty CA personnel capable of conducting the persistent engagement required to develop indigenous CA capabilities. Finally, the historical trend from the jungles of Asia to the deserts of the Middle East, suggest that CA is employed in a reactionary manner after the conflict is initiated. Only after a steep learning curve is a comprehensive method of employment developed. Ironically, it is then discarded until the next irregular threat is encountered. Considering all these factors in aggregate provides a reasonable explanation for the absence of indigenous CA capabilities in Sahel militaries.

Strategies

To address this issue, CA forces in the Sahel can facilitate the establishment or further development of CA capabilities in partnered forces. This will require CA forces to work with Sahel partners at their tactical, operational, and strategic levels. At the tactical level, this would primarily consist of teams trained in CAO and CMO that mirror US CA teams. There would also be familiarization to CMO for maneuver units within the partner nation. The primary vehicle to familiarize and then to enhance and maintain an understanding of CA capabilities would come from the indigenous CA teams. Therefore,

training and collaborating with these teams is paramount. Indigenous CA teams could look to US Army CA forces as a model, but the composition of an indigenous CA team could be tailored by the partnered military and its government. For example, in Sahel nations with an extensive pastoral tradition, veterinary specialists could be highly relevant on an indigenous CA team. In areas threatened by chronic infectious diseases, personnel trained in preventative medicine would be indispensable. The host nation, with advice of US CA forces, determines the composition of indigenous CA forces. However, the strength of indigenous CA forces is that they can be nuanced to the challenges of a specific country.

To support the indigenous teams, synchronize their actions, and link them to the national level, and intermediate entity is necessary. Military and administrative regions typically divide Sahel countries. These boundaries provide a natural structure that US CA forces can leverage to establish civil military coordination centers based on the Uganda example. The CMCC would synchronize the employment and activities of the indigenous CA teams. They could also outreach to NGOs and act as a coordination point between the host nation's military, civil society, and humanitarian or development organizations. The CMCC would also serve as the primary repository of civil information. The Civil Military Coordination Center would thus be responsible for civil information management, which is a core task for CA. It could provide the most up to date and relevant information for outside organizations that are willing to assist with development.

At the national level, a CA directorate, or perhaps even a public relations directorate, would serve the primary function of outreach. This directorate would interact with the NGO and IGO communities in Sahel nation capitals and help direct their

assistance towards the coordination centers in the zones. This directorate would understand in broad terms the priorities and challenges of the zones and be able to apply assistance to where it would have the greatest potential effects. This strategy is depicted in Figure 10.

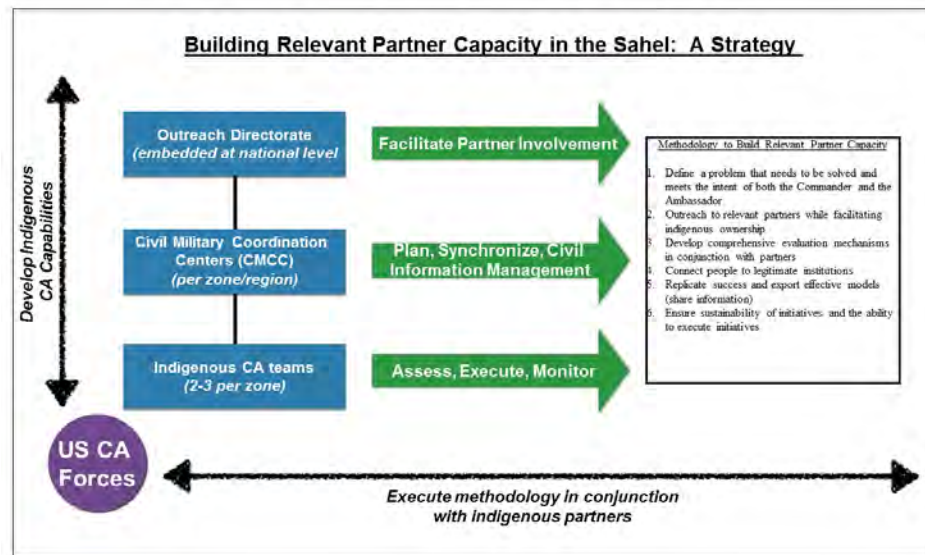


Figure 10. A Strategy to Build Relevant Partner Capacity

Source: Created by author.

Intervening Conditions

Numerous factors could affect the implementation of this strategy, such as a lack of interest from the host nation military. Some Sahel nations are ethnically diverse yet their governments are not inclusive. Such is the case in Mali and Mauritania. In Mali, the disaffection of the Tuaregs in the northern portion of the country contributed to a rebellion in 2012. In Mauritania, the Arab-Berber population referred to as White Moors,

dominates the central government. The government once embarked on “Arabization” policies resulting in lingering animosities between ethnic groups. Overcoming these issues could require a high degree of professionalism that may not exist within the partner nation’s military.

There may also be a lack of human and material capital. A system requiring implementation at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels of a Sahel military will require human and material capital that may not exist or may be limited. The reputation of the country’s military may also inhibit NGO and IGOs from collaborating. For instance, Nigeria’s security forces are heavy handed in their efforts to quell Boko Haram’s reign of terror. Some evidence even suggests Nigeria’s security forces cause as many civilian deaths as Boko Haram.¹¹⁴ Humanitarian organizations in particular may be reluctant to work with a military that has even the perception of exacting a toll on the civilian populace. This system is likely to develop over time based on several lines of effort that include professionalization, education, and training.

There are also the issues of cultural relativism and legality. Since independence, African nations have struggled to adopt borders and systems imposed by outsiders. There will likely be similar challenges within military institutions of Sahel nations. Cultural relativism posits that all religious, ethical, aesthetic, and political beliefs are completely relative to individuals and organizations within a cultural identity.¹¹⁵ A logical model by

¹¹⁴ John Campbell, *U.S. Policy to Counter Nigeria’s Boko Haram* (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations: Center for Preventative Action, 2014), 13, accessed April 2, 2015, <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/us-policy-counter-nigerias-boko-haram/p33806>.

¹¹⁵ Cultural Relativism, “Illogical Standard,” accessed March 12, 2015, <http://www.cultural-relativism.com/>.

US doctrine may not easily integrate with the doctrine of Sahel militaries. Militaries may also be legally restricted from working with NGOs and IGOs. However, a strong argument exists for NGO-Military collaboration in the Sahel. Overcoming this obstacle would require a receptive cohort of NGOs. However, NGO charters might restrict partnership with the military in order to maintain neutrality.

Survey participants identified legality, sustainability, and unified action with NGOs as potential roadblocks to implementation. One participant stated that for indigenous CA capabilities to be effective, legal action codifying the responsibility into law is necessary. Sahel nation militaries need a clear mandate from their government, and obtaining such a mandate could prove difficult. A legal codification akin to a Title 10 in the host nation's laws, or an executive agency for CAO is potentially necessary. These laws would certainly express the will of the host nation, which the survey participants also highlighted as a key factor in the success of indigenous CA capabilities. As one survey participant bluntly wrote, "it all hinges on host nation will."

The host nation's will is probably the largest factor in the ultimate success of indigenous CA capabilities. Survey participants felt that the sustainability of indigenous CA capabilities was the most significant obstacle to implementation. One survey respondent stated that developing institutional CA capacity would greatly facilitate the planning, resourcing, and training of CA forces. However, most were doubtful that host nation forces would sustain the activities or the institutions that US forces helped them develop without constant involvement and guidance from US forces. One respondent astutely observed that the sustainability issue is not limited to CA, but is a problem for all

US SOF foreign internal defense activities. There is no guarantee that a host nation military will continue to operate in a certain manner without continual US presence.

Finally, there is also the issue of how to facilitate the development of indigenous CA capabilities from the financial assistance standpoint. Initiatives to develop indigenous CA capabilities are likely to be much less resource intensive than training and equipping combat units because they primarily consist of transferring knowledge and practices. However, commanders must still be willing to allocate monetary resources when needed. Funding for resources and initiatives will still be required even if it is less equipment intensive. 1206 funding may be required especially when developing mechanisms at the operational and strategic levels within a partnered country. 1206 funds train and equip to build partner capacity for new and emerging counter-terrorist operations.¹¹⁶ Training and equipping Sahel partners to conduct CAO and CMO will also require resources. This will likely require a paradigm shift from the typical view of security assistance and take time to implement.

Potential Consequences

There are both positive and negative potential consequences of developing indigenous CA capabilities. The most obvious negative consequence given the region's history is the misuse of CA capabilities by a nation's military. Most Sahel countries have numerous coups and coup attempts in their post-colonial history. The use of CMO to rally a population in favor of a particular military leader who then turns the population

¹¹⁶ Defense Security Cooperation Agency, "Section 1206 Train and Equip," Defense Security Cooperation Agency, accessed May 8, 2015, <http://www.dsca.mil/programs-1206-train-and-equip>.

against the central government is a concern. Once an indigenous CA capability is in place, foreign governments or actors with malign intentions could manipulate the capability. CA forces could spend a significant amount of time and effort to see a foreign entity capitalize on the capability. However, no course of action is completely without risk.

The potential positive outcomes of an indigenous CA capability however, would do much to facilitate stability in the region and contribute to AFRICOM objectives. An indigenous CA capability would facilitate development and assistance in vulnerable areas where extremists organizations tend to thrive. A survey respondent noted that a cohesive stability strategy that synchronizes military, diplomatic, and developmental support does not exist in most Sahel countries. While not addressing all issues, an indigenous CA capability is movement in the right direction. It can link security, governance, and development functions that have mutually reinforcing relationships. Countering irregular threats requires an unconventional approach, and CA capabilities are an essential component of that approach. Unless Sahel nation militaries can effectively engage key populations, they will lose the competition for influence.

US CA forces would benefit from indigenous partners focused on the human domain. Their insights and knowledge of the dynamics, history, and culture of a country are indispensable to better understanding an operational environment. This in turn facilitates better information that CA forces can provide to facilitate mission analysis, enhance the commander's decision-making cycle, and promote stronger mil-to-mil relations and engagements. Indigenous CA capabilities also have potential outside of

their own countries. Senegal provides a good example of this potential, because it established a precedent of conducting CMO through its Armée-Nation concept.

Senegalese troops participated in the United Nations Mission for Stabilization in Haiti, known by its French acronym MINUSTAH. In addition to providing security within their areas of operation in Haiti, Senegalese troops provided medical assistance to over 4,000 civilians between March 2006 and April 2007.¹¹⁷ The Senegalese also facilitated medical evacuation for those civilians whose conditions exceeded the level of care that Senegalese troops could provide. A Senegalese doctor with the contingent stated “Even if we are on a mission [outside of Senegal], we continue our normal practices [of assisting the civilian population].”¹¹⁸ The contingent’s commander, Lieutenant-colonel Diouf, described his unit’s mission by relating it to the Armée-Nation concept implemented in Senegal by stating that “conforming to our Armée-Nation concept, military personnel must conduct development activities outside of security activities.”¹¹⁹ As Senegalese forces have made evident, an indigenous CA capability is beneficial to stabilization and peacekeeping operations conducted outside of the home country. Given the deployment of African troops to the Central African Republic, Mali, and Somalia, a dedicated CA capability may be indispensable in helping Africans take the lead in solving problems on the continent.

¹¹⁷ Reliefweb International, “Haiti: Les FPU Senegalais Menent Des Activites Humanitaires a Cite Militaire,” May 7, 2007, accessed January 4, 2015, http://reliefweb.int/report/haiti/ha%C3%A9ti-les-fpu-s%C3%A9n%C3%A9galais-m%C3%A8nent-des-activit%C3%A9s-humanitaires-%C3%A0-cit%C3%A9-militaire?utm_campaign=mailto.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Conclusion

To conclude, the answer to the primary research question is yes. US Army CA forces in the Sahel can build partner capacity relevant to AFRICOM objectives. Analysis of relevant materials, particularly LTC Mills' Civic Action guidelines and Andrew Natsios' Principles of Reconstruction and Development, facilitated the development of a Civil Affairs Methodology for Engagement in the Sahel. This methodology enables CA forces to define a problem that is relevant to the objectives of the JFC and the US Ambassador. Clearly defining the problem enables the massing of resources and the inclusion of partners with relevant capabilities. Effective evaluation measures also become feasible with the clear definition of a problem. Successful models developed in solving a particular problem can be exported to other CA forces in the Sahel as part of the methodology.

To complement this methodology, an indigenous CA force working alongside US CA forces could have a significant impact on an operational environment. However, indigenous CA forces in the Sahel are either nascent, as they are in Mauritania and Senegal, or non-existent. Therefore, the researcher's theory is to enhance security assistance and foreign internal defense measures, US CA forces should develop indigenous CA capabilities to execute the methodology for engagement in the Sahel at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels of a host nation. This will require CA forces to take on a much greater advisory role in the Sahel. This strategy has pros and cons. If well intentioned, the development of an indigenous CA force could enhance governance and security in areas with tenuous connections to the central government and its institutions. Indigenous CA capabilities could provide benefits outside of the country in

which they were developed. There are numerous examples on the African Continent where African forces are participating in stability or peacekeeping operations. Indigenous CA capabilities may prove very useful in these circumstances. However, an indigenous CA capability poses a risk of misuse in a region that has a history of coups. The implementation of this strategy would require constant assessment of the African personnel whom US CA forces are advising.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The success of military strategy and development policy have become mutually reinforcing.

— Andrew S. Natsios

Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis with major themes identified and results of the analysis from chapter 4. The primary research question that this thesis sought to answer was can CA forces build partner capacity in the Sahel that is relevant to AFRICOM objectives? The secondary research question was how do CA forces measure progress and link it to the strategic objectives of AFRICOM? To answer these questions the researcher employed grounded theory methodology supported by case studies and survey data to allow a core phenomenon and thus a theory to emerge through the constant comparative method of data analysis. Finally, the researcher will make recommendations for action and suggest areas for additional research.

Major Themes and Results of the Analysis

The major ideas that emerged were a flexible methodology for CA engagement in the Sahel can facilitate AFRICOM objectives and indigenous CA forces would be indispensable partners in executing the methodology. The researcher's answer to the primary research question is therefore yes, CA forces can build partner capacity in the Sahel that is highly relevant to AFRICOM strategic objectives or "Cornerstones." The researcher's theory postulates the best way for CA forces to build capacity in the Sahel is through developing indigenous CA capabilities at the tactical, operational, and strategic

levels within a host nation's military. The indigenous capability includes teams of trained personnel who operate primarily on the tactical level. The teams assess, monitor, and assist in the execution of CMO by assisting maneuver units or acting independently as the situation dictates. Civil military coordination centers should support the teams by synchronizing tactical actions and managing civil information at the zone or regional level. The coordination centers would facilitate unity of effort among the military, civil society, and development organizations as they did in Uganda following the expulsion of the Lord's Resistance Army. The coordination centers could then provide assessments and trends within the zones or regions and communicate them to the outreach directorate at the national level. Civil military coordination centers would essentially maintain the "running estimate" for the zone or region. The outreach directorate would continually build rapport with the NGO and IGO communities while prioritizing and articulating regional issues so that resources and efforts could be "massed" with the assistance of partners.

The process of developing this type of capability is potentially lengthy depending on the amount of human and material capital available, but the upshot could have numerous benefits. It links development to security, helps refocus militaries on irregular and often internal threats, strengthens mil-to-mil relationships, connects people to legitimate institutions, and is beneficial to peacekeeping and stability operations when African troops deploy. There are associated risks, but the risks are prudent and the benefits of undertaking this strategy outweigh the potential negative outcomes if US advisors carefully assess the will of the partnered force and its government. It will require patience and persistent engagement on the part of CA forces, and a tailored approach.

However, by more effectively linking security and development through indigenous CA capabilities, US CA forces can enable partners to deter and defeat extremist organizations by denying them safe haven and disrupting their activities (AFRICOM Cornerstone #1). This in turn contributes to the protection of US security interests on the African continent (AFRICOM Cornerstone #2), and mitigates the risk of future conflicts (AFRICOM Cornerstone #3). Additionally, indigenous CA forces could be indispensable partners in supporting humanitarian and disaster relief (AFRICOM Cornerstone #4) as was recently required in Liberia during the Ebola outbreak. Therefore, CA forces can indeed build partner capacity that is relevant to the strategic objectives of AFRICOM.

The secondary research question sought to determine how progress can be measured and linked to AFRICOM strategic objectives. This is a two-part answer. First, CA forces must evaluate the capability of their indigenous partners. This should be done using capabilities based assessments grounded in the DOTMLPF (Doctrine, Organization, Training, Material, Education, Personnel, and Facilities) framework.¹²⁰ DOTMLPF provides a method for CA forces to develop a running estimate understood across the joint force. It is also easy to transfer between CA forces that rotate into and out of a country. The individual components of DOTMLPF are self-explanatory and highlight capability gaps thus enabling doctrinal justification for the expenditure of resources that build indigenous CA capacity. A capabilities based assessment grounded in DOTMLPF can demonstrate progress in relatively quantifiable terms.

The second component of this answer derives from the pacification efforts conducted in Vietnam. The Hamlet Evaluation System was comprehensive and evaluated

¹²⁰ Mark Atkinson, discussion with author, Fort Bragg, NC, June 2013.

security, capacity, and legitimacy. Development and security assistance were simply components of the framework, just as CA is a component of the overall approach in terms of shaping operational environments in phase 0. By focusing the host nation military on the internal defense and development strategy (whether it exists or must be developed), CA Forces can, in conjunction with their indigenous partners begin to measure progress at the zone and regional level in the Sahel. It is not sufficient to say that assistance wins “hearts and minds” and diminishes the threat of extremism. Development and security are mutually reinforcing as Andrew Natsios noted, so evaluation mechanisms must be holistic. This is difficult to do at the national level without a bottom-up fed system. Therefore, coordination centers such as the ones used in Uganda at the zone and regional level are essential.

By developing indigenous CA capabilities that are aligned based on existing political or military subdivisions, it is much more feasible to address a particular vulnerability or capability gap within civil society. The infant mortality rate in one part of a country may be higher than other parts and indicate a lack of basic health services. As one survey respondent noted, the underlying scientific phenomena must be identified in order to address a particular issue and empirically measure progress. Perhaps the high infant mortality rate is generating animosity towards the central government due to a perceived or actual inability of the government to provide essential services. A locally or regionally nuanced response is therefore necessary, which an indigenous CA force would play a large role in developing. This action would connect people to legitimate institutions and positively shape perceptions of the government. It is then possible to start identifying trends and assess the level to which they are interrelated. For example, if,

after interventions that were facilitated or executed by indigenous CA forces, support for the government increases and extremist activity diminishes, it is possible to establish relationships between these variables and measure progress. This approach is very similar to that of the one used in the Hamlet Evaluation System by tying varying, yet related categories together. Therefore, assessment of CA efforts is a two-pronged approach. The first component is to assess indigenous CA capabilities and measure progress according to the DOTMLPF framework. The second is to develop holistic evaluation criteria that assess legitimacy, security, and capacity. Although the criteria should be holistic, an approach nuanced at the zone and regional levels is imperative. It then becomes possible to measure progress and establish relationships between variables in a system. Therefore, yes, it is possible to measure and adequately assess the results of initiatives undertaken by CA forces in the Sahel, but evaluation criteria cannot be developed independently because this is not exclusively a CA issue. One survey respondent succinctly described the problem, “We do not currently possess a standardized assessment framework to measure our progress. This is a huge issue that concerns me.” Measuring and assessing progress in the Sahel is a whole-of-government problem just as it was in Vietnam. CA is a component of a broader effort, and the results of CA actions should be measured in the context of a holistic framework that is linked to strategic objectives.

Recommendations

To move from theory to action, the researcher recommends conducting a feasibility assessment in the Sahel to determine where an indigenous CA force with tactical, operational, and strategic components is most likely to be successful.

A successful outcome is more important than developing the capability in locations where the greatest threats exist. This is because the US government should want its Sahel partners to see the value in the approach based on success, thus allowing them to take ownership of developing the capability because they believe it is essential to their strategic objectives. The feasibility assessment would also include an examination of the willingness of NGOs and IGOs to work with indigenous forces as they currently stand, and indigenous forces with organized CA forces.

To develop indigenous CA capabilities, US CA forces should take on a greater advisory role with partnered forces in the Sahel. This will require young officers and non-commissioned officers to advise senior foreign military leaders on the implementation of CMO and the types of capabilities that would be most beneficial to a particular environment. This may not be an easy task, but US CA forces must advise senior leaders while maintaining the ability to develop indigenous capabilities from the bottom up. This process could include directly training indigenous CA teams or familiarizing maneuver units within the partnered force.

Finally, the researcher answered the question can CA forces build capacity in the Sahel and proposed a course of action addressing the how. However, determining if the US *should* build partner capacity also warrants serious consideration. Sahel governments chronically lack the trust of their citizens.¹²¹ Efforts to build capacity in any domain may be for naught if a certain level of governmental legitimacy does not exist. Therefore, the US must carefully consider the tendencies and potentials of a Sahel nation before

¹²¹ Hillary Matfess, "Why the US Hesitates in the Fight Against Boko Haram," Defense One, March 17, 2015, accessed March 17, 2015, <http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2015/03/why-us-hesitates-fight-against-boko-haram/107781/>.

undertaking initiatives. Enhancing the internal defense and development capacities of a nation that lacks an acceptable level of legitimacy would undermine US interests and diminish its influence in the region.

Suggestions for Additional Research

CA forces can build partner capacity that is relevant to the objectives of AFRICOM and link progress to strategic objectives. However, there is much work to be done if the US government realistically intends to measure progress made by its overseas engagements. The Rand Study “Improving Strategic Competence: Lessons from 13 Years of War” noted that one of the principal lessons from the Global War on Terror was that “Shaping, influence, and unconventional operations may be cost-effective ways of addressing conflict that obviate the need for larger, costlier interventions.” However, the report asserted that the military does not have a clear theory of victory in phase 0, and that this was partially a result of “an inadequate conceptualization of how SOF can be employed separately and in conjunction with other forces to achieve strategic effects.”¹²²

A key issue with measuring the results of CA action in the Sahel, or anywhere for that matter, is the US Military and its partners from other government agencies do not have a comprehensive method for assessing progress in phase 0. This is not a problem endemic to civil affairs and the researcher does not intend to shift responsibility on this question. However, if the military and its interagency partners wish to demonstrate the positive effects of overseas engagements there needs to be a common framework that is

¹²² Linda Robinson et al, *Improving Strategic Competence: Lessons from 13 Years of War* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2014), 71, accessed January 20, 2015, http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR816.html.

understood across DoD, DoS, USAID, etc. Until that common framework exists, unity of effort will be elusive. Therefore, the researcher recommends commissioning an interagency research group to examine how to measure progress in phase 0 environments that uses a common lexicon. Developing a broad framework nuanced to specific situations is a challenge. However, it is a whole-of-government problem that must be addressed if the US government really desires to understand how it is shaping environments and competing with adversaries for influence. The Hamlet Evaluation System developed to support the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) program in Vietnam provides a potential starting point.

Summary and Conclusion

The challenges of the Sahel are as immense as its vast expanses and beyond the scope of any single entity or government agency. However, the researcher's theory postulates US CA forces can build relevant capacity in support of AFRICOM by developing indigenous CA capabilities at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels of partnered forces. This process, as all efforts designed to alter underlying conditions that drive instability, will be lengthy and require patience and persistent engagement. It requires US CA forces to advise indigenous CA personnel on linking security, capacity, and legitimacy. Indigenous CA capabilities can provide a means to assess progress in the Sahel in a holistic manner. However, to measure progress in far-flung corners of the world where threats to American interests exist, a common framework that links tactical level actions to strategic objectives in phase 0 is indispensable. This is a whole-of-government problem and requires a whole-of-government solution. Those committed to

solving it and enhancing US national interests should keep the Fulani proverb that began this thesis in mind. *He, who shall not stand the smoke, will not get the charcoal.*

APPENDIX A

SURVEY RESULTS: ASSESSING CA RELEVANCE

Survey Control Number 15-02-019.

Summary Report

Friday, April 17, 2015

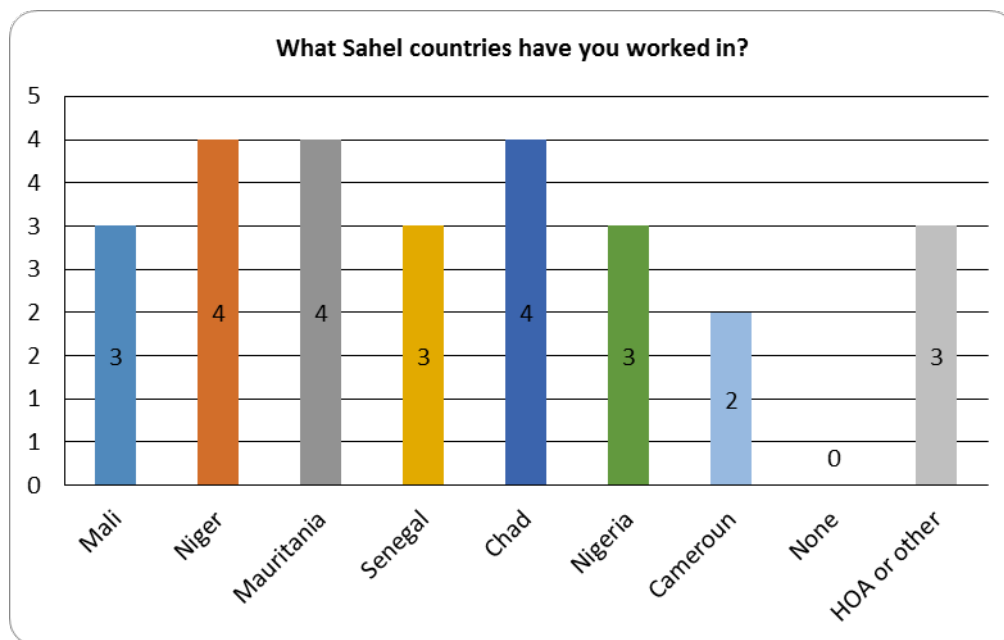
35 Invited

8 Completed

What Sahel countries have you worked in?

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Choose many

Mali	3
Niger	4
Mauritania	4
Senegal	3
Chad	4
Nigeria	3
Cameroun	2
None	0
HOA or other	3
Total Responses	26



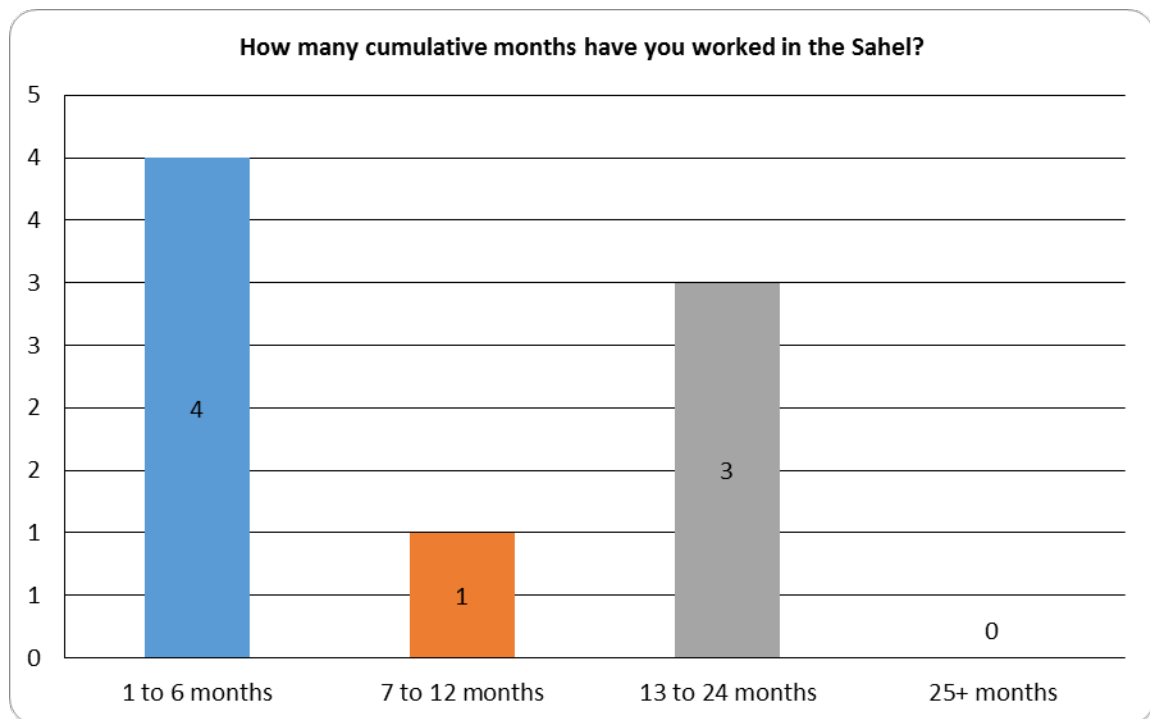
Other Responses

Total Responses	0
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How many cumulative months have you worked in the Sahel?

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Choose one

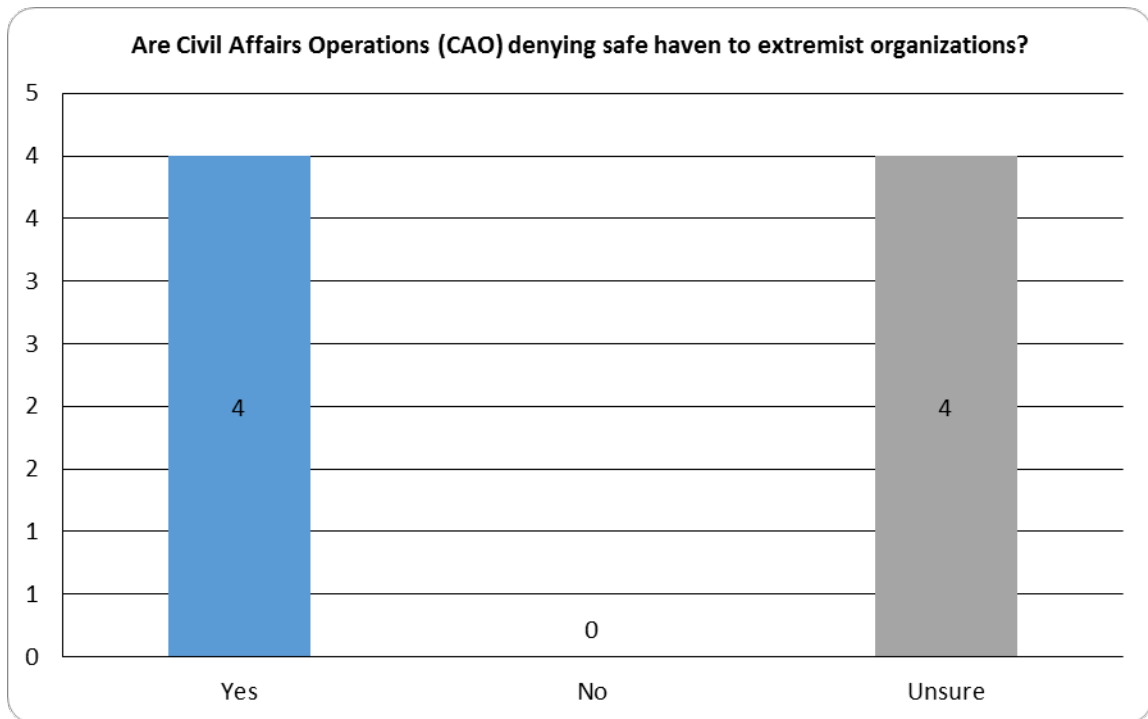
1 to 6 months	4
7 to 12 months	1
13 to 24 months	3
25+ months	0
Total Responses	8



Are Civil Affairs Operations (CAO) denying safe haven to extremist organizations?

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Choose one

Yes	4
No	0
Unsure	4
Total Responses	8



Explain how CAO impacts extremist organizations:

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Paragraph

CAO impacts extremist organizations by setting the conditions to deny violent extremist organization (VEOs) access to terrain and civil populations, thereby disrupting, degrading, and ultimately defeating their ability to conduct operations. Numerous problems in the Sahel limit the degree to which CAO can succeed. These include but are not limited to: a lack of adequate and rapid funding for Civil Affairs forces to execute CME; the inability or unwillingness of partner/host nations to sustain civil engagements in the absence of US CA forces; the unwillingness of USAID to partner with US CA forces; trepidation by State Department personnel to permit US CA access into potentially dangerous territory.

Civil Affairs operations provide direct effects on the human terrain that Violent Extremist Organizations (VEOs) target for recruiting. This population in Cameroon was usually young to middle aged males with no to limited economic opportunity. Civil Affairs forces conduct this by working by with and through their partner forces and relevant US Government, International Organizations, and Non-Profit organizations such as USAID and the United Nations. This is usually manifested in the form of a project or a program that is designed to provide resilience to a targeted population in the form of economic opportunity or basic needs and services being met such as health care. Another major factor is the training of partner forces on Civil-Military Operations. This training teaches our partners how to more effectively identify civil vulnerabilities and mitigate those issues via relevant projects and programs. Civil Affairs Operators also provide partner forces human rights training that is designed to prevent our partners from conducting human rights violations.

CAO attempts to separate the civilian populace from extremist organizations by organizing local and international assets to address civil vulnerabilities. The end state is that the local government can provide essential services, medical care, and economic stability to their constituents and the recruitment base for extremist organizations is minimized.

There are vignettes we draw from to discuss how CAO impacts extremist organizations, but we must not stop at anecdotal lessons of a particular method of engagement or development...we need to keep unpacking until we know not only what worked or did not work, but why.

I have not seen direct evidence that it is impacting extremist organizations (EOs). I like to think that CAO does three very important things: 1) Gets the host country ministries working with people in regions susceptible to EO activity. This helps the local population to develop rapport and hopefully trust in their own government to provide them with safety nets (food, health care, etc) and protection if they resist the EOs. 2) When CAO is done well, it initiates development projects that result in some type of added security for local populations (food security, economic security, education, health, etc). By improving the lives of people in these vulnerable populations, the opportunity cost for them to work with EOs increases dramatically. Hopefully, it will increase that opportunity cost beyond their willingness to engage with EOs. 3) Trains host country military/government to support resist and weed out VEO activity - this is really part of #1 above.

A primary impact CAO has in the Sahel is the building of CAO/CMO capacity within PN forces. This allows the PN forces to communicate with the population that creates a mutually beneficial relationship of information sharing. A well informed and stable population is critical in contributing to security in a conflict zone. If the population is well informed, they may have confidence in their security forces that leads to providing actionable information on VEO activity.

CAO conduct activities by, with, and through host nation (HN) authorities, USG partners, intergovernmental organizations (IGO), and non-governmental organizations (NGO), private entities, or international military partners to deny support to violent extremist organizations (VEO) or networks and enable indigenously-sustainable stability and development.

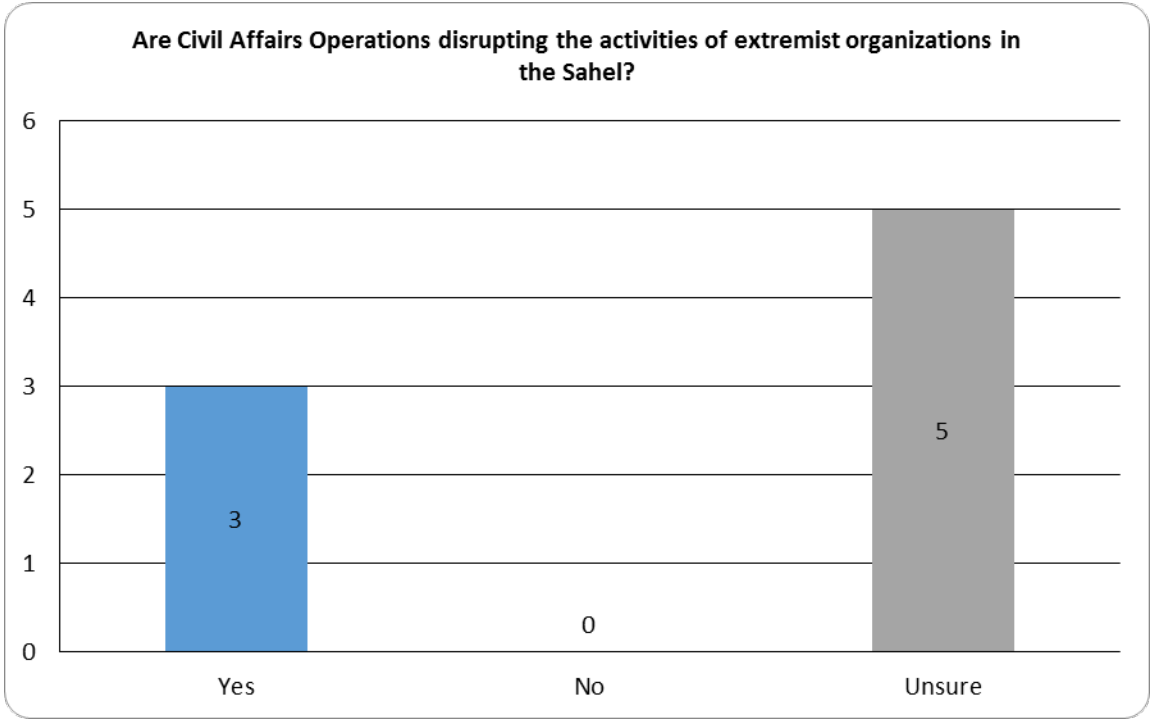
We build the capacity of our host nation partners. This makes them more capable to address the VEO threat.

Total Responses: 8

Are Civil Affairs Operations disrupting the activities of extremist organizations in the Sahel?

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Choose one

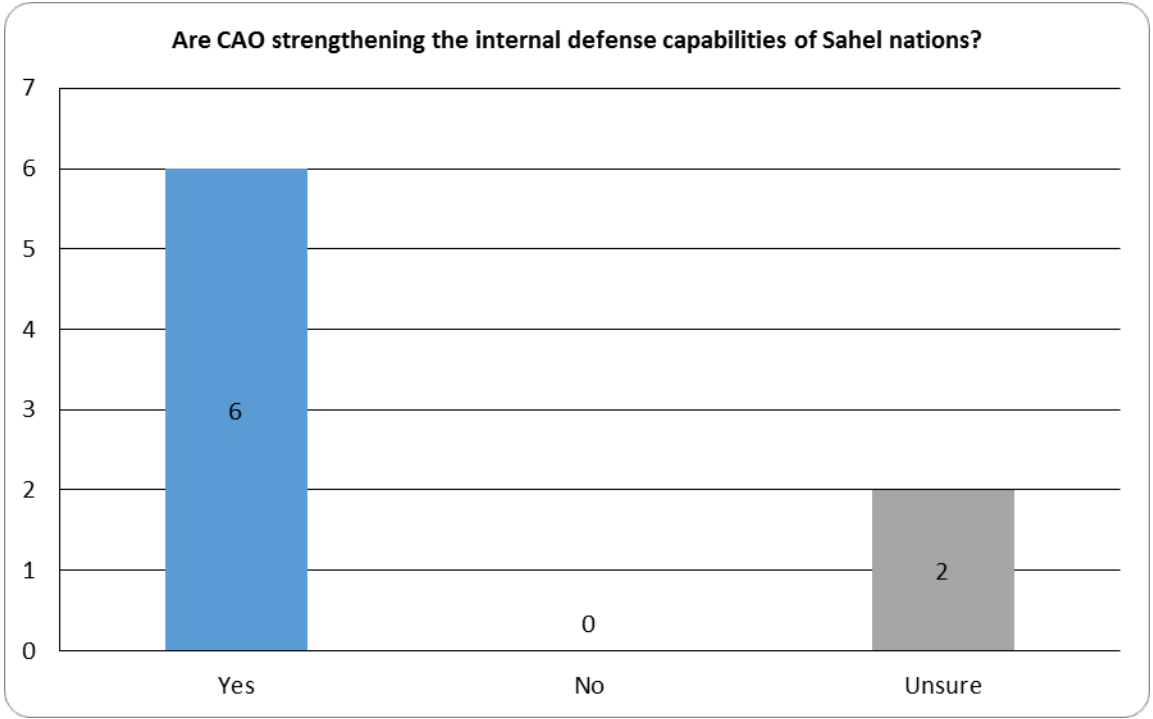
Yes	3
No	0
Unsure	5
Total Responses	8



Are CAO strengthening the internal defense capabilities of Sahel nations?

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Choose one

Yes	6
No	0
Unsure	2
Total Responses	8



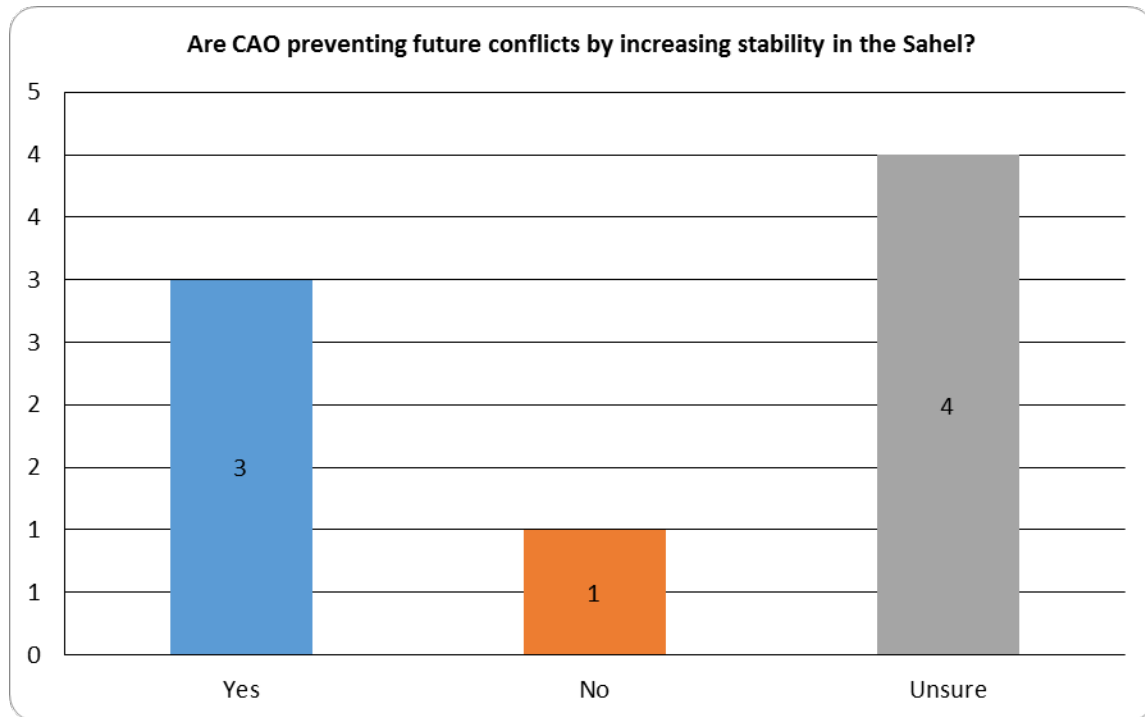
Explain.**Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Paragraph**

CAO at present, like much of US SOF Foreign Internal Defense activities, are questionable in their sustainability. That is - will HN/PNs sustain what we've taught(instruction) and provided (materiel) in the absence of USMIL presence. History has shown (Mali, Niger) that in the absence of persistent US presence/engagement, PN/HN militaries are incapable or unwilling to sustain CMO.
By teaching our partners the value of maintaining positive relationships with the civilian populations of countries we are indirectly enhancing the support of partner nation militaries. This serves the partner country by preventing Leahy violations(thus allowing us to continue supporting them in multiple ways) and providing our partners with positive support from population groups that may be able to provide them information on VEOs.
CAO training programs provide a capability to a foreign military's ability to engage with the local population.
It depends on the political and military will of the host nation.
I know that CAO was helping the Chadian military when I worked there. Since then, the Chadian military has been active in fighting in Mali and now in Nigeria. That training was facilitated by CAO. I went on trips with Chadian military to areas where they have recently engaged with Boko Haram on the Chad side of the border. When we were with them, conducting CAO, they were able to build rapport and trust with the local population. It protects US security interests because it enables host country counter terrorism forces to deal with situations without US boots on the ground. The US can provide weapons, fuel or other assistance but avoids making itself a target by keeping US faces away from combat activities.
CAO strengthens internal defense capabilities through security cooperation and Multinational exercises such as FLINTLOCK. Additionally, CAO has identified critical shortages within PN forces and has sought NGO, OGA, etc. resources to fulfill those requirements. A PN forces capable of handling internal threats is of the benefit for everyone's security interests, not just the US.
CAO Strengthens the internal defense capabilities of Sahel nations by coordinating efforts with Host Nation Government and military at the local and national level
Nurturing relationships with our African partners provides perpetual returns in our budget constrained environment.
Total Responses: 8

Are CAO preventing future conflicts by increasing stability in the Sahel?

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Choose one

Yes	3
No	1
Unsure	4
Total Responses	8



Explain.

Response Rate: 88% (N=7) Question Type: Paragraph

There is not a cohesive stability strategy in most Sahel countries that synchronizes Military, Diplomatic, and Developmental support to these countries. USAID wants to get the biggest bang for its buck in terms of resource allocation, so most funding is targeted at population centers and not at VEO safe havens in remote areas. US CA forces are unfunded and lack the mandate to lead all elements of national power (DIME) to conduct all necessary stability tasks without interagency support, which most of the time is poor to non-existent.

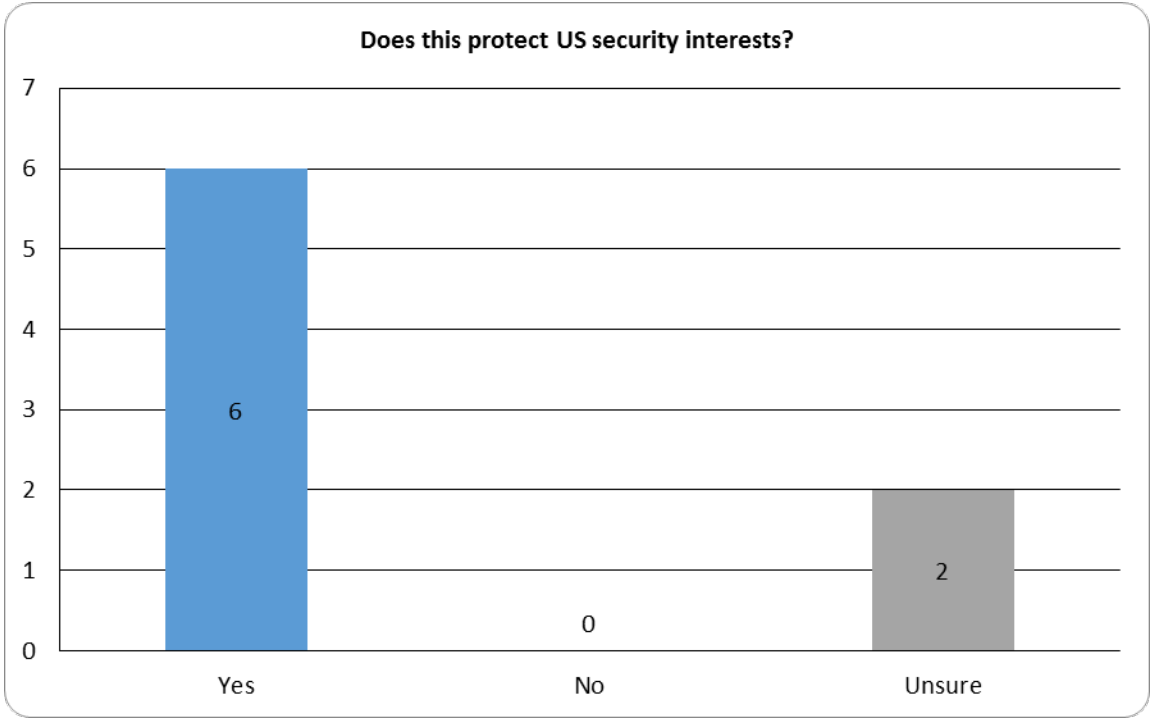
Yes it is, but in a very limited way. Due to limits in funding and manpower being authorized for the Civil Affairs mission in these countries the effects will always be limited. 2 to 4 individuals can only provide so much of an impact in preventing future conflict and that is what I believe in the main limiting factor.

Multinational exercises with CAO included as significant events enhances regional stability by developing relationships and partnerships with participatory countries.

CAO may not prevent future conflicts, but forces conducting CAO provide early warning to future instability.
I think CAO is maturing. I think that in some areas, CAO is very effective and will increase stability and protect US security interests. However, it is very dependent on individual CA teams. I have observed a lot of desire to be completely independent and re-invent the wheel when a new team arrives in a country. There has been a lot of competition to be the best country team or company, etc. When this happens, very little sustained improvement occurs. When a team comes in, utilizes its SME resources, leverages its assets in country and sets future teams up for success, I think CAO does increase stability by providing security (food, economic, physical, etc) to vulnerable populations. CAO is a very challenging task. I think it is too much to expect a CA team to be able to do it on their own. Some CA teams realize this and reach out to support personnel to help them excel but this happens in less than half of the CA deployments I've observed. The ability of CAO to prevent future conflicts and US security interests is, unfortunately, personality dependent - less ego and more mission driven teams will be highly successful.
CAO attempts to prevent future conflicts by identifying civil vulnerabilities and working with the PN government in military to mitigate them. In mitigating the vulnerabilities, a resiliency is then built within the population and the institutions that serve them. Whether or not this happens is unclear. In places like Mauritania and northern Niger, there is less VEO activity than in the past, but how much of that is accredited to CAO is a difficult question to answer (MOEs). On the other hand, CAO in southeastern Niger has not prevented VEO activity in Nigeria from spilling over. While it is probably a stretch to assume that an unlimited amount of CAO would have prevented this situation, we still don't know how much better/worse the situation would have been without CAO.
CAO synchronizing short-to-mid-term military objectives with mid-to-long term USG objectives.
Total Responses: 7

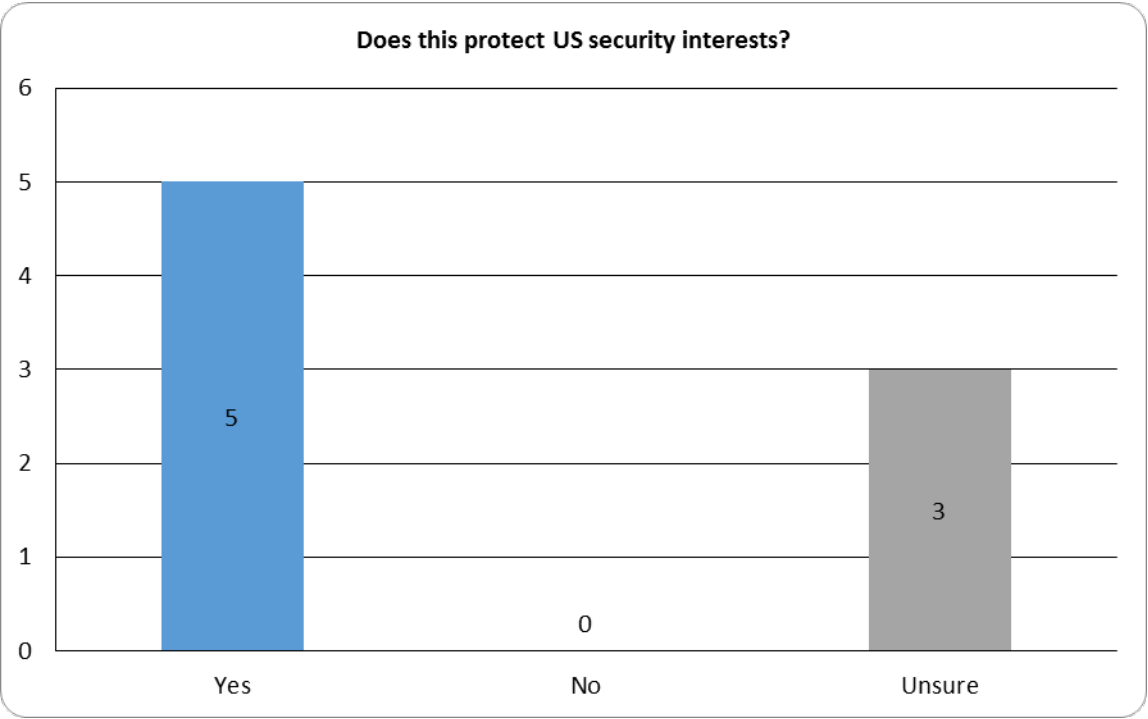
Does this protect US security interests?
Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Choose one

Yes	6
No	0
Unsure	2
Total Responses	8



Does this protect US security interests?
Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Choose one

Yes	5
No	0
Unsure	3
Total Responses	8



Describe the domains (health, education, military) in which you facilitated building partner capacity.

Response Rate: 100 % (N=8) Question Type: Paragraph

My building of partner capacity was limited to HN/PN military capabilities, and these were all non-lethal. We provided instruction in CMO and civil information management (CIM) to PN militaries and then forced them to demonstrate proficiency in real-world scenarios.
Military: Provided civil-military training to a team of civil-engagement Soldiers within the Cameroonian Brigade d'Intervention Rapide(BIR). This training enabled these Soldiers to be subject matter experts on the human terrain for the BIR.
Health (Veterinary); military (mil-to-mil training events)
Using a holistic community-led approach to address socioeconomic, political and cultural drivers of violent extremism. From health, education, military, conflict resolution, religion, etc.
I have worked in livestock support operations for large JCETs (Flintlock) and specific team-led activities. I have given animal husbandry training seminars in remote locations that put host country military in touch with vulnerable livestock herders in remote locations. I've also helped teams assess situations and give some direction on how they can conduct a livestock project to meet their strategic and development goals.
I participated in Exercise FLINTLOCK 15 in Niger which initially had the following plan: facilitate a local traditional leader engagement (LTLE), medical readiness training exercise (MEDRETE), CMO training for the FAN, and mitigate the impact of an airport expansion on the community. The local traditional leader engagement was an opportunity for government and military leaders to interact with traditional leaders throughout the Agadez Region. Multiple topics were to be discussed to include the current security situation, the CIV-MIL relationship, and the airport expansion. For a number of reasons, the governor cancelled the LTLE and felt that it was inappropriate although he supported the concept a month before. The MEDRETE gave the opportunity for the Nigerien Army to practice security and crowd control, the Army doctor oversaw consultations, and the Civil Affairs soldier was central to the planning and execution of the event. The CMO training was with regular infantry soldiers and demonstrated the value CMO can have to their operations. Finally, the clinic that hosted the MEDRETE was selected for structural repairs and additional equipment to demonstrate the government's commitment to the community affected by the expansion of the airport.
Working closely with host nation military is key to deny safe haven for VEOs. Rounding out the host nation military, by focusing on leadership development, planning and integration with the local populace. Merely conducting shoot, movement and communicate training will not address the issues with the Sahel countries
Health and military.
Total Responses: 8

How should the effects of these efforts be assessed? Describe challenges when measuring effects.

Response Rate: 100 % (N=8) Question Type: Paragraph

Effects of these efforts should be measured in a) volume and quality of civil information gathered by PN MIL forces, b) the presence/frequency/quality/ of working groups between the PN military and regional/government with regard to peace/stability/security in geographic regions of concern, c) the number/type/quality/EFFECT of developmental projects/programs in the aforementioned areas, d) the willingness and action of US and international interagency/IGO/NGO partners to address drivers of instability.

Assessment of these effects should be measured in a drop in recruitment from the target population into VEOs and a downturn in active and passive support for these organizations. The issue here is that you can't "measure" those kind of effects usually. Civil Affairs Operations are denied to prevent issues from happening in the first place and when nothing happens you can't throw "destroyed 3 vehicles, killed 15 enemy, and captured 20 enemy" onto a report it seems that Civil Affairs operations are not being as effective as kinetic operations and thus receive less emphasis.

Time is the critical challenge to overcome when measuring effectiveness. Often, developing real capacity can take many rotations.

What we are faced with is the need to build the underlying scientific explanations of what CAO is supposed to do, how they are supposed to do it, and what the expected effects are supposed to look like. Then, if we get that scientific explanation built, we will have a valid base on which to show that CAO is best able to facilitate building partner capacity.

I think we need to use more economic indicators. Specifically, I think CATs can work with subject matter experts to conduct land use system surveys in rural areas to determine the most likely areas they can impact and have success. Then, after these things are identified, initiate a project. There would have to be data collection (prices of items, etc) to do a land use system analysis and provide an estimated economic indicator like discounted net present value as a predictor. Then, perform the project and validate the predictions from the model. There would be intermediate items to assess such as completing of training programs for local participants, supply acquisition, etc. These things are already done by the World Bank on a regular basis. But, the World Bank is not able to work in the non-permissive environments where CA teams and their SMEs can work. I think we should be a green-suited version of the World Bank in these cases and collaborate with US project developers to conduct this development. For example, the USAID Livestock Innovation Lab is a multi-million dollar annual grant to conduct livestock development projects. They want to conduct projects in Mali, Senegal and Ethiopia. Civilians are not going to be able to work in places like Kidal, Gao, Timbuctou, etc but CA teams can do this, providing interagency collaboration and leveraging the resources of major US universities to do stability operations in the Sahel. Challenges are getting a commitment from military commanders to allow the right people (Vets in my case) to make repeated trips in support of CA teams to collect data.

One of the portions of the MEDRETE including the distribution of preventative medical supplies and a class on how to properly use toothbrushes, toothpaste, soap, and mosquito nets. A MOE for this would be the trends in number of patients with malaria, oral hygiene issues, and skin conditions. However, this MOE only demonstrates the ability of the PN to provide healthcare which is not necessarily of the highest priority of US security objectives. A more relevant MOE would be number of citizens coming forward to traditional, government, or military leadership with information of VEO activity. This would

demonstrate a trust and confidence of the population in their leadership which is valuable in a C-VEO environment. The CMO training centered on treatment of the population an MOE for that would be number of complaints filed against that unit or human rights violations committed. An MOE for the efforts to mitigate the impact of airport would be whether or not there are protests, demonstrations, or violence against government officials in that neighborhood. Again, this is difficult to delineate whether those events occurred because of the airport or because of some other grievance the citizens have against their government.
Clear baseline of each countries military capability is needed. If a Sahel country lacks the capacity to develop a CAO element. then the focus should be on training already existing forces the ability to conduct CMO.
We do not currently possess a standardized assessment framework to measure our progress. This is a huge issue that concerns me.
Total Responses: 8

What was critical or lacking in your partner capacity building efforts? (host nation involvement, NGO involvement, access to or lack of funding, etc).

Response Rate: 100 % (N=8) Question Type: Paragraph

Several factors contributed to flaws in PN capacity building: a)the absence of a mandate among PN militaries to conduct CAO/CMO within their countries, b) insufficient funding of PN militaries by PN governments to conduct stability operations, c) no effective PN inter-governmental coordination with regard to addressing drivers of instability, d) the unwillingness of NGOs, IGOs, and USAID to partner/cooperate with US military personnel, e) insufficient funding of US CA forces to conduct CAO in the absence of NGO/IGO/USAID support.
Lack of funding is a huge issue. During the 6 months I spent in Cameroon our primary funding source was locked up in Congress. This severely inhibited our ability to conduct operations due to having to seek outside funding from tertiary organizations such as Spirit of America or interagency partners.
Critical in our event was the ability to partner with USAID to provide logistical and training support. Although unable to provide monetary assistance, USAID field teams were crucial in identifying credible partners and vehicle assets as well as subject matter expertise in both the cultural and environmental domains.
It all hinges on host nation will. The will provides funding and access. With government support, the most successful programs had high NGO involvement - from low cost programs like Spirit of America to massively funded programs like USAID - Partnerships for Development II.
It was difficult to get consistent information from people on the ground. I think a veterinarian needs to be in Africa A LOT to meet with host country livestock officials, observe needs within a country and figure out how to marry host country needs up with DOD needs. It is not possible for me to teach a CA Soldier everything I learned in 7 years of graduate school and several years of private practice. I need to be in the field to support them. I have a lot to learn from them too. They have excellent project development skills and interagency logistic skills that I don't have. We make a great team but right now vets are not a regular part of the package for teams working in the Sahel. It is hit and miss as to how we are used.
I think the cancellation of the LTLE was a major loss to the efforts during FLINTLOCK. Observing the interaction between the different types of leadership and the military would have been a great venue to answer some of the questions we had about the region.
US Mil should gauge the responses of our host nation military's ability to fund civil action programs on their own vs. the continued US funded programs
Assessment tools and funding.
Total Responses: 8

Describe the degree to which host nation military forces were involved in the process of building partner capacity and their overall interest in Civil Military Operations (CMO).

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Paragraph

Individual Soldiers trained in CMO were interested and motivated to learn and conduct CMO. Two factors prevent sustainability/success of PN CMO. 1. No dedicated CMO force or representatives: Soldiers appointed for US CMO training were from a myriad of specialties, (engineer, medical, infantry, mechanic) who, once they completed training, returned to their previous MOS activities and were unlikely to conduct CMO in future operations. 2. Absence of funding to conduct HA/HCA/stability activities: most of these Sahelian governments lack the financial resources to fund long-term stability operations let alone day-to-day combat-arms functions. This fact results in a lack of desire to establish dedicated stability initiatives within PN militaries.
The Cameroonians were optimistic about CMO but their primary emphasis was on combating Boko Haram and that was where they sent the vast majority of their resources. They would willingly accept training if it came in a package that combined tactical training (I.E. counter-IED, patrolling, etc.). This emphasizes the need to layer this kind of training with partner-SOF in order to get the intended effect that CMO is something done in conjunction with combat operations. Partner nations in Africa are a long time from having the capacity to dedicate resources(funding, manpower, etc.) to specifically developing a Civil-Affairs capacity within their militaries due to the fact they are some of the poorest countries on earth. We must realize that having the capacity that we have is a luxury of our unprecedented amount of resources we have as a military.
Direct CA training for both dedicated HN CA assets and non-direct units such as infantry platoons.
Limited. Although the host nation military showed interest and participated capabilities were severely limited.
They seemed very interested in CMO to me. They were usually happy to work with US forces. Most of the time, they were providing security for our veterinary operations but some of the time they were actively involved in assessing sites and interviewing local herders, etc.
The CMO training for the Nigerien Infantry was lead by the Nigerien CMO NCO. He served as the primary instructor with minimal injects from US CA personnel. The same individual was critical to the planning and execution of the MEDRETE and participated in all KLEs with area leadership. CMO NCO has yet to take the lead in KLEs, probably due to two factors: he is not an officer, and his commander's are hesitant to put him out front.
Through support from CA forces or CMSEs host nation military conducted seminars with local and regional health officials to provide basic medical care to villages across the region.
We worked with our partner forces on a day to day basis
Total Responses: 8

How would a dedicated(organic) CA capability within the militaries of Sahel nations facilitate the process of building partner capacity and measuring effects over time? Please describe successes or challenges you've experienced in this area.

Response Rate: 100% (N=8) Question Type: Paragraph

I believe at present, organic CA capabilities within Sahelian militaries are financially unsustainable and therefore will be unsuccessful. Building organic CA capabilities will require much more than a 1206 train & equip package. Such initiatives need to be written into PN law and military regulations. I do not believe USAFRICOM, DoD, or the overall US Government has the appetite for these initiatives. Moreover, US SOF CA forces cannot product qualitative results in 6 months. These are much longer term initiatives that need to be monitored from start to finish by QUALITATIVE US personnel who understand the end-state and backed by the STRATEGIC support (financial, material, policy) execute required tasks.

A dedicated CA capability within the militaries of the Sahel nations would facilitate goodwill between the governments of our partner nations and their populations and expand their white-side network. I believe "Building partner nation capacity" is a nebulous term, but we can assume it means we are focusing on developing the capabilities of three targeted audiences, the Strategic, Operational, and Tactical institutions within our partner. At the strategic level creating a G-9 position on staff would allow strategic leadership to understand their operational environment more clearly and better predict the second and third order of effects of any operation they deem needs to be executed. Operationally the establishment of an S-9 position will allow for a more nuanced and specific engagement of host nation population groups and provide a center point for management of these programs at the operational level. Tactically the establishment of Civil Affairs Teams would enable our partner militaries to have eyes on the ground and personnel dedicated to establishing, managing, and influencing the relationship between partner nation security forces and the targeted populatoin group. These would be the subject matter experts within our partner nations that would enable of ground commanders to more effectively engage in activities that should have positive effects on the perceptions and confidence of the civilians in their government. More importantly for US interests is the political power of having a dedicated CA capability within a partner nation. This capability helps to shield our partners from Leahy violations that could disrupt the US Government's ability to provide assistance to them. It is unrealistic though to believe that most countries in the Sahel have the ability to have and maintain this capability due to the fact that the Civil Affairs is largely seen as a luxury that mostly rich nations can afford. A major challenge currently in the Extreme North of Cameroon is the rapid influx of military personnel into the area. These military personnel do not come from the same tribal background and in many times do not speak the same languages as the locals. The distrust between the Security Forces and the civilian population groups grows when these forces commit acts that could be perceived as human rights violations. The point of failure is a lack of cultural training and preparation of these soldiers before employment on the battlefield, having a dedicated CA capability could at minimum provide Human Rights and cultural awareness training to troops who arrive on the battlefield. This could have prevented some of the issues between the population and its security forces.

A dedicated CA capability is essential for long term establishment of a CA capacity. More importantly, establishing an institutional CA capability (HQ and higher) provides the planning, resourcing and training of future CA capability within a host nation military.

It shows the will of the government to address sources of conflict and instability and their desire to reduce stressors.
In theory it would be great. But, in reality, I think it would be highly variable. There is a lot of variation in the US CA capability and I imagine the variability would be greater for CA units in Sahel militaries. The US still has a ways to go in maturing their own CA capability. I think that the people who are in the mid-grade officer positions have a much better handle and experience level than some of the senior officers based on how CAO has been used during different time periods of the GWOT. I have high hopes for CAO in the next few years as some of the current MAJ start to become LTCs and COLs. A mature CA capability organic to Sahel countries would be great and maybe they can get it done before we do. But, I think the interagency communication issues we face in the US will pale in comparison to what they will encounter in the Sahel countries. CAO depends on military units being able to garner support from SMEs in specific fields (health, vet, econ, engineering, etc) and I've seen a lot of roadblocks placed to making these linkages happen.
I think this is critical to building capacity within the Sahel. Although, what works in one country doesn't necessary work in another. In Chad, the SATG have a very capable and effective CMO Officer that is critical to CMO efforts in that country. However, Nigeria has a department dedicated to CMO that was lead by a very capable officer, but was ineffective due to bureaucratic challenges within Army headquarters.
As stated before each country has it own challenges with manning and equipping it's military. Creating an organic CA element would be extremely difficult and maybe un-wanted by the host nation military leaders. Teaching the already existing forces in CMO could benefit a much large military force.
The future military struggles will be judged by the civilian population. If our partners can perfect their engagement with the local population, we will isolate the threat and maintain an advantage over our enemies.
Total Responses: 8

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