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**'Shaping the security environment': the spatial and temporal reconfiguration of modern warfare.**

# AFRICOM: pop-up militarisation



**Remote warfare:** operations which mark a shift away from 'boots on the ground' deployments towards light-footprint military interventions, involving a combination of drone strikes and airstrikes, special forces, private contractors, and 'partnerships' (military-to-military, military-to-militia) – Watts & Biegon 2017: 1.

# Coining

- (counter)netwars (Arquilla and Ronfeldt, 2001),
- network war (Duffield, 2002)
- global civil war (Hardt and Negri, 2004),
- securocratic war (Feldman, 2004)
- risk-transfer war (Shaw, 2006)
- chaoplexic warfare (Bousquet, 2008),
- coalition proxy warfare (Mumford 2013)
- transnational shadow wars (Niva 2013)
- surrogate warfare (Krieg & Rickli 2018)
- vicarious warfare (Waldman 2018)

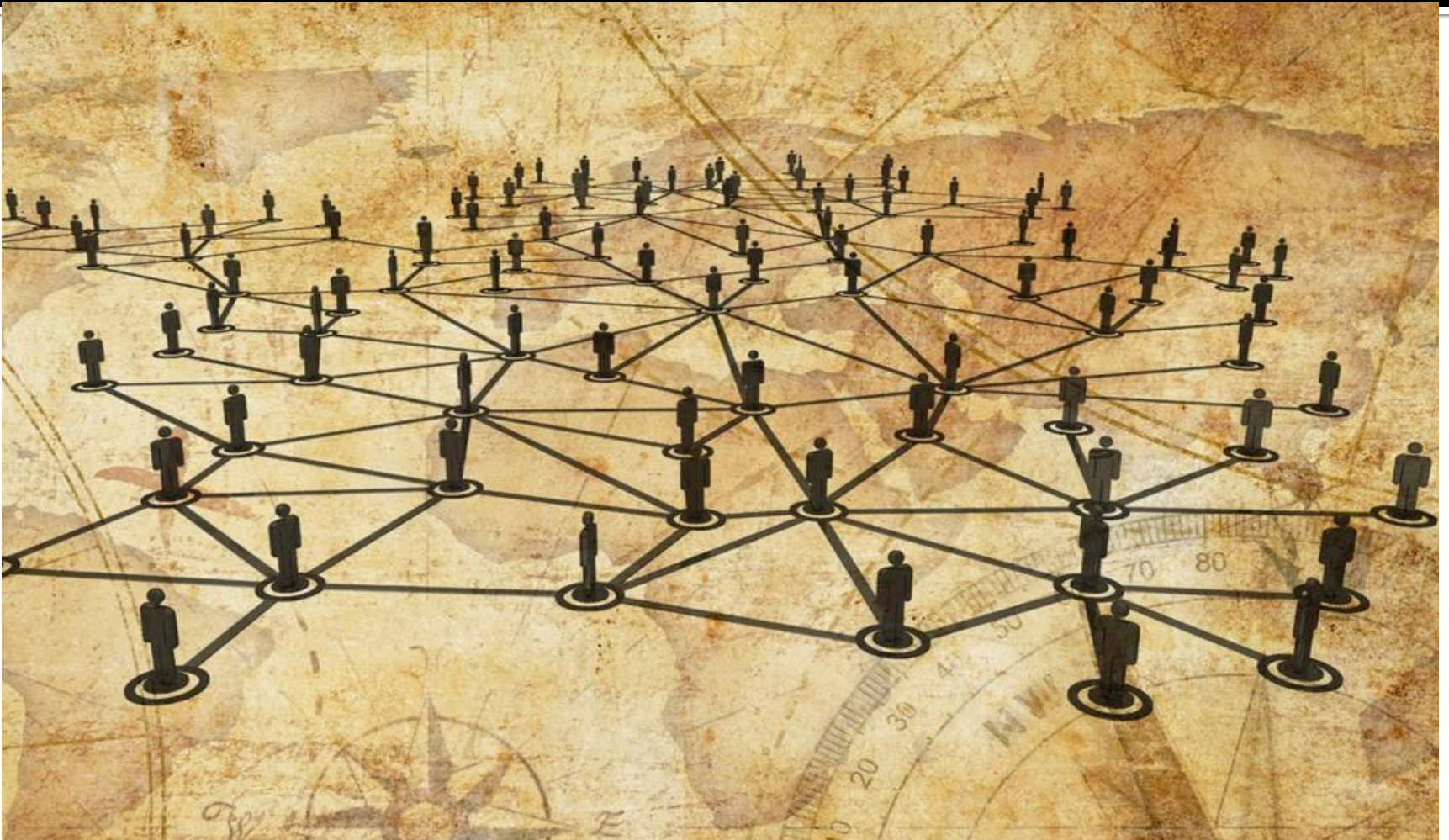
# 1. Risk-aversion and war fatigue



## 2. Remote technology



# 3. Counter-network wars



# Liquid warfare

Liquid warfare is about flexible, open-ended, 'pop-up' military interventions, supported by remote technology and reliant on local partnerships and private contractors, through which (coalitions of) parties aim to promote and protect interests. Liquid warfare is thus temporally open-ended and event-ful, as well as spatially dispersed and mobile.





The major technique of interventionism is not just the rejection of **geopolitical** territorial confinement, but also the rejection of **biopolitical** notions of controlling the life and death of populations, and the related responsibilities and costs of order and nation-building.



- Instead, what is at its core is the notion of 'shaping': the monitoring, disrupting and containment of perceived risks and dangers through 'forward posture' and 'presence'.

# 'Shaping'

*'The DoD has an essential role to play in **shaping the international security environment** in ways that promote and protect US national interests. To do so, the Department employs a wide variety of means including: forces permanently stationed abroad; forces rotationally deployed overseas; forces deployed temporarily for exercises, combined training, or military-to-military interactions; and programs such as defence cooperation, security assistance, International Military Education and Training (IMET) programs and international arms cooperation' (DoD, 1997: 6).*

# Conclusion

Although risk, technology and enemy-networks play a role, we understand the shift to liquid warfare as grounded in **the political economy of late modernity**, in which control over a territory or population has ceased to be the stake of the global power struggle.