



Rethinking security by looking at conflict.

HUMAN SECURITY n.1 - July 2016

Conflict is the human activity that impacts the lives of the affected more than any other: from the most deeply rooted ideas about oneself and 'the other', through physical and moral integrity, to the availability of the resources that are essential to survival and well-being. The way and the extent to which each of these dimensions is touched influence, in turn, the dynamics of conflict.

The most readily available information accessible to the Italian public about conflict and security, however, focuses on two aspects above others: the arms trade and the efforts of governments – of countries directly involved as well as those of third-party countries – to stop, contain and overcome war. As important as these elements may be, they are just a part of the greater picture painted by conflict, and they fail to represent it as a whole.

Human Security aims, therefore, to provide a deeper and different insight

into conflict by adopting mainly a human security perspective, as explained by **Stefano Ruzza**, Director of the online journal, and **Giorgia Brucato** in the very first article of *Human Security*. The notion of 'human security' draws attention to the role of individuals and to the social structures within which they live and operate. These are factors that are now front and centre in the considerations of scholars, policymakers and practitioners alike.

The first issue of *Human Security* challenges some critical aspects of the conventional models through which we tend to understand crises and conflicts, showing how alternative readings – however complex they may be – can be put into practice and turned into policy.

In her article, **Lorraine Charbonnier**, Associate Fellow at the United Nations System Staff College (UNSSC), highlights some of the limits of conventional conflict analysis frameworks, illustrating how the United Nations system is redefining and updating its 'toolbox' to meet current challenges. Next, **Maurizio Sulig** and **Maria Adelasia Divona**, both officers in the Italian Army, enrich

the picture by introducing the concept of 'human terrain' as elaborated and applied by the military.

Further widening the perspective, **Roger Mac Ginty** and **Pamina Firchow**, lead of the 'Everyday Peace Indicators' (EPI) project, stress the need to review the way we construct the idea of security and to give voice to local people through a bottom-up, rather than a top-down, approach. This is not a utopian idea: the EPI project is already active in South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

The following articles, by two analysts at *Il Caffè Geopolitico*, also aim to problematize aspects that are often little discussed: by looking at the Ukrainian crisis, **Lorenzo Nannetti** focuses on how the same geopolitical situation can be read differently by each of the parties involved, with perspectives diverging even beyond what is normally considered 'rational'. **Marco Giulio Barone** closes the first issue of *Human Security* with a critique of the conventional analytical models underpinning decision-making and presents possible pathways to change.

Stefano Ruzza and Giorgia Brucato

Rethinking security by looking at conflict.

Lorraine Charbonnier

Systems in conflict, systems in peace.

Maurizio Sulig and Maria Adelasia Divona

The human terrain in military operations.

Roger Mac Ginty and Paming Firchow

Working from the ground up - Everyday Peace Indicators.

Lorenzo Nannetti

Perceptions of "the other" and the Ukraine case.

Marco Giulio Barone

The human factor in decision-making.

Human (in)security and the environment.

HUMAN SECURITY n.2 - December 2016

Climate change is increasingly attracting academic and political interest. In 2016, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) included for the first time in its *Yearbook* a chapter on the relationship between security and climate change, defining the latter as a 'threat multiplier'. Along similar lines, **Charles Geisler**, Professor Emeritus at Cornell University, opens the second issue of *Human Security* and outlines the connections between climate change, violence and human security in the African context. Next, **Teemu Palosaari**, Researcher at the Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI), introduces the 'Arctic paradox' and explores the controversial interrelation between the presence of natural resources and conflict.

In fact, human security is inextricably linked as much to environmental change as to access to natural resources. Water, in particular, has been defined as the 'blue gold' or 'oil' of the twenty-first century, and has been identified as the natural resource that in the coming decades could fuel rates of interstate conflicts, for example leading to a Third World War.

In parallel with the increased politicization of water, an intense debate has developed both at the domestic and international levels. As a result, concepts like 'hydropolitics' or 'water diplomacy' have become more and more established. The first of the articles on this subject, authored by **Andrea Martire**, an analyst at *Il Caffè Geopolitico*, offers an overview and brief analysis of some of the most typical situations of conflict, real or potential, in the management of river water resources in the international realm. Next, **Gabriele Giovannini**, PhD candidate at Northumbria University, provides a more specific

and focused reflection on the dynamics of conflict and cooperation between upstream and downstream countries of the Mekong River, taking the Xayaburi Dam as the starting point.

Two articles focusing on cities, understood as multidimensional environments that deeply affect human security, close this issue of the journal. **Annalisa De Vitis**, an analyst at *Il Caffè Geopolitico*, highlights how the scope and speed of urbanization processes compromise the ability of some cities to ensure adequate levels of human security. Last, the group '**Architetti Migranti**' present some of the insights that have emerged from their research in the city of Tigre, north of Buenos Aires, where perceptions of insecurity and the massification of luxury have shaped development models of urban housing, giving rise to privatized cities that, besides exacerbating social inequalities, have a significant environmental impact.

Charles Geisler

Human (in)security in Africa and climate change.

Teemu Palosaari

Climate change and natural resources in the Arctic.

Andrea Martire

Water conflicts in international relations.

Gabriele Giovannini

Conflict and cooperation along the Mekong river: The case of the Xayaburi dam in Laos.

Annalisa De Vitis

Human security and urban development.

Francesca Ronco, Corinna Di Franco, Alessandra Platania, Riccardo Tognin and Ruth Savio (Architetti Migranti)

The environmental impact of urbanization in Argentina, between barrios cerrados and villas.



Source: Cecilia Pennacini

Uganda and Mali: Conflict and security in Africa.

HUMAN SECURITY n.3 - March 2017

Because of its history of widespread insecurity, the African continent has always been in the international spotlight. The dominant narrative, however, often tends to focus on some contexts rather than others and to neglect the role of individuals and social structures, providing a partial – if not misleading – understanding of the conflicts and tensions that afflict the region. In an attempt to contribute to a broader reflection, this issue of *Human Security* is devoted entirely to

Africa. The first front line examined is to be found in Uganda, a country that has received great attention from the media and the international community due to the twenty-year civil war fought in the north of the country between the government and the guerrilla forces led by the infamous Joseph Kony. Although less famous, the western region of the country is also the scene of recurring clashes and conflicts rooted in the colonial period. This issue of *Human Security* opens with an article by **Cecilia Pennacini**, Professor of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Turin and Director of the Italian Ethnological Mission in

Equatorial Africa. Pennacini draws our attention to the Rwenzori region, on the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo, describing how both colonial and recent political choices have influenced the complex identity dynamics in the area, fuelling tensions and feelings of hatred. Next, **Stefano Ruzza**, Assistant Professor of Conflict, Security and Statebuilding at the University of Turin and member of the same Ethnological Mission, further explores the picture presented by Pennacini and explains recurrent cycles of violence by recalling the history of the uprisings in Rwenzori and linking it to current identity and electoral politics.

The second country under scrutiny is Mali. The 2012 crisis and the presence of a motley assortment of non-state armed groups have brought the conflict in the Sahel back to the centre of public debates and international concerns. Despite the increasing involvement of the international community, responses to Mali's instability have failed, and the country still finds itself in a challenging situation. **Caterina Pucci**, an analyst at *Il Caffè Geopolitico*, traces the history of Mali since its independence and highlights

how the inability of governments and institutions to understand and manage the complexity of the 'human terrain' has always hampered the stability of the country. The following article, authored by **Edoardo Baldaro**, PhD candidate at the Scuola Normale Superiore, deals with the 2012 crisis and challenges the mainstream interpretation that sees Mali as a 'victim' of Islamic terrorism. Instead, Baldaro focuses on the dynamics that broke the social pact on which Malian democracy used to be based.

The third issue of *Human Security* ends with a broader reflection by **Gearoid Millar**, Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the Institute for Conflict, Transition, and Peace Research (ICTPR) at the University of Aberdeen, on why institutions fail to meet people's expectations and offer positive experiences of justice and security – a phenomenon that, unfortunately, represents a weakness in many post-conflict reconstruction processes in today's African context.

Cecilia Pennacini

The risks of ethnicization in contemporary Uganda. The case of Rwenzori.

Stefano Ruzza

Identity manipulation and spontaneous mobilization: The persistence of low-intensity conflict in the Rwenzori region.

Caterina Pucci

Mali: Solving a conflict starting from the human terrain.

Edoardo Baldaro

Outstanding challenges in Mali: Understanding causes and dynamics of the conflict in the Sahel.

Gearoid Millar

Why institutions of security can fail to provide experiences of security.

Human security on the move.

HUMAN SECURITY n.4 - July 2017

For some years now, the 'migration crisis' has dominated European newspapers and media. To be sure, the management of contemporary migration flows is one of the most salient issues on national and international political agendas. However, many of the arguments, discussions and policies on migration are formulated on the basis of false myths with sometimes disastrous consequences for individuals who decide for one reason or another to leave their homes. The fourth issue of *Human Security* attempts to overcome this impasse by looking at some of the multiple dimensions and facets of the migratory phenomenon.

When we speak about 'migration', we refer to an almost defining aspect of human life: human beings have always moved in search of new opportunities or to escape poverty, conflict and unfavourable environmental conditions. The peculiarity of current times is instead represented by the efforts of individual states to regulate the movement of people inside and outside their borders. These efforts increasingly seem to clash with human rights and international protection, as highlighted by **Michela Ceccorulli**, Assistant Professor at the University of Bologna. In her article, Ceccorulli examines from a human security perspective the recent proposals to reform the asylum system in Europe. Adopting an anthropological approach, **Silvia Giletti Benso**, former Associate Professor at the University of Turin, stresses the disturbing mechanisms of domi-

nation and control that affect some of the most well-trodden migratory routes and cause levels of violence so high as to transform them into 'itineraries of death' both in the Mediterranean and in Mexico. Next, the article by **Nicholas Farrelly**, Associate Dean at the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University, shifts the focus to Southeast Asia and in particular to Myanmar, the country of origin and return of millions of migrants who significantly shape the economy of the region and face dangerous situations in a context already marked by long-standing tensions and violence.

The relationship between migration and security is a controversial one. On the one hand, conflicts trigger large waves of migration, while on the other, incoming refugee flows pose a challen-



Source: Nicholas Farrelly

ge for their reception and integration. Migration – and diasporas in particular – are often seen as causes of instability in places of settlement and as direct linkages to international terrorism. In her article, **Élise Féron**, Docent and Senior Researcher at the Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI), challenges the linearity of these assumptions and examines the various factors that contribute to the definition of the political identity of conflict-generated diasporas.

The following article, authored by **Claudio Bono**, consultant at the International Training Centre of the International Labour Organization (ITC-ILCO), highlights how historical vicissitudes might influence contemporary state policies on migration, especially in countries like Jordan, which over the years has had to deal with the socio-economic, political and security challenges posed by the impact of the incoming migrants from the turbulent Middle East region.

Stressing further the importance of taking the complexity of the phenomenon into account when designing migration policies, **Lorenzo Nannetti**, an analyst at *Il Caffè Geopolitico*, closes the fourth issue of *Human Security* with an appraisal of the conflictual, political, demographic and environmental dynamics that motivate the choices of those who, despite all the risks and the strong European deterrence, decide to leave Africa for the Old Continent.

Michela Ceccorulli

The reform of the EU asylum system and the concept of human security.

Silvia Giletti Benso

Borders: Horizons of control, domination and suffering in the Americas and the Mediterranean.

Nicholas Farrelly

Myanmar on the move.

Élise Féron

The politics of conflict-generated diasporas.

Claudio Bono

Jordan between migration and international security.

Lorenzo Nannetti

Missing perceptions of migration dynamics.

Counter-piracy, private security and freedom of navigation: Horizons of security at sea.

HUMAN SECURITY n.5 - December 2017

Since 2000, decreasing security at sea has given rise to mounting concerns, both at global and national levels. The re-emergence of phenomena such as piracy or the escalation of geopolitical tensions presents complex challenges that require cross-cutting responses, involving a variety of actors at different levels. This issue of *Human Security* deals with maritime security and offers readers an in-depth analysis of topics that are only seldom the subject of public debate, especially in Italy.

Stefano Ruzza, Assistant Professor of Conflict, Security and Statebuilding at the University of Turin, opens this issue of the journal by pointing out how, adding to the problems arising from the migration crisis in the Mediterranean, piracy has had significant – yet sometimes not obvious – implications for citizens ‘ashore’. Military missions such as EU-NAVFOR Atalanta or NATO Ocean Shield have not been sufficient on their own to stem the problem and embarking armed teams on board merchant ships now seems to be a common practice

across the world. Italy, like other countries, has had to readjust its approach to counter-piracy and respond to the demands of its shipowners. Continuing the review of the Italian case and its specificities as regards the use of armed personnel on board merchant ships, **Luca Sisto**, Deputy Director-General of Confitarma, outlines the evolution and the challenges of the Italian legal and institutional outlook, drawing from Confitarma’s direct experience and the role played by the Italian armoury in the creation of the ‘dual’ model introduced by Law 130/2011. Concluding the focus on piracy and counter-piracy, the article by **Vincenzo Pergolizzi** and **Esther Marchetti** gives voice to another key stakeholder in the Italian panorama: Metro Security Express (MSE). As the first Italian surveillance institute to be licensed to carry out maritime counter-piracy services, MSE has had to face and overcome several logistical, administrative and bureaucratic hurdles. In their article, Pergolizzi and Marchetti accompany the reader through each of the steps required to be allowed to operate and contribute to what the authors themselves call public-private ‘participatory security’.

Contributing to the wider debate on the role of the private sector in maritime

security, **Eugenio Cusumano**, Assistant Professor of International Relations and European Studies at the University of Leiden, shifts the focus to the thorny issue of the management of migration flows, assessing how the increased participation of non-governmental organizations in sea rescue operations has allowed for a greater involvement of private security companies in the management of the Libyan crisis, albeit not without criticalities.

As hinted before, the maritime dimension of security is also on the international agenda from a more geopolitical standpoint. Closing the fifth issue of *Human Security*, **Marco Giulio Barone** and **Simone Dossi** address the topic of freedom of navigation from two different perspectives. Barone, an analyst at *Il Caffè Geopolitico*, focuses on how A2/AD interdiction bubbles hamper the capacity of the United States to act as the guarantor of freedom of the seas. Dossi, Assistant Professor of International Relations at the University of Milan, flips the perspective by observing it from the position of the other great power, China, which – although interested in the development of A2/AD systems – undoubtedly has a lot to lose if the security of commercial navigation deteriorates.

Stefano Ruzza

The Italian response to Somali piracy.

Stefano Ruzza

Interview with Luca Sisto, Deputy Director-General of Confitarma.

Vincenzo Pergolizzi and Esther Marchetti

**Counter-piracy in Italy:
The experience of Metro Security Express.**

Eugenio Cusumano

**Liaisons Dangereuses:
Migration crisis, NGOs and private security.**

Marco Giulio Barone

**The challenges posed by A2/AD interdiction bubbles
to the freedom of navigation.**

Simone Dossi

Chinese maritime power: Threat or protection?



Source: Donna De Cesare

The urban frontline of security.

HUMAN SECURITY n.6 - March 2018

Today, more than half of the world's population lives in urban settings. By 2030, two out of three people will live in metropolitan centres, and by 2050 this ratio will rise to three out of four. Under the pressure of unprecedented urbanization, cities are emerging as political, economic and cultural crossroads, re-defining international development and security agendas. Despite the many opportunities, some urban areas now seem to echo the challenges associated with so-called fragile or failed states. In these

'fragile cities', state authorities struggle to provide basic services and secure a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, leaving room for old and new non-state actors. Meanwhile, daily life therein seems in many ways increasingly comparable to living in a war zone. All in all, cities represent new arenas of complex political, social and economic conflicts and, for this reason, they are likely to be at the core of more and more engagements by academics, policymakers and practitioners in the years to come. Along these lines, the texts and images of this issue of *Human Security* draw attention to the urban dimension of violence and human security, shedding light on the challenges

arising both for those who study these phenomena and for those who provide humanitarian aid or work to reduce and prevent violence in these contexts.

Kieran Mitton, author of the first article and Senior Lecturer in International Relations at King's College London, explores the factors contributing to the growing centrality of urban violence in the global dynamics of conflict, security and development. Mitton argues that this phenomenon is likely to characterize the twenty-first century and thus necessitates a greater collective effort to formulate appropriate responses. **Tommaso Messina**, analyst at Institutional Shareholder Services, follows Mitton's

insights by acknowledging how several international organizations are beginning to approach urban violence more systematically and by exploring the different assumptions underpinning this new trajectory in the field of humanitarian interventions.

Street gangs are one of the most visible manifestations of urban violence. Although these do not represent a novelty and are a widespread phenomenon worldwide, the identity, organizational and cultural aspects that distinguish gangs are often overlooked. Against this backdrop, the article by **Fabio Armao**, Professor of Urban Security and Politics at the University of Turin, describes how gangs are able to increase intra-group cohesion through the creation of subcultures and ideologies capable of providing their members with a system of common

rules and standards that, in turn, contribute to the nurturing of a sense of belonging and a collective identity that are not guaranteed by broader institutional contexts. Next, the words and pictures of **Donna De Cesare**, researcher, photographer and documentary film-maker, tell of the impacts that urban violence, gangs and the repressive policies put in place to combat them can have on people's lives, even thousands of kilometres away. **David C. Brotherton** and **Rafael Gude**, respectively Professor and Visiting Research Scholar at John Jay College, conclude the focus on street and youth gangs by sharing some of the findings of their ethnographic and archival research on the structural and cultural factors that led Ecuador to opt for a policy of social inclusion, in fact legalising gangs. According to Brotherton and Gude, the success of this policy initiative and the positive effects that it has had on Ecu-

dorian society ten years later invite us to shift our attention to the quest for concrete responses that go beyond repressive policies or the mere deployment of security forces to adopt a more transformative approach and look at gangs as actors that are part of broader processes of social change.

Closing the sixth issue of *Human Security*, **Omar Degan**, a young architect who has decided to put his passion at the service of his country of origin, Somalia, emphasizes the role of public spaces in creating opportunities that architects and urban planning experts should better exploit to reduce inequalities, mitigate violence and contribute to the reconstruction not only of physical spaces but also – and importantly – of social spaces in delicate and complex contexts such as post-conflict ones.

Kieran Mitton

War by another name? The “urban turn” in 21st century violence.

Tommaso Messina

Humanitarian interventions in urban settings: What's the assumption?

Fabio Armao

Street gangs as a form of glocal radicalization.

Donna De Cesare

The specter of MS-13: Understanding fears and perceptions of belonging among diaspora Salvadorans.

David C. Brotherton and Rafael Gude

Gang legalization and violence reduction in Ecuador's Murder Miracle.

Omar Degan

Public spaces as opportunities to reduce conflict and inequalities in Somalia.

Conflict, human security and new technologies.

HUMAN SECURITY n.7 - July 2018

In 2010, there were fewer than two billion internet users. Today, about half of the world's population is online, and this trend is growing quickly, especially in developing countries. The new technologies, products and services that we have at our disposal are doing much more than providing new possibilities: they are changing the way we live, work and relate to each other.

From robots to self-drive cars, what looked until a few years ago like science fiction has now become a reality. To be sure, all these technologies might improve our lives and contribute to human progress, but they can also be used to serve less noble, if not criminal, goals. The seventh issue of *Human Security* is dedicated to some of the most critical aspects of the so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution and, in particular, to the technological transformation of conflict and human security.

What applies to the private sphere or the industrial sector, in fact, also applies to war. As we read more and more often in the newspapers, contemporary conflicts are no longer limited to traditional battlefields – land, sea and air – but seem to have crossed boundaries to reach a new, potentially boundless arena: cyberspace. The growing interest in and attention to cybersecurity therefore comes as no surprise. In his article, **Giacomo Giacomello**, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of

Bologna, stresses the risks brought about by new technologies that are used in sensitive sectors – such as finance, health and transportation – and expose governments and citizens to ‘computer wars’ that can strike anyone, anywhere and at any time.

Among the many challenges and dilemmas that the world has to face, perhaps the most intense is to understand what the evolution will be of the relationship between humans and machines in the realm of war: is it possible to delegate to robots one of the activities that has always distinguished us from all other living beings? In his article, **Christopher Coker**, Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science, tackles this question by exploring the fundamental differences between artificial intelligence and human intelligence.

Regardless of possible future trajectories, the use of weapons capable of acting independently of human intervention has been a reality in different conflicts for many years. Yet, the only attempt to regulate their use remains that of Isaac Asimov, who in 1950 elaborated the three laws of robotics. Dealing with the topic from a legal perspective, **Andrea Spagnolo**, Lecturer in International Humanitarian Law at the University of Turin, reviews the debate arising from the work of the Group of Experts on Autonomous Weapons within the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) and highlights how the lack of regulation of autonomous weapons can compromise compliance with the core principles of humanitarian law as established by the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

If in 1949 states acknowledged the need to adhere to rules to protect civilians in times of war, **Pier Luigi Dal Pino**, Cen-

tral Director of Institutional and Industrial Relations at Microsoft Italy and Austria, argues that a Digital Geneva Convention is now needed to protect civilians in cyberspace, even in times of peace. Describing the fundamental role and commitment of the private sector in the prevention and management of cyberattacks, Dal Pino introduces the Cybersecurity Tech Accord and encourages governments to sign it, as major cyber companies have recently done.

The seventh issue of *Human Security* ends with an article authored by a recent graduate of the University of Turin, **Gioacchino Panziera**, who looks at the use of technology, and most notably digital activism, as an analytical tool to better capture the complexity of contemporary conflicts ‘from below’ and thereby contribute to the restoration of agency and leadership to the people and digital communities to which the information is addressed.

Giampiero Giacomello

Cybersecurity or human security?

Christopher Coker

War and the coming of Artificial Intelligence.

Andrea Spagnolo

Regulating autonomous weapons: Fiction or law?

Pier Luigi Dal Pino

From the Cybersecurity Tech Accord to a Digital Geneva Convention: Responsibility, trust and shared commitment.

Gioacchino Panziera

Digital activism as a lens to understand the conflict in Syria.

Beyond the wall, between old and new dynamics.

HUMAN SECURITY n.8 - December 2018

The recent events in the Sea of Azov and the upcoming elections in Ukraine have once again brought to the headlines the Donbass region and the whole of the area once under Soviet influence. Since 2014, the Ukrainian conflict alone has caused the death of more than ten thousand people and

the tensions between different political identities across the region remain very high, with risky geopolitical dynamics. The eighth issue of *Human Security* looks eastwards and focuses on one of the most discussed and tormented areas of conflict in recent decades. From the Balkan peninsula to the Caucasian peaks, security poses lingering and heterogeneous questions, which extend from the international to the local dimension, becoming a source of daily concern.

Today, as thirty years ago, the keystone of the region lies in Moscow. If the collapse of the Soviet Union left a sudden power vacuum, on the other side of the ‘Iron Curtain’ the political and strategic resources available to boost the democratization process of the former Soviet bloc have been – and still seem to be – insufficient. Against this background, **Irina Busygina**, Professor at the Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg, pinpoints the failure



Source: *Francesco Trupia*

of the European Union's stalling strategy: the high hopes of the 1990s have clashed with realpolitik and the authoritarian manners of the Kremlin, which is less and less willing to tolerate intrusions into what it considers areas of exclusively Russian influence.

Political relations also appear to be severely compromised by the paralysis of the peace process in Ukraine. Looking at the three core pillars of the Minsk Agreement, **Giulio Benedetti**, graduate student at the Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg, underlines how the current stalemate is compromising the extent to which the terms of peace are observed, with separatists reluctant to submit again to the control of Kiev, which, for its part, does not seem willing to guarantee those margins of constitutional autonomy that were decisive for the achievement of the ceasefire. The population's discontent and economic difficulties add to a political

climate that, a few months before the presidential elections, looks quite dangerous.

Moscow's strategic plan appears, on the other hand, firm and coherent: over the last twenty years Putin has successfully consolidated a broad consensus around his vision to restore Russia as a leading power in the international arena. **Gabriele Natalizia**, Assistant Professor of Diplomacy and Political Science at the Link Campus University, points out how the Russian president has routed his political stand on two tracks running against the multilevel and consensual approach of the European Union: authoritarian centralization in reaction to autonomist pressures and the restoration of an exclusive political zone of influence. While Western observers have strongly criticized Moscow's methods, the United States and the European Union have failed to demonstrate the political determination required

to support geographically remote allies, as epitomized in the Georgian conflict in 2008. The Caucasus appears to be one of the contexts where regional tensions are most explosive. In a territory punctuated by identity claims – notes **Marco Valigi**, Research Fellow at the University of Bologna – the increasing interventionism of the new Trump administration risks upsetting the current fragile equilibrium, making conflicts by proxy war possible again.

The identity dimension of conflict also remains dangerously alive in the Balkans and especially in Kosovo, where, almost twenty years after the end of the war, the process of reconciliation between the Serbian and Kosovar populations remains difficult. Looking at the Serbian enclave of Velika Hoča as a case in point, **Francesco Trupia**, PhD candidate at Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, explores how the local dimension and the sphere of everyday life,

often neglected by top-down analyses, pose new challenges and opportunities to understand the relations between Serbia and Kosovo.

Local populations and perspectives also find a key role in the framework of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo (OMiK). **William Brame**, Lead Advisor at EUAM,

and **Giuseppe Lettieri**, member of the OSCE Department of Security and Public Safety, end the seventh issue of *Human Security* by highlighting some of the results of the security sector reform (SSR) process in the Ferizaj-Uroševac area. By placing the relationship with victims of violence at the core of police training, the pilot project 'Confidence

and Satisfaction in the Kosovo Police' has increased citizens' confidence in the police forces, thereby contributing to a renewed legitimacy of local institutions, which is crucial for the success of the entire peace mission and the stability of the country.

Irina Busygina

Whither EU-Russia relations?

Giulio Benedetti

Economics and identity in the Donbass.

Gabriele Natalizia

Stopping democracy? The Russian challenge to the US leadership in the South Caucasus.

Marco Valigi

Geopolitical competition or proxy war? Russian and US security policies and the South Caucasus.

Francesco Trupia

Identity, exclusion and political disengagement: The Serbian enclave of Velika Hoča.

William Brame and Giuseppe Lettieri

Increasing public confidence and satisfaction in policing through a victim-centred approach: A pilot project in Kosovo.

Genocide between memory, law and politics.

HUMAN SECURITY n.9 - May 2019

Despite the adoption of a dedicated Convention by the United Nations in 1948, the use of the term 'genocide' still generates confusion and ambiguity today, and not only in the legal realm, as noted by **Marzia Ponso**, Assistant Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Turin. While the Convention contains a narrow definition of genocide, which excludes victims belonging to political minorities, the international criminal courts of the 1990s have redefined the phenomenon more broadly. Moreover, although the distinction between 'genocide' and 'democide' appears quite clear, the recognition of several historical tragedies as genocides still provides a breeding ground for clashes and deep divisions.

The Bosnian case, for example, is still subject to controversy. As explained in this ninth issue of *Human Security* by **Arianna Piacentini**, Researcher at EURAC Research in Bolzano, the Yugoslav wars of the early 1990s gave vent to the political instrumentalization of identities while the aims of new regional powers led to the use of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina as an instrument of territorial conquest and consolidation. The 1995 Srebrenica massacre therefore represented the culmination of a process that lasted at least a decade, but speaking of genocide remains a driver of heated confrontation, with nationalist tensions feeding regional political narratives.

In contrast, the genocidal character of the Metz Yeghern, the 1915

extermination of Armenians, is generally acknowledged. As the freelance journalist **Simone Zoppellaro** points out, however, this represents an emblematic and in many ways extreme case of politicization of a historical event. Raphael Lemkin took the similarities between the Shoah and Metz Yeghern as a reference when coining the neologism 'genocide'. Yet the recognition of Metz Yeghern as such remains at the centre of diplomatic crises, political tensions and silences, in Turkey as elsewhere.

Sadly famous, too, is the case of Rwanda, which, together with the Shoah, has often been considered paradigmatic of genocidal dynamics. Twenty-five years after the tragedy, **Caterina Clerici** and **Eléonore Hamelin**, freelance journalist and video-



Source: *Caterina Clerici*

journalist respectively, share through their words and pictures the reality of Rwandan women, between the traumas of the past and today's economic boom. Although the atrocities of 1994 bequeathed more than 800,000 deaths, the almost total alienation of women in the perpetration of the massacres has allowed them to become protagonists of the process of national reconstruction. While the International Criminal Court of Rwanda recognized rape as a genocidal weapon for the first time, the thousands of victims and children born as a result of the violence remain a symbol of the deep wounds that civil society is still struggling to heal today.

The historical-legal memory of the 1965 massacres in Indonesia and the persecution of the Jews in Italy during the Second World War also present a thorny issue. In his article, **Guido Creta**, recent graduate in In-

donesian History from the University of Naples 'L'Orientale', describes how the killing of half a million Indonesians at the hands of Suharto's regime is still shrouded in a dark silence, buried by legal definitions, geopolitical considerations and systematic denial – with obvious consequences for contemporary Indonesia. In fact, as Creta points out, while legal definitions and reconciliation processes can be excellent tools, they are not sufficient to overcome such a tragedy unless accompanied by a rigorous historical reconstruction and the identification of those responsible. Of a similar opinion is **Nicolò Bussolati**, lawyer and PhD candidate in International Criminal Law, who retraces the history of racial persecution in Italy to highlight how the lack of sanctions – or at least of a formal moment of public evaluation of the crimes committed during Fascism – leaves a deep and dangerous gap in Italian historical memory.

Although the horrors of the past have created, at least in principle, a stigma, today there is no shortage of cases of persecution based on identity, which at times are even labelled as 'genocides' by civil society and the media. Among these, the dire situation faced by Rohingya in Myanmar is still evolving: the brutal and repressive campaigns conducted by the Tatmadaw since 2017 have caused the deaths of thousands of civilians, the rape of hundreds of women and the arrest of several hundred people. However, as stated by **Kyaw Zeyar Win**, researcher at the Peace Research Institute in Yangon, the 'Rohingya crisis' is not a new phenomenon but the tragic result of institutionalized policies and practices of exclusion and discrimination that should not be overshadowed by the dramatic humanitarian situation in the refugee camps in Bangladesh.

Marzia Ponso

Defining “genocide”.

Arianna Piacentini

Memory and oblivion.

Ethnic cleansing and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Simone Zoppellaro

A century to break the silence:

The Armenian genocide between history and denial.

Caterina Clerici and Eléonore Hamelin

The future of Rwanda belongs to women.

Giulio Creta

The 1965 violence in Indonesia.

Nicolò Bussolati

Italy and racial persecution:

Historical-legal memories of a forgotten past.

Kyam Zeyar Win

The “Rohingya crisis” between humanitarian emergency and human insecurity.

Governance, ungovernance and alternative governance.

HUMAN SECURITY n.10 - October 2019

With the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the international community has tried to overcome the idea that sustainable development is an issue pertaining solely to the economic and environmental realms by affirming instead an integrated understanding of ‘development’ that also values its human and social dimensions. With the approval of the 2030 Agenda, the international community also consolidated the idea that development and peace are two sides of the same coin, achievable only in tandem through good governance and strong institutions that are transparent, effective and responsible (Sustainable Development Goal 16 – SDG 16).

The 2030 Agenda assumes that, in order to be ‘good’, governance must be inclusive and representative of all fringes of society. Yet this global development action plan focuses primarily on formal systems of governance, re-

flecting a tendency of the international community to conceive of societies, states and governance in a mechanistic and technocratic way. In an attempt to offer readers a broader reflection, this issue of *Human Security* looks at alternative forms of governance that emerge in situations of conflict, state weakness and scarce human security.

As underlined by **Mats Berdal**, Director of the Conflict, Development and Security Research Group at King’s College London, the aim is not to romanticize informal systems and institutions, but to deconstruct the idea of the Weberian state and to blur the binary distinctions between state and non-state, legitimate and non-legitimate, governance and non-governance in order to better understand the impact – complex and transformative – that wars and violent conflicts have on society and the political and economic realities that are created as a result.

Also focusing on the role of the state in the current global context, **Fabio Armao**, Professor of Urban Security and

Politics at the University of Turin, explores how the proliferation of hybrid legal forms beyond the state is changing the economy of power in the globalized society, also leading to the emergence of actors able to directly challenge state power, such as mafias and those responsible for so-called white-collar crimes.

The fight against corruption and fair access to justice are among the cornerstones of SDG 16. While these phenomena are often treated as separate, the economic and legal analysis conducted by **Edgardo Buscaglia**, Senior Research Scholar at Columbia University, demonstrates that increasing levels of corruption are associated with a greater presence of organized crime networks, and the more these actors manage to integrate into the economic sector, the less the state is able to guarantee access to formal justice, thus forcing people to rely on alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.

Drawing from his ethnographic field research, **David Brenner**, Lecturer in International Relations at Goldsmiths,



Source: David Brenner

University of London, shows how in some contexts – such as Myanmar – the main source of insecurity for a large part of the population comes in fact from the state itself. The promotion of ‘peaceful, just and inclusive societies’ must therefore take into account the ethno-politics of conflict and involve those institutions ‘beyond the state’ that directly contribu-

te to increasing the human security of local communities.

Along similar lines, and closing this tenth issue of *Human Security*, **Francesca Fortarezza**, recent graduate in International Affairs from the University of Turin, reflects on the shortcomings of SDG 16 when contextualized in those ‘hybrid’ re-

alities that are formally neither in conflict nor at peace. According to Fortarezza, looking at contexts such as Mexico exposes SDG 16 to two fundamental misunderstandings: that of the object – that is, of the situation to be transformed; and that of the result to be obtained – that is, of the condition of peace, justice and security to be achieved.

Mats Berdal

The myth of “ungoverned space”. Some implications for exogenous statebuilding and human security.

Fabio Armao

The paradox of legality: Hyper-normativism and the erosion of state power.

Edgardo Buscaglia

Counteracting the social base of criminal networks seeking economic power in insecure zones.

David Brenner

Peace, justice and strong institutions beyond the state: The Salween Peace Park in Myanmar.

Francesca Fortarezza

Making space for peace and development: International protective accompaniment and nonviolent conflict transformation.

Arms and security: What reforms?

HUMAN SECURITY n.11 - December 2019

The volume of international arms transfers has been increasing over the years, reaching its highest level since the end of the Cold War in 2018 and a trade value of around USD 95 billion in 2017. A set of rules and regulations for the arms trade of course exists and has been agreed at regional and international levels. Yet ambiguities remain and the recent escalation of the conflict in Yemen has revealed profound differences in the way the member states of the European Union interpret and

implement these rules: while some states have stopped or restricted exports of military equipment to Saudi Arabia, others have pursued them. Moreover, as argued by **Giovanna Maletta**, Researcher at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), in some cases – such as those of the United Kingdom and Italy – the legality of these exports has been questioned in the face of concerns about the respect of human rights and compliance with the core principles of international humanitarian law.

On the basis of similar considerations, in 1997 the international com-

munity committed itself to banning and removing anti-personnel mines. This notwithstanding, it is estimated that there are still tens of millions of landmines scattered across the world. The clearance of minefields thus goes on, with many organizations engaged in the endeavour. Among these, APOPO is a key player and has been relying on an innovative, extremely accurate and efficient 'technology': the sense of smell of African giant rats. To find out more, **Francesco Merlo**, Project Assistant at Community of Volunteers for the World (CVM), interviewed **Abdullah Mchomvu**, Mine Detection Rats Training Manager at APOPO.



Source: APOPO

Following the focus on the legal challenges to the international arms trade and APOPO's demining activities, this issue of *Human Security* looks at security sector reform (SSR). Lieutenant Colonel **Paolo Mazzuferi**, Head of the Studies and Doctrine Section of the Italian Army's Post-Conflict Operations Study Centre, traces the evolution and outlines the tenets of contemporary SSR frameworks. Next, **Giuseppe Lettieri**, Monitoring Officer at the OSCE mission in Skopje, reflects on the impor-

tance and the challenges of the reform of the Kosovar penitentiary system, reviewing the process at the intersection of SSR and judicial reform.

Close and in some ways complementary to SSR are disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes, the topic focused on last in the eleventh issue of *Human Security*. As pointed out by **Irene Baraldi**, Blue Book Trainee at the European Commission, and **Alpaslan Özerdem**, Dean

of the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, DDR programmes are among the most delicate and challenging elements of peacebuilding processes, especially considering their potential impacts on power relations in post-conflict societies (as argued by Baraldi in the Bosnian case) and their repercussions on the human security of different groups and subgroups of ex-combatants (as observed by Özerdem).

Giovanna Maletta

Legal challenges to EU member states' arms exports to Saudi Arabia: The current status and potential implications.

Francesco Merlo

APOPO's mission: Training rats to save lives. Interview with Abdullah Mchomvu, Mine Detection Rats Training Manager at APOPO.

Paolo Mazzuferi

Security sector reform: Evolution and consolidation of a concept.

Giuseppe Lettieri

The reform of the penitentiary system at the crossroads of SSR and judicial reform: The case of Kosovo.

Irene Baraldi

DDR in Bosnia and Herzegovina: An exceptional case.

Alpaslan Özerdem

One size doesn't fit all: Heterogeneity of combatants in DDR programs.

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