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# A Comprehensive Approach: Cultural Awareness as a Security Tool

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# Abstract

The thesis has been conceptualized by the Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center which aims to establish a long-term strategy in order to enhance the security of European and third countries citizens, providing effective tools for the law-enforcement agencies to contrast the increasing transnational crime and terrorism. The idea behind this process is to create an academic model valid for the Formed Police Units that will strengthen the cultural aspects of their preparation, considering that Cultural Awareness is increasingly important in the securitization strategies.

The argument has to be treated within the framework of the Comprehensive Approach, being the initial doctrine developed by the international institutions which have the goal to reduce the instability at global level. It will be analysed in theoretical and practical terms in order to frame its main weaknesses and understand in which way the security field could be improved through the implementation of cultural awareness of the FPU.

The first chapter describes the origins of the approach for which there is still not a shared definition, it is a wide concept and for this reason every organization has an own perspective; nonetheless the concept at the base remains the same. It was officially introduced by NATO at the Riga Summit of 2006 and it was defined as a coordinated action of a range of military and non-military actors in a crisis situation. Later it was inserted also in the New NATO Strategic Concept taking more space in international community as affirmed doctrine. The European Union developed a proper vision of the CA, different from NATO, more based on economic and political values rather than on military alliances. The comprehensive approach will be cited in the Lisbon Treaty and it will strongly influence the foreign policy pursued by the European External Action Service.

The OSCE and the United Nations have developed their perspectives too. The UN vocabulary uses the term Integrated Approach focused on sharing evaluations, information and programs. The main goal is to maximize the individual and collective

impact of the organization in order to restore the peace as soon as possible in the countries with a crisis situation.

It was fundamental then the contribution of the Arma dei Carabinieri to the CA; they developed the concept of Stability Policing, through the experiences of the MSU in the Balkans. The Stability Policing and the introduction of the Formed Police Units were the basis for the approach and they represent also the starting point for the implementation of the process. It has followed the description of the Centers of excellence specialized in the training of personnel for the UN and EU operations, aiming at the understanding of the main FPU tasks abroad.

The second chapter is focused on examining a case-study in particular in order to understand how the CA is applied. The case-study regards the African region of Sahel, located under the Sahara Desert. The international community is investing economic and military resources trying to stabilize one of the main critical situation in Africa. Several missions under the aegis of the UN and the EU have been set out, the most important was established in Mali that because of the coup d'état of 2012, lays in a dramatic condition. The chapter deals with the principal problems of the region among which the illicit traffics of drugs, weapons and human beings. The Islamic groups and not only, are spreading all over West-Africa and they have taken control of the migration routes, representing also the main source of violent conflicts. Another serious issue related to the Sahel is climate change that is affecting negatively many production-sectors of areas like agriculture, fishery and livestock pushing the population to leave and emigrate to Europe.

The last chapter is committed to explain because cultural awareness is so important and how much it could be helpful in the security field. The last part gives a suggestion of a possible model for the FPU relying on the academic proposal of the Multinational CIMIC group, a body specialized in the engagement of local populations in the missions abroad that has developed a deep expertise in the personnel preparation especially for what concerns cultural aspects. In the specific, the course taken in consideration is called Intercultural Mediator course and it is based on four pillars: the geo-strategic context, communication and negotiation principles, the intercultural

mediator role and CIMIC doctrine, psychological and sociological principles. A particular deepening is dedicated then to the role of the intercultural mediator and its management and to gender awareness, representing key-aspects of training.

In conclusion, the thesis resumes what it could be the right strategy to pursue the initial CFLC's goal. Implementing further options for the law-enforcement agencies is therefore necessary in the context of today in order to grant more security to the citizens of every country, providing new integration tools as cultural awareness.

***Key Words: Comprehensive Approach, Cultural Awareness, Sahel, Security, Migration.***

# Introduction

Nowadays the increasing migration flows are profoundly changing European society and Italy itself, being one of the nearest landing sites for people moving especially from African countries. The phenomenon is difficult to manage at political level where policies of integration lack of effectiveness. Furthermore, the security issues related to migration represent a serious threat, which needed to be tackled by the law enforcement agencies.

Transnational crime and Terrorism provide the evidence that internal security, which today is a key factor for the public opinion, is strictly bound to the external security. The stabilization of the crisis areas hence becomes fundamental and in this regard the Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center (CFLC) considers vital the creation of a new preventive and problem-solving attitude recalling a Comprehensive Approach.

The international institutions in fact have always intervened where possible to limit the damages of armed conflicts (Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq, the Sahel, The Horn of Africa etc.), to maintain the public order and to protect human rights and humanitarian law. Since the 1990s, they have developed precisely what is defined as a comprehensive approach which aims to pursue the same goals but dealing with the local civil society in all its components, from the government and the private organizations to the army and even with the enemies when necessary. It has been extremely improved after the failures obtained in the process of state-building in Afghanistan, Iraq and in the Balkans. Here the international institutions were not able to set up a restore-plan that took into account every member involved. The isolation of a part of the society was always reason of instability causing security issues for the states where the missions were operating and consequently for the western countries, it suffices to think about the origins of the various terrorist groups.

The Comprehensive Approach was then the answer to these failures and it is the product of the main international organizations' contribution, however the CFLC strongly believes it could be majorly improved due to the fact that today the little unity of intent by the member states, which are more focused on their internal problems,

makes them not able to provide with real integration policies. Italy as France and Germany is blamed indeed of not considering the real global necessities.

Nevertheless, Italy played a crucial role in the development of this doctrine and the proof is given by the concept of Stability Policing and the related Formed Police Units, thanks to the expertise acquired by the Arma dei Carabinieri in Kosovo and Bosnia through the MSU. It can be considered a pillar of the approach for what regards the security issues, representing the first type of cooperation with indigenous police forces, a concept that will be enlarged later at every state-level within the comprehensive approach itself. In this sense, the Arma dei Carabinieri was the perfect body to enhance the strategy because of its double nature; it is in fact a law-enforcement agency at national level but with a military arrangement, this means it can be part of international operations. These are the reasons why the Arma will be fundamental in the course of this analysis, being an active player externally and nationally. The CFLC wants to intervene in this phase strengthening the personnel preparation in the field of cultural mediation, structuring a model which could be affordable for the Arma, in this way the Carabinieri and the other international police forces with similar tasks taking part to missions abroad could interact and merge more easily in the foreign communities on the national soil.

In doing so, it has been fundamental to study the comprehensive approach in its entirety, how it has been theorized by the various international organizations and how it has been put into practice. For the latter argument, the African region of Sahel located under the Sahara Desert has been chosen as case-study after many considerations. First of all, it is the principal hub of illegal and terrorist activities, which affect the southern European countries. The United Nations and in particular the European Union have focused their efforts here trying to limit the escalation of violence that is spreading in many areas of the region and in the attempt of controlling the migration flows towards Europe.

In the recent years, many organizations linked with the Islamic State and Al Qaeda have increased their power over West-Africa, new Islamic groups as the Islamic Armed Group and the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa have taken

over, not considering the existing organizations of Al Qaeda in the Maghreb and Boko Haram. Their presence has in fact majorly undermined the stability of the Sahel.

The international effort for the region is testified by the numerous missions under the aegis of UN, NATO and the EU. The operation with more resources is the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) that is also the theatre of the European mission EUCAP of the EU. In Niger, there is another EUCAP that aims to fight the terrorist threat and stabilize the political situation. The UN and the EU have identified the global challenges of the Sahel and developed an integrated strategy, which is bound in both cases to the comprehensive approach but differently because of their diverse interests, in order to tackle them in the framework of the operations deployed. These challenges are: governance, security and resilience. A focus on the biggest criminal activities then has been done: the drug traffics, the black market of weapons and in particular the management of the migration routes by the organized crime. Another aspect touched regards the threat of climate change that represents a serious cause of displacement in the Sahel creating several problems to the agriculture and livestock.

Therefore, after having analysed the comprehensive approach under different points of view, there is the need to explain the importance covered by cultural awareness for structuring a possible academic model of cultural mediation. The first part of the last chapter deals with cultural awareness itself and if it has been proved to be useful in the state-building process and more in the specific if it could increase the effectiveness of the comprehensive approach especially under the security umbrella whether applied to the FPU with targeted courses.

The second part of the third chapter is instead the outcome of several interviews conducted on the field with the major international actors who are involved in the development of the comprehensive approach.

During my experience at the Italian Embassy of Pristina (Kosovo) I had the possibility to interact and collect information from the main stakeholders about their conception

of cultural awareness, how their organizations deal with it and the possible methods to exploit it in favour of the law-enforcement agencies.

In order to have a general overview, I contacted the majority of the organizations present in Kosovo. Starting from EULEX (the European mission for Rule of Law) I interviewed the Special Assistant to the Head of mission and a police officer who was collaborating with the European body. Another perspective of the European vision was given by the Head of political economic and EU integration section. The last representative of political institutions was instead the Deputy Head of the OSCE office of political affairs and communication.

From these first interviews, it might be derived that cultural awareness is important but not central at political level, where other values are more considered. However, it must be taken into account that the information was collected in Kosovo, a country which is no more in a critical situation and that has independent institutions, even if recent.

On the other hand, listening to the military bodies the importance covered by cultural awareness for them is completely different. The commander of MSU underlined how precious the cultural mediators are for the operations, however their role cannot be revealed by our national officers yet. Another member of the MSU, who participated to the mission of the Arma in Burkina Faso, explained the pattern he followed, giving an outlook of the courses provided by the Center of excellence for the Stability Police Units (CoESPU) which aims to prepare the personnel before the deployment abroad. Finally, the Head of communication and public affairs of KFOR (NATO mission in Kosovo) talked about the operate of the Multinational CIMIC Group (MNCG) which trains the Italian and international army personnel in a different way compared to the CoESPU, taking care more deeply of cultural aspects, also because of the different necessities of the military in external missions.

At the Head-quarter of the MNCG I received the main inspirations for structuring a possible model for the Arma. There is in fact a course given by this body which fits

with the necessities of the Arma dei Carabinieri in the field of cultural mediation, dealing with several aspects of the doctrine, all included in the Intercultural Mediator course. The MNCG sees the participation every year of many Carabinieri officers, although there is not a precise attendance obligation. Their involvement is rather based on specific requires that are not enlarged to every member.

Having already an academic model to follow, it is just a matter of how to patch the paradigms given to the Carabinieri by the CoESPU with this course based on cultural awareness in order to verify if security could be improved as in the Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center's expectations.

# Chapter 1

## 1.1 The Origins of the Comprehensive Approach

There is not a universal and shared definition of the comprehensive approach; it is a wide-ranging concept that can be interpreted depending on the actor involved and that can be implemented by the actors themselves. It was only first officially introduced by the North Atlantic Council at the Riga Summit of 2006, it is based on a coordinated action of a range of military and non-military actors in a crisis situation. In this regard, capabilities such as interacting and mediating with local communities are absolutely essential. However, it is necessary to underline that the relationship between civilians and the military in the framework of the comprehensive approach goes beyond obtaining the neutrality of the population in a crisis area. It is rather focused on a proactive methodology that aims to capture the people's hearts and minds during the process of rebuilding a peaceful state.[1]

The historical origins of the CA have always been difficult to define[2], nevertheless in the summit of Lisbon in 2010 it was reinforced within the New NATO Strategic Concept in order to have more official texts exploring this argument. Before the New Strategic Concept, the CA had been embedded in the Lisbon Treaty in 2007 signed by the European Union while during the Balkan war in the 90s the UN Resolution 1244 was already citing it. The first real attempts to use the approach were in Liberia, where the United Nations intervened to end the civil war, and in Afghanistan for what concerns the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

As Cécile Wendling from the Institut de recherche stratégique de l'Ecole militaire points out in her publication, after the negative results obtained in Kosovo and Mozambique, the international institutions (especially the EU and NATO) have intensified their efforts to strengthen the CA[3], consolidating the existing doctrine but also making it more complex evidenced by the fact that today each organization has its own perspective.

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[1] C. Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management, IRSEM, 2010
[2] C. Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management, IRSEM, 2010
[3] C. Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management, IRSEM, 2010

## *1.2 From the Effects Based Approach to Operations (and EBO) to the Comprehensive Approach*

Before describing the different interpretations, an important passage is represented by the Effects Based Operation (EBO) and Effects Based Approach to Operation (EBAO) developed respectively by the US and the UK.[4] These two theories have several features in common with the comprehensive approach which has certainly been inspired by them, it is sufficient to look at the definition of the EBAO given in the position paper of the Military Committee (June 2006):

"The Effects Based Approach to Operations is the coherent and comprehensive application of various instruments of the Alliance combined with the practical cooperation with involved non-NATO actors, to create effects necessary to achieve planned objectives and ultimately the NATO end-state".[5]

It is implicit since the use of words that these approaches are linked, they are based on systemic methods of analysis which aim at individuating the best options of intervention in a crisis area. Their final objective is in fact similar: to provide the effectiveness of NATO's crisis management operations through the mediation of the military with the civilians and the consequent cooperation.[6] However, with the official articulation of it during the Riga Summit in November 2006, the CA has been implemented starting to replace the EBAO because of its greater flexibility. Since that summit the relationship between the two approaches has become complex, some saw the comprehensive approach as a political process that incorporates the EBAO while others thought the CA as a political-civilian process and the EBAO as only military.[7] The EBAO and the EBO before were too focused on the warfare study, using only mathematical methods and measuring tools that have prevented to re-adapt the

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[4] Brook Smith-Windsor, NATO's Effects Based and Comprehensive Approach to Operations, Research Division – NATO Defense College, Rome, July 2008
[5] "Military committee position on the Effects Based Approach to Operations", MCM 0052-2006, 6 June 2006.
[6] Brook Smith-Windsor, NATO's Effects Based and Comprehensive Approach to Operations, Research Division – NATO Defense College, Rome, July 2008
[7] Brook Smith-Windsor, NATO's Effects Based and Comprehensive Approach to Operations, Research Division – NATO Defense College, Rome, July 2008

strategies depending on the various frameworks.[8]

EBAO and EBO have helped to launch the comprehensive approach on the military and political level but apparently, they are now outdated.[9]

## 1.3 The Relationship between the International Organizations and the Comprehensive Approach

The doctrine about the comprehensive approach has been put into practice when it has been applied by some international organizations to a common territory, as for instance in Afghanistan where the UN, NATO and the EU acted together. Taking into account the case of the World Food Program in Afghanistan, NATO was identified just as a "military alliance" with no authorities in implementing this kind of activity. Actually, NATO was more effective than the EU in that case gaining more importance on the political level and proving that the European Union does not always act as a unique block in foreign policy. Beyond this single case, the interactions between international organizations have in some cases led the comprehensive approach into the field of coordination between the military and civilians.

## 1.4 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Perspective

Initially, due to the military nature of the organization, NATO did not have the tools to act according to the comprehensive approach, the capabilities to interact with civilians were not yet available.[10] Mediation and coordination with the locals was hard until the approach was enforced.[11] After the Riga Summit (2006) NATO started to improve relations with NGOs and to work on better coordination with non-military actors and civilians. The Action Plan, produced at the Bucharest Summit in 2008,

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[8] Vego, Milan N, Effects-Based Operations: A Critique:
https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a521851.pdf
[9] C. Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management, IRSEM, 2010
[10] Petersen, Friis A; Binnendijk, Hans, The Comprehensive Approach Initiative: Future Options for NATO: https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a473211.pdf
[11] Petersen, Friis A; Binnendijk, Hans, The Comprehensive Approach Initiative: Future Options for NATO: https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a473211.pdf

reaffirmed the commitment of the Atlantic organization for the comprehensive approach, later reported in the Allied Joint Publication [01] which states:

"NATO's experiences in Afghanistan, Kosovo and elsewhere have shown that crises do not lend themselves to simple definitions or analyses. Military means, although essential, are insufficient to deal with such crises alone. These challenges demand a comprehensive approach by the international community, including the coordinated action of a range of military and non-military actors. The effective implementation of a comprehensive approach requires all actors to contribute with a shared purpose, based on a common sense of responsibility, openness and determination […]"[12]

In the same statement NATO makes clear what the aims of the organization to develop the CA are:

➤ Improve the coherent application of the Alliance's own crisis management instruments, including its military and political planning procedures.

➤ Improve the Alliance's practical cooperation at all levels with partners, the UN and other relevant international organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), contractors, commercial partners and local actors when planning and conducting operations.

➤ Enhance the Alliance's ability to support stabilization and reconstruction (S&R) efforts in all phases of a conflict in concert with other actors.[13]

According to the AJP-01 the enforcement of the CA principles on the ground is facilitated by the civil-military interaction (CMI) that is applied to every level of the organization. It is a group of activities regarding the communication, planning and coordination that all the bodies of NATO share and conduct in the dialogue with NGOs and civilians.[14] At the political and strategic level, NATO tries to enhance communication between international players aiming to build solid links and liaisons

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[12] Allied Joint Publication-01 (AJP-01), NATO, December 2010
[13] Bucharest Summit Declaration, North Atlantic Council, April 2008
[14] Allied Joint Publication-01 (AJP-01), NATO, December 2010

but at the same time respecting the authority of each member involved. Then there is the operational level where it is crucial to cooperate with the local and regional actors to plan for operations. In order to contribute to a comprehensive approach, the capability to deal with civilians of NATO should be improved so as to properly manage crisis situations. Finally, the tactical level that includes to work closer with indigenous local authorities and actors.[15]

According to the NATO parameters, the success of the comprehensive approach is related to the good outcome deriving from these three levels and it regards aspects of security, governance and economic development. However, crisis management may be different depending on the specific environment, this is the reason why NATO has defined some guiding principles which are the following:

➢ Proactive engagement between all actors, both before and during a crisis.

➢ The importance of shared understanding engendered through cooperative working, liaison, education and a common language.

➢ The value of collaboration, based upon mutual trust and a willingness to cooperate, promote institutional familiarity and information sharing.

➢ Thinking focused on outcomes, ensuring that all actors work towards a common goal (or outcome) and ideally, mutually agreed objectives underpinned, in the absence of unity of effort, by harmonization of effort.

➢ Acknowledging the decision-making autonomy of partner organizations.[16]

These principles should ensure a sort of coherence in the governance of crisis situations by NATO. Despite the huge steps forward made in the evolution of the doctrine by the Alliance, there are still some clashes related to the comprehensive approach. There is a part of the organization supporting the idea that NATO does not

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[15] Allied Joint Publication-01 (AJP-01), NATO, December 2010
[16] Allied Joint Publication-01 (AJP-01), NATO, December 2010

have a civilian competency and it may go much further than its common tasks. Many NATO members are also part of the European Union and they reinforced the idea that the EU should handle the civilian aspects of crisis management, being an organization more institutionalized on these aspects compared to NATO.[17]

## 1.5 The European Union's Perspective

The European vision of the comprehensive approach has been influenced by NATO's perspective which is based on dialogue with partner countries and on the contribution to stabilization through civilian capability to interface more effectively with other actors, basically it coincided with the Civil Military Coordination (CMCO).[18] On the other hand, according to the report of the DCAF of Brussels, The Lisbon Treaty represents the turning point for the CA in the European framework. After 2009 in fact, the concept has been enlarged allocating more responsibilities to the EU High Representative/Vice President (HR/VP), moreover the European External Action Service (EEAS) has been created to develop the foreign policy of the EU following the principles of the comprehensive approach.[19] Later in 2013, a Joint Communication from the Commission and the High Representative to the European Parliament and the Council about the EU's comprehensive approach to external conflict and crises reasserted the importance covered by the CA and the role of the EEAS. It set out the necessary steps that the EU should take in order to extend the comprehensive approach to its foreign relations policies and action effectively:

➢ Develop a shared analysis

➢ Define a common strategic vision

➢ Focus on prevention

➢ Mobilize the different strengths and capacities of the EU

[17] C. Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management, IRSEM, 2010
[18] N. Pirozzi, The EU's Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Management, DCAF, June 2013
[19] N. Pirozzi, The EU's Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Management, DCAF, June 2013

➢ Commit to the long term: commit to the long term, even while carrying out short-term engagements and actions, by ensuring natural synergies between different EU tools to effectively build peaceful, resilient societies.

➢ Linking policies and internal and external action: better linking policy areas in internal and external action (energy security, environmental protection and climate change, migration issues, counter- terrorism, organized crime and global economic governance...)

➢ Make better use of EU Delegations: including through Joint Programming with Member States to make development cooperation more effective.

➢ Work in partnership: UN, NATO, African Union and civil society.[20]

These recommendations were produced because after the Lisbon treaty within the European Union the stakeholders involved in the process of crisis management increased and the relationship between them became problematic, the Joint Communication aimed to reduce these issues like the discussion about the civilian dimension of crisis management and whether it should be allocated to the Commission or the Council. There is the need for a much more integrated framework of interinstitutional cooperation, in this sense a more proactive role for the HR could be strengthened by a formal mechanism of coordination with the Commissioners in charge of the external action, with consultations between the European Commission and the European Council.[21]

Nicoletta Pirozzi in her report "The EU's Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Management" tried to explain how the EU should act in order to restore its credibility as a comprehensive crisis manager, the most important problem to tackle is the inadequacy of military capabilities that the EU have at the moment. The lack of appropriate human resources and means prevent the missions from having positive effects, there is the necessity of developing a capability in the military field making a

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[20] Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council, Brussels, 2013
[21] N. Pirozzi, The EU's Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Management, DCAF, June 2013

better use of existing assets. At the same time, a precise update of the EU's model of engagements requires "a definition of a single conceptual framework for EU external action and the consolidation of a shared vision among the different institutions", especially regarding the European Commission and the EEAS.[22]

Despite these technical issues of coordination and the current fragmentation among policies, proliferation of agencies and European institutions, the comprehensive approach has helped the EU to build relations with the other organizations as evidenced by the European Security Strategy (2003) in which collaborations with UN, NATO, OECD are highlighted.

### *1.6 The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Perspective*

The OSCE has developed the concept of comprehensive security which is strictly linked to the comprehensive approach at three major levels: the political-military approach, the humanitarian approach and the economic approach. On the other hand, comprehensive security regards other aspects such as environmental changes, basic liberties, the rule of law, implementing democratic institutions, terrorism and corruption, representing a wider theory on security compared to the CA.[23] The OSCE collaborates with the other international institutions, especially with the UN and with NATO on the operational level in fields like conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict recovery.

### *1.7 The United Nations' Perspective*

The United Nations vocabulary uses the term "Integrated Approach" that is focused on sharing evaluations, information and programs, it derives from the declaration of Kofi Annan in 2000: "An integrated mission is based on a common strategic plan and a shared understanding of the priorities and types of programmed interventions that need to be undertaken at various stages of the recovery process. Through this integrated process, the UN system seeks to maximize its contribution towards countries emerging from conflict by engaging its different capabilities in a coherent and mutually supportive manner." Subsequently the first official document about this

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[22] N. Pirozzi, The EU's Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Management, DCAF, June 2013
[23] C. Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management, IRSEM, 2010

approach was the Report of the panel on United Nations peacekeeping known also as Brahimi Report, published in 2000 after the missions in Bosnia and Rwanda.[24] The Secretary General Ban Ki-moon confirmed the approach theorized by Kofi Annan as the guiding principle in every conflict and post-conflict situation. For an integrated approach, it is necessary that the UN peacekeeping operations and the UN Country Team work together collaborating also with the actors involved.[25] The core features individuated in the integrated approach of the UN are: the context, in which all the UN actors cooperate to the stabilization of a conflict or the implementation of a comprehensive peace process; the purpose, it consists in the maximization of the individual and collective UN impact; the dimensions; the participating UN agents; the operational coordination that establishes a range of processes which will produce common assessments, tools, abilities and standards.[26]

From the 90s to nowadays the integrated approach has been implemented many times. If at the beginning the UN operations were mainly related to the cease-fire, today the Blue Helmets and the UN in general are in charge of several tasks such as the security system reform to disarmament (SSR), demobilization and reintegration (DDR), election monitoring, human rights enforcement and the mediation with local communities. These additional functions have brought the organization to create new categories of specialized workers.

The integrated approach is strictly linked to peacekeeping operations because it needs to guarantee the coherence of action, also in civil-military coordination.[27] After the Cold War more and more civilian roles within the UN were added to the peacekeeping mandates, the UN focus on civil-military coordination was really strong in the 1990s. However, over time the operations started to present a multidimensional nature shifting their attention on the country-level system of coordination across the political, security, development, rule of law, human rights and humanitarian dimensions.[28] It is interesting to see that now the aspect of civil-military coordination has been brought under NATO's umbrella due to the fact that in the UN peacekeeping operations the

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[24] C. Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management, IRSEM, 2010
[25] Cedric de Coning, The United Nations and the Comprehensive Approach, DIIS REPORT, 2008
[26] Cedric de Coning, The United Nations and the Comprehensive Approach, DIIS REPORT, 2008
[27] C. de Coning, The United Nations and the Comprehensive Approach, DIIS REPORT, 2008
[28] C. Wendling, The Comprehensive Approach to Civil-Military Crisis Management, IRSEM, 2010

military component is defacto limited.

### *1.8 The Contribution of the Arma dei Carabinieri to the Comprehensive Approach*

Within the implementation of the comprehensive approach carried out by the international institutions, the Italian peace forces employed in missions abroad have been fundamental. In situations of crisis, it is necessary in fact to have police forces on the ground who are able to rapidly intervene in stopping ethnic tensions or illicit trafficking and the Italian case of the Arma dei Carabinieri is perfectly fitting with these tasks, a police force with a military arrangement who can be employed both nationally and in foreign countries.[29] Since the operations in the Balkans the Arma has paved the way for the International Community in centralizing the state-building process towards a more multidimensional strategy. It is in fact in Kosovo with the creation of the Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU) in the 1990s that the concept of Stability Policing was affirmed. Stability Policing aims for the restoration of order and public security trying to fill the gap due to the lack of strong institutions. It is evident that the explanation of the concept introduces the basis of the comprehensive approach, in doing so, Italy and the Arma dei Carabinieri can be considered as a leader in the international framework for the development of the doctrine. The intake of the Center of excellence for the Stability Police Units (CoESPU), which is based in Italy, has been very relevant.[30] There are nowadays three centers of excellence dedicated to the main international and regional institutions: the CoESPU is specialized in UN missions, the NATO SP CoE for the NATO operations and the EUGENDFOR for the European Union.

The CoESPU lies on the basis of the Arma expertise in the Stability Policing sector, it was established in 2005 following the G8 summit of Sea Islands in which the international community decided to put into practice the principles of supporting peace in external crises, with a particular concern for African countries. It constitutes a think-tank where 150 Carabinieri contribute to improving the Stability policing doctrine

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[29] Ministero della Difesa:
https://www.difesa.it/InformazioniDellaDifesa/periodico/Periodico_2016/Documents/R1_2017/Coespu.pdf
[30] Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, La Polizia di Stabilità nei Moderni Scenari Operativi, Scuola Ufficiali Carabinieri 2a sezione - 6° GdL, 2017

collaborating with other important institutes of research and it is recognized as the maximum expression of the Arma's know-how.[31]

The center was conceived of in order to pursue UN policies on the ground, training the foreign gendarmeries according to the necessities of peace-keeping missions. Several courses are today available at the headquarters of the center with the principal goal of preparing other police force and amplifying as much as possible the concept of human safety in these countries.[32] The training activities of CoESPU are the following:

➢ Preparation of Formed Police Units (FPU) trainers: aiming to give independence to single states which should be able to train their own stability police units;

➢ Course of preparation for Commanders and coordinators of FPU: concerning the FPU operations planning. The frequenters are selected by the UN Department of Peace-keeping Operations (DPKO). It is a specific program that foresees the sharing of expertise with the New York Police Department;

➢ Course for high-risk operations: planning and conduct of operations in high-risk contexts, it is directed to twenty police officers;

➢ Course for the protection of civilians: in order to develop a universal culture concerning civilian protection in peace-keeping operations;

➢ Course of gender protection in peace-keeping operations: management of similar cases and related gender crimes, very common in situations of conflict;

➢ Course of training building capacity: to prepare the trainers and to evaluate the

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[31] Ministero della Difesa:
https://www.difesa.it/InformazioniDellaDifesa/periodico/Periodico_2016/Documents/R1_2017/Coespu.pdf
[32]Ministero della Difesa:
https://www.difesa.it/InformazioniDellaDifesa/periodico/Periodico_2016/Documents/R1_2017/Coespu.pdf

courses for the FPU;

➢ Course for the mobile support and advice units: for the creation of special squads that could give support to the training centers of the member states;

➢ Course for military, police and civil cooperation: it aims to give a multidimensional preparation in UN standards and laws;

➢ Specific activities to support the African Union: in order to develop specific programs for the African police forces;[33]

Two other very significant programs are related to cooperation with OSCE organization for what concerns the fight against the trafficking of human beings along the routes of migration, the second is focused on the struggle for the protection of the environment, a field in which African countries especially have very weak instruments to intervene.[34]

The Center of excellence NATO for the FPU, managed by the Italian armed forces, takes care of doctrinal functions and learning activities that can be resumed in three branches: the doctrine and standardization branch, the education and training branch, the lessons learned branch.

The first branch is committed to sustaining the efforts in verifying the validity of the NATO doctrines facilitating at the same time their comprehension to all the member states and beyond. The second branch concerns the training phase where the knowledge about Stability policing is implemented, the courses are four:

➢ Introduction to SP for leaders: it explains the Stability Policing concept;

➢ Introduction to SP for Field Commanders: it has the same goals of the previous

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[33] Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, La Polizia di Stabilità nei Moderni Scenari Operativi, Scuola Ufficiali Carabinieri 2a sezione - 6° GdL, 2017
[34] Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, La Polizia di Stabilità nei Moderni Scenari Operativi, Scuola Ufficiali Carabinieri 2a sezione - 6° GdL, 2017

course but it is addressed to lower officials;

➢ Crowd and riot control awareness in NATO operations: it aims to teach the principles of public order administration;

➢ Preserving the crime scene.[35]

The last branch is dedicated to the development of the lessons learnt and improvement of expertise. The centers are strongly related in their academic proposals, they offer many common themes as in the case of the environmental impact of missions, important values shared by all the international institutions.

In 2003, the EUROGENDER was created under the EU umbrella. The final goal was to build an international structure of cooperation between the gendarmeries to provide assistance to the host-nations' police forces. It cannot be outlined as a center of excellence but it is capable of:

➢ Integrating operative capacities with doctrine elaboration and learning activities for the EU, the UN, NATO and OSCE;

➢ It works cooperating with the other centers of excellence;

➢ Deploying a maximum of 800 officers is necessary.[36]

Thanks to the operation of these bodies together with the member states, the doctrine has been applied to all the operational theaters in which the international institutions have intervened during the last few years, with the participation of the Arma dei Carabinieri both for military (NATO) and civil missions (UN). The first use of the FPU by the UN dates back to the UNMIK mission in Kosovo where the constitution

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[35] Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, La Polizia di Stabilità nei Moderni Scenari Operativi, Scuola Ufficiali Carabinieri 2a sezione - 6° GdL, 2017
[36] Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, La Polizia di Stabilità nei Moderni Scenari Operativi, Scuola Ufficiali Carabinieri 2a sezione - 6° GdL, 2017

of the MSU configured something totally new, the first time in which international police units could exert, within a foreign jurisdiction, tasks of law-enforcement. In the same year, the UN authorized a similar mission in East Timor, United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTEAT) with the same tasks of UNMIK. These two operations were the basis for the spread of the FPU deployment in situation of crisis. Today, the FPU are employed in several scenarios under the aegis of UN, EU and NATO, they are protagonists in many other crucial operations such as Afghanistan where in 2001 the Security Council started the International Assistance Force (ISAF), strictly linked to the NATO Training mission Afghanistan (NTM-A). In the latter, the Arma has participated giving its contribution to three important training poles in order to develop an independent Afghan system of police that should be able one day to maintain the public order, protecting civilians' rights and safety without external support.[37]

The European Union has authorized military and civil missions to which the Arma contributes, focusing on three areas: Africa, Europe and Asia. The FPU operate in the Palestinian Territories with the European Union Police Mission (EUPOL COPPS). In Kosovo, EULEX carries out tasks of monitoring, mentoring and advising in collaboration with the local police forces. The region of Sahel is supervised with particular attention by the EU and in fact two missions are in place: European Union Capacity Building Mission in Mali and Niger which should ensure principally the stability of the countries and train their gendarmeries, at the same time they are fundamental in the fight against terrorist organizations. Beyond the Sahel, the EU is also investing to eradicate the plague of piracy from the Horn of Africa with the missions EUCAP Somalia.[38] The last EU mission consists in the struggle to counteract the illegal migration flows in the Mediterranean Sea, EUNAVFOR MED Sophia. Out of the international organizations' jurisdiction, Italy stipulates bilateral agreements with many countries to specific training programs, the MIADIT (Italian Training

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[37] Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, La Polizia di Stabilità nei Moderni Scenari Operativi, Scuola Ufficiali Carabinieri 2a sezione - 6° GdL, 2017
[38] Marianne Riddervold, New threats – different response: EU and NATO and Somali piracy, European Security, 2014: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09662839.2014.937337?scroll=top&needAccess=true

Missions).[39]

*1.9 Tasks in Missions Abroad*

The Balkan crisis highlighted the fact that without strong democratic institutions the local authorities were unable to maintain public order while the international contingents did not have the right features to fulfil these tasks. It was here that the high spheres of NATO took the decision to create a special body, the Multinational Specialized Unit managed by the Commander of the Arma. The MSU was really helpful in the understanding of social needs and for the maintenance of public order, it also carried out police activities of intelligence. The outcome did not disappoint expectations so the MSU were employed in Albania, Kosovo and Iraq.[40]

From that moment, the tasks of the FPU and specifically of MSU were informally established: [1] assistance to the peacebuilding process; [2] maintenance of international public security; [3] function of military police; [4] contribution to the restoration of the local police forces with activities of training, monitoring and assistance.[41] These principal functions lead to others more targeted like the prevention of terrorism, search and arrest warrant for war criminals, criminal intelligence, info-collection activities, consulting on specific matters (preservation of the environment, protection of cultural heritage, scientific investigations) and many others.[42]

The Allied Joint Publication-3.22 (AJP-322) signed in 2016 and reconnecting to the AJP-01 of 2010, confirmed what are the duties of the FPU are the missions abroad and gives a definition of Stability Policing: "Stability policing activities are conducted with the aim of establishing a safe and secure environment (SASE), restoring public order and security, and establishing the conditions for meeting longer term needs with respect to governance and development (in particular through security sector reform).

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[39] Ministero della Difesa:
https://www.difesa.it/InformazioniDellaDifesa/periodico/Periodico_2016/Documents/R1_2017/Coespu.pdf
[40] Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, La Polizia di Stabilità nei Moderni Scenari Operativi, Scuola Ufficiali Carabinieri 2a sezione - 6° GdL, 2017
[41] Ordinamento dell'Arma dei Carabinieri, Official Document.
[42] Ministero della Difesa, Missione all'estero dell'Arma dei Carabinieri fuori area:
http://www.carabinieri.it/arma/oggi/missioni-all%27estero/oggi/missione_fuori_area

This can include both the re-establishment of law and order and reinforcing the Rule of Law (police, courts, corrections, etc.). Under a comprehensive approach, a combination of military and non-military actors, such as indigenous and international police forces, could be employed to achieve this goal".[43]

The thesis as already explained, aims to find a possible pattern that could permit the implementation of the comprehensive approach through the use of cultural mediation, in the AJP-3.22 the reasons for which it would be important to pursue this way are mentioned. There is in fact a section in the document dedicated to the understandings of cultural differences and how they could be used to have advantages related to the missions. In the phase of operation planning some considerations about the cultural environment of the host-nation must be done so the possibilities of reaching an enduring peace increase. In order to intervene effectively in fact, it is crucial to collect information about the accepted means of conflict resolution by the local community, who are the main influencers in the society, which are the expectations of the local society about the relationship with the international armed forces or rather if in the past there have been occasions in which these expectations were thwarted.[44] The understanding of the host-nation context is requested by the FPU so as to know in which environment they will operate. Identifying the conditions of the country's institutions and society is the first step to outlining which tasks the FPU should cover: there could be a situation of Failing State that means reduced capabilities for the protection of the population. The status could be that of a Failed State, the use of force is permitted only to the international institutions, according to international law they have the right to intervene to protect the population and install a transitional administration. The status of Recovering State means the country is moving towards a normal condition, the local government is able to guarantee the safety of its people and the role of the FPU becomes less relevant.[45]

In addition, the role of the indigenous police has to be analyzed carefully and also whether it can be replaced or not according to the possibilities just listed. The police

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[43] Allied Joint Publication-3.22 (AJP-3.22), NATO, August 2016
[44] Allied Joint Publication-3.22 (AJP-3.22), NATO, August 2016
[45] Allied Joint Publication-3.22 (AJP-3.22), NATO, August 2016

force is essential in the process of state-building to maintain the rule of law, it must be trusted by the society and this is possible only through a deep knowledge of the historical and cultural context. Bearing in mind the key-features of the operational environment, a study of the security gap has to be provided, if a lack of indigenous police is certified the FPU will act in two directions. Reinforcing the local police is required when the armed forces at stake do not exhibit effective tools for providing assistance and public order, when the violation of human rights increase, when natural disasters affect governance, there could be a security threat due to organized crime or more easily a lack of credibility of the local authorities. In all these circumstances, there shall be a reinforcement provided by the FPU, the final aim remains thus to enhance the independence of the local authorities.[46]

The other option is to replace the local police forces. There are several factors that can influence the decision of the international institutions, the non-existence of police forces is certainly the first cause of replacement. Then it takes place if corruption has affected the local structure of power, if there are high levels of insecurity and criminality, if HR are repeatedly violated and if the protection of the population cannot be ensured. The AJP-3.22 encloses two alternatives if one these factors take over:

➢ Comprehensive full police replacement mission, it requires the taking of control of all the functions covered normally by the national police, but in the shortest time possible;

➢ Partial replacement mission, it is limited to the specific fields where the local police forces cannot be effective.

The schedule below represents the spectrum of action of the FPU.[47]

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[46] Allied Joint Publication-3.22 (AJP-3.22), NATO, August 2016
[47] Allied Joint Publication-3.22 (AJP-3.22), NATO, August 2016
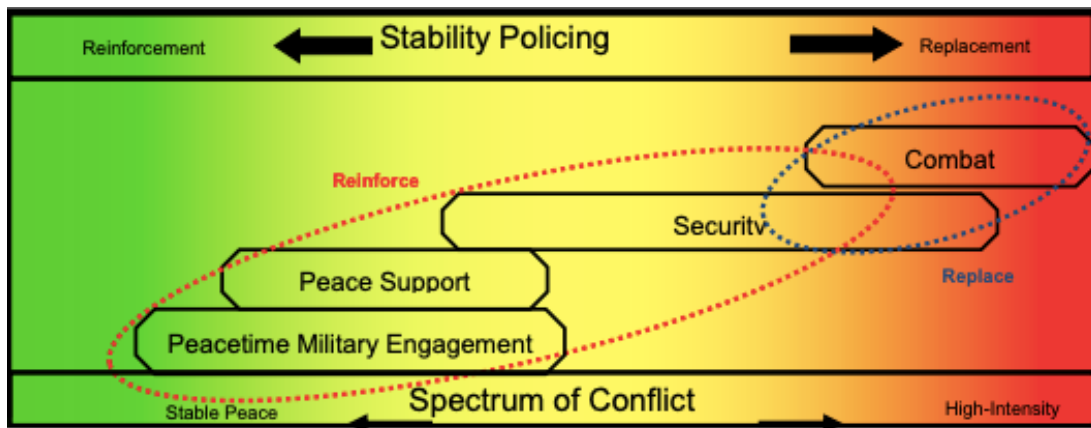
AJP-322: The Spectrum of Conflict and Stability Policing Themes

It is evident in the end that there is the necessity to establish clear channels of communication, developed also through the improvement of academic programs on cultural mediation. From this point of view the FPU among which the Arma dei Carabinieri does not foresee a particular preparation before the deployment. The acquisition of information about different cultures is regulated within the internal regulations of the various member states' police units, it is not always binding as specified in the legal system of the Arma.[48] Afterward, the FPU present necessarily some lack of ability in establishing clear standards of communication with the local authorities and armed forces. There is on the other hand, a huge effort from the Arma in this sense, the Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center is focusing on building this culture-based model trying to improve the cultural mediation aspects. At the moment only courses in foreign languages (Arabic, Chinese, Russian) are organized and they are not sufficient for understanding the complexity of intercultural contexts.

### 1.10 Why Cultural Awareness as Security Tool?

To conclude, it is necessary to underline the reasons why the field of cultural awareness has been individuated as the one which could improve the international security within the dynamics of the comprehensive approach.

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[48] Ordinamento dell'Arma dei Carabinieri, Official Document.

The highest peak of clash between profoundly different cultures is related to the 9/11 terrorist attack, a new design of war that is presenting its effects also today after eighteen years. From that moment, knowledge of different cultures that before were almost unknown for western countries has taken on a significant value in shaping their way of making strategies. The focus has been predominantly on Muslim populations living in the Middle East, Central Asia, Southeast Asia and also Africa.[49] The United States were the first country to be hit and so the first country that reacted to this new phenomenon, the response was given in the 2001 Quadrennial Defence Review which however did not consider the different cultural aspects of the "enemy". In 2006, the new version of the document made the first mention of cultural awareness and foreign cultures in general: "dealing with local and tribal communities, adapting to foreign languages and cultures and working with local networks...with persuasion and quiet influence—rather than through military force alone".[50]

Cultural awareness and in particular the cultural mediation as a military tool then has increased their effectiveness throughout the years and the experiences in the field. These instruments have been developed by international actors within the framework of different doctrines. Cultural awareness in general derives from the necessity to change the paradigm with which western countries were used to thinking about other cultures. 9/11 represents the turning point of this new thinking developed in a first moment by American institutions. Later, these concepts have been included in a wider philosophy, the Comprehensive Approach, to which the biggest international entities such as NATO, the United Nations, the European Union etc. have contributed.

During missions of peace-keeping and state-building, the cultural understanding has become really important for the good outcome of operations in order to ensure the security of the countries involved, however it is not always exploited properly and it can happen that the member states of international institutions are more focused on their internal security issues without considering the necessities of the weaker countries, this would represent a critical lack in the approach.

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[49]Amy Zalman, Waging the First Postmodern War Inside the G.I. Cultural Awareness Program, World Policy Journal. 23(4):35-42; MIT Press, 2006
[50] Quadrennial Defense Review, United States Department of Defense, 2006, Official Document.

Therefore, the core of this analysis concerns the possibility to enhance the comprehensive approach through the improvement of cultural awareness and the consequent use of cultural mediation to have advantages related to internal security, for instance it is common that the armed forces have to deal with these different cultures in the national arena, interactions that are consequences of the migratory phenomena. This purpose however is only the last step of the peace-building process that has to consider all the parts, especially of civilian ones. Cultural mediation is crucial to better understanding the needs of people and being able to ensure global security, internally and externally.

There is the need in this direction to structure a model of cultural mediation which could be applied to these armed forces that represent the first point of contact with foreign communities both at home and abroad. Before doing that however, it is necessary to analyze the speech in its entirety, starting from the understanding of the comprehensive approach.

# Chapter 2

## *2.1 The Comprehensive Approach on the Field*

Implementing the comprehensive approach through a better use of cultural mediation hence is a process that has to take into account also the experiences in the field and it cannot be limited to the description of the theoretical features. Therefore, it is important to have a look at the practical side, so how the theory has been applied in the operations of recent years. This chapter will deal with a case-study in particular, the region of Sahel in North-West Africa. The international institutions and especially the European Union have focused their efforts on this geographical area for several reasons, among them there is the attempt to control migration flows towards Europe and limit transnational crime, not without some contradictions.

The Sahel is the band of territory located under the Sahara Desert, it includes portions of countries like the center of Mali, the southern part of Niger and Algeria, the North of Burkina Faso, the central part of Chad, the South of Mauritania, the northern part of Nigeria, Gambia, Senegal, Sudan, South Sudan and Eritrea. It numbers a total of about 150 million people[51] with very different cultural backgrounds and being one of the poorest areas in the world it has suffered repeated nutritional crisis (2005, 2008, 2010 and 2012).[52] This situation of poverty together with a global governance crisis and a high level of corruption lead to the encouragement of every kind of illegal activity: traffic of weapons, traffic of human beings, drugs and the consequent strengthening of the main terrorist groups. Italy is very committed to solving the West-African crisis, this is proved by the various bilateral and multilateral collaborations with regional partners. The Arma dei Carabinieri for instance participates, under the aegis of the European External Action Service, in the missions EUCAP Sahel Niger and EUCAP Sahel Mali coordinating and collaborating with the local authorities in order to develop their strategic capacities and to enhance local security forces. The other goals are to maintain public order and collaborate in counter-terrorism

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[51] World Bank: http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/354021476267987185/Population-and-development-in-the-Sahel-policy-choices-to-catalyze-a-demographic-dividend
[52] A. Rita Palmiero, Dossier Sahel: Terrorismo, Conflitti, Missioni Internazionali, gennaio 2019.

investigations. Hence, there could be a utility in examining a region like Sahel in the context of the comprehensive approach implementation.

## *2.2 Background*

The instability of the region is hugely related to the crises of Mali, Algeria, Libya, Niger and Nigeria. The Mali crisis deteriorated as a consequence of the Arab Spring, on the other hand the situation of the country was already complicated by the presence of the terrorist organization Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the turmoil provoked by the secessionist rebels. In 2013, with the end of the war the UN set the Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) with the Resolution 2100 of the Security Council which aimed to sustain the political stabilization of the country, to ensure the respect of human rights and the protection of civilians.[53] In Algeria, the main problem is linked to the Sahrawi refugee camps in the province of Tindouf where the AQIM and the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MOJWA) are facilitated to recruit soldiers. The phenomenon has destabilized the area that is more and more the object of social revolts, in this condition the Islamic groups can focus on their activities making Algeria a hub for drug traffickers.[54] The same groups are increasing their influence over the region, beyond the AQIM, the Islamic Armed Group (IAG) has assumed a significant level of power which represent a worrying development.[55] The resolution of the situation in Libya passes through the Fezzan region where the Tebu and Tuareg tribes are competing for the control of the migrants' routes.[56] Nigeria is then affected by numerous ethnic and religious conflicts: in the north of the country the Christians are persecuted, 12 thousand victims and more than two thousand churches have been destroyed since 2006. Another minority under pressure is the Shia that has to fight against the power of the government and Boko Haram, both Sunnis. Finally, in the middle of the country there is a conflict between the tribe of Fulani and the farmers of the area.

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[53] A. Rita Palmiero, Dossier Sahel: Terrorismo, Conflitti, Missioni Internazionali, gennaio 2019.
[54] UN: https://dataunodc.un.org
[55] ISPI, Jihad e instabilità nel Sahel: le dimensioni di una crisi:
https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/jihad-e-instabilita-sahel-le-dimensioni-di-una-crisi-23022
[56] A. Rita Palmiero, Dossier Sahel: Terrorismo, Conflitti, Missioni Internazionali, gennaio 2019.

In all these cases, the exacerbation of conflict can often lead to the outflow of accessions to terrorist groups which today are all over the Sahel.[57] Also in Niger the clashes between tribes are hogging the attention, and the violence perpetrated by Boko Haram generates more victims and refugees.[58]

In order to reestablish a sort of equilibrium in the Sahel, the international institutions and the developed countries have contributed to a series of missions in collaboration with the local authorities. The Sahel is in fact considered the new frontier of counter-terrorism operations, in this regard France at first has created the Barkhane mission in 2014 which aims to the stabilization of the G5 Sahel countries (Mali, Burkina Faso, Chad, Niger, Nigeria) fighting the terrorist movements. The following missions Serval in Mali and Epervier in Chad should contribute to the final outcome together with the main operation, MINUSMA of the United Nations. But France and the UN are not the unique actors involved, also the European Union has increased its efforts in the peace-building process.

### 2.3 The Global Challenges of Sahel and the UN Integrated Strategy

The UN has developed an integrated strategy for Sahel identifying the main problems of the region and structuring a plan of action in order to stabilize the region. The UN plan of action aimed to pursue a comprehensive solution, especially in regard to the Mali crisis. Three pillars have been laid down in the Report for the Security Council about the Sahel situation, working also as standards to be monitored during the years: governance, security and resilience.[59]

Governance and security challenges are the most critical to face, the multiple humanitarian and political crises of the last few years evidence this fact. The countries of Sahel present a weak system of institutions that diminishes their power of managing the borders, provide the basic services, promote the political participation and protect

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[57] A. Rita Palmiero, Dossier Sahel: Terrorismo, Conflitti, Missioni Internazionali, January 2019.
[58] ISPI, Niger, il perno instabile della politica UE nel Sahel:
https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/niger-il-perno-instabile-della-politica-ue-nel-sahel-21084
[59] Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Sahel region, United Nations, June 2013

human rights.[60] The lack of a good governance has then prevented the necessary constitutional changes innerspring at the same time the dialogue with the civil society.

Because of the endemic problems of the region, the Sahel countries have become vulnerable to security issues resulting from terrorist activities, armed conflicts between different factions and illicit traffics of organized crime. In 2012 at the time of the first Report, groups such as Al Qaeda, the Islamic Maghreb and Boko Haram were already spreading all over the Sub-Saharan zone and they have increased their activities and consequently the attacks on people, preventing the countries from a real development. The fragility of the region to the terrorist groups has been confirmed by the various episodes of violence that have occurred in recent years. In 2013 there was a double attack organized by the MOJWA which caused 35 deaths in Niger, in the same year in Algeria a hostage-taking incident in a natural gas compound provoked several deaths. In addition to the terrorist threat, organized and transnational crime seems to be unstoppable. In 2012, it was estimated that a total of 18 tons of cocaine had transited in West Africa, underlining the incapacity of the states to control their borders. It emerges from the Report of the Security Council that behind these illegal activities the organizations from Sahel do not always stand.

The last macro-problematic is related to the humanitarian challenge. The Sahel countries share a consistent lack of governmental accountability and weaknesses in the rule of law that boost the inequalities among the different groups. The inequalities between genders and religious groups are increasing and it seems they are not about to stop, the general instability caused by conflicts and wars is pushing the inhabitants of the region to leave with cases of massive refugee movements, as happened in Mali in 2012.[61]

In addition to the problems listed above, one of the biggest issues and causes of the abandoning of the region is climate change. According to UN data, the population of Sahel is going to reach a total of 250 million people in 25 years, agriculture and

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[60] Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Sahel region, United Nations, June 2013
[61] Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Sahel region, United Nations, June 2013

pastoralism are therefore necessary for the sustainment of the area not to mention the access to primary resources like water and land. The worsening of the climatic conditions observed over the last few years is eroding the possibilities of the people to stay and the fight for natural resources is destined to escalate. If then the states cannot ensure the adoption of different and sustainable mechanism of

production, poverty will spread sending more desperate people into the arms of terrorism and crime.[62]

The solution suggested in the UN Report about Sahel in 2013 foresaw the inclusion of all the local states to work with them with a long-term goal, a comprehensive strategy which saw the consensus of all the international players. In order to implement the integrated strategy, the guidelines of engagement for the approach have been established, on the basis of the main causes of instability. They aim to enhance the governments' capability to deal with the principal fragilities of the region. The three strategic goals which correspond to the three pillars already mentioned are: "(1) enhancing inclusive and effective governance throughout the region; (2) strengthening the capacity of national and regional security mechanisms to address cross-border threats; (3) integrating development and humanitarian interventions to build resilience".[63]

The strategy has been planned to be enhanced regionally because also the nature of the problems goes regional and do not respect the states' borders, on the other hand all the initiatives have to be implemented with coherence and coordination which are considered a top priority for the UN. The primary leaders of this strategy in fact, identified in the local authorities, are in charge of coordinating the entire community of the region among which the people, the international institutions, the entities of the UN. The Special Envoy for the Sahel and the Special Representatives for Western and Central Africa are also part of this process. The final result should consist in the achievement of independence from the international actors as ECOWAS, the Community of Sahelo-Saharan States, the European Union, the African Union and

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[62] Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Sahel region, United Nations, June 2013
[63] Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Sahel region, United Nations, June 2013

other regional organizations that nowadays are contributing in a significant manner to the development of Sahel. [64]

An important passage of the Report is then referred to the engagement of the local people: "The people of the region must be heard and made part of any solution affecting their lives. Consultations with the people of the region will be based on existing United Nations mechanisms and will include civil society, tribal and religious leaders, representatives of academia and think tanks and women and young people, with particular attention to the marginalized". [65]

It is evident that since 2012 the importance of understanding the people needs has always been an important value to the international community, the use of cultural mediation in this framework is necessary to the peace-building process and in particular to ensure the security of Sahel.

The UN principles of engagement can underline the implementation of a comprehensive approach, at least in theory. The principles in the specific are:

1. Focus on regional-level interventions and cross-border issues and threats, allowing for coherence and coordination among short-term, medium-term and long-term measures;

2. Anchor regional United Nations engagement in national ownership and accountability and ensure that it is grounded in international human rights standards and principles;

3. Promote the integration of regional priorities into national planning and programming to ensure coherence and mutually reinforcing action across the region;

[64] ISPI, Sahel: verso una nuova centralità strategica:
https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/sahel-verso-una-nuova-centralita-strategica-21073
[65] Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Sahel region, United Nations, June 2013

4. Promote an equitable approach to development in order to accelerate achievement of the Millennium Development Goals and support social cohesion and conflict prevention;

5. Maximize the impact of the United Nations system in addressing the continuing challenges of the region and focus on areas in which the United Nations has, or can have, added value to address crises, while building on existing initiatives and continuing efforts;

6. Ensure free, active and meaningful participation of people and communities at risk throughout all programming phases, including needs assessments and the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programmes;

7. Promote cooperation and coordination among national, regional, sub-regional and international partners, strengthening partnerships with regional and sub-regional institutions and stakeholders within their respective mandates and reaching out to new potential partners;

8. Ensure that gender concerns are included in all regional and national efforts targeting the Sahel, including through free, active and meaningful participation of women and their organizations in decision-making;

9. Encourage South-South cooperation and sharing of best practices among the countries of the Sahel.[66]

Since 2012 the situation in Sahel has been monitored and in June 2019, the last Report redacted by UN gives again the general overview about the improvements of the integrated strategy regarding political and governance, security, humanitarian and human rights trends.

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[66] Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Sahel region, United Nations, June 2013

The political and governance trends underline the critical situation in Burkina Faso where the former government resigned in January. In the northern part of the country episodes of violence occurred and the presence of terrorist groups is spreading day by day. A new Cabinet has been appointed with the duty of starting a dialogue with the opposition in optics of the presidential elections in 2020.

At the same time, Mali presents political instability due to the fact that the Prime Minister and his Cabinet resigned causing social tensions and insecurity. As in Burkina Faso, the outgoing government organized a political dialogue in order to find a new majority and in May the new executive was elected but it was not sufficient to allay the riots. Mali remains one of the most complicated Sahel countries.

In Niger, the political situation is very similar, the country is preparing for the elections of 2020 but the opposition is boycotting the National Council for Political Dialogue and the Independent National Electoral Commission. [67]

Equally, the other countries of the region share features of political tensions.

The humanitarian situation remains critical, the massive displacements of people are more frequent because of the increasing food and climate crisis. 4.4 million people were evacuated between 2018 and 2019, in Burkina Faso after a violent armed conflict, 170 000 people were forced to escape their own houses, this leads to the deprivation of the fundamental goods such as health services, education and food. Also in Mali, the displacements are numerous with 100 000 people up to March 2019. But the gravest situation is reported in the Lake Chad basin where 2.5 million people escaped from the conflict that is affecting the region in north-eastern Nigeria. These conflicts increase the number of people that have been coerced into living in refugee-fields rotting away the already low standard of living.[68]

From 2012, the level of respect of international human rights and humanitarian law has not varied, the region is always threatened by acts of violence especially In Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali. The prolonged closure of the schools seriously undermines

[67] United Nations, Activities of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel: Report of the Secretary-General, July 2019
[68] United Nations, Activities of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel: Report of the Secretary-General, July 2019

seriously the right to education, then UN affirms that the deployment of public forces against popular demonstration are a negative sign for the respect of rule of law and the freedom of association.

In addition, if free elections are the basis for a democratic country however in Nigeria and Senegal they have been the occasion of violent conflict with dozens of deaths. Another problem that has to be solved regards the impunity of crimes in the region, the trials are not fast enough and the sanctions are not in proportion along with many cases of amnesty. Despite everything, few achievements have been made with the first public hearings in Gambia by the Reconciliation and Reparation Commission, in Togo there was the creation of the National Mechanism for the Prevention of Torture.[69]

From 2012, the security trend has not benefited from any improvements. Especially in Niger, Nigeria, Mali and Burkina Faso criminal networks, tribal militias and terrorist groups intensified their activities with repeated cases of attacks on the population. Only in Burkina Faso, between January and May, the Minister of Foreign Affairs registered over 300 deaths caused by religious conflicts and terrorist attacks, forcing the government to call a state of emergency. Nigeria and Niger are then fighting against the organization of Boko Haram which in the last months has expanded in these two countries, gaining control of the city of Rann in Nigeria. The methodology of the Islamic State West Africa Province (faction of Boko Haram) provides for the increasingly frequent use of women suicide bombers and vehicle-borne suicide with makeshift explosives which causes lots of victims. The counter-terrorism forces of Niger and Nigeria with the support of the international contingents (Arma dei Carabinieri included) are carrying out operations to counteract Boko Haram and its factions but nowadays without relevant successes. Other illegal crimes are increasing in the region: piracy is becoming a real issue related to the Gulf of Guinea and the illicit traffic of drugs and weapons are now difficult to limit. This year some important drug shipments have been stopped by the authorities with the help of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, in Guinea-Bissau 9.75 tons of cocaine were

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[69] United Nations, Activities of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel: Report of the Secretary-General, July 2019

confiscated while in Ghana in March 2019, the largest amount of cannabis to the value of $34.2 was intercepted.[70]

## 2.4 The Terrorist Organizations and their links with Illicit Trafficking

The Jihadi organizations are often behind this kind of operations that they need to finance their terrorist activities and pay their soldiers. However, the groups such as AQIM are not directly involved in the trafficking but they grant protection to the routes in exchange for payments.[71] For instance, in 2012, the Mauritanian authorities were able to block a drug trade direct to Europe finding AQIM soldiers who were providing security to the convoy.[72] There is a strong debate within Jihad about whether receiving drug money is accepted according to religious principles, there are many reservations in fact in getting involved in this type of task, but equally they remain one of the principal sources of revenue for terrorism.[73]

In this framework Sahel represents the perfect area for trafficking, a grey zone in which the lack of border control can be beneficial not only for drug trades but also for human trafficking and weapons.[74] As illustrated on the map, the routes of goods, humans and drugs cross all the region starting from some Malian cities such as Gao, Timbuktu or Guinea-Bissau and reaching Europe through Spain, Italy and Greece. The initial shipments usually come from South America (Brazil, Venezuela) getting access to Sahel very easily through Cape Verde or the Canary Islands.[75] Around 18 tons of cocaine are estimated to travel every year along Sahel of a value between $7.5 million and $22.5 million.[76]

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[70] United Nations, Activities of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel: Report of the Secretary-General, July 2019

[71] ISPI, Grandi spazi, pochi controlli: lotta ai mercati illeciti:
https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/grandi-spazi-pochi-controlli-lotta-ai-mercati-illeciti-8713

[72] D. Lounnas, MENARA Working Papers No. 25, The Links between Jihadi Organizations and Illegal Trafficking in the Sahel, November 2018.

[73] D. Lounnas, MENARA Working Papers No. 25, The Links between Jihadi Organizations and Illegal Trafficking in the Sahel, November 2018.

[74] ISPI, Grandi spazi, pochi controlli: lotta ai mercati illeciti:
https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/grandi-spazi-pochi-controlli-lotta-ai-mercati-illeciti-8713

[75] Nellemann, C.; Henriksen, R., Pravettoni, R., Stewart, D., Kotsovou, M., Schlingemann, M.A.J, Shaw, M. and Reitano, T. (Eds). 2018. World atlas of illicit flows. A RHIPTO-INTERPOL-GI Assessment. RHIPTO -Norwegian Center for Global Analyses, INTERPOL and the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized crime

[76] Nellemann, C.; Henriksen, R., Pravettoni, R., Stewart, D., Kotsovou, M., Schlingemann, M.A.J, Shaw, M. and Reitano, T. (Eds). 2018. World atlas of illicit flows. A RHIPTO-INTERPOL-GI
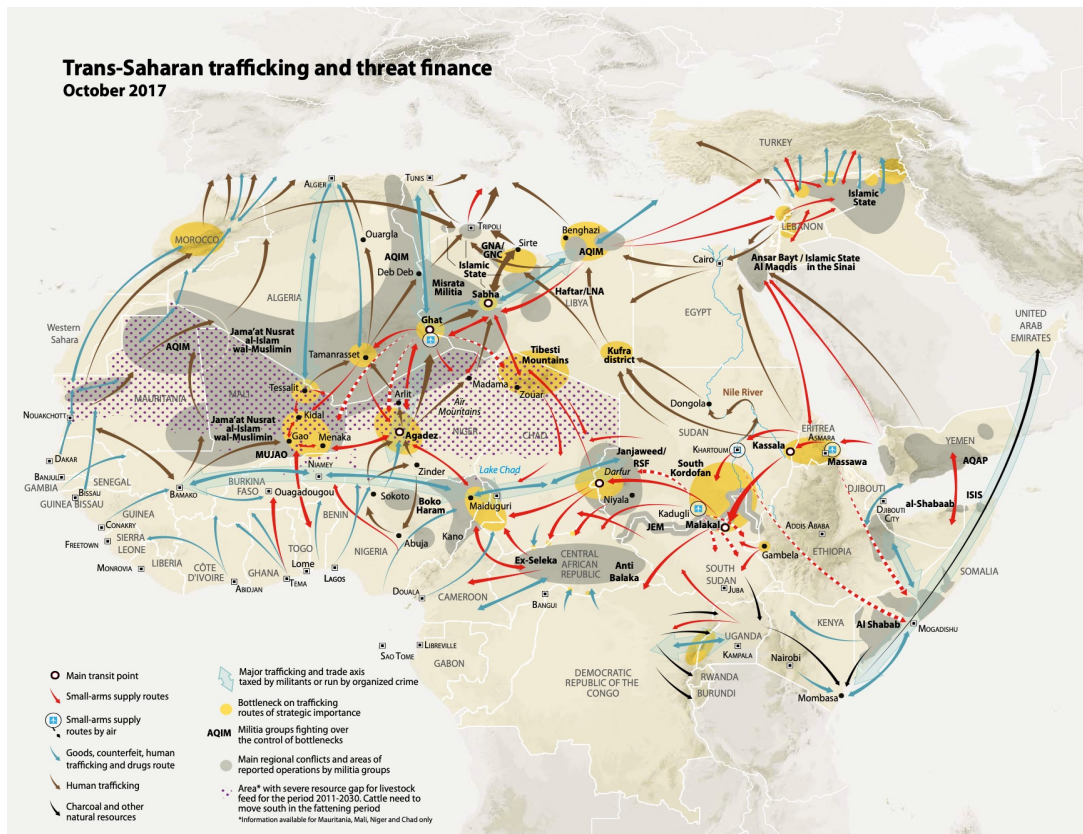
Source: RHIPTO - Norwegian Centre for Global Analyses, 2016

Another key element of the criminal business is the trade of weapons which fosters the armed conflicts carried out by militias and terrorist groups. After the collapse of Libya in 2011, there have been huge quantities of small and light weapons available on the black market. [77] The source of the problem is amenable to the Cold War period when during the 1970s and 1980s the major powers were used to supporting their regional partners with old guns and Kalashnikovs, then the precarious situations of many African states have contributed to their spread. terrorist organizations such as AQIM now spend the majority of their revenue on buying these weapons.[78]

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Assessment. RHIPTO -Norwegian Center for Global Analyses, INTERPOL and the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized crime

[77] ISPI, Dagli arsenali libici le armi dei miliziani fondamentalisti:
https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/dagli-arsenali-libici-le-armi-dei-miliziani-fondamentalisti-7381

[78] D. Lounnas, MENARA Working Papers No. 25, The Links between Jihadi Organizations and Illegal Trafficking in the Sahel, November 2018.

The main source of income is provided by migrants, the Jihadi groups have the control of the principal canals of passage in North Africa as in the case of Libya. Here, the jihadists have established some checkpoints in which they can ask for a tax that amounts to about $4500 for each migrant. The total market of human-trafficking is worth between $450 million and $765 million.[79]

## *2.5 The Consequences of Climate Change on the Sahel*

The last challenge to be treated is related to the climate conditions and the dramatic consequences that they have on the Sahel, being an argument extremely important also for the Arma that collaborate with the local authorities to improve the capacity of control over the environmental illicitness, but more in general for Italy and Europe because the change of environmental conditions is one of the principal reasons of migration.

The Special Advisor of UN on the Sahel, Ibrahim Thiaw, refers to the region as "one of the most vulnerable to climate change", the temperatures are increasing 1.5 times higher than the global average, constantly hit by droughts and floods which are damaging the living conditions of millions of people. Out of 150 million people, 33 among which women and children are suffering malnutrition and this is due to the fact that climate change is undermining the capacity of food production of the entire region. With a population growth at 2.8 per cent per year, the Sahel goes towards a shrinking of natural resources, especially of water and land which are not sufficient even now. [80]

The USAID Climate Change Risk Profile on the Sahel gives a precise overview of the current situation and of the risks if nothing is done.

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[79] Nellemann, C.; Henriksen, R., Pravettoni, R., Stewart, D., Kotsovou, M., Schlingemann, M.A.J, Shaw, M. and Reitano, T. (Eds). 2018. World atlas of illicit flows. A RHIPTO-INTERPOL-GI Assessment. RHIPTO -Norwegian Center for Global Analyses, INTERPOL and the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized crime
[80] UN News, building climate resilience and peace, go hand in hand for Africa's Sahel: https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/social/building-climate-resilience-and-peace-go-hand-in-hand-for-africas-sahel-un-forum.html

The Sahel presents a semi-arid climate with high temperatures throughout the year and long periods of drought. With the ocean warming and the increasing pollution these seasons are extending their duration provoking serious damage to the environment. Agriculture falls within the sectors most hit by these changes being based on extensive methods with very backward mechanisms, but at the same time it employs 70% of the entire region and it constitutes 40% of the total GDP. With the rise in temperatures, the soils which are exploited are about to diminish dramatically, in 2100 countries like Chad and Niger will no more be able to practice agriculture forcing the people to leave the country as is already happening.[81] The lack of water and the free-fall of the agricultural sector pushes the locals to the deforestation of the few green areas for an alternative source of income.

Another field at risk is the exploitation of livestock. Pastoralism in the Sahel is second only to agriculture in terms of the number of people employed and it is equally threatened by water scarcity that is limiting the herd-migration routes. In addition, the warmer temperatures are reducing feed intake that causes decreases in milk production and affects negatively the entire sector. Search for water for livestock then has brought the pastors to fight for the management of some areas, also with escalations of violence.[82] The gravity of the situation is confirmed also by the other international institutions among which the International Committee of the Red Cross that is monitoring the increasing conflicts, especially in Mali and Niger.[83]

Fishing activities suffer from sensitive issues too, the modifications of the ecosystems due to climate change represent another huge threat for the environment and the economy of the region.[84]

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[81] USAID Climate Change Risk Profile on the Sahel:
https://www.climatelinks.org/sites/default/files/asset/document/2017%20April_USAID%20ATLAS_
Climate%20Change%20Risk%20Profile%20-%20Sahel.pdf
[82] USAID Climate Change Risk Profile on the Sahel:
https://www.climatelinks.org/sites/default/files/asset/document/2017%20April_USAID%20ATLAS_
Climate%20Change%20Risk%20Profile%20-%20Sahel.pdf
[83] ICRC, Mali-Niger: Climate change and conflict make an explosive mix in the Sahel:
https://www.icrc.org/en/document/mali-niger-climate-change-and-conflict-make-explosive-mix-sahel
[84] USAID Climate Change Risk Profile on the Sahel:
https://www.climatelinks.org/sites/default/files/asset/document/2017%20April_USAID%20ATLAS_
Climate%20Change%20Risk%20Profile%20-%20Sahel.pdf

Furthermore, water availability is diminishing year by year and the increased variability of river flows and rainfalls are undermining the safety of the population who on the other hand have difficulties to get drinkable water, in this respect Burkina Faso is the country most vulnerable suffering of continuous climatic variations, floods and erosions, as testified by the international Water Association (IWA).[85] The real problem does not seem the absolute scarcity of this primary resource, rather the lack of infrastructure. In Chad and Mauritania there would be water reserves necessary for the sustainment of the people, however there is not a channel of transport. One of the biggest sources of water in the region is Lake Chad which reduced its basin by 95% since the 1960s, both for its water use and for the increasing temperatures. It is not an isolated case, also Mali's Lake Faguibine has been totally dried out.[86]

The region has always registered low standards of human health and climate change is contributing to the deterioration of the current situation. In the last 10 years in fact, there have been four consecutive food crises which together with the spread of diseases like malaria, ebola and pneumonia increase the infant mortality to the highest rates in the world.

The dramatic climate conditions and the arising conflicts have necessarily consequences on the displacement of people who hope to find better conditions and that are forced to escape, for the major part towards Europe. Nowadays more than 1 million people are displaced in Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger. The link between conflicts and climate change is evident: the scarcity of natural and primary resources like water on top of weak governance and poor institutions pushes the people to fight for the survival. Often these clashes have ended up in violent

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[85] International Water association, The Impact of Climate Change on Water Supply in the Sahel Region: The case of Burkina Faso:
https://iwa-network.org/the-impact-of-climate-change-on-water-supply-in-the-sahel-region/
[86] USAID Climate Change Risk Profile on the Sahel:
https://www.climatelinks.org/sites/default/files/asset/document/2017%20April_USAID%20ATLAS_ Climate%20Change%20Risk%20Profile%20-%20Sahel.pdf

conflicts and they have spread all around the West-Africa as in the case of the Touaregs against the Malian state.[87]

The climate change issue is a priority also for the UN that encourages regional and international partners to prevent and respond to the threats previously treated and included in the Integrated strategy for the Sahel, regarding in particular the area of the Lake Chad basin.[88] The EU instead should pursue effective strategies to reduce the impact of climate change on the Sahel being one of the main reason of emigration from the African countries. Helping the regional partners in this way could bring positive effects for both.

### *2.6 Malian Crisis – MINUSMA*

The Malian crisis is nowadays considered to be one of the most dramatic in Sahel and because of that the international institutions are investing lots of resources trying to heal the political and humanitarian situation. The crisis of the country has profound roots that date back to colonial times when the borders delimitation of the new states put into place after the French Empire was based on the pastoral system of the Sub-Saharan groups. The region was divided into three zones causing lots of tension among the pastors when the borders were consolidated in the 1960s. There was an attempt coming from the local authorities to create a sort of Federation in 1958 but it was stopped by France which was firmly against it.[89]

With the creation of the nation-states it emerged one of the issues emerged that is still affecting the country: the collocation of groups (Touaregs) living on the borders between Mali, Algeria, Niger and Burkina Faso that were the most damaged at the time of the independence. The administration of these spaces before the nation-states was characterized by indirect rule[90], the Touaregs in this framework were not used to

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[87] USAID Climate Change Risk Profile on the Sahel:
https://www.climatelinks.org/sites/default/files/asset/document/2017%20April_USAID%20ATLAS_Climate%20Change%20Risk%20Profile%20-%20Sahel.pdf
[88] United Nations, Activities of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel: Report of the Secretary-General, July 2019
[89] M. El Hady Ba and P Amath Mbaye, La Crise Malienne et ses Leçons pour le Sénégal, Ipode, Working paper n.1, 2013
[90] Administration of territories assigned to « indigenous chiefs » for the profit of the colonizing state, especially common in the British Empire.

having a relationship with the local authorities so they were lacking the economic and political acknowledgement necessary for the negotiations of the borders. Without any representative leader, these communities were marginalized more than before. During the sixties, the President of Mali Keita tried to reform the social structure of the country, including the indigenous groups. The Touaregs on the other hand refused to be part of the renovation being a people strongly linked to their traditions.[91] In 1963 there was a rebellion in the region of Kidal, initially it was not considered a serious crisis but then it turned violent when the Malian army repressed the protests with force. The nomads were obliged to emigrate to Libya where in the training camps several groups of militants were formed, the same groups who are the principal cause of tensions nowadays. The rebellion of 1963, even if of modest magnitude, is hence viewed as the origin of all the following insurrections.[92]

In the eighties, the participants of the first revolt organized a second armed protest in the areas of Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal. The response of the army came in 1990 with the attack on a rebel site, definitely prompting the hostilities. In April 1992, the Malian government showed a new openness towards the Touaregs in the negotiations which brought to the National Pact of non-aggression, but three years later because of the small concessions given to the nomads, the clashes recommenced in the region of Kidal.[93] With the civil war in Algeria of 1992-1999, a group of extremists guided by Abderrazak El-Para and aligned with Al Qaeda was funded and after few years it stabilized in the North of Mali. The Jihadi group started to support the War on Terror and beyond the terrorist activities they developed a network of illicit traffics that would continue to paralyze the country for the next few years.[94] It is then evident how the incapacity of the national institutions in stopping these groups at the time has had devastating consequences thinking in terms of the longevity of these terrorist groups and their illegal trades.

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[91] M. El Hady Ba and P Amath Mbaye, La Crise Malienne et ses Leçons pour le Sénégal, Ipode, Working paper n.1, 2013
[92] M. El Hady Ba and P Amath Mbaye, La Crise Malienne et ses Leçons pour le Sénégal, Ipode, Working paper n.1, 2013
[93] M. El Hady Ba and P Amath Mbaye, La Crise Malienne et ses Leçons pour le Sénégal, Ipode, Working paper n.1, 2013
[94] M. El Hady Ba and P Amath Mbaye, La Crise Malienne et ses Leçons pour le Sénégal, Ipode, Working paper n.1, 2013

All these factors have contributed to generate chaos in Mali, however the situation started to get a lot worse in 2011 because of two events: the fall of Khadafy and the coup d'état in March 2012.

The Arab Springs exacerbated the already critical situation in Libya bringing the Khadafy regime to the point of collapse with negative consequences for all of North and West Africa. The Touareg community was forced to move out of Libya deciding to join the protest in the North of Mali, in this way the Jihadism revolutionary stood out in the region even if the presence of several reactionary groups was cause of confusion. The different goals of organizations like AQMI and MUJAO was a factor in clashes with the Touaregs upon their return. It is only with the arrival of the Touareg revolutionary hero of the nineties, Iyad Ag Ghali, that the nomad community will be able to create a united front with the Islamic groups to fight the Malian state.[95]

The worsening of the situation in the North is attributable to the coup d'état of 2012. In January 2012, the Malian army had already suffered many losses and it had to face the violent repression of the Islamist organizations, the military authorities no more trusted the political leaders, a feeling shared also with the population. The following month the military movement reached the presidential palace asking for more assurances. The President, Amadou Toumani Traoré, was not able to grant what the army was asking for, causing a violent escalation of the protests in the North. In March, a military junta took power and suspended the constitution of Mali. The army lost all the cities in the North in a few months, controlled now by the Mouvement National de Libération de l'Azawad (MNLA) which declared the independence of the region. The coup d'état hence constitutes the main source of disorders in Mali, at the same time it outlines the incapacity of the political leadership to face the opposition of Touaregs and extremists. At the same time, the democratic basis was not strong enough to prevent the army from gaining power.[96]

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[95] M. El Hady Ba and P Amath Mbaye, La Crise Malienne et ses Leçons pour le Sénégal, Ipode, Working paper n.1, 2013
[96] M. El Hady Ba and P Amath Mbaye, La Crise Malienne et ses Leçons pour le Sénégal, Ipode, Working paper n.1, 2013

The UN mission MINUSMA in Mali is working on this point in order to restore the democratic status of the country, not without difficulties. It was established with the Resolution 2100 of 25 April 2013 aiming precisely to reduce political instability and fix security problems, it has employed 16 084 civilians in the country and a total of 15 209 military personnel with 201 fatalities since 2013.[97] In 2019 with the Resolution 2480 adopted by the Security Council there has been the reaffirmation after six years of the concerns regarding the Malian situation: following the general framework of Sahel, the security and humanitarian trends have suffered a deterioration, especially because of the terrorist attacks in the North and the continuing intercultural conflicts.[98]

Despite its robust mandate, the UN mission does not dispose of the necessary personnel to intervene in the north of the country where the conditions are extremely dangerous and the member states are not willing to send their troops. There is then a lack of commitment of the participants and it prevents the mission from tackling the real problems of the country. MINUSMA has intervened militarily many times joining the operations Serval and Barkhane and the Malian army, attracting in turn the reprisal attacks of the rebels. In doing so the mission has registered, as indicated, numerous fatalities that have gradually decreased the participation in what is considered the riskiest operation in Sahel.[99] Another challenge outlined by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs is the lack of infrastructure throughout the country, that makes difficult the distribution of supplies and materials that is worsening the humanitarian conditions of the population, especially in the northern regions. It is underlined also by the Institute the critical situation related to the insurgent groups affiliated with the Islamic State, they have intensified their violent actions since 2014 and their fragmentation increases the difficulty in the negotiations for MINUSMA that despite its goal of a comprehensive approach it is not able to involve them in a peaceful framework.[100] After many years of UN presence without significant results, the population is now starting to distrust the international institutions and their operation

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[97] MINUSMA Fact Sheet, UN: https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/minusma
[98] United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 2480, June 2019
[99] L. Vermeij, MINUSMA: Challenges on the Ground, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2015
[100] L. Vermeij, MINUSMA: Challenges on the Ground, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2015

making the entire picture more complex. The local authorities of Mali are convinced that there would not be an effort to establish a dialogue to reach a political solution to the crisis, on the other hand there is the fear that once the armed groups were defeated the government would not address the problems of the people living in the North. MINUSMA has reached a point in which the risk is so high the people ask the mission to leave, hence to be effective it would be necessary to gain the population's trust. It is within this context that the main flaw of the mission emerges; personnel are insufficiently prepared to engage with the locals because of limited language skills or restricted knowledge about the different cultures.[101]

In the resolution adopted by the Security Council is then underlined:

"… that lasting peace and security in the Sahel region will not be achieved without a combination of political, security and development efforts benefitting all regions of Mali, as well as the full, effective and inclusive implementation of the Agreement on Peace and Reconciliation in Mali ("the Agreement"), which involves all Malian actors supportive of the peace process and ensures full, effective and meaningful participation of women and youth".[102]

It is given prominence to the implementation of the Agreement on Peace and Reconciliation in Mali of 2014 but also that it must be done through the involvement of the population, citing indirectly the importance of cultural mediation in order to pursue this goal. It is stressed in the Agreement itself that a stable peace must pass through a process of integration of the various ethnic groups practicable above all from the educational point of view (Art. 39):

The Parties shall take the following measures in the areas of education and culture:

> ➢ adaptation of teaching programs to the socio-cultural situation in the regions;

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[101] L. Vermeij, MINUSMA: Challenges on the Ground, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2015
[102] United Nations, Security Council, Resolution 2480, June 2019

- ➤ promotion of local languages and scripts;

- ➤ strengthening the primary and secondary education system paying particular attention to education for all;

- ➤ creating higher education institutions;

- ➤ creating cultural centers and museums;

- ➤ promoting the culture of these regions at local, national and international levels.[103]

Developing this procedure requires the active role of cultural mediators able to understand the needs of the people. Algeria has been designed as principal mediator among the parties for its importance in North Africa together with the international institutions.

The relevance of cultural mediation within the framework of a comprehensive approach in the peace-building processes and conflict prevention has been stated again by the Secretary General in the Resolution 70/304 of 2017 referring also to the MINUSMA mission in Mali. In the conclusions of his report in fact, Antònio Guterres highlights how one of the global challenges of our times is the support in mediating and facilitating the dialogues in situation of conflicts with the fundamental aim of preventing armed conflicts and so strengthening the security of all the member states. In order to do so it is necessary that every regional and national partner implement its own capacity of communicating with the people (an argument that could be easily enlarged to the Arma dei Carabinieri, being part of numerous UN and EU missions). In conclusion, it is essential to engage the population at every level, local, national and international to improve the UN capacity of exploiting a full range of mediation and dialogue tools.[104]

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[103] Agreement on Peace and Reconciliation in Mali
[104] United Nations, Activities of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel: Report of the Secretary-General, July 2019

## 2.7 The Importance of Sahel for the European Union

Nowadays external security has reached a high level of importance for the international institutions that must ensure through it the internal security of the member states, in some cases this way of acting can lead to incoherence. For the European Union, the stabilization of regions like the Sahel is extremely important both for political reasons and for the social perception of safety.[105] The Sahel is bound to the EU member states' security representing the major hub of illegal migration, traffic of drug and terrorism as the UN reports also demonstrate. In the last five years the projects and collaborations to support and stabilize the situation in West Africa have been considerably enhanced, Brussels has put in place what could be considered the Marshall Plan for Africa, the Emergency Trust Fund (EUTF)[106], allocating 4.1 billion euro.[107] The Sahel Strategy adopted by the EU is part of the comprehensive approach application and its Action Plan has four goals:

1. Preventing and countering radicalization;

2. Creating appropriate conditions for Youth;

3. Migration and mobility;

4. Border management and fighting against illicit trafficking and transnational organized crime.[108]

As in the case of MINUSMA, the EU is implementing an integrated strategy that foresees the integration of the civil society in all its parts, at political and social level. In the EU vision, the non-governmental actors play an important role and for this

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[105] B. Venturi, The EU and the Sahel: A Laboratory of Experimentation for the Security–Migration–Development Nexus, Istituto Affari Internazionali, 2017: http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaiwp1738.pdf

[106] EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa: https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/sahel-lake-chad_en

[107] E. Stambel, The EU's Fight Against Transnational Crime in the Sahel, Institute for European Studies, February 2019

[108] Council of the European Union, Conclusions on the Sahel Regional Action Plan 2015-2020, April 2015.

reason the European project for restoring the Sahel should be imprinted more on good governance than on the state-building process. The major goal is to develop values in the region such as democracy, human rights, security and rule of law (EU Global Strategy), on the other hand it is argued that the dynamics of integration, inclusivity and trust in local authorities are a little bit undervalued.[109]

The enforcement of the European integrated strategy shows in fact some contradictions due to the fact that the member states policies aim to preserve their own stability rather than focusing on a sustainable peace that would require more cohesion with the regional institutions. This is because Sahel with its migration flows and drug traffics represents a serious threat to the European order that the new populist movements are exploiting politically to gain consensus. Despite some slowdown, the EU strategy purports to develop four different lines of action: development, security, political and military. In doing so the cooperation with the other institutions operating in the field is considered crucial. EU is present on the ground with several missions coordinated within the Sahel Regional Action Plan 2015-2020, the European delegations are in Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad but the principal missions are EUCAP Sahel in Niger and Mali. In these countries, the EU have identified the major problems of the region, revealing the real "pragmatism" of the EU approach. Another problem highlighted in the EU operation is the lack of medium and long-term planning, for instance the two main missions have a two years mandate preventing the possibility to evaluate the indicators of the projects made in place. [110]

The sector in which the EU is investing more is then security, it gives support to the African partners through the body of the Regional Coordination Cell (RCC) that is in charge of applying all the directives coming from the EEAS.[111] On the regional level, the initiatives supported by the EU are:

[109] B. Venturi, An EU Integrated Approach in the Sahel: The Role for Governance, Istituto Affari Internazionali: https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaip1903.pdf
[110] B. Venturi, An EU Integrated Approach in the Sahel: The Role for Governance, Istituto Affari Internazionali: https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaip1903.pdf
[111] B. Venturi, An EU Integrated Approach in the Sahel: The Role for Governance, Istituto Affari Internazionali: https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaip1903.pdf

- ➢ Global Alliance for Resilience Initiative (AGIR) launched in Ouagadougou in December 2012.

- ➢ The creation of the G5 in 2014 by the Heads of State of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger to address the main challenges in Sahel, particularly in the field of security and development;

- ➢ The Bamako ministerial platform launched after the joint high-level visit to the region in 2013 (UN, African Union, World Bank, EU,) to coordinate the Sahel strategies;

- ➢ The Nouakchott Process in 2013 to promote collective security in the Region under the AU auspices;

- ➢ The revitalization of the Lake Chad Basin Commission to tackle common border issues, in view of the increased threat to the Sahel region from Boko Haram activities.[112]

The comprehensive approach seems to be implemented in the fields of security and defense with a relevant effort by the EU. The same effort is not lavished in the other sectors like governance and integration in which equal resources are not invested. Additionally, there is the tendency to prefer short-term solutions that are not helpful for the upswing of the region.[113]

The EU contribution in Sahel is certainly high-impact but without a long-term strategy it risks being ineffective. The integrated strategy is too concerned on the securitization of the region also because the curbing of migration is a sensitive political objective, however as underlined previously, it should foresee to improve equally governance

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[112] Council of the European Union, Conclusions on the Sahel Regional Action Plan 2015-2020, April 2015.
[113] B. Venturi, An EU Integrated Approach in the Sahel: The Role for Governance, Istituto Affari Internazionali: https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaip1903.pdf

and integration trying to include local authorities and people, as much as possible, in this perspective the cultural mediation could play a crucial role.

### *2.8 Italy in the Sahel*

Italy is bound to the securitization of Sahel as much as the other European states. The triangle terrorism-instability-migration influences negatively the Mediterranean area and in particular Italy that represents the first point of contact with illicit trafficking, drugs and crime. The effort of Italian foreign policy in West Africa has been certificated by the opening of two diplomatic representations in Niger and Guinea and by the several meetings between Italian and African institutions.[114] Furthermore, the Italian Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN Stefano Stefanile has recently reaffirmed the concept:

"Combining security with development and government is key and should be at the core of any international action in support of the country and the region".[115]

In this direction, all the last governments have always expressed their maximum commitment to the Sahel, trying to bring the question to the higher tables of negotiation as in the case of G7 meeting in Taormina (2017).[116] At the multilateral level, the application of the strategies for the Sahel is jeopardized by the pursuit of the member states own interests who are most significantly involved, especially France and Germany that together with Italy are commonly the final destination for the migration flows. Therefore, Italy during the last few years has struggled to carve out an important decision-making role related to the African issues, on the other hand this aspiration has to deal with a lower economic contribution.

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[114] M. Massoni, La Crisi e i Conflitti dei Paesi dell'Africa Saheliana. La Priorità per un'eventuale Azione nazionale ed Europea, Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, 2016.
[115] Il giornale italiano delle Nazioni Unite: https://www.onuitalia.com/2019/05/16/sahel-italy-security-and-development-are-key-of-our-agenda/
[116] M. Massoni, La Crisi e i Conflitti dei Paesi dell'Africa Saheliana. La Priorità per un'eventuale Azione nazionale ed Europea, Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa, 2016.

In this framework, Italy is working to change the European vision that nowadays is strongly based on the singular states stakes and to be effective the Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa suggests undertaking some provisions:

➢ To realize a common national policy erasing the redundancies of the foreign policy related to West Africa;

➢ The creation of two bodies for policy coordination in the Sahel: a center of connection between Italy and Africa, the figure of a Special Representative for Africa;

➢ To enforce the Italian presence on the ground through the diplomatic representations;

➢ To reinforce the Special Envoy of the MAECI mandate for the Sahel;

➢ To support the African regional integration financing the regional African initiatives like the African Union and the G5;

➢ To establish specific parliamentary commissions ad hoc between Rome and the African capitals which are considered to be strategic for the Italian foreign policy;

➢ To plan a more incisive policy based on the economic and security restoration of the region;

➢ To increase the intervention capacity of the European Union through the creation of a Permanent European Fund for the African Crises, in order to reduce the economic impact on the single states;

➢ To promote cooperation with extra-European countries which are investing in Africa such as China and the Gulf States;

➢ To optimize the use of Italian personnel of international or African NGOs so to activate tools of soft-intelligence.

It is mandatory that Italy starts to bring forward these kinds of activities in order not to lose ground on the European foreign policy towards Sahel so it can be enabled to pursue its own interests like the other member states.

In regard to the security field and the states of Mali and Niger being the weak links of the entire region, Italy decided to take part in the missions under the aegis of international institutions in order to share its expertise and know-how with the local armed forces. The contribution of the Arma dei Carabinieri is here very relevant but strictly bound to security issues. Through the missions of EUCAP Sahel Niger and Mali in fact, the Arma supports the local forces in the fight against terrorism and organized crime. Thanks to their experience in Kosovo with the MSU body, they are able to deal effectively with the local police forces strengthening their capacity for criminal investigation and facilitating the coordination against the terrorist organizations.[117]

Framing the main criticism of the comprehensive strategy applied in the Sahel both by UN and EU, it arises this lack of integration policies which could increase the possibilities of building a peaceful environment. Contextually, the implementation of the cultural mediation field is outlined in this argument as the best practice possible. Therefore, if the security sector is carried out by the Italian police forces in the field, strengthening the cultural aspects of the national contingents could promote a better form of security, valid for the external missions as for the internal soil, bearing in mind that the Arma faces similar situations when sent abroad compared to when it has to deal with foreign communities within the national borders, this approach could be applied also to the other European member states.

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[117] L. Guarino, L'Impegno Italiano nelle Missioni nel Sahel, Osservatorio Strategico del Ministero della Difesa, 2017.

# Chapter 3

## *3.1 The Importance of Military Cultural Competences*

Cultural capabilities are necessary for military personnel who have to mix cultural understanding with the ability to determine when culture is relevant, these are called cross-cultural competences.[118] Starting from the definition of culture, the Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence has underlined the importance of this concept:

"A shared set of traditions, belief systems, and behaviors. (...). Culture evolves in response to various pressures and influences and is learned through socialization; it is not inherent. In short, a culture provides a lens through which its members see and understand the world."[119]

As such, it is a set of traditions, belief systems and behaviors and it continuously changes but understanding the culture can assist in understanding how others see the world. The relevance of it for missions is increasing, warfare nowadays includes a number of aspects that cannot be disregarded from the study of the cultural context.[120] Knowledge, skills and attitude are fundamental elements to fulfil cross-cultural competences which have become necessary to interact with other communities.

The conception of this field has been modified after the operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, where the US military especially has started to deepen its knowledge about different cultural groups and their influence over the stabilization of a country.[121] After many studies conducted by theorists, educators, trainers and policy makers cross-cultural competences have become essential to achieve important military goals. The modern conduct of war is completely different from the twentieth century where the

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[118] R. Greene sands, A. Greene Sands, Cross-Cultural Competence for Twenty-first- Century Military: Culture, the Flipside of COIN, Lexington Books, 2014
[119] CIMIC field Handbook, Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), Fourth Edition, 2016
[120] M. McFarland, Military Cultural Education: https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1P3-840272651/military-cultural-education
[121] R. Greene sands, A. Greene Sands, Cross-Cultural Competence for Twenty-first- Century Military: Culture, the Flipside of COIN, Lexington Books, 2014

success of the operations could not be measured in victories or losses but rather in the stabilization of the area at stake without future risks of new conflicts. In this framework, the understanding of different cultures is an added high value:

"We have learned many lessons over the last 10 years, but one of the most compelling is that – whether you are working among the citizens of a country, or working with their government or Armed Forces – nothing is as important to your long-term success as understanding the prevailing culture and value".[122]

A different consideration about religions, cultural beliefs and values of society would have changed the failing result obtained in Iraq by the United States in the democratization process of the country.[123] Understanding the real relationship between Sunni and Shi'a in the Iraqi context would have brought better results and certainly the security of the area would have been improved too. Also in Afghanistan, the lack of knowledge about the cultural landscape was critical, civil engagement was never taken seriously and within long-term strategies.[124]

It was the increasing involvement of the people in armed conflicts who started to oppose to the US military that pushed towards a change in the warfare approach. The first step was to develop language skills necessary to communicate with different ethnic groups. Language is considered integral to the approach, it allows all the parts involved, allies and adversaries to deal with each other. These capabilities however are part of a wider thinking, the general culture that regards all the human domain so knowledge of universal components such as worldviews, values, religion, beliefs, identity, alliance and exchange.[125] In light of this, the training of military personnel will provide a multidisciplinary effort involving several fields of study: anthropology, psychology, sociology, economics, political studies about regions, all necessary to

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[122] R. Greene sands, A. Greene Sands, Cross-Cultural Competence for Twenty-first- Century Military: Culture, the Flipside of COIN, Lexington Books, 2014
[123] A. Arcuri, The Importance of Cross-Cultural Awareness for Today's Operational Environment: https://apps.dtic.mil/docs/citations/ADA469379
[124] R. Greene sands, A. Greene Sands, Cross-Cultural Competence for Twenty-first- Century Military: Culture, the Flipside of COIN, Lexington Books, 2014
[125] R. Greene sands, A. Greene Sands, Cross-Cultural Competence for Twenty-first- Century Military: Culture, the Flipside of COIN, Lexington Books, 2014

have a complete formation.[126]

A situation that requires specific cultural competences is certainly related to the crisis situation in which the international actors have to deal with indigenous armed forces. Military integration is extremely challenging and communication with these groups is often crucial to reaching a peace-agreement. The mistrust towards the international contingents can negatively affect the process of restoring the host-nation and undermine security of the people. It is here evident the importance of being aware of the local army intentions and this is possible through the use of cultural mediation. Sometimes the application of the DDR (Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration) could be necessary, however it can happen that these forces are integrated into the security system of the new state.[127] Social and Ethnic divisions in the security forces can exacerbate the cleavages, therefore the government must ensure the integration for every different group in the same way. Military integration can prevent the risk of spoiling behavior, in post-conflict conditions which can lead to the destabilization of the peace-building process. If not ensured, the possibilities of an unfair distribution of political power could seriously damage the political and social environment.[128]

### 3.2 A Possible Model

After having analyzed the comprehensive approach and framed how much relevance culture could cover in improving its effectiveness, it is time to structure a possible model of cultural mediation to apply to the FPU and the Arma dei Carabinieri in particular. As specified in the first chapter, there is still not a clear strategy that aims to improve the cultural aspects of personnel preparation before the deployment in missions abroad. Thanks to interviews conducted in Kosovo and subsequently in Italy, there has been the possibility to get a closer look at the attitude of the Multinational CIMIC Group, a body specialized in the engagement of local populations during the

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[126] R. Greene sands, A. Greene Sands, Cross-Cultural Competence for Twenty-first- Century Military: Culture, the Flipside of COIN, Lexington Books, 2014
[127] Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich: https://isnblog.ethz.ch/conflict/mediation-perspectives-military-integration-as-a-tool-for-peacekeeping
[128] Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich: https://isnblog.ethz.ch/conflict/mediation-perspectives-military-integration-as-a-tool-for-peacekeeping

overseas missions. It has developed a profound expertise in the training of personnel, taking into account especially cultural aspects. It is interesting to see which programs it proposes in more detail, in order to derive a proper model for the purpose of this thesis.

### *3.3 The Multinational CIMIC Group as Inspiration*

The evolution of the CA doctrine through the influences and perspectives of the various international institutions has reached a stage that goes over the military aspect but it still represents the context where cultural mediation has emerged within the military world, as a link to the civil environment. Even before the official implementation of the CA, several military bodies and others have focused their training phase on the use of this tool in operational theaters. One of the most important is the Multinational CIMIC Group, a specialized unit with its headquarters in Motta di Livenza (Italy), projected for civil-military cooperation at tactical and operational level and one of the biggest results attributable to NATO for the development of the comprehensive approach. It was founded officially in 2004 when Italy, Greece, Portugal and Hungary signed the Memorandum of Understanding. With the initial name of CIMIC Group South the basis for the growth of the civil-military cooperation and coordination sector were put forward. In 2009, Romania joined the newly re-named Multinational CIMIC group, later in 2012 the body was affiliated to the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe and in 2014 Slovenia joined.[129] Despite the fact of being affiliated to NATO, the MNCG is a multinational inter-force department guided by Italy and so it normally follows the Italian military hierarchy.

The Multinational CIMIC Group is useful to the operations whenever political, social, economic, cultural, religious, environmental and humanitarian factors must be taken into account, it can evaluate the impact of civil actors with whom the military has to deal.
The principal functions described in the Allied Joint Publication 3.4.9 involves support to the force, support to civil actors and their environment and in particular the civil-military liaison that "establish and maintain liaison with civil actors at appropriate

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[129] Multinational CIMIC Group: https://www.cimicgroup.org/about_mncg/history/

levels, facilitating cooperation, harmonization, information sharing, harmonized or integrated planning, and conduct of operations".[130] Especially for the latter function, it is clear that appropriate skills of communication and the comprehension of a different culture are forcibly required and taught.

The Allied Joint Publication 3.4.9 also contains the formally standardized definition of CIMIC:

"The coordination and cooperation, in support of the mission, between the NATO Commander and civil actors, including national population and local authorities, as well as international, national and non-governmental organizations and agencies."[131]

The core of this definition is defined by two actions. Coordination implies the capacity of managing the interests of multiple actors, including the local ones and in addition it must provide for the harmonization of military activities with civil actors in order to avoid duplication and to increase effectiveness; cooperation generally speaking, according to the official documents of NATO, has to be understood as an interaction between the civil and the military that can reach different levels, from coexistence to integration.[132]
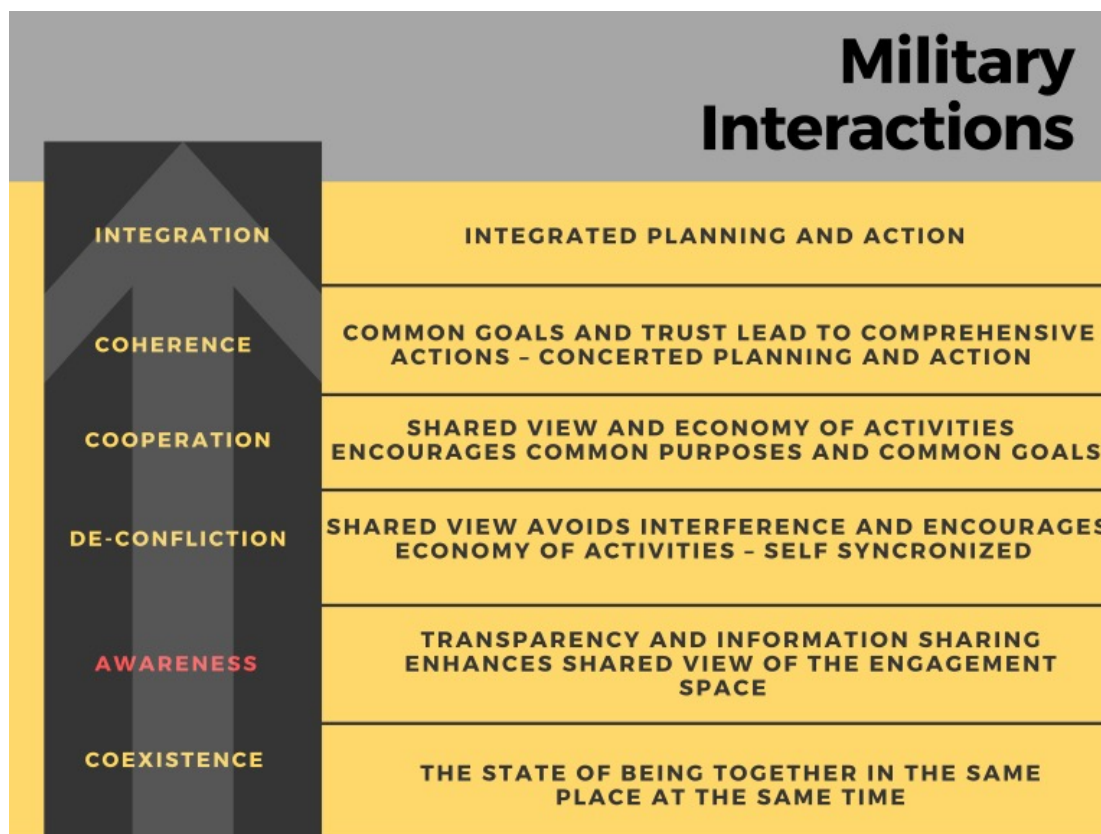
Here are the different levels of interaction between the military and civilians as defined following the NATO parameters:

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[130] Allied Joint Publication-3.4.9 (AJP-3.4.9), NATO, February 2013
[131] Allied Joint Publication-3.4.9 (AJP-3.4.9), NATO, February 2013
[132] CIMIC field Handbook, Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), Fourth Edition, 2016

# Military Interactions

| | |
|---|---|
| INTEGRATION | INTEGRATED PLANNING AND ACTION |
| COHERENCE | COMMON GOALS AND TRUST LEAD TO COMPREHENSIVE ACTIONS – CONCERTED PLANNING AND ACTION |
| COOPERATION | SHARED VIEW AND ECONOMY OF ACTIVITIES ENCOURAGES COMMON PURPOSES AND COMMON GOALS |
| DE-CONFLICTION | SHARED VIEW AVOIDS INTERFERENCE AND ENCOURAGES ECONOMY OF ACTIVITIES – SELF SYNCRONIZED |
| AWARENESS | TRANSPARENCY AND INFORMATION SHARING ENHANCES SHARED VIEW OF THE ENGAGEMENT SPACE |
| COEXISTENCE | THE STATE OF BEING TOGETHER IN THE SAME PLACE AT THE SAME TIME |

CIMIC hand book: Parameters of interactions

On this scale of values, the MNCG aims to achieve a rate of integration that should favor a comprehensive environment in which the military commander's plans are supported even by the civil actors, which is not always reached.[133]

In parallel, the highest rate of interaction is not required for the final purpose. Instead, it would be sufficient if with the application of the CIMIC skills the FPU reached the level of awareness in which the transparency and especially information sharing could be translated in precious instruments for the preservation of security. In this regard, there is the need to understand how the MNCG acts in general in the field and how this body prepares its personnel for the operational theatre in the interactions with the local communities and where it is possible to improve these aspects according to the necessities of the Arma dei Carabinieri.[134]

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[133] CIMIC field Handbook, Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), Fourth Edition, 2016

[134] From the interviews with the staff of MSU in Kosovo, it emerges that during the missions abroad

It must be clear that the difference about the final goal related to the use of cultural mediation of the two entities would be really significant: as mentioned in the table, the MNCG develops its capacities of communication in order to facilitate the process of peacebuilding and state-building, in doing so it is crucial to obtain the trust of the local communities.

When the CIMIC personnel operates in the field it can collect a large amount of information that when processed may prove to be useful for intelligence purposes. They have to be able to choose which information should be shared for the intelligence collection plan (ICP) of the higher echelon. Evidently, it would not be possible to exploit some information without compromising the relationship that CIMIC operators try to set up. The AJP 3.4.9 clarifies this dynamic: "Civil actors are opposed to contributing to military intelligence gathering; any attempt to use civil actors for this purpose will result in lasting discord and tension thereby reducing cooperation and movement towards the desired end state. It also prevents effective CIMIC contribution to the overall mission. The need to share information with civil actors is by far more beneficial for a comprehensive approach than the former 'need to know' policy.

Furthermore, the military should refrain from over classifying information, attempting to de-classify as much information as possible, thus assisting civil actors in performing their activities. For this purpose, the procedures to follow have to be in accordance with the NATO security policy as described in the supporting document on information and intelligence sharing with non- NATO entities'17. This also enhances the overall information sharing process that will allow more information to be provided to civil actors".[135]

The more information is shared with civil actors the more they will collaborate with the military, this is the basic idea.

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these corps have always been able to establish a dialogue with the locals regardless of the expertise in communication, nevertheless it is probable that capacities implemented through the application of the CIMIC's knowledge would bring more advantages.

[135] Allied Joint Publication-3.4.9 (AJP-3.4.9), NATO, February 2013

On the other hand, the application of the training aspects about cultural awareness on the Arma being based on intelligence gathering, rather than to cooperate with civilians, the parameters have been set out differently. However, the level indicated as the one to be reached for the Arma is just a suggestion that could be overcome if verified to be ineffective by practice in the field.

## *3.4 The Intercultural Mediator Course*

Among the seven courses organized by the MNCG, the Intercultural Mediator Course has been identified as the one that would fill the gap between the Arma dei Carabinieri and the CIMIC operators concerning cultural training, which the Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center could take inspiration from, with the necessary adjustments. Indeed, if it is true that some of the Carabinieri participate in the CIMIC courses, it is also true that there is still not a clear attendance obligation for all the corps who are about to be sent abroad. [136] This is due to the fact that their preparation is mainly overseen by the CoESPU which however does not cover the field of cultural awareness as verified in the first chapter.

The IMC is very recent (2018) and it has been structured thanks also to some relevant academic actors, it is designed to remain flexible during the forthcoming years in order to change the aspects that could rapidly evolve. Moreover, it is firmly based on the experiences of the experts who have worked in the field of intercultural mediation.

The course aims to engage students into the complexity of current geo-strategic scenarios providing basic knowledge and competences to fulfil the role of intercultural mediator as the main facilitator for the establishment of an effective liaison between military actors and the ample complex and intercultural domain of non-military actors. The secondary purpose of this course is to enhance CIMIC personnel skills and capabilities to face the new challenges of modern theaters of operations from hybrid threats to mass migrations, from climate change to trans-national criminal activities.[137]

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[136] Interview to the Multinational CIMIC Group and Multinational Specialized Unit
[137] Intercultural Mediator Course Program

The training specific objectives will be to develop individual communication and negotiation techniques and skills within an intercultural environment and to develop the psychological background for an intercultural mediator and enhance the knowledge of social and anthropological topics.

The four pillars of the course are:

1. Geo-strategic context, anthropological principles and intercultural competences: it includes the study of the international context; international law principles; analysis of cultural anthropological principles; intercultural competence; specific focus on cultural foundation of the diverse geographical areas (Balkans, MENA, Middle East, North Africa and Horn of Africa).

2. Communication and negotiation principles: knowing the key items that make communication effective (the use of non-verbal and para-verbal language, communicative styles); negotiation elements applied to the intercultural context; active listening; from empathy to exotopia, the building of an effective relationship with a different individual.

3. Intercultural mediator and CIMIC: role and competences of the intercultural mediator; mediation aspects; principles of cooperation civil-military; the civil-military liaison; the intercultural mediator in civil-military cooperation with a focus on its role, competences, operative aspects, critical issues, mediation with civil authorities, NGOs and IGOs.

4. Psychological and sociological principles: developing personal and social competences (evaluating the impact of the emotions during a dialogue); knowing the principal stress factors linked to the role; management of the interpreters.[138]

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[138] Intercultural Mediator Course Program

## 3.5 First Module

The first module regards the geo-strategic context, anthropological principles and intercultural competences. The first step is to illustrate the geo-strategic scenario, the reasons why the area of the mission at issue is important and what are the geopolitical interests of the country and of the international institutions. Currently there are ten Italian missions abroad under NATO, EU or UN but during the years after the Second World War there have been more than thirty located in twenty-three different countries, the majority of the personnel is employed in the Middle-East, the most crowded is in Lebanon with UNIFIL followed by the NATO mission in Afghanistan "Resolute Support", in Iraq and Kuwait with the mission "Prima Parthica" / "Inherent Resolve". Then the Italian corps of the four military forces are present also in Somalia, Turkey, Kosovo, United Arab Emirates, Libya, Mali and Morocco.[139] It derives that the course is dedicated to the understanding of different cultures and contexts that are mainly part of the MENA region. The study of the Balkans is justified by two key factors. First, the Italian military has participated in all the missions in the region: Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR and SFOR), Albania (Alba, Allied Harbour, Pelican), Macedonia (FYROM), and the ongoing mission in Kosovo (KFOR).

Second, geographically speaking it is very relevant for Italy because of the proximity, it represents the route of connection between Asia and Europe and for this reason it is a focal point for the illegal traffic of migrants, weapons or drugs.

Anthropological studies in general regard the human cultural, social, biological, and environmental aspects. Cultural anthropology is one of the four areas of this subject specialized in the study of peoples' beliefs, practices, and the cognitive and social organization of human groups. This branch tries to answer the question of how people are influenced by the same ideas and behaviours when they live in a common cultural system. Culture is in fact defined as the knowledge humans use to manage their lives. Cultural anthropology is needed to gain a profound understanding of the different cultural systems that can be reached only with a participant observation from the

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[139] Ministero della Difesa: http://www.esercito.difesa.it/operazioni

inside. Thanks to this new perspective, the students could be able to deal with a wider range of cultures.[140]

Other themes covered in this module are ethnology and ethnolinguistic phenomena. Ethnology seeks to compare various non-European populations, it analyses the main differences and similarities and when two civilizations intersect with each other in terms of cultural heritage. The ethnolinguistic on the other hand is the study of the language related to the culture and what the ethnic groups perceptions are about the world. It is the mix of ethnology and linguistic.[141]

Humanitarian principles and the fundamentals of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) are part of the program too. The core principles designed by the General Assembly in the Resolution 46/182 are mandatory for the NATO forces operating in the field: the principle of humanity gives attention to all the vulnerable people such as children, women and the elderly. The principle of neutrality affirms the humanitarian assistance must be provided despite political, religious or ideological controversies. The principle of impartiality guarantees humanitarian assistance without religious, ethnic origin, gender, nationality, political opinions, or race discriminations.[142]

Two theory periods are dedicated to the fundamental of IHL. It is important for the students to know the basis of international law when they are operating in a foreign country, this would be valid also for the Carabinieri. The humanitarian international law is a branch of international law, it is different from the International Human Rights Law but it shares its foundations on bilateral treaties, multilateral treaties and on the customary law. Therefore, it is a set of international rules, established by treaty or custom, which aim to limit and to resolve all the humanitarian issues that could erase from an armed conflict. Its main purpose is to protect war victims regardless their heritage. The main treaties related to the armed conflicts of the IHL are the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocol I of 1977, while the treaty that concerns non-armed conflict are article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and

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[140] Intercultural Mediator Course Program
[141] Intercultural Mediator Course Program
[142] Allied Joint Publication-3.4.9 (AJP-3.4.9), NATO, February 2013

Additional Protocol II of 1977.[143] The general principles of the IHL derived from these documents: principle of distinction between civilians and combatants, civilian objects and military objects; principle of proportionality; principle of necessity; the prohibition on causing unnecessary suffering.[144]

### 3.6 Second Module

The second module concerns the communication and negotiation part and sets knowledge of communication principles and strategies as the first learning goal. The lessons are based in particular on the Manifesto of the communication theories "Pragmatics of the Human Communication" written by Paul Watzlawick and the Palo Alto School which contains the main principles of this doctrine and that here will be briefly explained.

Communication can be divided in two main stands, the mass communication and the interpersonal one, the latter is scrutinised closely because it is more important for the purpose of the course. It consists in two poles, the issuer who wants to send a message and the recipient who will receive the message. Five axioms are then defined: the first one says that it is impossible not to communicate, every word or action can be interpreted as signal, every behaviour means to communicate. It derives the non-verbal communication; the second axiom clarifies that every communication has a content and relationship aspect such that the latter classifies the former and is therefore a meta-communication, in other words sending a message is a matter of content but it also includes the senders' perceptions about the context; the third one says that the nature of a relationship is dependent on the punctuation of the partners' communication procedures, in this sense communication involves a number of messages much larger than the speech alone, the non-verbal language is very relevant again; the fourth, human communication involves both digital and analogic modalities where digital refers to very specific gestures or words that have been determined just to communicate while analogic stands for the representation of something which expresses the emotions of the communicator; the fifth axiom affirms that inter-human

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[143] Advisory Service on International Humanitarian Law
[144] Intercultural Mediator Course Program

communication procedures are either symmetrical or complementary, depending on whether the relationship of the partners is based on differences or parity. A symmetrical relationship means the parts behave equally despite the power they have.[145]

The operators have to consider carefully these principles in order to communicate in the most effective way. In addition to that, the course foresees to implement the strategies linked to communication, knowledge about the various techniques is also important. The three types of language are analyzed and learnt by the students: the verbal language indicates what is said or what is written by the digital code of words, the non-verbal language (or body-language) assumes a great importance especially within an intercultural context where the use of common words is not possible, the para-verbal language concerns the mode in which the communication is expressed.[146]

This part is concluded with practical simulations in which the students practice the theory trying to understand the different communication styles and techniques. [147]
The second part of the module aims to deepen the negotiation definable as the process of joint decision making. It is a direct or tacit communication between individuals who are trying to find an agreement for a common goal. The origins of this concept are related to doing business but it can be central also in politics, diplomacy, religion, the law and the family.[148] It is important for the students to learn the main techniques being able to manage them in different intercultural scenarios in order to conduct an effective negotiation.

### 3.7 Third Module

The third module deals with the intercultural mediator role and gives the basis of the CIMIC doctrine. The intercultural mediator should be helpful for both the parties involved, his role is to facilitate the communication between two completely different cultures. In the case of external missions, the mediator has to maintain a neutral

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[145] Paul Watzlawick, Janet Helmick Beavin, Donald deAvila Jackson, Pragmatic of Human Communication, 1967
[146] Intercultural Mediator Course Program
[147] Intercultural Mediator Course Program
[148] Webster New Collegiate Dictionary: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/communication

position providing information also to the local community so they can collaborate. The competences the mediator should have go beyond linguistic skills, the attitude is very important in the sense of being open and ready to stop disbelief about other cultures. Knowledge about social groups, identities, practices both for the mediator's own country and for the interlocutor's country is equally considered. During the course, the intercultural mediator has to develop some mediation techniques which are tested in many simulations.

According to the Carabinieri Foreign Language Centre this professional figure could be useful also internally because they could interact with all the closed-off communities which have stabilized in Italy in the last few years, representing an additional entry point to these minority/discriminated groups.

The intercultural mediator role has to be inserted into the civil-military liaison framework, the students study the NATO doctrine and its Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTPs). The civil-military liaison and coordination architecture are also part of the course, from principles to tasks, from core functions and CIMIC to its assets, they have already been explained.[149]

## 3.8 Fourth Module

The last module is about the psychological and sociological principles where the students will develop basic social and personal competences to establish an effective relation, they will be warned of what the main risks are and sources of stress for an intercultural mediator, they will learn how to manage an interpreter.

In this module, a military psychologist will explain how to reach the ability to read own and other emotions, understand the emotional impact during an activity and manage the situation in accordance to the context. Stress, psychological distress and fatigue are negative factors that could influence the successful outcome of a negotiation, in this regard the experts identify the main causes of stress connected to this specific role trying to avoid them.[150]

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[149] Intercultural Mediator Course Program
[150] Intercultural Mediator Course Program

*3.9 The Key-Role of Interpreters*

Dealing with interpreters is a very sensitive issue and requires a long period of time for training. In all the countries where the CIMIC units or the Carabinieri corps operate, it is not always possible to find actors able to communicate effectively with the local population because of the lack of the necessary linguistic skills. In Afghanistan for instance there are two official languages (Dari, Pashto) and other five different dialects, it is therefore complicated to know them all. Within the military missions, two types of interpreters can be distinguished: professional interpreters, that can also be military employees who know the local language or locally hired interpreters (LHI). For some ethnic groups, it could be sensitive for men to talk with women, in this case the interpreter will be female. Then there are other special guidelines that the operators must bear in mind when they have to manage a LHI:

➢ The time planning is fundamental, the conversation with the support of the LHI should be slower than a normal one.

➢ Speak with the interpreter before the conversation is recommended in order to explain him/her what the main arguments are to treat and the goals that have to be reached during the meeting. It can happen that the interpreter starts to lead the conversation because he/she knows to counterpart or for other reasons, it is therefore important to manage him/her in the best way possible so he/she does not take initiatives.

➢ The timing of the conversation is also relevant. After every two or three sentences, there will be a pause for the translation that has to be consequent. The translation can be simultaneous but it requires a greater effort for the interpreter and greater skills.

➢ It is fundamental for the outcome of the activity to check before if there could be frictions between the interpreter and the counterpart due to any sensitivity like ethnic background, position of power, gender, etc. The LHI must always

behave with neutrality.

- Observe the non-verbal communication of the counterpart when the message of the operator is interpreted by the interpreter, keeping eye contact.

- If the operator wants to make a presentation, the interpreter will be provided with the full written text. If the subject is military specialized, he will need some additional information about the special terms and terminology used, the LHI has to understand the entirety of the speech the operator is going to give.

- Modifying the language avoiding difficult military terms can facilitate the interpreter's effort and be positive for the final result.

- "A good interpreter is an extension of the speaker", the interpreter should follow the speaker in what he does. If he is sitting, the interpreter will also sit, if the speaker stands, the interpreter will do the same.

- It is important the interpreter can see the speaker and his body-language, at the same time he has to be visible for the counterpart.

- If the interpreter does not understand a part of the speech, the operator should repeat it so as to give an accurate translation.

- The choice of the interpreter is complicated, it has to be done according to the context the operator will face, for instance experienced interpreters are employed when their knowledge about traditions and the environment are requested (religious meetings, institutional meetings). While young interpreters can be employed in other situations (schools, hospitals etc.)

- At the start of the conversation, the interpreter will be introduced so they can be easily recognized by all the participants.

➢ The translation provided has to be literal and truthful of everything that has been said by the participants. The interpreter is only allowed to give a brief summary if he is requested to do so.

➢ With more interpreters present during the conversation, the operator will decide who will translate first and who later in order not to create confusion.[151]

In conclusion, the meeting will be successful if the interpreter receives the full picture of the situation, what the aims of the operator are and how his speech is structured. The trust in the interpreter when locally hired is therefore precious, the choice of the right person is significant too. The security of the interpreter must be provided, it is recommended to think about the possible consequences he could have after the meeting, if he is socially linked with the counterpart or if he is openly against it.[152]

### 3.10 Gender Awareness

The gender awareness is a branch of the cultural mediation that needs a close examination gaining in the years more and more importance.[153] Women are no longer seen as weak agents but as powerful and able of change and progress. However, the conflicts can exacerbate the gender inequalities putting women in more disadvantaged situations sometimes dramatic, that is why all the international actors must be aware of the role gender can play in conducting operations, considering the principles of non-discrimination and equality.[154]

In the framework of CIMIC operations, the cultural perspective about gender of the locals is essential for the understanding of all the groups the operators have to deal with. With gender, it is intended how socially and culturally the roles of men and women are influenced. It is not a matter of biological differences but rather of social

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[151] CIMIC field Handbook, Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), Fourth Edition, 2016
[152] CIMIC field Handbook, Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), Fourth Edition, 2016
[153] C. Dietrich, C. Qain, Gender in Conflict, European Union Institute for Security Studies: https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/Brief_33_Gender_in_conflict.pdf
[154] C. Dietrich, C. Qain, Gender in Conflict, European Union Institute for Security Studies: https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/Brief_33_Gender_in_conflict.pdf

differences that flow in different opportunities and relationships.

Balkans, Iraq and Afghanistan have shown several operations incorporating the gender perspective with successful results. "A gender perspective can help identify the different vulnerabilities, needs and interests of men, women boys and girls. During a mission, there are focal areas where CIMIC activities and gender related issues will meet. One can think of healthcare, education, employment, economic development, humanitarian relief and security", this is the idea developed by the CIMIC group and born with the Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security adopted by the UN. From this point forward, the gender awareness is part of the working environment and it can ensure a better access to the community, meaning more possibilities to have useful information for the mission. However, in many countries this strategy could not bring equal results being the role of the woman still underestimated, it would be counterproductive forcing a society to change its own values. [155]

In certain situations, it is not culturally accepted for military males to engage with local women, the operators' teams should include a female member to increase the possibilities of success.[156]

### 3.11 Find a Compatibility between the MNCG and the CoESPU

The MNCG model about cultural awareness could bring many advantages for the Arma personnel training. It would be important hence to find a proper way to mix the courses offered by the MNCG itself and the CoESPU which is in charge of the preparation of the FPU. The Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center could play a crucial role in this sense, aiming to become the link between the two academic proposals.

For the reasons listed above, it is fundamental that the FPU integrate this type of cultural training and studying together with their technical preparation that could

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[155] CIMIC field Handbook, Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), Fourth Edition, 2016
[156] CIMIC field Handbook, Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence (CCOE), Fourth Edition, 2016

guarantee to the Arma major possibilities to deal with the foreign communities also at the national level and not only during the missions abroad.

# Final Remarks

The comprehensive approach can be defined as a modern doctrine, which incorporates the better values of our society. On the other hand, it still presents some weaknesses that make difficult the realization of a complete integration between different cultures. This conception is essential nowadays in the perspective of maintaining the public order and protect the safety of the citizens, European and not. The non-understanding of a culture has historically always brought to instability and to the outcomes of violent conflicts, it is sufficient to think about the recent events in countries like Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan, where the isolation of some ethnic groups led to dramatic wars with multiple victims.

The comprehensive approach has become in the years the guideline for every intervention the international institutions put in place. As in the case of the Sahel, the CA has constituted the basis for the strategies outlined by the UN, the EU and the other organizations. They aim to restore the region under the key aspects of governance, security and resilience. However, it cannot be said there are not lacks in its implementation; in fact the member states do not frequently take care of integration policies but they rather prefer to focus on their internal issues. For instance, the situation of West-Africa is sensitive to the western countries because it is the main hub of illicit traffics and migration routes towards Europe and every member aims to contain this type of threats, limiting at the same time the possibility to find a common solution.

Taking into account these considerations, the CA could certainly be improved under various aspects: how?

The development of the doctrine has passed through the contribution of the main international organizations that have today an own vision. While for NATO the approach assumes military connotations, for the EU and the UN it gains more importance under the political and economic level. Analysing then the input given by the Arma dei Carabinieri in this framework has been essential to understand that

especially under the security field, the CA could have been improved. The Stability Policing theory constitutes a pillar of the approach; it is the sector in which the CFLC has identified the major possibilities to increase the effectiveness of the entire process, strengthening the personnel formation exactly in the understanding of the different cultures.

The security field is hence one of these aspects and maybe it represents the most critical. If we think the FPU is the first point of contact with the host-nations communities and in charge of protecting the public safety, we must provide new tools in order to enhance their capacity of integration. That is why the cultural mediation has been framed as a fundamental feature in the personnel preparation, being a consequence of the increasing importance of the cultural awareness after 9/11 when the profound ignorance of different cultures was no more affordable for the Western countries.

The use of cultural mediation can be nowadays a contribution to the prevention and solution of internal and external crises, improving the security system functioning. The model structured in the last chapter on the basis of the MNCG course could sensibly strengthen the capacity of the FPU both nationally and abroad, making the dialogue with the indigenous communities more effective. Enhancing these aspects of the personnel formation could give more competences when employed on the ground, not limited to the languages skills, which of course remain fundamental.

After the comparison between the different tasks of the bodies analysed that are in charge of the preparation, the Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center suggests opening an ad-hoc section with a focused and specialized approach on this matter which at the same time would fulfil the existing gaps of academic models of the MNCG and the CoESPU.

This proposal could represent a timely response to the present challenge of integration and security. The monitoring of illegal phenomena linked to immigration flows, transnational crime and terrorism would be then easier for the police officers.

It can be seen as an opportunity which would add to the preservation action a new tool which does not exist at the moment or at least it does not work effectively and would fill an evident gap in the security system.

Overall, possible limitations of the study could be re-conducted to the difficult finding of relevant outcomes in the immediate. It would be needed a further analysis resulting from the real implementation of the academic model on the FPU in order to verify if cultural awareness can be effectively useful to strengthen the security system.

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# Summary

Migration flows are changing European society and the lack of effective integration policies is undermining the security apparatus which is threatened by transnational crime and terrorism. In this regard, the Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center (CLFC) strongly believes that there is the need to enhance the current approaches to face these problems, both for European and third-country nationals' safety.

It has in fact conceptualized a possible strategy, which could be taken as a possibility to fill the gap of the security system, creating an academic model valid for the police forces who are sent in the missions abroad based on the implementation of cultural aspects. This choice is due to the fact that after 9/11, cultural awareness has assumed relevance changing the old perspective of the Western countries according to which the knowledge of different cultures was not essential. The change of paradigms has led the international institutions to develop a doctrine called Comprehensive Approach. The initial phase of any improvement has to start hence from the analysis of this approach, both at the theoretical level and practical one. The intent of the CFLC is in fact strictly bound to the understanding of the CA, in order to find if it is possible to strengthen it under the security field by increasing cultural awareness in the police forces, who represent the first point of contact with indigenous communities in the missions abroad.

Therefore, the comprehensive approach is studied in its entirety.

It has not a universal and shared definition, it is rather a wide concept and because of that all the international organizations have developed an own vision contributing to its evolution. NATO was the first body to introduce it with the Riga Summit of 2006 defining it as a coordinated action of a range of military and non-military actors in a crisis situation. Later it was inserted in the New Strategic Concept gaining more importance in the international community. The concept was reaffirmed in the Allied Joint Publication-01 that makes clear what the aims of the organization to develop the CA are: [01] Improve the coherent application of the Alliance's own crisis

management instruments, including its military and political planning procedures. [2] Improve the Alliance's practical cooperation at all levels with partners, the UN and other relevant international organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), contractors, commercial partners and local actors when planning and conducting operations. [3] Enhance the Alliance's ability to support stabilization and reconstruction (S&R) efforts in all phases of a conflict in concert with other actors.

The European Union's vision of the comprehensive approach has been influenced by the NATO's perspective, which is based on the dialogue with partner countries and on the contribution to the stabilization through the civilian capability to interface more effectively with other actors. On the other hand, the concept has been enlarged allocating more relevance to the political and economic terms. Also in the European framework, the comprehensive approach has been included in the most important documents such as the Lisbon Treaty; it constitutes the guidelines of the European foreign policy carried out by the European External Action Service.

The OSCE has developed the concept of comprehensive security, which is strictly linked to the comprehensive approach at three major levels: the political-military approach, the humanitarian approach and the economic approach.

The United Nations vocabulary uses the term "Integrated Approach" that is focused on sharing evaluations, information and programs, it derives from the declaration of Kofi Annan in 2000: "An integrated mission is based on a common strategic plan and a shared understanding of the priorities and types of programmed interventions that need to be undertaken at various stages of the recovery process […]". The integrated approach of the UN aims to maximize the individual and collective impact of the UN peacekeeping operations.

It is essential to mention the contribution given to the approach by the Arma dei Carabinieri. The Italian police forces employed in the missions abroad have been in fact fundamental. Since the operations in the Balkans, the Arma has paved the way for

the International Community in centralizing the state-building process towards a more multidimensional strategy. It is in fact in Kosovo and Bosnia with the creation of the Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU) in the 1990s that the concept of Stability Policing has been affirmed. The Stability Policing aims to the restoration of the order and public security trying to fill the gap due to the lack of strong institutions. It is evident that the explanation of the concept introduces the basis of the comprehensive approach. The creation of three specialized centers for the Formed Police Units training has increased the input of the Arma in the development of the CA.

Together with the analysis of the tasks covered by the FPU in the missions abroad, the study of the Stability Policing doctrine was fundamental to understand if improving their cultural preparation could have brought advantages. Looking at the official documents and from the interviews conducted on the field, it seems there is a lack in this training field due to the fact that the FPU are in charge of managing other important functions: [1] assistance to the peace-building process; [2] maintenance of the international public security; [3] function of military police; [4] contribution to the restoration of the local police forces with activities of training, monitoring and assistance. These principal functions lead to others more targeted like the prevention of terrorism, search and arrest warrant of war criminals, criminal intelligence, info-collection activities, consulting on specific matters (preservation of the environment, protection of the cultural heritage, scientific investigations) and many others.
It comes back stronger the idea that improving their cultural awareness could influence positively the impact of the FPU, both abroad and nationally.

Furthermore, the thesis deals with the comprehensive approach applied to a specific case to better evaluate where the doctrine lacks more. The case-study concerns the African region of Sahel. It is a band of territory located under the Sahara Desert, it includes portions of countries like the center of Mali, the southern part of Niger and Algeria, the North of Burkina Faso, the central part of Chad, the South of Mauritania, the northern part of Nigeria, Gambia, Senegal, Sudan, South Sudan and Eritrea. It numbers a total of about 150 million people with very different cultural backgrounds

and being one of the poorest areas in the world it has suffered repeated nutritional crisis (2005, 2008, 2010 and 2012).

The Sahel represents nowadays a serious issue especially to the European Union, the situation of poverty together with a global governance crisis and a high level of corruption lead to the encouragement of every kind of illegal activity: traffic of weapons, human beings, drugs and the consequent strengthening of the main terrorist groups. The international institutions are investing then lots of resources on this geographical area trying to stop the transnational crime and in the attempt to control migration flows towards Europe.

The instability of the region is hugely related to the crises of Mali, Algeria, Libya, Niger and Nigeria and in order to re-establish a sort of equilibrium, the international community and the developed countries have contributed to a series of missions in collaboration with the local authorities. It is considered the new frontier of counter-terrorism operations, in this regard France at first has created the Barkhane mission in 2014 which aims to the stabilization of the G5 Sahel countries (Mali, Burkina Faso, Chad, Niger, Nigeria) fighting the terroristic movements. The following missions Serval in Mali and Epervier in Chad should contribute to the final outcome together with the main operation, MINUSMA of the United Nations. But France and the UN are not the unique actors involved, also the European Union has increased its efforts in the peace-building process in particular with the missions EUCAP Sahel in Mali and Niger.

Despite the intense effort given by the international community, the illicit traffics are spreading all over the region. This type of activities is often conducted by the Jihadi organizations that need to finance the purchase of weapons and materials. Sahel represents the perfect area for trafficking, a grey zone in which the lack of border control can be beneficial not only for drug trades but also for human trafficking. The various Islamic groups have taken over the main routes asking for money to the people who are crossing the region to reach Europe. The principal canals of passage are in North Africa, especially in Libya. Here, the jihadists have established some checkpoints in which they can ask for a tax that amounts to about $4500 for each

migrant. The total market of human-trafficking is worth between $450 million and $765 million.

The Malian crisis instead is considered to be one of the most dramatic in Sahel and because of that, its relevance for the region has been stressed compared to the other countries. The crisis has profound roots that date back to colonial times when the borders delimitation of the new states put into place after the French Empire was based on the pastoral system of the Sub-Saharan groups. The region was divided into three zones causing lots of tensions among the pastors when the borders were consolidated in the 1960s. With the creation of the nation-states one of the issues emerged and it is still affecting the country: the collocation of groups (Touaregs) living on the borders between Mali, Algeria, Niger and Burkina Faso that were the most damaged because at the time they were lacking the economic and political acknowledgement necessary for the negotiations. The modern causes of crisis however can be traced back to two main factors: the fall of Khadafy's regime and the coup d'état in March 2012.

The Un mission MINUSMA was established with the Resolution 2100 of 25 April 2013 aiming precisely to reduce political instability and fix security problems. The security and humanitarian trends have in fact suffered deterioration, especially because of the terrorist attacks in the North and the continuing intercultural conflicts between ethnic groups. MINUSMA has intervened militarily many times especially in the north of the country joining the operations Serval and Barkhane and the Malian army, attracting in turn the reprisal attacks of the rebels. In doing so the mission has registered numerous fatalities that have gradually decreased the participation in what is considered the riskiest operation in Sahel.

The international institutions were able to reach an agreement in 2014 (the Agreement on Peace and Reconciliation in Mali) which however did not grant the necessary standards of security and political stability.

The EU is strongly committed in restoring the Sahel's stability being extremely important also in political terms because of the migration flows and terrorism issues related to the region. In the last five years the projects and collaborations to support

and stabilize the situation in West Africa have been considerably enhanced, Brussels has put in place what could be considered the Marshall Plan for Africa, the Emergency Trust Fund (EUTF), allocating 4.1 billion euro. The Sahel Strategy adopted by the EU is part of the comprehensive approach application and its Action Plan has four goals: [1] preventing and countering radicalization; [2] creating appropriate conditions for Youth; [3] migration and mobility; [4] border management and fighting against illicit trafficking and transnational organized crime.

As in the case of MINUSMA, the EU is implementing an integrated strategy that foresees the integration of the civil society in all its parts, at political and social level. In the EU vision, the non-governmental actors play an important role and for this reason the European project for restoring the Sahel should be imprinted more on good governance than on the state-building process. However, the enforcement of the European integrated strategy shows some contradictions due to the fact that the member states policies aim to preserve their own stability rather than focusing on a sustainable peace that would require even more cohesion with the regional institutions. This is because Sahel and migration have entered in a new political dialogue dominated by new populist movements which are trying to exploit the situation to gain consensus over the European voters.

Italy is bound to the securitization of Sahel as much as the other European states. The triangle terrorism-instability-migration influences negatively the Mediterranean area and in particular Italy that represents the first docking site for illicit trafficking, drugs and crime. All the last governments have always expressed their maximum commitment to the Sahel, trying to bring the question to the higher tables of negotiation as in the case of G7 meeting in Taormina (2017). At the multilateral level, the application of the strategies for the Sahel is jeopardized by the pursuit of the member states' own interests, most significantly involved, in particular France Germany and Italy itself.

Therefore, Italy during the last few years has struggled to carve out an important decision-making role related to the African issues, on the other hand this aspiration has to deal with a lower economic contribution.

A last focus is given to climate change which is seriously affecting the living conditions of the inhabitants of the region and that represents one of the principal cause of leaving. The increasing temperatures are provoking irreversible damages to the environment as long periods of drought, consequently also agriculture, fishing and livestock suffer a decrease of production and they are the main source of revenue for the entire region.

After having framed the main features and lack of the Comprehensive Approach, it is necessary to define the reasons because the implementation of cultural awareness in the FPU formation could be considered the right way to improve the doctrine under the security field.

Cultural capabilities are in fact fundamental for the military personnel who has to mix the cultural understanding with the ability to determine when culture is relevant, these are called cross-cultural competences. Culture is a set of traditions, belief systems and behaviours and it continuously changes but the understanding of it can help to understand how the others see the world. The relevance of it for the missions is increasing, the warfare nowadays includes a number of aspects that cannot disregard from the study of the cultural context.

Knowledge, skills and attitude are fundamental elements to fulfil cross-cultural competences, which have become necessary to interact with other communities. Then, having in mind the importance of cultural awareness it is possible to structure a model valid for the Formed Police Units recalling the academic proposal of the Multinational CIMIC Group, a specialized body that has developed a deep expertise in the personnel training, taking into account especially the cultural aspects.

Before seeing that, it is also necessary to highlight the different goals of the MNCG and what they could be for the FPU and the Arma in the specific. Underlining the

difference is needed because the final outcome is not the same. The MNCG through the implementation of these training aspects aims to achieve a rate of integration that should favour a comprehensive environment in which the military commander's plans are supported even by the civil actors. On the other hand, the highest rate of interaction is not required for the final purpose. Instead, it would be sufficient if with the application of the CIMIC skills the Carabinieri reached the level of awareness in which the transparency and especially the information sharing could be translated in precious instruments for the security preservation. The MNCG develops its capacities of communication in order to facilitate the process of peace-building and state-building, in doing so it is crucial to obtain the trust of the local communities that cannot be disenchanted while, being the application of the training aspects about the cultural awareness based on collecting information for the intelligence rather than on cooperating with the civilians, the parameters for the FPU have to be set out differently

After this assumption, it is possible to give a description of the course taken into account that is called Intercultural Mediator course and is based on four pillars: [1] Geo-strategic context, anthropological principles and intercultural competences: it includes the study of the international context; international law principles; analysis of cultural anthropological principles; intercultural competence; specific focus on cultural foundation of the diverse geographical areas (Balkans, MENA, Middle East, North Africa and Horn of Africa). [2] Communication and negotiation principles: knowing the key items that make the communication effective (the use of non-verbal and para-verbal language, the communicative styles); negotiation elements applied to the intercultural context; the active listening; from the empathy to the exotopia, the building of an effective relationship with a different individual. [3] Intercultural mediator and CIMIC: role and competences of the intercultural mediator; mediation aspects; principles of cooperation civil-military; the civil-military liaison; the intercultural mediator in the civil-military cooperation with a focus on its role, competences, operative aspects, critical issues, mediation with civil authorities, NGOs and IGOs. [4] Psychological and sociological principles: developing personal and social competences (evaluating the impact of the emotions during a dialogue); knowing the principal stress factors linked to the role; management of the interpreters.

Two aspects of the course stand out: the key-role of the interpreters, the gender awareness.

The first aspect is a very sensitive issue and requires a long period of time for training. In all the countries where the CIMIC units or the Carabinieri corps operate, it is not always possible to dispose of actors able to communicate effectively with the local population because of the lack of the necessary linguistic skills. Within the military missions, two types of interpreters can be distinguished: the professional interpreters, that can also be military employees who know the local language or locally hired interpreters (LHI). When locally hired, the management of the interpreters can be very hard, the course gives in this sense many recommendations. The second aspect regards the branch of cultural mediation and deals with the women role in the armed-conflicts, it needs a close examination gaining in the years more and more importance.

The last consideration about the application of the MNCG academic model concerns the way in which it could mix with the preparation given by the specialized centers of the FPU, in this framework a collaboration with the Carabinieri Foreign Languages Center could be useful.

The comprehensive approach can be defined in conclusion as a modern doctrine, which embodies the better values of our society. On the other hand, it still presents some deficiencies that make difficult the realization of a complete integration between different cultures, an aspect that today is crucial to reach stability and to grant public security.

The development of this doctrine has already passed through the contribution of the main international and national institutions. It is starting from the analysis of the intake given by the Arma dei Carabinieri with the concept of Stability Policing that suggests a possible pattern to improve the approach, strengthening the personnel formation exactly in the understanding of the different cultures. If we think then that the FPU is the first point of contact with the host-nations communities and in charge of protecting the public safety, new tools have to be provided in order to enhance their capacity of

integration. That is why the cultural mediation has been framed as a fundamental feature in the personnel preparation, being a consequence of the increasing importance of the cultural awareness after 9/11.

 The implementation of the comprehensive approach through a better use of cultural mediation in favour of the law-enforcement agencies, made possible by the application of a new structured academic pattern, could be a great contribution to the prevention and solution of internal and external crises, improving the security system functioning. It can be interpreted as a long-term strategy that could give the opportunity to deepen the knowledge about internal dynamics within different communities and moreover it could represent a new tool with which evaluate the different types of threats.

Overall, it must be said that possible limitations of the study could be re-conducted to the difficulty in finding relevant outcomes in the immediate. It would be needed hence a further analysis resulting from the real implementation of this proposal on the FPU in order to verify if cultural awareness can be effectively useful to strengthen the security system.