

# Conflict in Northern Mali

## Human Security Issues and Its Alternative of Resolution

*Akim, Windy Dermawan, Attar Rakha Al Yazsa, Mohamad Fadel Ramadhan*

This research aims to identify threats to human security in Mali because of the ongoing conflict in the country. From the identification carried out, researchers also sought to offer alternative conflict resolution as a form of problem-solving in Mali. As guidelines of data collection and analysis, this research uses the concepts of human security and conflict resolution. The method used to collect and analyse data is qualitative methods. The conflict that occurred in Mali shows that the conflict has the potential to be a threat to human security, both in economic, political, social and cultural aspects. Conflicts caused by crises and some racist sentiments from the actors involved tend to cause social jealousy. This research found that conflict is closely related to the disruption of human security components such as politics, economy, personal, and food caused by war. This research also found that power sharing is one of alternative conflict resolution in resolving a conflict in Mali by paying attention to the basis for the return of each party from cooperation in joint decisions and protecting the autonomy of the conflicting groups. In addition, the power sharing that contains democratic values is able to make this form of conflict resolution gain broad support from the parties involved in the conflict. The relevance is that the power sharing is a conflict resolution that takes into account of human security.



Akim, Windy Dermawan, Attar Rakha Al Yazsa, Mohamad Fadel Ramadhan. Conflict in Northern Mali: Human Security Issues and Its Alternative of Resolution. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 4: 156–168.

© 2019 CEJISS. Article is distributed under Open Access licence: Attribution - NonCommercial 3.0 Unported (cc by-nc 3.0).

*Keywords: conflict, Mali, power sharing, human security, Tuareg.*

North Mali conflict is a continuing conflict because it is caused by crises such as the economic crisis and the political crisis that hit the country. Although at some time the conflict had reached an agreement to reconcile, this conflict arose again due to crises that caused dissatisfaction with its people. Mali, historically is a prosperous kingdom because it has the main income, namely gold. Mali is also geographically divided into two, namely North Mali and South Mali because it is separated by the Niger River. South Mali is an area that has many sources of gold mines, while the North is not like that. Disaffection of the Malian people began when France colonised Mali in the late 19th century (Caspian Reports, 2013). France tends to focus on the construction of its camps in the southern region of Mali because of the abundant gold mining resources there although they do not want to build camps in the north because of their very few natural resources. Even when they tried to form border lines for Mali, however, these efforts always encountered problems, so the gap between the South and the North of Mali grew bigger.

This intra-state conflict has begun since the 1960s, not long after Mali won its independence which was started by ethnic minorities in North Mali namely the Tuareg Tribe. This conflict began to be great when it entered the 1990s. At that time, the Tuareg tribe along with Arab nomads formed a rebellion movement called the Azawad People's Movement (Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad / MPA) which aimed to declare war on the Malian government to liberate northern Mali (Caspian Reports, 2013). This conflict reached an agreement between the two sides in 1995, but this conflict arose again in 2007 due to dissatisfaction by former Tuareg fighters integrated by the Malian government into the military but the rebellion came to a dead end (Caspian Reports, 2013).

The failure did not reduce the enthusiasm of the Tuareg tribe to liberate North Mali, in 2012, the Tuareg Tribe again held a rebellion with a new name, the National Movement for Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) (Morgan, 2012). The rebellion was stronger than the previous rebellion because the Tuareg tribe worked with radical groups such as Al Qaeda and Ansar. Plus, the Tuareg tribe gets heavy weapons from Libya that are more powerful than the weapons owned by the Mali government (Dyxon & Labous, 2014).

*Akim*

*Windy Dermawan*

*Attar Rakha*

*Al Yazsa*

*Mohamad Fadel*

*Ramadhan*

The MNLA and Ansar rebellion was successful after the appointment of President Amadou Toure and declared the independence of North Mali and named it Azawad. But internal conflicts arose between MNLA and the Ansar group. The vision of the two groups is very different in managing a country so that the MNLA declares war on Ansar groups that work with other Islamic groups in Africa (Bate & Diarra, 2012).

Seeing these conditions, the Mali government sought to take over North Mali, and in the end they collaborated with France to regain North Mali from these groups (the UN adopts resolution on northern Mali, 2012). In knowing 2013, the Tuareg Tribe finally entered into a peace agreement with the government. But soon the agreement was withdrawn by the Tuareg tribe because they felt the government was not committed to the agreement. In 2015, there was another truce between the MNLA and the government, but the terrorism movement still occurred.

Chauzal and van Damme (2015) find that the root causes of problems in Mali and how the conflict is very contrary to human security values (Chauzal & van Demme, 2015). Then, in a study conducted by Haysom (2014) and Arrief (2012), they reveal how conflicts in Northern Mali can be resolved with a Human Security approach, while Bocoum (2012) explains how conflicts in Mali are very harming to one component of human security, namely food security. The researchers mentioned above examine how conflicts can be resolved through human security approach, but only limited by human security. Lankhorst (2013) also shows that what is happening in North Mali and explains his opinion that conflict in North Mali can be resolved through reconciliation by promoting the principle of justice. Then, Lellou (2018) explains how the peace agreement in Mali through reconciliation failed. Based on the results of the research that has been done, the researcher decided to make a research on the approach of human security in the conflict in Mali as a whole and provide alternative conflict resolution through the power-sharing theory.

This research aims to explain why there is ongoing internal conflict in North Mali, conflict resolution that has been carried out and how the human security perspective sees conflict in North Mali. This research also describes the possibility of conflict resolution based on the views of researchers in relation to the concepts used.

## **Method**

This study uses qualitative methods using secondary data collection techniques. In international relations, qualitative research widely used to understand phenomena or events that occur in the international realm. This method is widely used because the phenomena that occur have broad links with international politics. Jack S. Levy (2003) divides into four types of case analysis in qualitative research methods with the aim of facilitating researchers in validating case variables and theories. The first one is *Altheoretical*, which is a type of form of data analysis research that focuses on a particular field in order to understand a historical phenomenon as a whole. This type is descriptive and inductive. The second is *interpretive*. This type aims to explain a case structurally based on a theoretical framework and focus on specific aspects. This type does not develop broad theoretical generalizations (Levy, 2003). The third is *hypothesis generating*. This type is usually used to develop hypotheses that can be addressed using other methods and case analysis can be used for the process of constructing new theories. The last is *deviant*. This type focuses on empirical anomalies that exist in a generalization of a theory and can be used to improve the theory (Levy, 2003). In this study, researchers used the interpretive analysis type. In collecting data, researchers use Internet-based research techniques. Researchers collect data by searching for news articles, journal articles, reports, and videos that have been uploaded on the internet. To test the validity of the data, researchers collect data available on the Internet, and then match the contents of the data to test the authenticity of the data.

## **Conceptual Framework**

Human security is a paradigm that explains that security means that a human being is free from all threats and gets their rights without interference (Hidayat, 2017). The components of human security itself are food security, economy security, personal security and political security. The four components are in the world spotlight on Mali because of the conflict that occurred there. War can cause concern for the people of a country, especially the civilian population feels threatened because weapons that could be able to hit their homes, even during the war, groups also made civilians hostage and torture them. These things affect the Personal Security. In addition, war can also affect economic growth because the government must focus their

CEJISS  
4/2019

budget on arming their military against the enemy. Then, war can also destroy a country's economic resources or income. If the country's economic growth declines, the people's economic capacity will also decline, so that it can be said that war can also affect economic security (Stone, 2009).

The food security and the peoples' economic ability to buy food were affected due to the hampered economic security. In addition, because the war on food distribution can be hampered, even more so if an area that produces food is controlled by the enemy. Fourth, war can cause the rights of citizens to be disrupted. For example, when wars and enemies take control of civilian areas, the enemy might issue policies that hinder the freedom of citizens' rights to live, such as torturing them, raping women, and forbidding them to use items they have, such as cellphones, television and radio. This proves that conflict can cause political human security to be disrupted.

Power sharing is a form of conflict resolution that aims to reduce the risk of civil conflict by ensuring that the parties fighting have a role in the government of a country, so that the parties to the conflict do not commit damage or violence that can harm the country (Wolff, 2012). While the division of power can reduce the incentives for those who lose elections to violate their commitment to democracy, we argue that this depends on the nature of the relevant groups, as well as on the political institutions chosen. The extent to which power-sharing agreements can promote civil peace depends in part on the relative military capacity of the warring parties (Gates & Storm, 2007). The ideal environment for the division of power to create peace is when the conflicting parties are evenly balanced and the cost of war is relatively high. Conversely, when the group is less balanced and the cost of war is low, the division of power means a disproportionate distribution of power and a positive push for those who destroy. In such conditions, the division of power can increase rather than reduce the risk of civil conflict. Power-sharing arrangements to maintain peace are divided into two ways: (1) by providing a "foundation" for each party's return from cooperation in joint decisions, and (2) through provisions that protect group autonomy in sensitive policy areas (Gates & Storm, 2007). Division of power thus helps reduce the threat of conflict by providing all parties with potential conflicts in any case cooperating peacefully and a series of guarantees of mutual security and protection of basic interests.

Both of these tend to reduce the possibility that any group will feel a significant threat to their interests. This may be true especially for small groups or resource-poor. Power-sharing arrangements are specifically designed to reduce uncertainty found in democratic societies by limiting the ability of larger social groups or election winners to use state power for sectional purposes (Gates & Storm, 2007). Therefore, the power sharing governance solution promises to minimise the risk of recurrence of conflict, so it is not surprising that conflict resolution through power sharing has received widespread support among analysts and the peace movement (Sisk, 1996).

*Akim*

*Windy Dermawan*

*Attar Rakha*

*Al Yazsa*

*Mohamad Fadel*

*Ramadhan*

### **Discussion and Analysis**

The Sahel is now being met by an increasingly sophisticated weaponry situation. The United Nations says that this condition endangers all generations in the Sahel because of its already high level. The violence that took place in Mali was followed by requests for funding, but the UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinators warned that this instability would risk expanding the territory to other West African countries.

The increase in their needs can be said to be very significant. Even within about 12 months, there were around 330,000 people who left their homes. Most of them are victims. Mbaranga Gasar Zimbabwe, as UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator in Mali cites “Many of those who have experienced violence are already facing a hardship; for them, it’s double devastation.” (Humanitarian Aid, 2019).

Violence has become commonplace in Mali and one of the causes of violence in the Sahel against the background of the sentiment of marginalization and the lifting of voting rights. Violence perpetrated by extremist groups in these years is arguably more often than in 2012 at the start of Mali’s security crisis. This violence was motivated by the power of extremists who controlled the North and Central Islands. Their presence also disrupts social services aimed at affected communities such as education needs, water supply and food, shelter, and health. As in the field of education, for example, the United Nations cites that there are more than 1,800 schools closed and in the health sector, there are around 80 health centers that are closed as well. Other concerns also arise because of the vacancies in these fields, it is feared that extremists can make a move in the form of filling services and state governance that will have a major influence on the people. Spry

and responsive movements are a much needed option. Assistance in the form of sustainable assistance and economic and social development is also vital to its existence. The United Nations says that there are around 5.1 million people in Burkina Faso, Mali, and the Tahoua and Tillaberi regions in western Nigeria who need humanitarian assistance but funding is down by only around 19% of the initial demand of \$ 600 million (Sahel crisis reaching alien levels, warn top UN humanitarian officials, 2019).

The increasingly sophisticated weaponry situation inspired by radical groups namely ISIS, they threaten to disrupt the stability of traditional methods with community-based conflict resolution. The United Nations is now in front and developing its operations. Armaments in the Sahel are very similar to the weapons in the Syrian conflict and this indicates communication between the makers of these weapons in the forum of extremist groups. The tension in the community that will emerge is the result of extremist groups' efforts and the tension is something that cannot be paid, so all elements of society must be supported because if not, then the community will become a fertile resource for bad people.

### *Human Security Approach as an Alternative Approach to Preventing Violence in Mali*

Human Security is an approach that can be taken to overcome community security conflicts that occur in Mali. This approach is considered relevant because of the communication that goes from top to bottom about how to overcome a problem such as the use of violence and crime by using discussion to find a way out. Interventions have an important role in solving a crisis problem. It must also be supported by holding a platform for multi-level dialogue in order to be able to resolve and resolve the source of the problem, supported by the community, and also must have support from stakeholders. The International Community also has an important role to play in supporting the Malian people with assistance in the form of investing to support Mali's support coalitions by being directly involved in civil society and also assisting in completing the process of building the Mali state apparatus. Using a human security approach as prevention and resistance to the teachings of violent extremism is also being carried out, such as increasing human security in Mali by inviting them to be more sensitive to the structural causes of conflict. Rising again are several levels,

for example regional institutions and the international community in order to be more deeply involved with civil society for the good and development of security policies in Mali.

December 2013 was the beginning of a movement with the aim of being able to contribute to human security and also efforts to build a sustainable peace in Mali. This movement was carried out directly by the Human Security Collective (HSC), the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), and the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) (Human Security Collective, 2014). The aim of embracing civil society will be easier to be able to build their views to be more critical about the issue of human security and sustainable development.

HSC with the help of Norwegian Church Aid and also ICCO has given birth and started a four-year program that is up to 2020 to give them work time to get answers and also find a way out of the root causes of conflict and violence in Mali from the perspective of Human Security. This Mali conflict occurs due to various backgrounds, various issues that trigger anger, and also external factors. Behind all these factors, there are very basic things, namely the existence of a weak governance and also the bad relationship between the community and the country. There are three results from this program. The first is to improve leadership governance and accountability at the community level (Human Security Collective, 2014). Second is to strengthen the capacity of the community to be able to manage conflicts on socio-political, religious, justice and other issues at a reasonable and logical level. The last is to develop a national civil society network. This is important because of the existence of actors from the community who will definitely be involved in regulating and emphasizing the existence of Mali society based on the interests of security and development actors that are important at the national, regional and international levels (Human Security Collective, 2014). WANEP until now still holds regular dialogues with civil society to discuss how to identify and also develop strategies for human security priorities. WANEP is a regional network tasked with building peace and given the right to lead so that the network has a high position. With the international advocacy component, the Human Security Collective and GPPAC ensure that this will connect them to a global scale policy process that will affect countries in the West African region. This will be followed by international involvement in Mali related to each other with the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and other important forums. (Human Security Collective, 2014).



The UN Trust Fund for Human Security has a project to consolidate peace and stability in Mali. The organisation provides several ways, namely by providing several economic opportunities that are sustainable for the community, then by increasing access that will be used by the community to reach social service facilities, namely in the form of clean water for consumption, health, education, and others. The last is to build community resilience to future crises by using ways to promote peace and integrate human security approaches in Mali (United Nations, 2015). Threats to state peace and stability are seldom single, so using a human security approach; this project is innovative to help transition in Mali from emergency assistance to sustainable development. The first thing that can be done is to provide the community at the center of analysis and participatory communities. The next thing is to proactively consider the causes of a conflict so that in the future, conflict can be avoided. Training for young people is equally important because with them, the future of a generation will be able to participate in community development and conflict management.

The current situation in Mali is very contrary to what is stated in Human Rights. In 2018 the conditions of violence became even more serious, where there were a number of members from armed extremist groups who committed atrocities and eventually claimed lives and triggered a humanitarian crisis. In 2013, in order to end a political-military crisis, an attempt was made for the peace process. Disarmament and the restoration of state authority were carried out in order to achieve these ideals. In Central Mali, many explosives were assembled and put on highways, killing many lives. According to data, in 2018 there were around 300 civilians killed because of the incident caused by this extremist group.

What we certainly know is where the efforts of the authorities to take firm action against those who violated Human Rights in the actions they launched. Although law enforcement institutions are still weak, the military has opened wide to open cases of investigations into alleged extrajudicial killings by their forces.

### *Power Sharing as an Alternative of Conflict Resolution for North Mali*

Power-Sharing is a theory that is often associated with *Consociational theory* where the outline of this theory is that segmental leaders must share power if they want political stability (McGarry, 2008). This the-

ory also believes in the Statemanship, a figure believed to be due to his expertise to take care of a country as well as in governing and sovereignty. This theory also says that segmental leaders can invite followers to compromise and be on the right track.

Power-sharing is also often used as a way out when parties are divided because of differences in race, ethnicity, ethnicity or profound religion and they find a position where they cannot find a solution to a conflict. The use of Power Sharing in Mali if it can be applied, there must still be clear follow-up to ensure more prolonged peace. In addition, there must be Power-sharing that can be received from the parties involved. The agreement in question is in the form of division of power and also the distribution of wealth that needs to be carefully detailed. What needs to be done to implement Power-sharing is that the armed movement must be demobilised and reintegrated into the community and the justice process must be carried out. In the author's view, the conflict that occurred in Mali can be resolved by setting up Power Sharing. One of the factors why the Tuareg tribe did the rebellion was because of their jealousy that the Mali government alienated them.

Power sharing can stop this conflict on the grounds that both parties have balanced power, and both have incurred a very high cost of war. Then, with the power sharing, both parties can jointly manage the government. However, it should be underlined that both parties must understand what has been agreed upon in the agreement. The conflict between the Tuareg tribe and the Mali government has actually reached an agreement several times to make peace. However, because one of the parties, namely the Malian government and black Malian, did not respect the agreement, the Tuareg tribe and Islamists were considered as outdated tribes. Many people from the black Malian (mainly military soldiers) killed people from the Tuareg tribe and Islamists and raped women from the Tuareg tribe (Lewis, 2013). This shows that in order to reach a peace agreement, all forms of racism must be eliminated in whatever conflict resolution is carried out. To overcome this problem, in the resolution process it is necessary to use third parties such as the UN as the mediator so that the conflict resolution negotiation process can run in a safe atmosphere, because third parties can help facilitate good communication between the two conflicting parties and help them find a way out (Lellou, 2018). Third parties are also able to suppress racism by parties by including agree-

*Akim*

*Windy Dermawan*

*Attar Rakha*

*Al Yazsa*

*Mohamad Fadel*

*Ramadhan*

ments that prohibit acts of racism so that the results of the agreement can proceed properly.

### **Conclusion**

CEJISS  
4/2019

Using a human security approach as prevention and resistance to the teachings of violent extremism is also being carried out, such as increasing human security in Mali by inviting them to be more sensitive to the structural causes of conflict. The current situation in Mali is very contrary to what is stated in Human Rights. In 2018 the conditions of violence became even more serious, where there were a number of members from armed extremist groups who committed atrocities and eventually claimed lives and triggered a humanitarian crisis. What we certainly know is where the efforts of the authorities to take firm action against those who violated Human Rights in the actions they launched. Although law enforcement institutions are still weak, the military has opened wide to open cases of investigations into alleged extrajudicial killings by their forces.

Power-Sharing is a theory that is often associated with *Consociation theory* where the outline of this theory is the need for segmental leaders to share power if they want political stability. Power sharing can stop this conflict on the grounds that both parties have balanced power, and both have incurred a very high cost of war. Then, with the power sharing, both parties can jointly manage the government.

Both of these approaches can be used as conflict resolution in Mali. Completion Power sharing also brings human security values and is also widely used in inter-ethnic conflicts that seek to gain power and justice. However, this approach will be successful if a third party can persuade the two parties in confrontation to reconcile and pay attention to the values of human security. Also, the two confronting parties can comply with agreed treaty so that peace can continue on an ongoing basis.



AKIM, WINDY DERMAWAN, ATTAR RAKHA AL YAZSA and MOHAMAD FADEL RAMADHAN are affiliated with the Departemen Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia.

The authors can be contacted at [akim@unpad.ac.id](mailto:akim@unpad.ac.id).

## References

- Arief, A., & Johnson, K. (2012). Crisis in Mali. Retrieved from Refworld: <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/506c05282.pdf>
- Bate, F., & Diarra, A. (2012). New north Mali Arab force seeks to “defend” Timbuktu. Retrieved April 27, 2019, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mali-north/new-north-mali-arab-force-seeks-to-defend-timbuktu-idUSBRE8380MB20120409>
- Bocoum, I. (2012). Food insecurity in Mali. Identifying vulnerable households with precision. Retrieved from Researchgate: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328587227\\_Food\\_insecurity\\_in\\_Mali\\_Identifying\\_vulnerable\\_households\\_with\\_precision](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328587227_Food_insecurity_in_Mali_Identifying_vulnerable_households_with_precision)
- Caspian, R. (2013). Origin of Mali’s Tuareg Conflict. Retrieved April 27, 2019, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llCpaUt7DfY>
- Chauzal, G., & van Demme, T. (2015). The roots of Mali’s conflict. The Hague: CRU Report.
- Dyxon, R., & Labous, J. (2014). Gains of Mali’s Tuareg rebels appear permanent, analysts say. Retrieved April 27, 2019, from <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-xpm-2012-apr-04-la-fg-mali-tuaregs-20120404-story.html>
- Gates, S., & Storm. (2007). Power Sharing, Agency and Civil Conflict. Oslo: Center for Study of Civil War.
- Gati, G. N. (2014). Dinamika dan Faktor Pendorong Keberlanjutan.
- Haysom, S. (2014). Security and Humanitarian Crisis in Mali: The role of Regional Organisations. Retrieved from odi.org: <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8829.pdf>
- Hidayat, R. (2017). Keamanan Manusia dalam Perspektif Keamanan Kritis Terkait Perang Intra Negara. *Journal of International Relations Studies*.
- Human Security Collective. (2014). Wanep Mali Launches Human Security Project . Retrieved May 13, 2019, from [http://www.wanep.org/wanep/files/2014/jan/2014\\_jan\\_pr\\_WANEP-Mali\\_launches\\_HS\\_project.pdf](http://www.wanep.org/wanep/files/2014/jan/2014_jan_pr_WANEP-Mali_launches_HS_project.pdf)
- Humanitarian Aid. (2019). Sahel crisis reaching unprecedented levels, warn top UN humanitarian officials. Retrieved from United Nations News: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/05/1038131>
- Lankhorst, M. (2013). Peacebuilding in Mali; Linking Justice, Security, and Reconciliation. Retrieved from The Hague Institute for Global Justice: <https://www.thehagueinstituteforglobaljustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/PB6-Peacebuilding-Mali.pdf>
- Lellou, H. (2018). Conflict Resolution: The Case of Northern Mali. Retrieved from Small Wars Journal: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/conflict-resolution-case-northern-mali>
- Levy, J. (2003). Qualitative Methods in International Relations. In F. Harvey, & M. Breacher, *Evaluating Methodology in International Studies* (pp. 131-160). University of Michigan Press.
- Lewis, D. (2013). Human Rights Watch: Mali’s Army Killing Civilians In Town Of Niono. Retrieved from Huffington Post: [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/human-rights-watch-mali-army-killing-civilians\\_n\\_2511680](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/human-rights-watch-mali-army-killing-civilians_n_2511680)
- McGarry, J. (2008). Conclusion Power-sharing Theory: Lessons from the Complex Power-sharing Project”. In *Settling Self-Determination Disputes*. Leiden: The Netherlands Bill.
- Morgan, A. (2012). The Causes of the Uprising in Northern Mali. Retrieved April 27, 2019, from <https://www.google.com/>

url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjM9an9\_dHjAhVGOo8KHxiJCpoQFjACegQIBRAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fafrique-europe-interact.net%2Findex.php%3Farticle\_zd%3D214%26aid%3D693%26clang%3D0&usg=AOvVaw3fUQxNqmiYbMcmW

*CEJISS*  
4/2019

- Sahel crisis reaching unprecedented levels, warn top UN humanitarian officials. (2019). Retrieved May 11, 2019, from <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2019/05/mil-190508-unnews02.htm>
- Sisk, T. (1996). *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington D.C.: State Institute of Peace Press.
- Stone, M. (2009). *Security According to Buzan: A Comprehensive Security Analysis*. Retrieved from Msh Paris: [http://geest.msh-paris.fr/IMG/pdf/Security\\_for\\_Buzan.mp3.pdf](http://geest.msh-paris.fr/IMG/pdf/Security_for_Buzan.mp3.pdf)
- UN adopts resolution on northern Mali. (2012). Retrieved April 27, 2019, from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19933979>
- United Nations. (2015, January). *Support to human security in Northern Mali through building the resilience of youth and women*. Retrieved May 13, 2019, from <https://www.un.org/humansecurity/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Mali-14-004-FINAL-TEMPLATE.pdf>
- Wolff, S. (2012). *Conflict Resolution between Power Sharing and Power Dividing, or Beyond*. Nottingham: Political Studies Association.