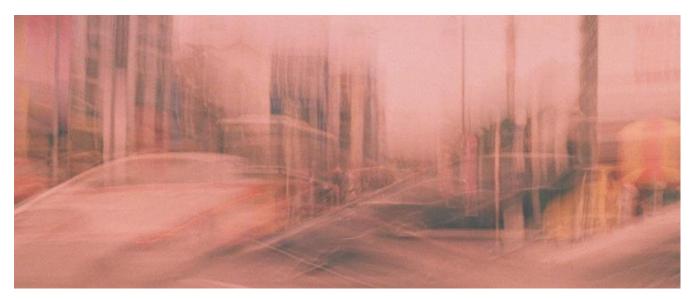


# Ukraine war and its consequences in Europe: 2025 outlook



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The war in Ukraine began in February 2022 when Russian forces crossed from Belarus and Russia into Ukrainian territory on three fronts. Initial attempts to take the cities of Kyiv and Kharkiv were rebuffed; as of June 2022,



Russian forces solidified their positions in the East of the country and fighting in the Donbas intensified.<sup>1</sup> Combat is concentrated around tactical cities in the East and the South. In response to the Western supplies of medium to long-range missiles, Russia is targeting essential infrastructure across the country.

The effects of the war in Ukraine are being felt well beyond the conflict zone. Not only have millions of people been internally displaced but over 6.6 million have crossed an international border.<sup>2</sup> Though some have begun returning, the challenge of supporting Ukrainian migrants is likely to increase as time passes. Many EU countries have established generous support schemes for Ukrainian migrants increasing tensions with existing vulnerable populations and other displaced communities, especially as the cost-of-living rises. As of 30 May 2022, over 125,000 Ukrainians had arrived in Italy. It is anticipated that displacement within Ukraine (and to a lesser extent in Europe) will continue to flare up as the front-line moves.

The Ukraine war has resulted in a significant influx of migrants into Europe, driving a crisis in primary reception countries. Beyond the flow of people, the impacts of the war are being felt worldwide in the disruption to global supply chains. The significant rise in commodity prices is causing food and fuel crises across the globe. For countries with greater dependency on imports, increasing prices coupled with the economic stresses created by the COVID19 pandemic are creating a very challenging environment. Europe is at risk of an energy crisis as its dependence on Russian gas and oil has left it exceedingly vulnerable. "In 2021, the EU imported more than 40% of its total gas consumption, 27% of oil imports and 46% of coal imports from Russia."<sup>3</sup>

Italy is one of the more exposed countries in Europe. Historically, Italy has been a popular destination country for migrants from Ukraine. While a relatively small number of refugees from Ukraine have arrived in Italy this year (just over 115,000 in May 2022<sup>4</sup>), these numbers could increase if the war continues or if refugees currently based in other EU countries move to reunite with family or friends. Italy is the second-largest natural gas importer in Europe after Germany, and the third-largest consumer of natural gas after Germany and the United Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> In 2020, Italy imported 28.5m from Russia,<sup>3</sup> 41.9% of its total consumption in the same year making it extremely vulnerable.<sup>6</sup> Italy is facing record inflation and a worsening cost-of-living crisis which is being compounded by the country's reliance on wheat imports to make basic foodstuffs which make up the base of the Italian diet.

The challenges posed by the consequences of the Ukraine war in the Italian context are exacerbated by the territorial and historical vulnerabilities already challenging the country. The most important of these vulnerabilities are *structural inequalities*, an *unbalanced welfare system*<sup>7</sup> and *energy dependency*<sup>4</sup>. Each of these issues makes it more difficult for Italy to weather the disruptions to global supply chains and manage the uncertainty created by the conflict on Europe's periphery. However, Italians have, in the worst moments of their national history, demonstrated themselves to possess uncommon reserves of resilience. From switching diets to finding alternative sources of energy,<sup>8</sup> Italy has the resources to find opportunities for change and transformation.

<sup>1</sup> https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/05/25/world/russia-ukraine-war

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://ec.europa.eu/info/news/focus-reducing-eus-dependence-imported-fossil-fuels-2022-apr-20\_en

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/40566/ukrainian-refugees-start-to-return-home-from-italy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.eia.gov/international/analysis/country/ITA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://www.statista.com/statistics/265428/natural-gas-consumption-in-italy-in-oil-equivalent/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> https://www.bancaditalia.it/pubblicazioni/altri-atti-seminari/2013/paper-Ferrera.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2022/5/26/italys-power-giant-eni-inks-deal-to-boost-algerian-gas-imports



# **Ukraine/European Scenarios and Italian Outlooks**

The war in Ukraine and the corresponding disruptions in Europe could evolve in multiple ways. Though there are a plethora of drivers which could change the course of the future, they can be gathered into two main groups. The first describes how the course of the war unfolds, whether a tenuous peace could be reached or if the war will deteriorate into a protracted crisis, concentrated in Eastern and Southern Ukraine. The second driver explores the severity of the supply chain disruption and level of European coordination, countermeasures and finally resilience.

The span of variation of these two drivers will be arranged into a matrix (one driver on each axis) and from this matrix, four scenarios will be developed that explore how the confluence of both sets of drivers could create different images of the future. These scenarios are summarized in the table and explored in more depth below.

European stabilization and coordination				
A tenuous peace	<b>Back to business</b> A peace deal is adopted and implemented. Europe is able to continue to seek/build alternative sources of energy and key commodities thereby limiting the disruption to citizens. The EU channels greater support to states in Central and Eastern Europe who were most affected by the war, supporting a return to near normalcy.	United front The war continues and ground in Eastern and Southern Ukraine regularly changes hands in skirmishes. There is significant displacement into border countries in Europe. The EU is able to coordinate a response which taps other global sources of key commodities, rapidly developing the infrastructure to move fuel across the continent. Shortages are short lived. Refugees who flee the conflict are supported and well-integrated into the societies where they land.	Protracted, localized war	
	<b>Peace and disharmony</b> A peace deal is signed but it does not quickly calm the global markets. As with other nations, in a bid to meet domestic demand Russia does not increase exports of wheat or other major commodities resulting in prolonged scarcity. Countries within the European Union each adopt their own coping strategies increasing tensions as those who are hardest hit struggle to provide basic goods and services for citizens.	<b>Fractured</b> The war continues with waves of escalation which create significant migration into Europe. The EU have been unable to import or bring online alternative sources of energy and shortages are widespread, particularly across central and Eastern Europe. Food prices dramatically increase and import dependent countries, such as Italy, suffer. The EU's response fractures as states on the Ukrainian border object to bearing the brunt of the conflict. There is little agreement on the path forward and the situation becomes intractable.		

Disruption and disunity in Europe

These scenarios will provide the foundation on which we can consider the war in Ukraine and its consequences in Europe. *Back to business, United front, Peace and disharmony* and *Fractured* provide a look at the scope of futures which could unfold but they do not consider the scenario of how the tensions could accumulate and spread between other global powers. The multi-dimensional risk and complexity of international relations today could trigger a convergence which would severely deteriorate stability on a global scale, resulting in a breakout



scenario. As such, we consider a fifth scenario in this collection. This final scenario **Devastation**, **migration**, **starvation** will examine a very worst-case scenario which looks at how the tensions could spread, drawing in other great powers and dramatically increasing the human cost of war and disruption.

The scenarios created by considering the wider European context will be complemented by an analysis of the challenges that these scenarios will bring in Italy specifically. The ways in which existing vulnerabilities could be exacerbated or new challenges created by the destabilization of global supply chains and disruption to the EU will be central to this analysis. Though both drivers are key to consider in the European context, the driver of war in Ukraine does not have as substantial an impact on the situation in Italy specifically. Rather the length of the war will either lessen or increase the challenges that are created by the driver on supply chain disruption and European resilience. As a result, while five scenarios are explored below, we will assess the challenges to the Italian context for scenarios **Back to business** and **United Front** (where the EU is stable and coordinated) together and those for **Peace and disharmony** and **Fractured** (where the EU is in disarray) together. Therefore, for this report we will have five Ukrainian/European scenarios and three related Italian outlooks towards 2025.

# **Back to Business**

A ceasefire and a peace deal, favourable to Ukraine, is adopted and implemented. Europe is able to continue to seek/build alternative sources of energy and key commodities thereby limiting the disruption to citizens though the process of weaning themselves off Russian supplies slows. The EU channels greater support to states in Central and Eastern Europe who were most affected by the war, supporting a return to near normalcy.

Ukrainian forces are able to stymie Russian troops in the East and the South and their resilience to long range attacks on key cities forces the Kremlin to accept that victory, even in a limited sense in the Eastern part of the country, will be difficult to achieve and even harder to maintain. The Ukrainian military use medium-range weapons supplied by the West to target Russian forces in Ukraine inflicting heavy casualties in Russian controlled areas (sometimes on their own civilians) but almost directly hitting Russian soil. Neither side are able to achieve their stated objectives as Russia is able to hold on to the land, they annexed in 2014 with some additional gains in the Donbas region but not able to progress further. The impact of the sanctions on Russia weighs heavily on the economy, forcing the government into an ever more precarious position. Each side is pushed by allies/partners to come to the negotiating table where a very modest exchange of land is agreed and the war is officially ended. The Kremlin tries to sell the conclusion of the war as a success at home but as returning troops corroborate the counter-narrative being promoted by anti-war activists in Russia and the West the invasion of Ukraine is widely regarded as a failure. The cost of the war in Russia has been severe both in the loss of soldiers and through the impact of economic sanctions. The result is a weakened Russian state, under new leadership with a population questioning the Russian version of post-soviet societal organization.

The EU is able to maintain relative unity throughout the war and the peace negotiations, speaking with one voice they mostly act in concert with other NATO members, imposing sanctions on Russia which significantly contribute to bringing about the end of the war. Though there was a significant disruption to energy and commodity supplies into the EU (affecting states in Central and Eastern Europe most) the relatively quick resolution to the conflict is able to free up much needed supplies and markets are quick to stabilize as exports of oil, gas, grain and fertilizer are re-established at near normal levels. Resuming production in Ukraine is fuelled by huge investments from the West to rapidly rebuild essential infrastructure. Ukraine becomes an EU candidate country in 2022 and accedes into the EU after several years of negotiations. Having learned the lesson of over-reliance on imported essential commodities the EU continues with its advances to wean themselves off Russian



exports, such as exploring imports from northern Africa and building more renewable sources; however, progress slows as the urgency is reduced.

Price fluctuations of key commodities continue to worsen the cost-of-living crisis in the short-term as the uncertainty created by the war and the time needed for recovery even after the peace deal is signed means that the markets do not immediately stabilize though disruptions are manageable within the EU. European nations are forced to pay higher prices for staple goods while food insecurity in countries in the global south dramatically increases.

# **United Front**

The war continues and ground in Eastern and Southern Ukrainian regularly changes hands in skirmishes. There is significant displacement into border countries in Europe. The EU is able to coordinate a response which taps other global sources of key commodities, rapidly developing the infrastructure to move fuel across the continent. Shortages are short lived. Refugees who flee the conflict are supported and well-integrated into the societies where they land.

The war continues throughout the course of the outlook as Ukraine refuses to cede any land occupied by Russia after February 23rd 2022. The Ukrainian population continues to be adamant that ceding land would not be a long-term solution and would only encourage further Russian aggression. An insurgency is launched in the areas in the East and South of Ukraine held by Russian troops while Russia endeavours to occupy even more land along the coast and the blockade is reinforced. The use of medium to long-range weapons on both sides (provided to Ukraine by allies) changes the dynamics of the war as there are recurrent attacks throughout Ukraine, outside of active conflict zones. This increases civilian casualties but does not shake their resolve.

Though the majority of Russian oil and gas imports into the EU are halted the exception for the southern part of the Druzhba pipeline is maintained but phased out over the course of the outlook. This brings significant price hikes across the continent as the cost of setting up new pipeline routes and establishing more renewable sources of energy are passed on to the consumers. In the winter of 2022, there are energy shortages but governments are better prepared in subsequent years to mitigate these shortages. While the costs mount, on the positive side the conflict drives EU countries to greatly accelerate their progress towards reaching their climate goals.

Collective action is regularly agreed and implemented, such as the ban on insurance of ships carrying Russian crude oil, which isolates Russia and further limits access to Russian exports. In tactics reminiscent of the cold war the West exert significant pressure on other countries around the world forcing many to adhere to the sanctions regime against Russia on pain of losing all Western ODA. The EU's collective action in the face of the war has cost the Russian government substantial income as it becomes increasingly difficult for Russia to export oil and gas on the world stage. Though there are complaints from the Kremlin about the support from the West which is prolonging the war there is no direct engagement. The cost to Russia from the sanctions regime is enormous but Russia is resilient and the country rally behind the government. In Ukraine, these actions have enabled Ukrainian forces to continue to fight and stalled the Russian advance.

With Turkey's agreement, Sweden and Finland join NATO and military spending as a percentage of GDP increases resulting in cuts to other key areas of spending across the alliance (such as non-military foreign aid and social protection). There is an arms race as countries allied with both sides of the conflict begin to stockpile in the face of the continued skirmishes and fears that the conflict could regionalize (or even internationalize) at any moment. Most countries within the EU divert a significant portion of their foreign aid budget to supporting



migrant communities within the Union, especially those staying in countries in the East and South of the Union. Protocols are established to funnel resources to the Eastern members of the block to support the maintenance of Ukrainian refugees. While a considerable percentage of the displaced Ukrainian population who remain within Europe there are no new significant outflows.

Rates of food insecurity worldwide skyrocket as grain production in Ukraine is severely impacted for years and the export of Russian grain is complicated.

## Italian outlook: Team Europa

In Italy the rates of poverty increase as the cost-of-living crisis driven by high-levels of inflation and an unbalanced welfare system push vulnerable families over the edge. The Italian economy, having not recovered from the COVID19 pandemic, is fragmented and the country battles to regain a solid footing. The southern regions of Italy are the hardest hit and the government implements policies to mitigate the impact of the economic turmoil. In addition, while the roll out of the PNRR is slowed by the impediments of bureaucracy, the government is able to channel cash through existing systems lessening the severity of the crisis for low-middle income households.

There is a consolidation of power in the existing Italian parties (with a shift towards the PD after the 2023 election) as people generally believe that the situation has been managed as well as it could. Despite this sentiment, populist parties continue to group their base of sympathizers as they are able to channel anger created by the cost-of-living crisis towards scapegoats such as the newly arrived Ukrainian refugees. As the government works to meet the basic needs of the population, there is a proliferation of criminal organizations taking advantage of the government's distraction and the increased need for work from many in the population. With new territory comes the inevitable campaign for greater political influence from more powerful criminal organizations.

Though the EU sends financial support to Italy to support the continued campaign towards an energy transfer the money is not used as effectively as it could as a result of the bureaucratic red tape that traps much of the needed funds. As a result, though there is progress towards weaning the country of gas and oil supplies from Russia it is challenging to make progress on the required timescale. In addition to the support for the energy transfer the EU also steps up to help member states manage the influx of Ukrainian refugees. However, as Italy hosts a relatively small proportion of Ukrainian refugees, they are not eligible for much of the funds. The double standard of the treatment of migrants from Ukraine vs other countries is difficult for Italy to manage as they continue to receive asylum seekers and immigrants crossing the Mediterranean (at an equal or slightly greater rate than in previous years) for which there is little political attention. The EU has crafted an effective response to the crisis but to do so it is also asking member states to increase their contributions to make up the funds though this request is hotly debated and ultimately fails as member states refuse.

Italy is able to maintain its overall equilibrium and while the existing vulnerabilities are becoming even more challenging, a stable political climate backed up by a strong EU means that the government can shelter the population from the worst of it.

# Peace and disharmony

A ceasefire and peace deal are signed but it does not quickly calm the global markets. As with other nations, in a bid to meet domestic demand Russia does not increase exports of wheat or other major commodities resulting in prolonged scarcity. Countries within the European Union each adopt their own coping strategies increasing tensions as those who are hardest hit struggle to provide basic goods and services for citizens.



It becomes clear that neither side will be able to win decisively. Ukraine begins to see fractures in its resistance as pockets of the population become increasingly frustrated with the war and the devastation it has caused. Western impatience with the escalating costs of the war and the economic disruption it is causing, divides countries within the EU and the US. Though some remain in favour of continuing, a new administration in the US and pressure from within the EU breaks down the relative cohesion that NATO allies presented at the outset of the war. This coupled with the advancing Russian momentum after the Russian army is able to take and hold key cities in the Donbas and Luhansk regions force Ukraine to the negotiating table. The deal which is crafted maintains Ukrainian independence and access to the Black Sea through Odessa but gives significant areas of Eastern and Southern Ukraine to Russia. The end of the conflict means that Ukraine can begin to rebuild but nothing is really settled and tensions between both states remain high. The debate of how former Soviet Union member countries will move beyond the Soviet order is postponed, once again, meaning that resentment and competition between an increasingly Western-leaning Ukraine and revanchist Russia simmer under the surface.

The Western coalition fractures and they do not agree on how to engage Russia after the peace deal is signed. As a result, many use the deal to roll back the sanctions that were imposed on Russia in a bid to mitigate some of the economic hardship they are facing; however, the damage to the global economy is not quickly reversed. The war in Ukraine has added to the COVID19 pandemic disruptions which were never fully resolved and the drought/flood in agricultural areas the world over. For example, breakdowns in supply chains and shortages in grain production mean that wheat producing countries refuse to resume exports in order to preserve access for their domestic markets. The price of wheat continues to rise, sparking civil unrest in many areas as governments seek to provide access to basic goods and services.

The pressure on the countries in the East and South of the EU is extreme. Even with the lifting of sanctions they try to continue to move away from Russian oil and gas however, with limited support the costs of alternatives are prohibitive and commitments to do so are regularly missed. The burden of Ukrainian refugees that do not wish to return home (due to the economic collapse in Ukraine and limited economic opportunities) number in the millions and are increasingly difficult for countries to bear. High-levels of inflation and skyrocketing costs of living spur the advancement of right-wing nationalist parties who view the EU as toothless in the face of conflict and a drain on much needed resources.

Long-term the détente with Russia, the fracturing of the EU and continued economic turmoil underpin the continued trend of eroding multilateral institutions. This leads to a revisitation of the international order as the West acquiesce to China's demands for and reform to avoid any further war.

# Fractured

The war continues with waves of escalation which create significant migration into Europe. The EU have been unable to import or bring online alternative sources of energy and shortages are widespread, particularly across central and Eastern Europe. Food prices dramatically increase and import dependent countries, such as Italy, suffer. The EU's response fractures as states on the Ukrainian border object to bearing the brunt of the conflict. There is little agreement on the path forward and the situation becomes intractable.

Solidifying their position in the East and the South the Russian military, reinforced by new recruits and separatist fighters, try to completely cut off Ukrainian access to the Black Sea and replace the government in Kyiv with one more sympathetic to Russian interests. Though they do not succeed in replacing the government they expand the conflict zone. As the tide turns in the war, Western adversaries grow increasingly loud in their support of Russia, seeking to end the war as quickly as possible on terms as favourable as can be achieved for Russia. Russia



played a shrewd diplomatic game, ensuring that exports of critically required goods (such as grain) are channelled to countries where they can garner political capital.

As Russian forces advance in Ukraine, NATO decide that they cannot allow a puppet government to be established or for Russia to secure such a resounding victory on Europe's periphery. As a result, they continually increase their military and economic support to Ukraine to enable the government to rebuff Russian advantages wherever they can. Though they provide heavy weaponry and have made commitments to reinforce Zelensky and his government no NATO troops are deployed. There is an arms race between both parties and their supporters. The Ukrainian military continues to be capably led and demonstrate remarkable resolve in the face of the Russian advance. Military casualties are high on both sides and skirmishes in populated areas, together with the use of medium and long-range missiles result in high-levels of civilian deaths. The back and forth of control over contested territory continues throughout the course of the outlook.

Migration into Europe increases with millions more people flooding across the border. As the war intensifies, the Ukrainian economy collapses. Infrastructure is devastated, agricultural rhythms are disrupted and production in Ukraine grounds to a halt. Together with the increasingly tough sanctions enforced against Russia which limit access to energy as well as basic commodities required for agricultural production, food prices escalate causing worldwide shortages that are most severe in sub-Saharan Africa.

Grievances over the preferential treatment of Ukrainian refugees and prioritization of the conflict in the Ukraine to the exclusion of all other regional conflicts compounded by continued anger over the refusal to ensure access to the COVID19 vaccination push countries (particularly those in Sub-Saharan Africa) closer to Russia and China.

There is a breakdown in European cohesion, spurred by the election of more populist governments in the face of cost-of-living crises throughout the Union. Countries in the East of the EU (e.g., Poland) are much more committed to supporting Ukraine at all costs but other countries in the Union are concerned with the rising costs of living and while they continue to divert money and weapons to Ukraine, they refuse to provide any support to refugee communities. There is little agreement on how to manage the situation collectively which impacts the ability of countries in the EU to purchase energy and key commodities in an incredibly competitive market. In order to stem the flow of migrants across the continent the Schengen area is abandoned and borders are re-established in Europe. With continued struggles there is a rise of right-wing national parties and tensions within the EU increase to the level of damaging European institutions and stalls all progress to greater integration.

## Italian outlook: Free Fall

As the economic disruptions caused by the crisis in Ukraine persist (even if a peace deal is signed in Peace and disharmony) the situation in Italy which is extremely vulnerable to exogenous energy shocks as a result of its dependence on imports steadily worsens. Food prices spike as imported wheat has to be bought on the international market at exorbitant costs. Concurrently, escalating levels of poverty (particularly among the lower-middle class) are worsened by the inadequate government countermeasures adding to the structural deficiencies. Unemployed people and the elderly are particularly vulnerable and the social protection system is ineffective. The economic recovery is stymied by fuel and key commodity shortages and without consistent sources of new energy the country is forced to have "brownouts". The recession worsens and youth unemployment and underemployment are driving migration at unprecedented levels. Civil dissatisfaction increases and frustration



with the old political order ensures that a new coalition of populist parties emerge in a disruptive election as voters punish the previous government for too closely aligning to the EU who they see as inept.

Structural inequality intensifies as the majority of the limited government support and economic recovery is concentrated in the North of Italy. This is compounded by the continued arrival of ever more migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East fleeing severe food insecurity and poverty crossing the Mediterranean as the EU focuses its attention and funds on the war in Ukraine. There is tension between migrant populations as many feel that Ukrainian refugees are still favoured. The EU is not able to secure sufficient funds to support member states in much of their recovery or to meet the escalating needs of the migrant populations they are hosting. What little funds are available are channelled towards countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

While Italy has diverted as much money as it can (though not from its military budget) towards domestic support, there is severe pressure on social resources, such as education and health services. Social turmoil increases, bringing chaos to the daily administration already affected by bureaucratic inertia – the PNRR is abandoned and the government struggles to protect people from the loss of purchasing power. Criminal organizations are filling a void left by the government in key areas and the chaos created by the persistent shortages. Many criminal organizations take over social protection in the poorest and most inhabited urban areas strengthening ties with political leaders and parties and becoming ever more entrenched.

The situation in Italy is dire as the country struggles to cope with the continued and escalating economic fallout of the war. Italy's economic vulnerability and existing societal inequalities are a powder keg ignited by the spiralling cost of living which the government can do little to assuage.

# Devastation, migration, starvation

Russia attempts to move beyond the Ukrainian theatre, threatening the EU's eastern borders. Nationalism dramatically increases the uncertainties of the conflict stymies exports, cold economic war globalizes, the collapse of financial markets and the advent of land seizures for agricultural production.

The conflict in Ukraine rages on and with the provision of long-range missiles from the West Ukraine begins to hit targets inside Russia in an attempt to exhaust public support for the war and evict Russia from all Ukrainian territory held prior to February 23 2022. As Russia pushes forward in Ukraine, prohibited weapons (including biological) are used to hit Ukrainian tactical targets, NATO forces divert an increasing number of resources to try to prop up the state. The blockade of Ukrainian ports on the Black Sea continues. Russia attempts to occupy the entirety of the coast to Odessa as it seeks to create a path to Transnistria in Moldova. The conflict devastates the country, and migration into Europe increases into the tens of millions. Skirmishes cross borders and there is direct engagement between Russian and NATO troops sent to try to hold the EU's eastern border. The spectre of a nuclear war hangs over the conflict from the outset with Russia and NATO threatening the use of nuclear weapons if their adversaries progress too far. Vulnerable nations are motivated to secure their own nuclear arsenal sparking a dramatic proliferation in nuclear weapons in direct contradiction of the NPT. The global arms race is accelerated.

Though there isn't direct engagement between NATO allies and China, an economic cold war has taken hold. Tensions in the pacific increases and military exercises and accidents redouble the risk of conflict. Trade barriers (and some outright bans) are implemented. There is mass migration, mass starvation and spiralling region conflicts in areas of previous instability. Climatic crises and health crises go unaddressed. Global supply chains



are heavily disrupted though NATO allies work tirelessly to preserve trade routes for essential goods between each other, under military protection. Countries outside the alliance are neglected unless they are of strategic importance.

#### Italian outlook: Doomsday

As NATO members, Italians are required to martial more resources to support the war in Ukraine and defend against increasingly invasive cyber-attacks. The US military forces presence in Italy increases to close to second world war levels. The collapse of some global supply chains creates extreme disruptions in the short-term and forces Italy to increase domestic production of key commodities and even nationalize some key industries. Energy shortages are the primary challenge and the government is forced to pay exorbitant prices for energy on the international market. As a result, the government relaunches the plan to get reinstate nuclear power, given the new context, the legislation passes.

The PD party, in line with the demands being made on all NATO members, strengthen their ties with the US administration. The proximity of the PD to Americans and their focus on the alliance, the territorial divide and growing Italian nationalism and populism create a new political coalition supported by Russia and China. Democracy in Italy is at stake, the political situation echoes authoritarian ghosts from the past.

The PNRR is gutted, the government diverts all remaining resources to providing for basic needs of fuel and minimum income wherever possible. People move from main cities to rural areas in search of food security and space – there is a concentration of women and children in the countryside while men stay in the cities or move abroad in search of work. Italy is overwhelmed by migrants from the Mediterranean. The escalation of conflicts around the world drive huge refugee flows and while the situation in Europe is difficult, Italy is still used as a transition or destination country by many. The economic contraction caused by the barriers to trade that are erected, the uncertainty of the spiralling conflict and the refocus of many governments creates unprecedented levels of poverty in Italy. All social services are disrupted. In order to reduce the cost of education, all classes are permanently moved online. This creates a spike in mental health issues for young people. The health system collapses, especially in the southern regions, and mortality rates are spiking.

Italy is unable to maintain quality of life for the majority of its population. Along with most countries in the EU, Italy is forced to reorient its government and resources towards a defensive posture. This leaves many gaps in the provision of services at home. NGOs become critical service providers though many do not have the funds to adequately do the job.



## **Glossary**<sup>9</sup>

**Driver**: A driver is a factor or a combination of factors that drives a process. In foresight, critical drivers are the most important and uncertain factors in your system of study. They are used as the basis of your scenarios.

**Foresight**: Foresight is not a prediction. It is a process of looking forward in time and using collective intelligence and imagination to consider a range of possible futures. It is the first phase in strategic foresight.<sup>10</sup>

**Scenarios**: Scenarios are images of possible futures. They are narratives created to explore how the dynamics of a system could change over a given time period. Building scenarios is the second stage of foresight.

Time horizon: The length of the outlook of your study e.g., 2 years, 5 years, 10, years.

Uncertainty: "An individual's perceived inability to predict something accurately"11

## Source list

In addition to the references listed in footnotes the following sources were instrumental in drafting this document. We are very grateful to all those who participated for their insights.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> All entries from this Glossary are taken from Kennedy, Maietta (2021) *Strategic Planning in the Humanitarian Sector: A Manual to Foresight and Futures-Focused Thinking*, Routledge

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## Photo

Photo courtesy of Sergey Neamoscou from Gallerie Rouge - Paris