

A Security Sector Review in Kosovo – An Holistic Approach to SSR

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Abstract

This paper describes the process and methodologies used in the Internal Security Sector Review (ISSR) conducted in Kosovo during 2006. The holistic approach to the examination of the security sector within Kosovo was designed by the Security Sector Development Advisory Team (SSDAT) in the United Kingdom and took the concept of local ownership and research into all aspects of the security sector to a new level. This paper outlines the methodology used during the Review, the oversight by local and international actors and poses the question if this broad based approach is helpful to the conduct of Security Sector Reform (SSR).

Introduction

States hopeful of democratic governance and strong economies require competent administrative and political structures. An essential part of these structures is a well ordered and democratically governed security sector, which is based on political, civil, and security institutions responsible for protecting the state and its citizens. Reform or renovation of the security sector is a developing component of international assistance.¹

The European Union's (EU) interest in SSR as a policy instrument in its work in developing and transitional countries has grown substantially in

¹ Hendrickson, D., Karkoszka, A., "The Challenges of Security Sector Reform" in *SIPRI Yearbook 2002: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, pp. 30-47.

recent years. In December 2003, the European Union adopted a new security strategy that called for a wider range of initiatives in the areas of security and development, including SSR. In 2005, the European Council agreed to an approach that provides a framework for the Union's second pillar SSR activities. In parallel, the European Commission has been working on a strategy for SSR that focuses on its responsibilities in the developing world.²

The cost of conflict is immense in terms of lost lives, divided communities and devastated livelihoods. In addition, the financial and human cost to the international community of resolving violent conflicts and their aftermath is substantial. Preventing conflict is more cost effective and more beneficial than resolving it.³ SSR has grown out of a need to prevent conflict or stabilise post-conflict situations and provide firm ground on which to grow sustainable peace, thereby, creating conditions for conflict resolution. Whilst the international community has achieved some successes in the field of SSR, it has not been able to maintain a record of consistent and sustainable transformation. This is, in part, due to the lack of a clear understanding or consensus of what SSR actually is and the areas and disciplines it should cover. It is also due to the difficulties of engaging with the more sensitive and controversial institutions, political processes and personalities in a post-conflict setting. It could be said that it is chiefly a result of the international community not yet having developed a fully consistent strategy for the execution of SSR.⁴ However, SSR and its component parts are still subject to wide academic debate. Hendrickson and Karkoszka suggested that:

² See a review of EU initiatives in: Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces *EU Security Sector Reform: Food for Thought*, Discussion Paper, DCAF, Geneva, 2006, pp. 3-6.

³ Chalmers, M., *Supporting Security in Fragile States*, Paper presented to LICUS Learning Seminar, World Bank, Washington DC, September 2005.

⁴ Rees, E., *Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Peace Operations: "Improvisation and Confusion" from the Field*, United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, New York, 2006, p. 4.

“Security sector reforms are a new area of activity for international actors, and there is still not a shared understanding at the international level of what this term means. This has limited the debate on the subject. Assisting in the development of such a shared understanding should be a priority objective for the research community.”⁵

To this end, a broader focus is required on the nature of sustainable peace and its building blocks, such as social and economic development, good governance and democratisation and respect for human rights.⁶

The United Kingdom Government, through the SSDAT, and in conjunction with international partners, have advocated a holistic approach to the area of SSR. In supporting the design of the review of the internal security sector in Kosovo, they applied this ideal. The Review in Kosovo is drawing to a close and the inclusive methodology and its impact on the security sector in the territory, although not at a stage where complete evaluation of its applicability can be taken, has highlighted interesting features of the holistic approach.

The Origins and Process of the Kosovo ISSR

The Kosovo Internal Security Sector Review (ISSR) is a consultative process designed to provide Kosovo with the opportunity to consider issues that would provide a definition of security concerns, interests and future architecture alongside the challenging process of determining final status. The ISSR was also designed to analyse existing and identify new institutional capacity required to address threats compiled through a consultative process with local experts and citizens. In addition, the ISSR identified some policymaking processes and structures that can

⁵ Hendrickson, D., Karkoszka, A. “The Challenges of Security Sector Reform” in *SIPRI Yearbook 2002: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, pp. 30-47. Ebnöther, A., Fluri, P. (eds), *After Intervention: Public Security Management in Post-Conflict Societies – From Intervention to Sustainable Local Ownership*, National Defence Academy and DCAF, Vienna, 2005, pp. 10-17.

⁶ Annan, K., *Report of the Secretary-General: Prevention of Armed Conflict*, General Assembly Fifty-fifth session, United Nations Press, New York, 7 June 2001.

support Kosovo's internal and external security needs following a determination of final status.

Security Sector Review (SSR) processes are an essential part of understanding the impact of changes in the security sector and establishing society's overall reform of governing institutions. Often these reviews are limited either by scope or methodology to internal institutional reviews with limited public consultation. Sometimes SSRs focus on singular security issues – such as policing or strengthening civil-military oversight and interface.⁷

In the case of Kosovo, the process of reviewing the security sector was unique as security remains a power reserved by the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and, additionally, the NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR) is responsible for external defence issues in the territory. Therefore, Kosovo's process became an internal review with many of the recommendations dependent on the resolution of the territory's final status. That said, Kosovo's ISSR has been one of the most ambitious and holistic efforts undertaken in recent years, both in scope and methodology.

However, Kosovo's ISSR faced two significant gaps; firstly, Kosovo has no existing security institutions or policies beyond the police and judicial structures which have been developed by the international community. Secondly, the ISSR team was invited to consider the kinds of future security institutions required for Kosovo and make recommendations for those institutions prior to the determination of the entity's final status. Thus, Kosovo's ISSR took on the entire scope of the security architecture, despite the unusual circumstances of the review process. In addition, and in order to more completely verify findings and recommendations, the process incorporated a widespread public consultation and outreach procedure as well as an extensive review of existing institutions.

⁷ Kosovo is the first example of a holistic security sector review prior to SSR engagement. For example, in Sierra Leone the review was only conducted after the SSR process had started. In terms of limited scope, the Paton Report on Policing in Northern Ireland was restricted to one security area.

The initiative behind the Kosovo ISSR originated as a collaborative effort between the UNMIK Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) and officials of Kosovo’s Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG). The aim was to begin a security review complementary to final status negotiations for Kosovo. In order to put this initiative in motion, the Government of the United Kingdom supported a scoping mission, which was undertaken by the Security Sector Development Advisory Team (SSDAT) in March 2005. The scoping mission produced a report, in consultation with Kosovo experts, which provided recommendations for the structure, objectives, and work plan of Kosovo’s ISSR.

Structure and Work Plan of the ISSR

The original SSDAT Scoping Study recommended that the ISSR working structure should consist of a Steering Committee (ISC) with high-level representatives from UNMIK, the PISG, political and religious leaders, and minority community representatives. The Steering Committee would be supported by a Secretariat (ISSRS) located in the Office for Public Safety, within the Office of the Prime Minister, and a research team headed by an ISSR coordinator located within the ISSR Secretariat. The ISSR team was funded by international donations managed under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The ISSR process also included a high level of coordination and co-operation between various international and local governing agencies, particularly in the area of public consultation and research. As an example, the two stages of public consultative meetings conducted in each municipality in Kosovo would not have been possible without the organisation and functional support of the OSCE Democratisation Department and OSCE municipal teams working in coordination with local participants.

The ISSR has been completed in 8 stages:

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5	Stage 6	Stage 7	Stage 8
Security environmental review	Threat analysis	Roles and capabilities needed	Functional analysis	Gap analysis	Review of proposed sector projects	Budget analysis	SSR strategies

The first two stages of the consultation process were completed in April 2006. The findings from these stages became the basis for a wide-scale public outreach programme. Stages 4 and 5 were based on the findings of the review of capabilities required completed in Stage 3. Stages 6, 7, and 8 were completed as part of the overall analysis of those Ministries and Institutions, which impacted on the threats identified in Stages 1 and 2 of the process. The conclusions drawn from the overall analysis, falling out of the holistic approach, were then incorporated into the final stages of the project.

The basis of the ISSR Final Report is the threat analysis completed in Stage 2 of the process, which incorporated an examination of Kosovo's security environment as summarised in Stage 1. All of the analysis for each stage of the process was completed in coordination with a range of local experts from across a range of governmental and non-governmental institutions. These individuals, as well as members of the ISSR Steering Committee and Secretariat, have created not only an analysis of security issues facing Kosovo, but also recommendations for the way forward for Kosovo's future security structures.

Report Methodology and Background

The ISSR Final Report consists of a discussion of the threats to security as perceived by the people of Kosovo and an analysis of existing PISG institutions that have an impact on or oversight regarding the perceived threats identified through the ISSR process. Kosovo is a United Nations protectorate established under the auspices of UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) following the end of hostilities in the territory.⁸ The PISG is an interim government structure outlined in UNMIK Regulation 2001/9 that was first formed after the Kosovo parliamentary elections held in November 2001.

⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) created the necessary conditions for a political settlement of the future status of Kosovo. Paragraph 11 of the Resolution outlines the general authority of UNMIK to create interim governing institutions by "organizing and overseeing the development of provisional institutions for democratic and autonomous self-government pending a political settlement, including holding of elections."

Since that time the PISG has evolved as a governing institution – resulting in the majority of governance activities being undertaken by Kosovo’s elected officials. With this transfer of authorities from UNMIK international administration, and with the final status negotiations process underway, the ISSR has undertaken a detailed review of Kosovo’s institutions in order to create a more sophisticated dialogue about current and future security needs and institutions, as well as to consider the bearing of governance issues on security.

ISSR Conceptual Methodology

The ISSR process used two key concepts to form the underpinnings of this stage of the project. First, the perceived threat analysis completed in the first two stages of the programme, which has provided the platform for consultation across the PISG, public outreach, as well as the functional analysis and recommendations contained in the ISSR Final Report.

The second was the Copenhagen Criteria⁹; given the aspirations of Kosovo, at some future date, to become a part of the wider European community, ISSR utilised the Copenhagen Criteria as a necessary benchmark for the development of Kosovo’s institutions, as well as background for the formulation of the security policy. This approach was reinforced, in July 2006, by statements made by Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), in a joint report with the Commissioner for EU Enlargement. The joint report notes, in part, that: “...the EU has sent a clear message to Kosovo’s authorities that fulfilment of the UN standards is not only

⁹ In June 1993, the Copenhagen European Council recognized the right of the countries of central and Eastern Europe to join the European Union when they have fulfilled three criteria. Firstly, political: stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for minorities; secondly, economic: a functioning market economy; thirdly, incorporation of the Community *acquis*: adherence to the various political, economic and monetary aims of the European Union. Europa Glossary (accessed on 19 June 2006)
http://www.europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/accesion_criteria_copenhagen_en.htm

needed to pave the way for a status settlement, but also for the fulfilment of the Copenhagen political criteria in the longer term.”¹⁰

The objectives of Solana’s report were to influence and guide the findings of each stage of the ISSR process. Each stage has a bearing on the ultimate result of recommendations for the future security structure and policy process for Kosovo.¹¹ Stages 3 and 4 took the process to the next level through a detailed functional analysis of Kosovo’s institutions as well as an extensive public consultation and outreach project, which also served to expand public dialogue about security in Kosovo. Stages 5 and 6 identified gaps or the institutional needs required to address threats to security, as well as developmental recommendations. Stage 7 reviewed budget requirements and Stage 8 provided overall strategies to address identified threats.

Methodology – Public Consultation and Outreach

A core goal of the ISSR was to expand public awareness and dialogue regarding issues of security in Kosovo. In addition to the municipal meetings conducted in Stages 1 and 2 of the process, a public outreach strategy was developed to coincide with the ISSR process. The outreach campaign included several phases:

1. Awareness Raising through consultative town hall meetings and media tools such as TV and radio spots, billboards, press conferences and interviews explaining the ISSR to citizens, with the aim of encouraging public participation in the public consultation process.
2. Deepening Understanding and Encouraging Public Ownership of ISSR process and security issues through use of direct outreach tools such as publications and TV material explaining the

¹⁰ EU Press Office, *Information for Journalists Summary Note on the Joint Report on the future EU Role and Contribution in Kosovo*, July 2006.

¹¹ A threat matrix was compiled from the analysis completed in Stage 2. The threat analysis was commissioned from the international NGO, the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and the Kosovo-based NGO, Kosovo Institute for Policy Research and Development (KIPRED).

process, a series of debates on public service television RTK and on local radio stations.

3. Collection of Public Input through a “Have Your Say” Bus travelling in urban and rural areas of Kosovo distributing information material and taking direct comment from citizens, interviews with ISSR members on Kosovo radio and TV stations with a telephone-in-option allowing the listeners to make their comments, distribution of “suggestion boxes” in public buildings across Kosovo and opening of an “ISSR hotline” allowing the public to express their opinions either via telephone or via email.
4. Verification of Initial Findings relating to threat analysis and soliciting public opinion regarding those threats in order to further ground the findings through consultative town hall meetings, public debates, discussions and opinion-editorials.

The goal of the public outreach strategy was to ensure that all of Kosovo’s communities were not only aware of, but had the opportunity to be engaged in the ISSR process. Furthermore, the public outreach campaign aimed to enhance the level of public dialogue about security and encourage transparency among Kosovo’s security institutions and policymaking process.

Methodology – Environmental and Threat Analysis

While designing the analytical approach to the security environment and threats for Kosovo, the ISSR team benefited greatly from UNMIK’s and KFOR’s experience in the security area over the last seven years. In this regard the Kosovo Standards Implementation Plan (KSIP) of 13 March 2004 constitutes a comprehensive approach to addressing the main challenges faced by Kosovo on the road towards its final status. The Standards for Kosovo document as approved by the UN Security Council on 12 December 2003 had the objective to create:

“A Kosovo where all – regardless of ethnic background, race or religion – are free to live, work and travel without fear, hostility or danger and where there is tolerance, justice and peace for everyone.”

In terms of ISSR methodology, the identified standards imply the main threats identified by UNMIK, as the primary security policy actor, over the years. The ISSR team took into account all the challenges identified in the KSIP document and on that basis built a threat matrix and created a series of structured consultations with citizens.¹² The results of these structured consultations and opinions gathered from the population at large was a grounded evaluation of identified threats on which the rest of the ISSR process could be built.

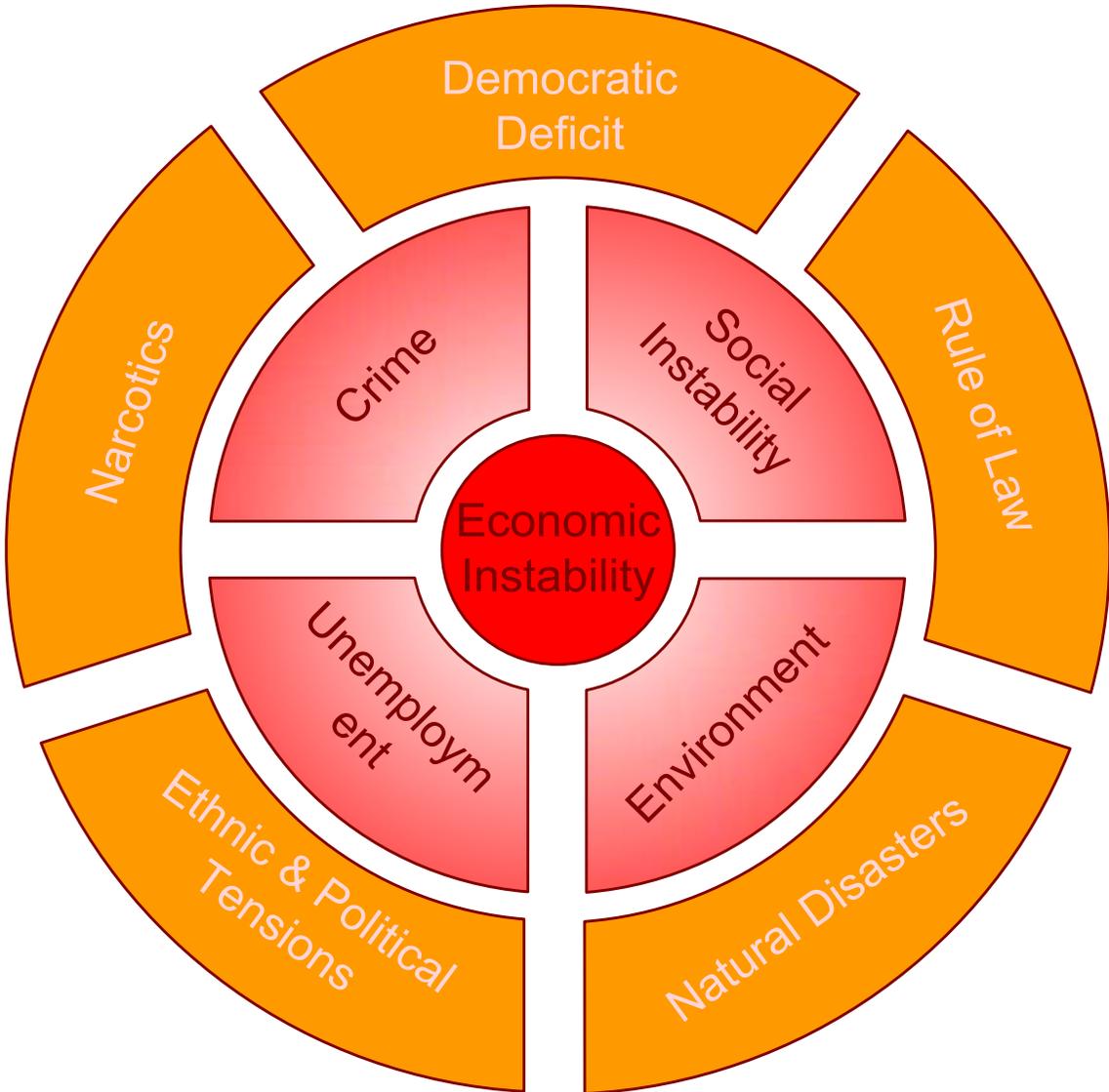
The first two stages of the ISSR process were completed in partnership with the Kosova Institute for Policy Research and Development (KIPRED) and The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). The two institutes completed extensive research and threat analysis and drafted reports on their findings.¹³

The objective of these initial stages of the ISSR process was to identify key drivers that would likely shape Kosovo's strategic environment in addition to identifying specific threats. In order to verify the findings of the DCAF and KIPRED studies, the OSCE organised 32 municipal consultations across Kosovo where approximately 800 people participated in discussions regarding their views on what issues concerned them most in terms of Kosovo's security. In addition, one hundred invited Kosovo experts took part in two core consultations in Pristina to further enhance the dialogue and discussion regarding threats and security needs. The ISSR team also approached specialists in a variety of areas including the KPC, gender-issues, non-governmental organisations, and members of the Assembly. The findings of these consultations were then further correlated with data from a household survey of 12,000 homes conducted by the Gani Bobi Institute at the University of Pristina and by Saferworld for the South Eastern European Small Arms Clearing House.

¹² OSCE's Department of Democratisation and municipal teams built and executed the structure public consultations process at the municipal level.

¹³ To review copies of the DCAF and KIPRED reports see www.ks.undp.org/issr.

These activities helped to ground the findings of the two research institutes and verify the data gathered not only through the studies, but also data gathered from the UNDP Early Warning Reporting system, as well as KPS crime statistics. The findings were then outlined into a threat matrix. The matrix is illustrated in the diagram below:



Overall, the ISSR team completed more than seventy interviews with a variety of regional, local, and Kosovo-wide officials both national and international. The teams also visited more than twenty institutions across Kosovo. The structure used in the institutional review was constructed from UNDP and World Bank methodologies for institutional analysis in the governance sector. Upon completion of draft institutional reports, the ISSR team requested direct review and comment from the individual PISG institutions and those comments were incorporated in the institutional analysis contained in the final Report.

The ISSR Gap Analysis was based on OECD's "DAC Development Partnership Forum: Managing for Development Results and Aid Effectiveness" of December 2002.² The rationale behind this approach is that the Internal Security Sector Review took place in the context of, and bore many of the characteristics of a development programme, rather than a review of purely technical security assistance considered in isolation.

As the ISSR process evolved it became apparent that there would be merit in the Secretariat producing an Interim Report. This report, based on the first four stages of the ISSR process and initial institutional investigation, was produced in June 2006. This interim report was reviewed by the ISSR Steering Committee and comments solicited. The ISSR Final Report, due to be published in December 2006, is the result of the investigation, research, and analysis of the ISSR team of all available data plus a consolidation of comments from Steering Committee members arising from the Interim Report.

Conclusion

The SSDAT methodology for the ISSR was based on involving the local population in the review process and ensuring that both the populous and

² Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development "DAC Development Partnership Forum: Managing for Development Results and Aid Effectiveness Room Document 3: Guidelines for the use of indicators in country performance assessment" 11-12 December 2002.

local leaders were informed and consulted at every step. At the same time, international community actors were apprised of the findings and conclusions at each stage of the review along with regular briefings of the ISSR Steering Committee and Kosovo Assembly. Furthermore, the ISSR Secretariat sought to ensure that the process was as universal in its nature as was possible.

However, the holistic approach was much more than just ensuring local involvement; the Review stepped away from merely dealing with the relationship between security actors, such as the armed forces, and security institutions, such as a Ministry of Defence. It took the fears and aspirations of the population that identified security needs, and then analysed the capacity of the institutions that had to deal with them. Of necessity, this took the Review into areas that many would not consider the province of a security sector review, such as economy and health. The ISSR found, from their public outreach programmes, that the citizens of Kosovo are deeply concerned not only with those actors that directly provide security within Kosovo but also with the ministries and organisations that impact on their daily lives. Therefore, matters of health, education, trade and industry, the provision of energy and the efficiency of the civil service all play a part in determining if the people of Kosovo feel secure in their homes and their society.

It could be argued that this holistic approach may be a step too far in the SSR process. The method is certainly challenging and was a difficult process to undertake. It is too early to determine if the approach will bear fruit as Kosovo moves forward in building internal security however in order to encourage enterprise, growth, and a secure environment the Kosovo ISSR shows that consideration should be given to a range of areas not directly related to traditional security sector reform. In short, there is little merit in having a well regulated and efficient security sector if the population is ill-educated, unhealthy and unemployed, with little or no prospects for the future.