



## Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management Meeting on Kosovo

Practical Considerations Ahead of the Potential Deployment of an ESDP Mission to Kosovo  
by Jérôme Mellon  
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### Introduction

- Introducing myself: three-year field experience in Kosovo (UNDP, Saferworld), security sector reform (police, PISG, ISSR, etc.), recent visit to Kosovo (7 to 14 October)
- Briefing aimed at introducing some of our work in Kosovo, and more specifically our conflict analysis (the process and the most recent findings)
- Briefing also aimed at presenting practical considerations to keep in mind while preparing the potential deployment of an ESDP mission to Kosovo
- Considerations and recommendations based on our experience but also on our conflict analysis, which involved discussions with ordinary citizens through dozens of focus group discussions and individual interviews, all across Kosovo
- Period of questions planned at the end for any further discussion

### Saferworld in Kosovo

- Saferworld started its engagement in Kosovo in 2001 and has maintained a programme of work there ever since
- Saferworld established a close partnership with a dynamic local NGO called Forum for Civic Initiatives, which provided us with local knowledge and expertise, greater access to Kosovar stakeholders, and a permanent presence in Kosovo
- Since 2006, Saferworld has a permanent representative based in Pristina
- In the past six years, Saferworld and the Forum for Civic Initiatives have focused on improving community safety, researching and providing recommendations on small arms control and security sector reform, and surveying public perceptions on security and drivers of conflict
- We are currently undertaking a second conflict analysis of Kosovo, building on the first one done in March
- The purpose of a conflict analysis is to gather information on the causes of insecurity, tension and divisions in Kosovo and how these are changing, in three stages:
  - Stage 1: Analysis of tensions and divisions (What is causing insecurity, tension and division in Kosovo at this time?)
  - Stage 2: Analysis of current responses (What is the effect of current work of different institutions and actors on these tensions?)
  - Stage 3: Developing strategies and options (What are the potential building blocks for peace? How can different institutions and actors reduce tensions and improve security?)
- Our approach puts the emphasis on the participation of civil society and ordinary citizens
- We organise focus group discussions and individual interviews where participants discuss freely what they see as the main sources of tension and potential conflict
- For the current conflict analysis, the discussions are performed with the assistance of a network of local NGOs, allowing us to cover the whole of Kosovo, while building civil society capacity to undertake such analysis
- Several Kosovo government institutions and international organisations have been involved in the process of this conflict analysis, including the EUPT
- The findings should be compiled and distributed before the end of the year to inform, when relevant, the planning, activities and projects of the PISG, UNMIK, donors, local and international NGOs, and EUPT

## Drivers of Conflict

- The findings of our March 2007 conflict analysis, and the initial findings of our current conflict analysis, have identified some key drivers of tension in Kosovo
- We firmly believe that the PISG, UNMIK, EU actors, donors, and local and international NGOs would benefit from carefully considering these drivers which, if ignored, could potentially lead to unrest or conflict
- Many organisations already perform one form of conflict analysis or another, but it is not yet a widespread practice done on a regular basis using a tried-and-tested method
- Our analyses from the field have so far identified the following key findings:
  - very high unemployment and bad economic situation: overarching problem requiring carefully-designed, conflict-sensitive and sustainable solutions rather than quick, short-term, short-lived initiatives
  - poor governance: huge dissatisfaction with the work and professionalism of the PISG and with the achievements and arrogance of UNMIK, lack of transparency, lack of oversight, corruption, nepotism
  - poor communication channels: allow misinformation and manipulation of opinion, create feelings of disenfranchisement and frustration, especially with respect to Kosovo's future status
  - local dynamics vary from place to place: neither Kosovo Serbs nor Kosovo Albanians speak with one voice, and international organisations are at fault in consistently generalising about Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians, often wrongfully labelling incidents or situations as 'ethnic'
  - policing and access to justice: the relatively good progress made on many aspects of policing is severely undermined by a highly deficient judicial system and poor access to justice
- There are obviously other drivers which were discussed during our meetings with Kosovars, and some came out stronger in some areas of Kosovo than others

## Key Considerations

- Based on our experience in Kosovo, on our recent analysis of Kosovars' perceptions, and on our discussions with representatives from EU institutions, EU member states, and the EUPT, we believe that the potential future ESDP mission would benefit from taking the following five recommendations into careful consideration
- Many of them can be linked to UNMIK's weaknesses or mistakes, which the EUPT constantly states the potential future ESDP mission should not repeat
- Internal co-ordination
  - an important weakness of UNMIK has been the compartmentalisation between its various pillars, and mainly between its Civil Administration and Police and Justice pillars
  - this lack of internal co-ordination led to confusion, misunderstanding and an often disjointed implementation of UNMIK activities, which probably affected the quality of its decisions and the public perceptions of UNMIK
  - our observations from the current EUPT work makes us worried about the repetition of such compartmentalisation problem
  - the potential future ESDP mission should therefore ensure that the staff of the three components work together and not in isolation
  - such co-ordination could also ensure more coherent policies and procedures throughout the organisation, rather than disjointed or even contradictory approaches
- Accountability
  - a great deal of the frustration against UNMIK came from the lack of accountability of the UN mission and its staff, who were often seen as 'above the law'
  - Kosovo's citizens and civil society cannot hold UNMIK accountable to its decisions or staff, as it only reports to the UN headquarters in New York, and can hardly hold the PISG accountable either, as it doesn't possess executive authority over Kosovo affairs

- to avoid being perceived as a second UNMIK, the potential future ESDP mission should allow for internal investigations to be as transparent as possible, and should develop mechanisms to properly address people's grievances and complaints
- the planned Internal Investigations Unit could perhaps serve that role
- Two-way communications channels
  - significant criticism has been directed towards the international presence due to the lack of systematic engagement with actors at the community level, including community, village or religious leaders, which led to a distrust of international agencies in Kosovo
  - the EUPT has opened some promising channels of communication with Kosovo's civil society to disseminate information about the potential future ESDP mission but also integrate the views of Kosovars into the EUPT planning work
  - it would be in the interest of both the Kosovo public and the potential future ESDP mission if a solid communication strategy was designed to communicate with people and communities around Kosovo and to allow them to access decision-makers
  - the communications strategy should focus on creating sustainable communications channels rather than on one-off and one-way message delivery
- Conflict analysis
  - a conflict analysis allow for an organisation to tailor its activities more accurately to the needs, hopes and concerns of the beneficiaries but, more importantly, to avoid creating or increasing tension levels – what we call being 'conflict sensitive'
  - some of the current EUPT work might help achieving these objectives, but the most important would be for the potential future ESDP mission to perform conflict analyses on a regular basis to inform its work and policies
  - these analyses would help gather useful information from the field about drivers of tension and public perceptions of the rule of law situation, in addition to giving Kosovars the opportunity to share their views and to feel involved
- Ways of working
  - a message that has been heard repeatedly from most Kosovars but also many internationals in Kosovo was the very damaging effect of the arrogance displayed by foreigners living and working in Kosovo
  - exemplified at all levels, from heavy-handed interventionism in the Kosovo legislative process to the driving behaviour on the roads of Kosovo, this arrogance has left Kosovars frustrated and bitter
  - some simple details, such as civilised driving habits, the respect of local customs, the learning of some words in local language, the consideration for Kosovars' expertise and knowledge, more reasonable salary scales, and the increased involvement of Kosovars in senior-level positions could make a tremendous difference in how the international presence is perceived
  - the potential future ESDP mission should therefore continuously remind its staff about the importance of showing respect and deference for Kosovars, and adopt policies and decisions that are not discriminatory or condescending
  - the importance of a positive and respectful attitude towards Kosovars should be a recurrent theme weaved into the pre- and post-deployment training of the staff deployed to Kosovo
  - in addition, the potential future ESDP mission should confine itself to making limited use of its executive authority, avoiding to be perceived as overly arrogant or patronising, and also avoiding an often-cited criticism of UNMIK

## Questions and Discussion