NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE

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SHORT THESIS OF

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Shaping Foreign and Security Policy of a Newly Independent State

The Case of Kosovo

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) dissertation

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1. Overview of the research project

The main aim of the project was to analyse a rather new concept of the creation of an Armed Force in a newly independent state along with its transformation prospects *vis-à-vis* integration process in the Euro-Atlantic structures in relation to the security strategy formulation. To examine the effects of a strong international presence on a state's security context and security strategy formulation and define how such a presence impacts regional security dynamics in general, and more specifically between Kosovo and its neighbours. Most importantly, based on the academic research in correlation with practical experience, given the importance of the strategy formulation, the primary aim was to develop an original "Evaluation Framework" which would serve as a tool for monitoring and evaluating the security strategy and would bridge the gap between the theories of security studies and the practice. Through this framework, the National Security Strategy then will be evaluated with inputs from three levels of security: *individual, state* and *international,* which encompass security sectors such as *Political, Military, Economic, Societal,* and *Environmental*. Further, the developed evaluation system will have a multifaceted impact as through its application it will identify problems, hindrances and potential threats during the implementation and address them for the upcoming strategy formulation. The idea behind was to create a mechanism that would ultimately increase transparency and accountability and strengthen involved institutions. The project explored the key concepts, tools, and processes in the development of an appropriate national security strategy and ways how this strategy could be objectively evaluated and applied in a wider context. It further determined the importance of including the three levels *individual, state* and *international* in the evaluation and monitoring process.

1.1. Formulating a scientific problem

Shaping a national security strategy has proved to be a rather difficult exercise for newly independent states because of their very often, rather fragile structures that are often vulnerable to politicization, state capture, or domination of third parties. In addition, in the case of Kosovo there was a lack of an appropriate course of action for the proper formulation of the security strategy with clear objectives, as well as lack of an objective mechanism for the proper monitoring and evaluation of the respective strategy. We never know to what extend and in which ways security strategies are successful (or a failure) unless there is an established objective mechanism that would not only evaluate the implementation on regular basis but would also address potential drawbacks for the upcoming strategy formulation. It is also important that the strategy formulation remains free of a certain political cause or domination from a third influential party. Another problem is the security consumer status of Kosovo. Along with the progress of the construction of security institutions, and now with an Armed Force as a distinctive pillar of statehood, Kosovo needs to change this status and transform from a security consumer to a security provider. This is a rather complex situation where an *independent state,* lately with a fully-fledged army, continues to be protected by an international alliance such as NATO. This ultimately poses the problem of the withdrawal of the international protection and question when it is the adequate time for such an action.

1.2.Research goals

The main goals of the research first and foremost were

To provide a conceptual analysis of the creation of the Armed Force in a newly independent state through the examination of the transformation prospects and strategy;

To analyse the complex relationship of the international organizations from two points of view: first, their presence in Kosovo and second, the aspirations and primary objectives of Kosovo to become part of exactly these organizations such as the EU, NATO, UN, OSCE.

To develop an innovative tool, namely the "Evaluation Framework" for the National Security Strategy monitoring and evaluation based on the existing security theories with practical application, relating theory with practice in terms of formulation and evaluation of the National Security Strategy. The creation of a new evaluation method independent of interference from political actors or other influential powers, such as stronger states or corporations that might push for policies in the strategy advancing their interests. This method will boost inclusion of the different actors of security, particularly professionals and experts in the monitoring and evaluation process through the "Evaluation Framework".

2. Methodology and hypotheses

2.1. Research methods

To carry out a thorough research and analysis, collection of data and developing of a new applicable instrument for evaluation of the security strategy, I have used the mixed-methods research. The application of the mixed-method was adequate for this study as it enables the integration of quantitative and qualitative data and as such builds up the consistency and augments the analysis while allowing for flexibility in the use of several methods accordingly.[1] Moreover, it allows the application and development of quantitative tools that provide accurate assessments within the given context.

Incorporation of a quantitative along with qualitative approach in this study had a theoretical drive as its basis that helped in the development of an instrument that will be applied in practice with the aim of evaluating and enhancing the security strategy.

The research is based on information obtained from a wide variety of sources that are used in a manner that employed critical examination of the theories of security where applicable parts to Kosovo, were embraced:

a) **Theoretical part** – This part is obtained from different books, journal articles and expert reports related to the topic. Around these sources, the foundation and the main arguments of the paper are built.

b) **Primary Source Materials** –The materials such as documents, laws, regulations, strategies, analysis, reports from both local and International Organizations,

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[1] Kai M. Thaler, "Mixed Methods Research in the Study of Political and Social Violence and Conflict," *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 2, no. 1 (2017): 59-60, https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689815585196

recommendations, proposals, reviews, are used and analysed in detail as they provide a highly important input not only for the construction of the theoretical framework but also for the development of the "Evaluation Framework". Access to many internal documents and reviews was priceless as it enabled me to study the matter in-depth and not only have superficial information. These primary source materials have been examined through critical and content analysis and are complemented by the secondary source materials for providing a clearer picture on the issues.

c) **Interviews and expert consultations –** Interviews present a highly important part of this work as they significantly contribute to the overall analysis. Since the part with qualitative methods as well as the practical part involving quantitative methods have been constructed on the basis of the theory that includes three levels of security: individual, state and international, the interviewees represent all the three levels. They come from the civil society, political and international level. The state level, apart from the political, entailed professional interviewees, as well. Even though I have prepared structured interview questions, during the interview process, depending on the flow and the dynamics of discussion, sometimes I would get a more extensive insight than expected. At times, I encountered difficulties as some of the interviewees would commit to reply in written, thus not allowing me to take notes or record them, but never did so. It is worth mentioning that not all interviews were merged into the text of this study.

d) **Quantitative approach** - Deriving from the theoretical knowledge, expert discussions, and personal participation, observation and experience, I developed an evaluation tool, through employing quantitative methods. The aim of the creation of this tool is to make it applicable in practice. Given its comprehensiveness and the fact that it encompasses a number of components, this tool was named the "Evaluation Framework".

The "Evaluation Framework" comprises of: a novel survey and an evaluation scale that is used in the respective survey. In addition, there are three statistical categories to be able to process data deriving from the survey: Substantial, Implementational and Budgetary

2.2. Frame of analysis

One of the most significant parts of this study is the exertion to bridge the gap between theory and practice or more precisely, to apply theoretical knowledge in the foreign and security policy shaping that will find a practical use in the institutional life. Hence, in the framework analyses gave a sequential analysis of the key security theories and their position but most importantly, their limits to the applicability in the case of Kosovo. The respective theories are examined in the context of this research and reveal the significance of the chosen theory that derives from the Copenhagen School which has served as the foundation of this study and has proved to be the most adequately applicable in the case of Kosovo. The main theories of security studies and international relations have been examined, namely realism, liberalism and constructivism given that they all deliver very valuable insights for solicitous grounds in regards to their applicability as well as limits in the policy shaping of newly independent states, and more specifically of Kosovo. While realism and its different evolutions and branches comprise the foundations of International Relations Theory and Security Studies, they entail their limitations and short-comings. Although the teachings of

this theory at any of its points preach approaching politics in the broad sense of the word with a high degree of consideration for power, they sometimes overcome the real goal in terms of practical applicability. Namely, classical realism definitely has the potential to become very theoretical, and concentrate on the *big picture* in the sense that it deliberates on such large, historical patterns argued through philosophy, that it becomes very difficult to try to apply its teachings domestically, especially in the case of an emerging and weak state like Kosovo.

On the other hand, neorealism has the inclination to become so explicit in its scientific methodology, that in order to be able to draw lessons from it, and apply it to an newly independent states like Kosovo, a comprehensive research from the very beginning is needed in order to build a theory that would fit the country profile, or to make many suppositions putting the characteristics of it aside, which as a consequence would be inaccurate.

Realism as elaborated here, has unquestionable significance in relation to lessons about interest and power, however, given that I wanted to discuss distinctive features of the security strategy shaping of the newly independent state of Kosovo, I employed other theories for the purpose of discussing exposing their (not)applicable characteristics as appropriately as possible. Conceivably, realism should be taken into consideration when a security theory is analysed, evaluated and drafted, whereas other theories are very useful when the strategy is examined in a more specific way.

Provided that in this study I try to merge all relevant theories into the best practical use, as elaborated above, the above examined theories in terms of practical utilisation seem not to be the most appropriate for the specific case of Kosovo while those deriving from the Copenhagen School of Security set the foundation for the most essential part of this thesis which is the development of a comprehensive "Evaluation Framework" for the National Security Strategy. In conclusion, one of the novelties that Copenhagen School offer is that of expansion of security *into 5 main sectors* thus overcoming the traditional manifestation of security into two main ones: military and political. These 5 sectors are included in the developed "Evaluation Framework", given that each one of them is applicable in Kosovo. Therefore, all of the sectors are included thus providing a comprehensive and an inclusive outreaching evaluation report. This is absolutely in line with the world's evolving security dynamics and problems and as such other sectors offered by this school enable proper dealing and addressing security challenges deriving from the respective area.

2.3. Hypotheses

The research was based on the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1:
After the decision for forming the Army has been approved by the Kosovo Assembly, the transformation process of the KSF is undertaken through three laws: Law on the Kosovo Security Force, Law on KSF Service and Law on the Ministry of Defence that were adopted by the Parliament of the Republic of Kosovo. In accordance with the Constitution, and with the latter law, the Ministry of Defence will draft and implement general state defence policies at the strategic level and will exercise its functions and competencies. As such, this transformation is legal, legitimate and not problematic. The creation and development of the KAF through this transformation has laid robust foundations of security, as they should be in an independent state, consolidating its sovereignty and improving the overall security

situation by increasing the trust of the people in the state and its institutions, as it begins the transformation of Kosovo from a security consumer into a security provider.

Hypothesis 2:
International organizations have played an essential role in the creation and structuring of the security architecture in Kosovo. Shaping and direction of the security policies in Kosovo after the end of the war has been conducted mainly by the international actors that was gradually transferred to the Kosovo security institutions. As an outcome and after years of continuous efforts with the support of International organisations, NATO in particular, Kosovo Security Force has begun a process of transformation into a fully-fledged Army. Given that the security situation has improved progressively, NATO has been gradually adjusting KFOR's force deployment towards a smaller and more flexible force with fewer tasks. The more security is strengthened and provided by local institutions the less becomes the need for international presence. Given that Kosovo's national security is closely related to regional security and Euro-Atlantic security, the Republic of Kosovo is committed to promote the advancement of its path towards accession in NATO. Kosovo aims to strengthen its security sector through a cooperative policy in the field of defence and security with NATO, the EU, and clearly through cooperation and integration with regional security initiatives. Evidently, integrating into these structures would improve the security situation in Kosovo significantly. However, due to the specific political situation, such as the fact there are several non-recognizing states within these organizations, this integration seems highly unlikely for the time being as well as for the foreseeable future.

Hypothesis 3:
The legal changes would also affect the Kosovo Security Council (KSC) as a main body in charge of drafting the National Security Strategy. The KSC is also in charge of the monitoring and evaluation of the respective strategy. It is advisable to include an "Evaluation Framework" for the strategy formulation of Kosovo because the current process does not have a special mechanism or instrument for the proper evaluation and monitoring of the strategy. As such, the process lacks objectivity and transparency, by having a very limited number of stakeholders of security both in the evaluation process and the subsequent formulation of the new security strategy. Embracing the "Evaluation Framework" includes stakeholders from the three levels into the evaluation process and as such offers them a degree of influence over the formulation of the following strategy, as well as improves the transparency and objectivity, and increases professionalism in the whole process. The inputs given by the three levels all contribute to the improvement of the security situation in their own way. The inputs from the first level improve the security situation through bridging the gap between what the population of the country perceives to be important and what issues the state recognizes as threats to security. The second level's inputs shed light on possible patterns of threats to security as perceived by the state and state-level experts. The third level allows for international actors to reflect what the effects of the strategy and its policies are on the region and international arena, improving the security situation by helping the next strategy avoid pursuing policies that aggravate the security in the local, regional and international context. This inevitably makes it possible for every following strategy to take into account the strong points and shortcomings of previous strategies, making each one more effective, transparent and contextually fit than the other.

3. Structure of the research

The thesis consists of seven main chapters along with sections that elaborate on the related chapter topics.

Chapter one starts with a comprehensive introduction and problem definition to continue with the review of the relevant literature encompassing the most recent literature on the security strategy formulation, especially that which is applicable to the case of Kosovo. Then research questions, research objectives, hypothesis and methodology are presented. Given that the study employs a mixed-methods approach, the rationale of the used methods has been provided. Along with qualitative methods, quantitative ones have been integrated which helped in the development of an innovative tool that will have a practical application.

Chapter two introduces a theoretical framework. The latter will encompass a sequential analysis of the theories of security starting from realism to continue with liberalism and constructivism in the context of their application and compliance in the case of Kosovo as a newly independent state. The brief analysis of these theories is undertaken for the contextual relevance of this research to comprehensively determine the grounds why some of these theories are not applicable to our study while substantiating applicability of the theories of the Copenhagen School. *The latter has been used as the foundation of this work.*

Chapter three serves for a better comprehension of the security context in Kosovo, as it gives an outline of the recent history that led to the security related expansions in the present time. The main developments are described through content analysis in a chronological order, starting from the passive resistance as a security tool, to military upraise of the Kosovo Liberation Army, to the NATO intervention, to continue with the international protectorate namely the United Nations Mission in Kosovo. Further this chapter presents the course of the transformation stages starting from the demilitarization of KLA, creation of Kosovo Protection Corpse, formation of Kosovo Security Force and finally its transformation into a fully-fledged army.

Chapter four is dedicated to the critical analysis of the key organizations that had an impact in the development of the security architecture of Kosovo, given the importance of the international organizations in the security sector, including their role in the institution building, the legal infrastructure as well as their impact in developing security policy. The United Nations Mission in Kosovo however, for the sake of the inter-relation of the events, has been elaborated in the previous chapter. The role of NATO has been examined while different academics' and practitioners' views on the humanitarian intervention were analysed. Further, its role in terms of cooperation and support of the KSF was analysed and appraised. NATO still continues to be the main security provider in Kosovo through its KFOR mission. Given that the institutional building of Kosovo has reached a phase of consolidation and the international subjectivity of Kosovo is strengthened through the participation in different regional and international organisations, the rapport of Kosovo and NATO has been examined along with Kosovo's aspirations to become part of it. The roles of ICO and OSCE have been thoroughly analysed as well, and having worked for these two missions in Kosovo, I have also added a personal insight. EULEX as the biggest CSDP Rule of Law mission has been studied for its importance and its possible impact in the security dynamics of the region.

Chapter five shortly talks about the security legislation in Kosovo and the importance and of the harmonization with the EU and NATO. It gives a view of the Euro-Atlantic integration from the Foreign and Security Perspective. Consequently, it gives a short glimpse of the

shaping of the national security strategy of Croatia. The latter has not been chosen for the purposes of comparison, as the dynamics of developments and political context of the two countries differ, and since Kosovo lags behind in the integration processes, but merely as a model of a newly independent state that is already part of Euro-Atlantic structures. An important part of this chapter is the analysis of the first Security Strategy of Kosovo as it identifies the drawbacks and highlights the importance of their omission in the forthcoming strategy.

Chapter six presents the core work of this thesis in terms of originality and contribution to knowledge. It describes in detail its development of the "Evaluation Framework" that is based on theories from the Copenhagen School as described in Chapter 1. The first section starts with the depiction of the format of the "Evaluation Framework" while consecutive sections describe the entire content of the "Evaluation Framework" through its explicit rubrics: the justification, the reasons, inputs and suggestions, processing the data, the layout of the evaluation report to conclude with the final part which is the evaluation of the National Security Strategy. Given that the evaluation as such employs a quantitative method, very simple graphs are shown to illustrate the supposed results of the evaluation and a sample of the evaluation and a hypothetical report are shown.

Chapter seven is highly important and coherently starts with the Kosovo Security Council and its role as the competent mechanism to apply the developed "Evaluation Framework" in practice. Not only this, KSC is also a mechanism in charge of preparing and drafting the National Security Strategy. Consequently, this chapter will provide an overview on the state of play of the new National Security Strategy of Kosovo which at the time of writing of this thesis, is being finalized. Procedural advantages and constrains will be reflected while from the information obtained and analysed, based on theory and different approaches to security strategy shaping, the summarised conclusions along with some practical recommendations will be provided.

4. Summary of conclusions

The development of the security policies in Kosovo after the end of the war has been governed and guided mainly by the international actors. Security as a responsibility of the international community at the given time was a compulsion for providing peace and stability. However, the transfer of powers to the local institutions though progressive was rather prolonged and as such created shortcomings in terms of timely professional development. Nonetheless, in the light of the recent developments, local ownership has been slowly but surely taken over by Kosovo institutions with appropriate commitment and responsibilities. One of the crucial undertakings in this regards is undoubtedly the security policy formulation. Shaping foreign and security policy particularly national security strategy still remains a rather challenging exercise. In a newly independent state like Kosovo, inclusion of experts along with consultation of security theories could serve as a guideline for coherent policies. Moreover, as this thesis has revealed, there is a lack of a proper monitoring and evaluation of the implementation system even though there is a mechanism in place (secretariat of the KSC) with a solid legal ground that only needs to be enhanced and amended legally accordingly. Yet, while the mechanism exists, it lacks a complementary instrument or tool to reach the goal of evaluation and monitoring.

In this light, the development of the "Evaluation Framework" as an objective and practical tool, drawn up from existing security theories combined with a degree of quantitative analysis that would employ existing mechanisms in the system, will address and overcome the subsequent shortcomings thus ensuring a successful implementation. Based on the academic research in parallel with practical experience, focusing on the importance of the strategy formulation, the development of the novel "Evaluation Framework" the National Security Strategy will be evaluated with inputs from three levels security: individual, state and international which encompass security sectors such as Political, Military, Economic, Societal, and Environmental. Further, the developed evaluation system will have a multi-layered effect as through its solicitation it will detect difficulties, limitations and potential threats throughout the implementation and address them for the upcoming strategy formulation. This will ultimately increase transparency and accountability and strengthen involved institutions. In addition, after it has been presented to competent security institutional representatives, namely KSC, they have shown interest and willingness to embrace it and apply it in their day-to day work. The importance of the "Evaluation Framework" is that it provides a significant ground of revision but will also serve for generating useful recommendations. The "Evaluation Framework" has been developed after an in-depth analysis of original source documents related to the National Security Strategy of Kosovo, legal framework, consultations and discussions with prominent experts and actors involved in the process, both local and international as well as the review of academic literature related to the topic. In addition, my personal experience, be it as a direct participant or indirectly inter-related to the strategy formulation and implementation process, has enabled me to give an authentic insight and contribution to this research. Most importantly, this tool will potentially be embraced and applied in practice through an existing body which in this case the Kosovo Security Council. This tool, through its methodology, nature and its novel approach to evaluation done on the three levels of stakeholders in security is applicable more widely, to other states, as it would enable each to modify the specific actors and weights in each level with regards to their state. Other than its flexible and adaptable nature, another reason this framework is widely applicable is that it enables the state using it to bridge the gap between the contemporary threats, perceived and otherwise, of the society and the security strategy. The methodology of the "Evaluation Framework" has its limits in that it relies on surveys to convey the evaluation by each level, yet these surveys are done in such a way that tries to limit external influence, be it political or economic through the weighted answers and numerous evaluating actors. However, this particular limit requires further research in order to find an optimal solution, and each state applying it must optimize it further. This is due to the fact each state has its own specific context, where some are more prone to state-level corruption, such as newly emerging states like Kosovo, while others have a higher risk of bias on the first level, due to phenomena like stereotypes or social norms and lobbying.

The creation of the Kosovo Armed Force is a rather new concept that derived from consecutive security developments. However, as this work has previously proved, while the creation is a new concept for Kosovo, contextually it is a natural progression of the architecture of security of a newly independent state. Furthermore, as the analysis has shown, the creation of this force helps consolidate the sovereignty of Kosovo through beginning the transition from security consumer to that of security provider. This transition is particularly important for the people of Kosovo, so from an inductive perspective for the first level, as the fact the state is now on the road to become a true provider of security increases their trust in its institutions. This pushes people to deal with their security-related issues through the state mechanisms, thus strengthening the relationship between the people and the state. In turn, the second level is favourable to this development as it increases and consolidates its

legitimacy and credibility, allowing it to claim the monopoly, or at least the shared competence, of the legitimate use of violence within its territory as stipulated by Max Weber.[2] However, analysis shows the third level's reaction depends on the degree of involvement, or even monopoly, of providing security, as well as the contextual factors and circumstances. While NATO opposed the transformation at this time, the ten-year transformation process will promote and enhance professionalism in close cooperation with NATO, as well as bilateral relations with Euro-Atlantic partners. KAF will be a professional force guided by the principles of democratic and civilian control, that intends to steadily integrate into the Euro-Atlantic structures with the ultimate goal to be a contributor of peace and security in the region and wider. The KAF will be the central defence of Kosovo while continuously focusing on human power, such as specialforces, rather than complex and severe weaponry and equipment systems. The KAF intends to be a small, capable and profiled force with the military capacity that will guarantee the protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kosovo. The peace, stability and security in the region will be only ensured with the integration in Euro-Atlantic structures. Kosovo intends to be the contributor to regional security and stability and this could only be ensured through the integration into regional and international bodies, which is the primary strategic goal. The Republic of Kosovo intends to become a member of the EU, NATO, OSCE and UN, or organizations that have contributed in the institutional building and security architecture of Kosovo and organizations that still operate in Kosovo. Kosovo intends to integrate into these organizations through a meritocratic approach. Gradual but full integration into these organizations naturally reduces the need for their presence in the country. Kosovo can demonstrate a democratic and functional state with good neighbourly relations and peace contributor by taking over the full ownership of running its own processes in line with the required Euro-Atlantic standards.

Yet, while integration is the ultimate goal for the future, the current reality is less optimistic primarily due to the political obstacles. Namely, most of the aforementioned organizations include non-recognizing members of Kosovo, and integrating into such structures where the decisions are consensus based seems unlikely now and in the near future. While the dialogue with Serbia, which has stagnated as we speak, is one of the main political components holding both states back from integration, I am not sure even in the case of a possible agreement some of the non-recognizing states, i.e. Spain, would be willing to agree to the integration of Kosovo. Regarding the scope for the stipulated "near future", if we refer to the "credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans" adopted by the EC, the year 2025 is clearly denoted as a year of perspective enlargement—however, for Montenegro and Serbia only. The perspective for Kosovo is worded rather vaguely, where the advancement apparently depends on whether "objective circumstances allow" it. So, while the date for Kosovo is unclear to not only Kosovo but also the EC, it is deductible the year 2025 is not a prospect, and it is safe to say this year is well the scope "near future".[3]

Thus, it is evident that the third level has a profound effect on Kosovo and its prospects as a state. This effect does not come only from external states, but also organizations present in Kosovo, the role of which is very significant in the entire state-building process, and specifically in the creation of the security architecture and formulation of the security

[2] Max Weber, *The Vocation Lectures: "Science as a Vocation", "Politics as a Vocation",* ed. David Owen, Tracy B. Strong, trans. Rodney Livingston (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub, 2004), 30-33.
[3] "Strategy for the Western Balkans," European Commission, accessed June 30, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/news/strategy-western-balkans-2018-feb-06_en

strategy. Namely, on the foreign policy level, the prospect of integration into international structures is one of the main factors determining the direction of the foreign policy and strategy. In addition, the presence of security organizations, in particular NATO, has a profound impact on the entire security sector of Kosovo, as it was this organization that assured security in the state following the war, that trained the Kosovo Security Force in line with its standards and values, that was present through the transformation and demilitarization of the KLA and KPC. Clearly, this context also impacted the formulation and conception of the first national security strategy of Kosovo. While the presence of such organizations has its undeniable benefits and contributions to the entire state-building process of Kosovo, and the fact their presence is arguably indispensable to the very existence of the state and its people, there are limits to this presence that must be acknowledged. Namely, as this work has previously proved, this presence created a degree of dependence on these institutions and hindered the proper and timely ownership and "maturity" of the Kosovo state institutions. Furthermore, as the shortcomings of the first NSS demonstrate, this presence and these organizations imposed, perhaps unknowingly, models and policies that were contextually inadequate to the case of Kosovo. Thus, these organizations were rather successful regarding regional security, in maintaining peace and stability, while they had some negative impact regarding the proper institutional growth and responsibility within the state of Kosovo.

5. New scientific results

1. I have shed light in the complex role of the international organisations in an newly independent state such as Kosovo, the ambiguity of their mandate and the overlap of international vs. local security competencies while recommending exit strategy with minimal collateral magnitudes that could serve as lessons learned for other similar cases in the world;

2. I have provided theoretical and contextual analysis of the Kosovo Army – a newly formed armed force in an newly independent state which from the academic and conceptual point of view is something that has not been explored;

3. I have developed a unique comprehensive monitoring and evaluation tool - the "Evaluation Framework" based on the scholarly security theories for utilisation in practical use which is an original contribution to knowledge;

4. I have designed the "Evaluation Framework" to be used as an early warning security tool that will help addressing potential security problems; The proper and integrated application of the "Evaluation Framework" precludes the politicization of the security policy formulation and gives way to an exclusive professionalism;

Recommendations for practical usage

- The "Evaluation Framework" developed in this study will be officially embraced by the KSC and will be used as the main monitoring, evaluating and reporting tool;

- Through the application of the "Evaluation Framework" the security strategy shaping becomes proactive rather than reactive in identification and addressing of potential challenges;

- The staff of the KSC will be trained on how to best formulate security strategy and how to conduct the comprehensive evaluation based on the formula developed in this research;

- During the period of transformation of the KSF in the near future, Kosovo will have a Military Academy, the formulation of the security strategy as well as the comprehensive evaluation of the security strategy will be taught as a course;

The list of the author's scientific publications

"The Role of International Organizations in the Development of Security Sector in Kosovo: Advantages and Constrains. *The Hungarian Defence Review*, Volume 147. Issue 1. 2019.

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" Development of Virtual Economic Zone in Support of EU integration in the West Balkan region "Shkendije Geci Sherifi – Edmond Hajrizi – Karoly Nagy p 82 https://conferences.ubt-uni.net/2014/books/Abstract%20Book%202014.pdf

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