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**Safeguarding the future: An assessment of NATO's human security
implementation**

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ABSTRACT AND KEYWORDS

Abstract

Human security is one of the most promising approaches for future security. This Bachelor's thesis aims to assess the implementation of human security into NATO's operations. The paper reviews the theoretical framework of the human security concept definition and application. Through a comprehensive literature analysis, the most important documents from the United Nations and the Sustainable Development Goals are revised as the leading promoters of Human Security. Therefore, NATO, since it is considered one of the most powerful military alliances in the world, it is expected to face a transition to human security.

The official data from the NATO 2030 Agenda and the Strategic Concept 2022 are contrasted to determine the benefits and disadvantages of implementing human security by NATO. The analysed findings presented, demonstrate a military organisation's limitations and challenges in providing human security. Additionally, the study case on NATO's operation in Kosovo sheds light to reveal the reality of NATO's efforts in addressing human security.

Keywords: Human security, NATO, Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), United Nations (UN), Kosovo war.

Resumen

La seguridad humana es uno de los enfoques más prometedores para la seguridad futura. Esta tesis pretende evaluar la aplicación de la seguridad humana en las operaciones de la OTAN. El trabajo revisa el marco teórico de la definición y aplicación del concepto de seguridad humana. A través de un exhaustivo análisis bibliográfico, se revisan los documentos más importantes de Naciones Unidas y los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible como principales promotores de la Seguridad Humana. Por lo tanto, se espera que la OTAN, al ser considerada una de las alianzas militares más poderosas del mundo, se vea una transición hacia la seguridad humana.

Se contrastan los datos oficiales de la Agenda 2030 de la OTAN y el Concepto Estratégico 2022 para determinar los beneficios y desventajas de la implementación

de la seguridad humana por parte de la OTAN. Los resultados analizados demostraron las limitaciones y los retos de una organización militar a la hora de proporcionar seguridad humana. Además, el caso de estudio sobre la operación de la OTAN en Kosovo arroja luz para revelar la realidad de los esfuerzos de la OTAN a la hora de abordar la seguridad humana.

Palabras clave: Seguridad humana, OTAN, Objetivos de Desarrollo sostenible (ODS), Naciones Unidas (UN), guerra en Kosovo.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS	MEANING
CRSV	Conflict-Related Sexual Violence
FCV	Fragile and Conflict-affected States and Regions
HDR	Human Development Report
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KPS	Kosovo Police Service
KSF	Kosovo Security Force
MEPV	Major Episodes of Political Violence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WPS	Women, Peace, and Security

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1. Introduction

Background

The world is constantly changing, so we need to give special attention to creating safe states. The rise of potential threats, instabilities, and continuous challenges has clarified that traditional security cannot deal with present threats. Security based on values where the state is the main object to protect territorial integrity and political sovereignty must be securitised through military intervention, an upper-down approach cannot solve today's threats (Attinà, 2016). For this reason, the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) presented the Human Development Report (HDR) where they introduced 1994 the concept of human security for the growing need to offer a type of security more suitable to the new global threats that are putting in risk people lives (UNDP, 1994). However, considering that the concept of human security is relatively recent, its importance is already being recognised by states and, above all, by international organisations that are in the process of implementing it.

Regard to NATO, since is considered the most powerful military alliance in the world. For this reason, it has been considered NATO as the main organisation for the primary purpose of this research to evaluate how the alliance is approaching human security and the framework of implementation. It is significant because we can see the impact of human security on a military organisation's operation, the United Nations' (UN) influence on new ways to secure humans, and how many people profit from all aspects of human security.

Goal

This research aims to assess the NATO implementation of human security by answering the following questions: where does NATO officially mention human security? Is NATO's definition of human security adequate to confront human threats? What is the relation between Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and NATO? The transparency of NATO's work regarding this security? What is the framework that

NATO is using? Is human security the same as women's peace and security for NATO? What is the future of humanitarian interventions by NATO? How has human security been approached in the Kosovo mission?

Methodology and contents

To evaluate NATO's implementation of human security, several sources have been analysed: the information published on the NATO Agenda 2030, the 2022 Strategic Concept, and their websites, specifically focused on the human security approach. In addition, the official NATO five focus topics of action for human security have also been reviewed.

A theoretical framework regarding different perspectives for human security definition and implementation has been introduced in the study. Those diverse approaches have been collected by a literature revision, including the most relevant scholars in the area. As for the implementation, the UN guidelines have been obtained from legal and institutional sources, such as UNSC (Security Council) resolutions and UN official documents. It has been considered an accurate means to filter sources almost exclusively related to collective security.

A final chapter about NATO intervention in Kosovo has been included to illustrate the main findings, as it is a globally acknowledged case study regarding collective security. But it has been meagrely analysed through the lens of human security to evaluate the reality of this approach.

2. Human Security

The UNDP report defined human security as:

"[Human security] means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression. Moreover, second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, jobs, or communities."

(UNDP, 1994)

Specifically, the UNDP pointed out four essential characteristics shaping this concept. First, universal security is relevant for people everywhere, regardless of their economic background. Second, the components of human security are independent. Third, security is based on early prevention rather than on later intervention since it is less costly and prevents tensions from escalating. And lastly, human security is people-centred, concerned with people's living in peaceful and safe societies. This concept has gained importance because of the high feeling of insecurity of the people from non-conflict related threats (UNDP, 1994).

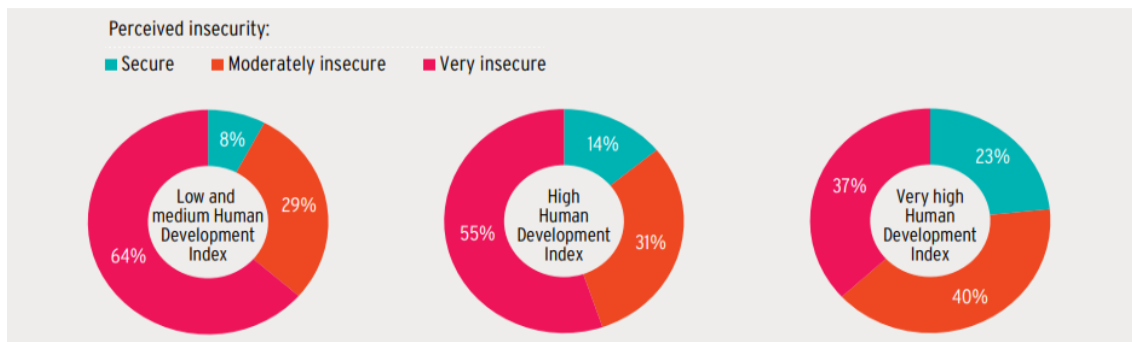
The United Nations system wanted to "give it greater coherence to respond to broader human security needs" (UNDP, 1999) since people face water, energy, and food scarcity, which is considered one of the primary human needs. Including also degradation of the natural environment and ecological threats, nuclear arms proliferation and terrorism, economic insecurity, gender inequality, class, ethnicity, religion threats, and many more (Alkire, 2003). Because human rights were violated and the rise of insecure referent actors, it was essential to create human security to solve these "human" threats. Therefore, the UNDP report divided the most relevant subject matters into several dimensions: personal, environmental, economic, political, community, and health (UNDP, 1994).

After almost 30 years of the appearance of this concept, there have been some improvements thanks to governments, United Nations entities, and non-governmental

actors. Nevertheless, the data published in 2022 by the last UNDP showed that many people still feel insecure:

Figure 1

Even in very high Human Development Index countries, less than a quarter of people feel secure.



Source: Human Development Report Office, based on World Values Survey, latest available wave.

The recent report shows that a new generation of threats to human security is emerging in the unprecedented context of the Anthropocene, related to inequalities, violent conflict, digital technology threats, health threats, and others. Consequently, even though a country is in "peace and that a society without violent conflict is not a sufficient condition for people to live in dignity" (UNDP, 2022). Another result of the report is that: on the one hand, evidence suggests that when insecurities increase, trust goes down, and on the other, low interpersonal trust spills over to low trust in many governments institutions and governments themselves, creating conditions under which people may feel less secure (UNDP, 2022). Nevertheless, all revised frameworks from the past years are aligned with the basic concept of human security: "based on freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom from indignity" (UNDP, 1994).

2.1 Theoretical framework and perspectives

Although this is an up-and-coming concept, many scholars also discuss the counterargument when they explain human security. The disadvantage of this security is that the concept is too broad and weak. For example, Ronald Paris, one of the main authors of human security, defined that "human security has two main aspects. First, he differentiates from safety for chronic threats like hunger, diseases, and repression. Secondly, he refers to protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, jobs or communities (Paris, 2001). Moreover, from another point of view, King and Murray argued that "the initiative in defining human security by providing a list of past humanitarian crisis and threats is a very useful descriptive first step, but this does not provide a potential definition of the concepts for analytical assessment of human security" (King & Murray, 2001).

Consequently, scholars considered that the vagueness and ambiguity of the definition could make it lose value and challenging to establish implementation guidelines. For this reason, Paris attempted to narrow the concept in his paper: Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air? However, Paris concluded with a positive remark despite the undefined concept since that has made human security achieve collective action because it has "successfully united a diverse coalition of states, international agencies, and NGOs" and "as a political campaign, the human security coalition has accomplished a number of specific goals" (Paris, 2001).

On the contrary, King and Murray criticise the idea since they prioritised specific values over others without providing a clear justification and their opinion of simplifying the term human security into a more analytical concept. Moreover, Bajpai's argument of advocating first for "bodily safety" and "personal freedom". Even though there is still the question of how scholars have defined the core values to evaluate which ones are more relevant. Therefore, these are the most prominent challenges scholars face (Paris, 2001).

Finally, human security has acquired significant importance because of the ambitious agenda. Paris said that: "Strengthening human security to create a more humane world where people can live in security and dignity, free from want and fear, and with equal opportunities to develop their human potential to the full" (Paris, 2001). Hereafter, we will present a general classification to list societal improvements based on four approaches.

From an economic aspect, the need for a stable and efficient market with decent jobs, empowering women and disabled people, financial support for low-income families, and many more. Moreover, from a political approach, promote democratic values and peaceful ways of governance that listen and collaborate with their citizens. In addition, from a social approach, promoting education, gender equality, protecting human rights, access to health care, clean water and energy. Finally, from an environmental approach, which has gained importance concerning protecting planet Earth and our natural resources to grow food, clean air, and protect populations from climate change effects. This section will be later analysed more in depth through the work of SDGs with human security implementation efforts.

2.2 Implementation of human security by national governments: diverse approaches

To implement human security policies, many actors must be involved to ensure population interest. International relations actors like states, international organisations (IGO) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have chosen different frameworks to implement human security. Consequently, depending on what type of wide range of interest they what to prioritise, there is a differentiation of human security schools advocating for core values from two different perspectives: narrow and broad approaches.

On the one hand, narrow schools can be defined as "the protection of individuals and community from war and other forms of violence" (Mark, 2004). The states or other

organised political actors threaten the people through political violence (Kerr, 2013). Violent threats like armed conflicts, terrorism, and crime correlate with bad state security dealing with poverty and poor governance (Kerr, 2009). It is essential to mention that the UN refers to this approach as "freedom from fear" since they protect individuals from direct threats to their security and physical integrity (IIHR, 2009).

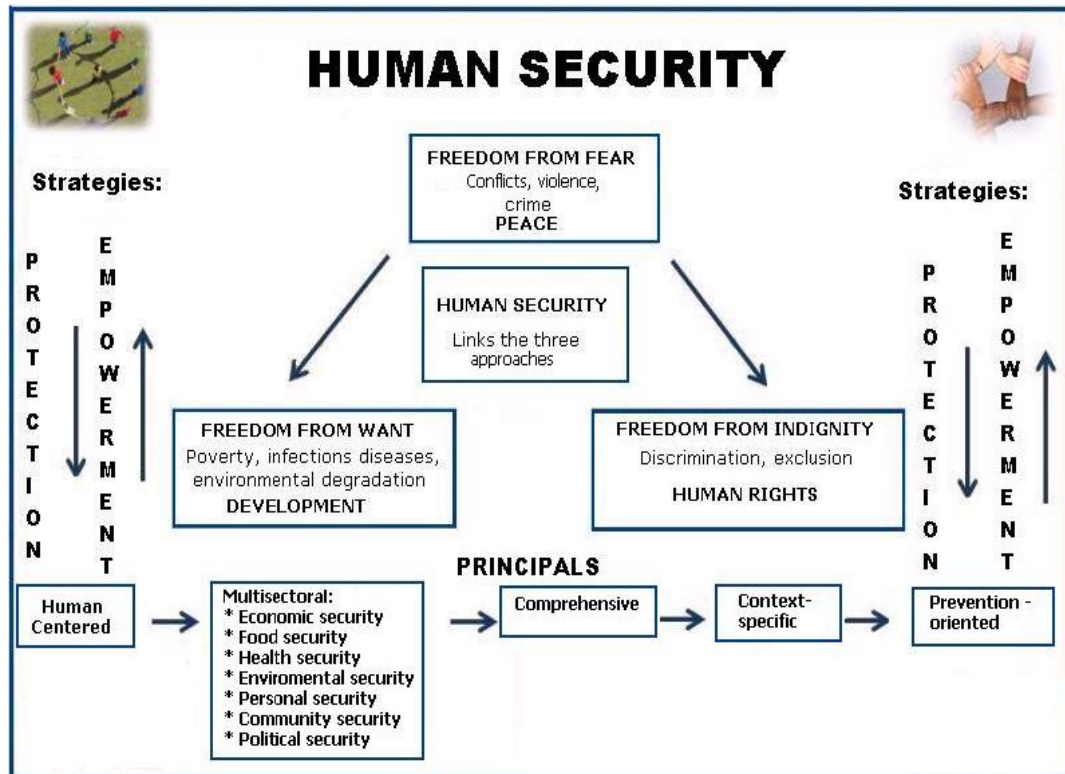
On the other hand, the broad school argument refers to protecting individuals from satisfying their basic needs, considering economic, social, and environmental aspects (IIHR, 2009). This approach receives the most criticism for its vast framework and difficulty in formulating policies (Paris, 2004). In this case, the UN refers to this approach as "freedom from want", demanding a life of respect, enjoying freedom without discrimination, and feeling safe in their countries (IIHR, 2009).

A different approach, not always defined by scholars but was mentioned in the UNDP, is "freedom to live in dignity", which refers to threats to human rights and, by extension, access to equal opportunities and social justice (UNDP, 1994).

The graphic below is a visual explanation to better understand the basic elements of human security concepts since these concepts will be used throughout the paper.

Figure 2

Graphic of elements of human security



Source: Mostafavi, Mehrnaz, Human Security Unit, OCHA at the CMC Finland organised Human Security Training on 21 April 2009, Tuusula, Finland.

Furthermore, many relevant actors advocate for human security. The UN is the principal actor in ensuring international security, especially one of its bodies, the Security Council. However, states are the principal responsible for providing human security, cooperating hand by hand with the people, other states, and non-state actors. The idea that governments should promote is to move from state-centred security to people-centred safety. Countries like Japan and Canada are the states with leading foreign policies for human security, with the power to influence global politics, institutions, and governance (Tsai, 2009). In addition, the members of the Human Security Network that are formed with Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, South Africa (as observers), Switzerland, and Thailand (Human Security Network, n.d.).

As a reference, Japan's foreign policy framework has played one of the primary roles in implementing the concept by leading programs of evaluation of progress like the Trust Fund of Human Security within the United Nations in 1999 and the Commission on Human Security in 2001. However, Japan prioritises a narrower approach (freedom from fear) where they want to protect people from violent conflicts associated with a lack of state capacities to balance these insecurities. In contrast with Canada and Norway, which have also had solid foreign policies, however, where their main concern is much broader (freedom from want), they consider beyond violent conflicts, including hunger, health, and natural disasters. Canada has demonstrated to be the leader in human security implementations since the absolute success of the Ottawa Convention, known as the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention. Canada's interpretation has pushed the importance of identifying the most relevant problem to the international agenda to give instruments and institutions of cooperation to promote national security, human rights, and human development (Alkire, 2003).

3. UN & SDGs implementation of human security

Human security depends on the participation of international organisations to strengthen and provide the necessary support to states (UN Trust Fund for Human Security, 2016). As the main promotor of the human security approach, the UN has the global influence to demand a change in how security and threats are perceived nowadays. The Human Development Report divided possible threats into seven categories: economic safety, food access, health, environmental protection, personal physical security; security of community life; and political security (UNDP, 1994). The life-threatening situations are multiple. Therefore, states will remain the principal actors in world politics, but all responsibility cannot depend on them.

Considering it from the narrow school approach, there are three reasons. First, states generally have a biased role since, in many situations, states are the perpetrators of human rights violations or are inefficient in establishing policies to protect human freedoms due (Kerr, 2009). Moreover, the state's capacity is limited to deliver security reforms concerning humanitarian intervention. Therefore, external organisations like the UN have the expertise to implement frameworks (Kerr, 2009). Finally, even though some countries are the driving forces behind the human security concept and have reached international policies, they will need to use organisations as the instrument of implementation (Kerr, 2009). In the case of the Ottawa Convention, promoted by a state but implemented by an international organisation.

Therefore, after explaining the role of states in human security, the following paragraphs will introduce the ambitious guidelines that the UN has suggested for their member states based on the Agenda 2030 and some goals related to human security.

The UN Agenda 2030 is the promotion of an agenda until 2030 where they presented the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which is a framework to "provide a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future" (UN SDG goals, 2015). This is a call for global action by all countries, classified

as developed or developing, to accomplish the 17 goals. The SDGs were the predecessor of the Millennium Goals, an agenda elaborated from 2000 to 2015 based on eight main goals. Therefore, to create the SDGs, they wanted to include more plans to build a more detailed agenda, incorporating topics relating to water, energy, climate, oceans, urbanisation, transport, science, and technology.

Even though the legal basis supporting the SDGs is not legally binding, the UN encourages national states to implement these goals since peace and security are the main requirements for sustainable development. Therefore, the General Assembly, as the main driver of the SDG, has used its soft power through the Secretary-General to encourage the Security Council (UNSC) to act. First, the Agenda 2030 needs to play a more important role in UN strategies; second, its focus on promoting human rights; third, it needs to strengthen alliances between other global actors and, finally, provide funding for development and sustainability.

The UN, as the world's leading organisation acting as an international guarantor of democracy and freedom, up to date, has only approved two UNSC resolutions. The first from 2016, S/RES/2282, reaffirms the importance of national ownership and leadership in peacebuilding. In which the main important goals are the promotion of alliances for collaboration and coordination (SDG 17) and to ensure peace (SDG 16) by emphasising women's roles (SDG 5). Whereas the resolution from 2020, S/RES/2553, reiterates the importance of security sector reform in peacebuilding and sustaining peace, including conflict prevention and post-conflict stabilisation. The General Assembly wanted to remark on the importance of applying the law and justice essential for sustainable development and peace.

Nonetheless, in both resolutions, as the only UNSC resolutions on the topic, there is no specific mention of the SDGs or the goals, except for the indirect mention of "alliances", "peace and justice", and "gender equality". The Security Council will need a renewed resolution to demand more binding goals for the Agenda 2030. (Quirós Fons, 2023).

Regardless, implementing the SDGs is essential for human security because, as General Assembly President Peter Thomson said, "human security provides us with a focussed, analytical lens and programming framework to aid the action we are taking towards achieving the SDGs" (UN, 2017). In addition, the UN uses the "freedom from want" approach based on soft law through the framework of the SDG goals. Because SDGs include the human security perspective, such as the importance of human rights, including the reduction of vulnerability and set a multisectoral agenda to approach security as the people's reference object. As proof of that is that the slogan of the SGD is "No one is left behind" (Crabtree & Gasper, 2020).

The creation and application of the SDG is a way to raise concerns that insecurities about human life and dignity do not only come from conflicts and weapons. Furthermore, by developing these 17 sustainable goals, there are lower probabilities of violence and conflict. To show the relation between human security and SDG, there will be some examples:

SDG 1

End poverty in all its forms everywhere

Around the world, insecurities would rise since people do not have enough to cover basic human needs. Based on the conclusions of a World Bank Report, "clearly illustrates a two-speed world, in which extreme poverty is becoming more entrenched in fragile situations while rapidly declining in others. Unless we tackle the drivers of fragility and conflict, we won't be able to win the fight against extreme poverty" (The World Bank, 2020). The target goal is "by 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions" by "reducing their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters"¹ (SDG, 2015)

¹ The reference taken are from Target 1.2 and 1.5, explained on the official page of the SDG's

SDG 4 + SDG 5

Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all & archive gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls

Moreover, both SDGs help reduce the inequality gap creating equality in communities. Since the investment in girls' education has the potential to generate the highest returns of any investment, it is one of the most effective ways to promote social and economic development, reduce poverty and advance gender equality" (The World Bank, 2023). Nevertheless, the global gap for girls' empowerment remains low because still, 31 million girls are out-of-school of the leading cause of fragile conflict and violence (The World Bank, 2023). Therefore, the main targets are "by 2030 eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training" as the first step to "ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life"² (SDG, 2015). Hence, 31 million girls are out-of-school of the leading cause of fragile conflict and violence (The World Bank, 2023).

SDG 16

Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

Since the world is witnessing the most significant number of violent conflicts since 1946 (SDG, n.d.) By 2030, up to two-thirds of the world's extremely poor will live in fragility conflict and violence (FCV) affected areas (The world bank, 2023). For this reason, "strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime"³ (SDG, 2015).

² The reference taken are from Target 4.5 and 5.5, explained on the official page of the SDG's

³ The reference taken are from Target 16. B, explained on the official page of the SDG's

To sum up, thanks to human security, the UN has built a solid position to formulate the SDG's framework to help member states and other actors introduce more people-centred, sustainable actions to solve root-cause problems.

4. NATO implementation of human security.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a security alliance with 30 member states, established in 1949. The international organisation's primary goal is to guarantee the freedom and security of its members through political and military means (NATO, 2022). The structure of NATO comprises the Military Committee, the Chiefs of Defence of NATO member countries, the International Military Staff, and the military Command Structure. Therefore, they have the knowledge and instruments to effectively deter and defend various military and non-military threats. Moreover, they contribute to promoting democratic values and cooperation on security issues. For all these reasons, NATO is considered the most powerful military alliance globally (NATO, 2022).

The next part of this paper will evaluate and compare chronologically the perspectives through official documents published by NATO: the NATO 2030 Agenda, the Strategic Concept of 2022 and the official webpage of human security by NATO. It is relevant to differentiate the proposes of collective security from human security. Finally, the last part of this chapter will assess NATO's implementation of human security in its operations.

4.1 Implementing NATO 2030 Agenda:

In 2021, at the NATO Summit in Brussels, the NATO 2030 agenda was agreed upon by NATO Leaders to ensure that the alliance remains strong militarily and has a more global approach. They worked with allied parliamentarians, civil society, public and private sector experts, and youth to strengthen the organisation to create the NATO 2030 agenda (NATO 2030, n.d.).

The abruptness and unexpectedness of the threats caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, the rise of China, the invasion of Russia's military in Ukrainian territory, and

the ongoing threats to democracy and human rights have forced NATO to present a flexible and updated action plan to act in present challenges, and more importantly, to be up for the future treats. The NATO 2030 agenda initiative to strengthen the organisation's strategies to ensure defence and deterrence, deepening with the alliance countries and responding to the world's wicked problems such as climate change and cyber-threats were summarised in the nine agenda proposals:

- Deeper political consultation and coordination
- Strengthened deterrence and defence
- Improved resilience
- Preserve our technological edge
- Uphold the rules-based international order
- Boost training and capacity building
- Combat and adapt to climate change
- The next Strategic Concept
- Investing in NATO

(NATO 2030, 2021)

From the overview done by the Government of Canada, we can see the great support and engagement from Canadian parliamentarians within NATO's intentions to address global threats. It should be noted that even Canada as the main advocator of human security, does not mention the lack of promotion of human security strategies in the NATO 2030 Agenda (Therrien-Tremblay, 2022).

Human security characteristics can be indirectly interpreted from NATO's agenda, such as the importance of cooperation (proposal 1), the importance of solid guidelines to attain more resilience (proposal 3) and brothering on the action on future issues, especially global warming (proposal 7). To sum up, we can say that for the NATO 2030 agenda, not the NATO alliance itself nor member states have pushed human security into the agenda, meaning that it is not a priority for the military alliance to introduce

this type of security in their operations, at least not directly. Nevertheless, this agenda is thought for the short term. Instead, NATO has other "agendas" for the long term.

4.2 Strategic Concept from 2022

After presenting NATO 2030 agenda, NATO published the renewed 2022 NATO Strategic Concept. The Strategic Concepts are used to set the alliance's strategies, introducing the "fundamental security tasks and the challenges and opportunities it faces in a changing security environment". They have published four in the past 74 years of activity, generally after a global security change in international relations values. NATO's fundamental purpose is "to ensure the collective defence of its members, based on a 360-degree approach, and outlines three essential core tasks: deterrence and defence, crisis prevention and management, and cooperative security." (NATO, 2021). Therefore, this Strategic Concept is the security evaluation threats and the political and military adaptation guidelines to respond to current and future global threats.

The content of the Strategic Concept 2022 maintains its core values of ensuring the security of individual liberty, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Nevertheless, they have presented a new approach. For the first time, an official document by NATO has defined the concept of human security to be applied in future NATO operations. This is a shift in how security should be approached over military organisations' duties.

4.3 Collective Security Vs. Human Security

To further analyse the Strategic concept, it is essential to compare the approach of both types of security since they are similar in the primary purpose of ensuring security; however, the procedure for security is diverse. Consequently, advantages and disadvantages must be considered to determine why NATO wants to continue with collective security and what human security can offer to pursue global peace and security.

On the one hand, defining the principle of collective defence is relevant since it is described as one of the essential values of NATO's founding. It is invoked in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, promising that if there is "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America, shall be considered an attack against them all" (NATO, 1949).

From a paper by a group of policy experts reporting to the NATO Secretary General about collective defence and common security, we can analyse how global challenges are perceived through the lenses of collective security. Canada, the United States, and their European countries' shared principles and interests strengthen the allies by promoting democratic institutions, open economies, and the rule of law. First of all, the threat that supposes Russia to uphold peace and stability in Europe; since their return to the Kremlin, President Putin has supposed an eruption of peace through the annexation of Crimea in 2014. Nowadays, the outbreak of the still ongoing war in Ukraine started on the 24 of February of 2022. Therefore, NATO has reinforced the alliance's capacity to deter and defend against this direct threat.

Furthermore, from a global perspective, to confront the emergence of a more dangerous world, from the rise of power of China and the rising tensions in the Middle East and North Africa. Researchers do not expect NATO to solve each problem. However, the alliance should be prepared for any crisis destabilising the collective security affecting NATO members by being flexible and creating solid institutions and instruments (Butora et al., 2014).

Despite collective security guaranteeing each state's protection against any war or aggression and is currently regarded as the most promising approach to international peace, there are some critics. This collective security assumes that the global alliance will unanimously agree on all threats, name the perpetrators of the aggressions and put in the same effort in the same manner (Yourarticlelibrary, 2015). Therefore, this system only considers the event of another nation's aggression as a threat to state security. Moreover, how difficult is it to find a joint agreement among the members on

who and how to secure if national interest is not aligned with the organisation's interest, such as taking military action to restore peace? That is why today's world has many different threats as wicked problems that are not covered by collective security, and there are many interests from certain power states due to the globalised world.

On the other hand, the concept of human security is relatively new, as mentioned in the introduction, so the idea of human security is not added to the North Atlantic Treaty. However, NATO personnel has considered human security relevant enough to be analysed, and therefore, they have created a special section on the NATO official website. For NATO, this approach means: "embedding considerations for the comprehensive safety and security of the populations into all stages and levels of Alliance operations, missions, and activities, wherever NATO operates, to prevent and respond to risks and threats to all people, especially in conflict or crisis situations" (NATO, 2022).

The approach and guiding principles for human security were presented for the first time at the 2022 Strategic Concept due to the emphasis on its importance. Consequently, this concept helps them develop better work in NATO for its "comprehensive view of the human environment, enhancing operational effectiveness and contributing to lasting peace and security." Furthermore, NATO members reaffirm integrating human security principles into the alliance's core task: "This is an essential tool to make the Alliance modern, agile and equipped to address the challenges of today and tomorrow" (NATO, 2022).

4.4 NATO areas of focus

After narrowing the approach from the point of view of the alliance to enhance peace and security, in this section, we can further analyse the specific NATO target fields for implementing human security. Nevertheless, since human security is too broad, NATO has focused on implementing a human security approach in all stages of the

operations to be the most effective. Hence, NATO is only currently working on these five areas:

1. Protection of civilians
2. Preventing and responding to conflict-related sexual violence
3. Combating trafficking in human beings
4. Children and armed conflicts
5. Cultural property protection

(NATO, 2022)

Before analysing each focus area, it is essential to remember that most of these priorities were already implemented before the "human security" concept, even though it was not mentioned in official documents by NATO. However, human security required a narrow interpretation by NATO to give the necessary relevance to specific topics.

First of all, protecting civilians has always been one of the priorities during operations. However, now they focus more on putting people at the centre since they suffer the most significant impacts during conflicts and crises. NATO adopted already in 2016, the Protection of Civilians Policy. Identifying the risk correctly and neutralising threats against civilians in operations is the main goal because, during conflicts population is targeted as a military objective (Keenan & Turner, 2022). To accomplish this, experts suggest finding better communication channels to request and receive information from a native or insider expert to consider solutions so they can benefit from having a clear and detailed context of the conflict (Keenan & Turner, 2022).

Secondly, conflict-related sexual violence is codified and prosecuted as one of the most severe violations of international law due to its devastating and long-term effects on individuals and entire communities (NATO, 2022). Thereby, NATO adopted the 2015 policy on prevention and response to conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV). NATO defined CRVS as "rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy,

forced abortion, forced sterilisation, forced marriage and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men, girls or boys that is directly or indirectly linked to a conflict" (NATO, 2021). Analytical tools to evaluate the risk of CRSV to develop military guidelines to improve the measures to protect vulnerable populations (NATO, 2022). NATO personnel must prevent, act and stop CRSV from committing to implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1820 on sexual violence in conflict. Moreover, being aligned with United Nations (UN) Women, Peace, and Security agenda. To coordinate an appropriate response, they cooperate with other International Organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), civil society, and other actors to support and assist victims/survivors (NATO, 2021).

Thirdly, combatting the trafficking of human beings is a global problem, targeting the most vulnerable people. Because of political instability, poverty, forced migration, and gender inequity create environments more prone to armed conflicts, which increases the risk of organised crime networks taking advantage of people under precarious circumstances (NATO, 2022). To tackle this problem, NATO created, already in 2004, a policy on combating human trafficking of human beings since the concerns of the violation of human rights are a direct threat to peace and security. The UN influenced the implementation of this policy since the Protocol for human trafficking was adopted in 2000 (UN Office on Drugs and Crime, 2021). Nevertheless, more organisations must provide a secure environment, and relevant guidance will benefit from creating military and political alliances (NATO, 2022).

In fourth place, during armed conflict, children are the most vulnerable targets. The UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1612 entered into force in 2005 since the international community could not ignore the inhumane treatment of children (NATO, 2022). Therefore, NATO created military guidelines to solve the consequences of children being killed, recruited as soldiers, sexually exploited, abducted, and their safe places like houses, schools, and hospitals being destroyed during armed conflicts. NATO-deployed troops receive special training on child protection to identify threats, monitor, and report any violation of children's rights. To do so, non-governmental and

the UN work together for efficiency and have an overview of the operations. It is relevant to mention that the North Atlantic Council classified children protection as one of its main priorities adding a bigger reasonability to the alliance's work (NATO, 2022).

Lastly, protecting cultural property NATO recognises it as "an essential consideration in the military environment and a critical indicator of community security, cohesion, and identity". Based on the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflicts, NATO 2016 presented the Policy for the Protection of Civilians (NATO, 2022). After that, the alliance added to its agenda the necessary protocols to protect and support cultural property to avoid the loss of a community's identity that could destabilise a country (NATO, 2023).

4.5 Assessment of human security implementation by NATO

This section evaluates NATO's implementation of human security by considering the findings from the analysis made in sections 1 to 4. It will illustrate how NATO is implementing human security.

Since it has already been demonstrated that NATO's point of view on the importance of this type of security, the details of the targets to be archived, and the legal bases that need to be applied. Consequently, the relevance of cooperation with NGOs and, more importantly, UN guidelines to implement human security in their operations. Nevertheless, to find conclusive results, looking at other points of view, being critical of the formal documents, and observing the reality of implementing human security in NATO's framework is essential.

Therefore, the following part will consist of six points assessing how well NATO is working on implementing a human approach and evaluating specific grey areas that have appeared during the analysis above.

NATO's definition of human security

To begin with, we need to analyse the definition of human security given by NATO:

"Means embedding considerations for the comprehensive safety and security of the population into all stages and levels of Alliance operations, missions, and activities, wherever NATO operates, with the objective of preventing and responding to risk and threats to all people, especially in conflict or crisis situations"

(NATO, 2022)

Comparing it with other definitions like the one given by the UN, this definition is quite detailed. There are the keywords of safety and security related to people. They explain where it will be implemented and what they will do. The definition is presented from a more "freedom from fear" approach but misses the details of which exact threats they will confront. It is essential to narrow the definition of human security to be effective due to its broad application areas. NATO, as a military alliance, it is clear that they prioritise to mention the concepts of safety and security as fundamental goals to ensure that everyone without any exclusion will be protected in case of a threatening situation and also during the prevention phase of a possible conflict escalation. Consequently, this is a good definition that responds to who, how, and when; however, human security is a very ambitious type of security.

Hence, NATO could have given even more specific guidelines since it is a military organisation responding to the protection of civilians. Humanitarian issues like economic instability, food insecurity, health, environmental degradation, ethnic conflict and political repression are addressed by NATO as another task to deal with an armed conflict; on the contrary, human security claims that if these categories had been solved in advance, a conflict could have been avoided.

An example that can illustrate this idea is children's protection in armed conflicts. On the one hand, NATO mentioned it as the focal point for the human security approach,

and they referred to severe violations of children's rights during the war. However, there are no specifications on how they will stop these violations from happening again and, more importantly, how they will help children in vulnerable situations. Since there is no reference to education, which is a crucial instrument for long-term benefit. Even many scholars have proven that greater levels of education reduce the risk of engaging in violence (Ostby et al., 2018). Hence, NATO is based on a military framework to operate. Therefore, implementing more humanitarian activities in their missions will be complicated.

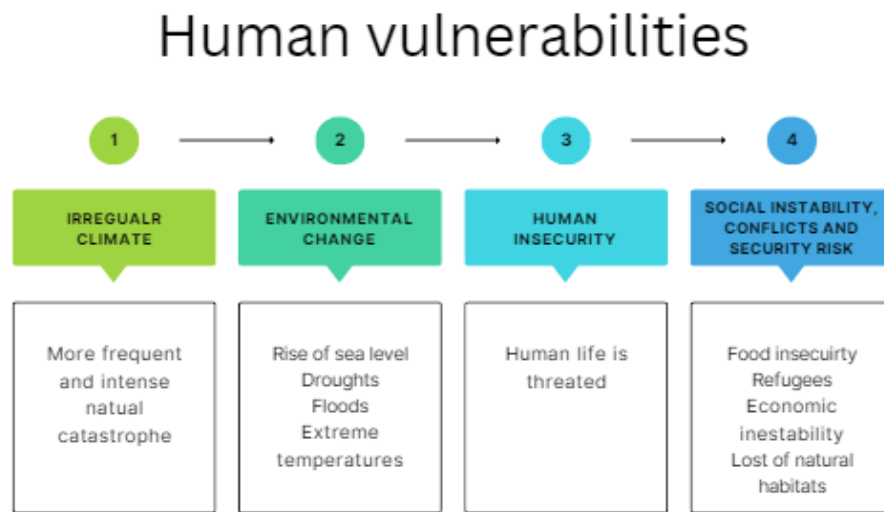
SDG by NATO

In the following argument, it is essential to mention the cooperation hand by hand with the United Nations as a global referent to common threats and protocols to respond. In this case, the UN introduced the human security concept and presented the ambitious Sustainable Development Goal to implement sustainability solutions to human threats. From the introductory part, we have found a positive relationship between the implantation of some SDGs and human security. Nevertheless, NATO 2030 agenda does not present any similar framework as the UN Agenda 2030 since it has little to do with sustainability. In addition to the surprising fact that NATO does not mention the SDGs or suggest a direct reference to the SDG guidelines, nowhere.

For human security, the wicked global problem of climate change due to global warming is one of the main priorities. Instability in specific environments and changing climates have been proven to significantly impact human life and its natural habitats (Scheffran, 2009). As illustrated in the graph below, sustainability considerably affects the probabilities of possible escalations of violence and insecurities.

Figure 3

Impact of climate change on human beings.



Source: Scheffran, 2009

Indeed, NATO has its policies and guidelines, like the NATO climate change and security action plan, as its framework to contribute positively to a sustainable transition (IISD, 2021). NATO sees climate change as one of the biggest challenges of our time and confirms that climate change threatens security and makes it harder to keep people safe (NATO, 2020). Consequently, NATO should do everything in its power to demand the strengthening of all aspects to reach its goal of cutting emissions from NATO bodies and commands by at least 45% by 2030 and towards net zero by 2030 (NATO, 2022). Hence, after analysing the Climate Change & Security Impact Assessment by the Secretary General's Report 2022, we can conclude that they are more focused on the consequences of the application of the mission and the risk to the military supply chains rather than the consequences of human life. For example, they highlight the climate impacts of the increase in budget, damage in military bases, and the technical failure of infrastructure and equipment. There is no mention of the consequences that human beings will suffer (NATO Secretary General's Report, 2022).

Transparency in NATO's work

Moreover, transparency during the procedures and actions taken by action are relevant to give credibility and effectiveness to the operations. As an international organisation, NATO has to provide public communications and address the competent authorities over the budget and functioning of the operations. Nevertheless, NATO experts explained that realising documents and discussions can be problematic in the case of an organisation that deals with defence and security (NATO, 2019). Most information cannot be publicised due to the sensitive information or the difficulty of understanding the technical terminology of NATO.

Consequently, the lack of transparency has a negative impact on democratic decisions. On the one hand, their insufficient engagement with citizens can raise concerns about the limitations of public awareness and understanding of the operations. This can reflect the loss of public trust and doubt regarding the concentration of power. In addition, secrecy inhibits public debate and dialogue, which is crucial for the participation of experts, academics and civil society actors in charge to promote accountability.

Therefore, evaluating how well and the progress NATO is making with human security is almost impossible due to confidential information from official sources. To support reliability in NATO work, this approach could be convenient to present tables with community interest to raise awareness and engage people to help reach their goals. For example, it would be interesting to know much money is invested in it, the number of reported sexual violence cases, the number of square meters of loss of natural habitat and impact in conflict, programs implemented to help children in vulnerable situations, and many more data that could be relevant. Hence, all this information is probably released internally but will remain classified by NATO.

Finally, in this case, the extreme secrecy in reporting accurate information on how well NATO implements human security is a handicap to giving a proper and biased answer.

Women, Peace, and Security Agenda for NATO

Going one step ahead, identifying in the 2022 Strategic Concept where NATO first approached the idea of human security. Revising the official text, the concept is mentioned four times, and in three of them, human security is mentioned in combination with the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda.

"We will promote good governance and integrate climate change, human security, and the Women, Peace, and Security agenda throughout a task."

(NATO 2022 Security Concept, 2022)

Therefore, it leads us to think that NATO uses the WPS agenda as the main program to implement human security. The WPS agenda was first acknowledged by United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325, adopted in 2000. Therefore, it has the know-how to implement new values due to the already established frameworks for over two decades. The WPS agenda has provided an excellent example of approaching a human security policy and setting up a detailed normative framework for gender equality during conflict (NATO, 2021).

From the perspective of a senior military advisor with gender in military operations, NATO considers the "human security approach is flexible enough to grow and change as security concerns evolve". Samantha Truner also recommends strengthening the human security approach to find better solutions to address the WPS problems. For that reason, human safety should be established as a discipline to find a formal consensus on coordinating this type of security by having a structural network with the necessary expertise and specialist in the area (Turner, 2023). WPS agenda, also as cross-cutting security, have already integrated their work more efficiently than human security has, serving as an example. Nevertheless, human security involves much more and cannot be placed under the umbrella of the WPS agenda.

Consequently, NATO's understanding of human security should include addressing the WPS threats not only from the point of view of a negative impact during the military mission (terrorism - weapons of mass destruction - violence) but rather the negative impact it has over human beings (poverty – migration – inequality). Since those threats are normally the root causes of conflicts. Women and girls will be best protected if there is more promotion of prevention and mitigation during the mission, characteristics of human security.

NATO human security is based on Western ideology

Finally, it is essential to analyse where human security was created and how the actors pushed it to the agenda. In the beginning, it was mentioned that some countries like Canada, Norway, and Japan had promoted human security. The Norwegian or Canadian Ministry of foreign affairs does many meetings and reports. From the international side, it is essential to incorporate and demand more human security approaches, aiming to take people as the reference point in international relations (Suhrke, 1999).

However, human security is a Western ideology, which may be incompatible or complicated to be introduced to lower-income countries, where this security is most needed. Nevertheless, that is why human security has a different interpretation for the particular case of each country. As explained in the introduction, some countries will focus on freedom from fear and others on freedom from want. Security priorities will be different depending on the situation of the region, with means that challenges will be addressed accordingly to the need-based approach (Acharya, 2001).

Furthermore, from the NATO capabilities, this organisation is formed by 31 member states in Europe and North America. Only these countries have the advantage of the collective security that NATO offers. But what happens with the rest of the vulnerable countries in the world? Low-income countries, which are more prone to armed conflict, have few resources and domestic issues.

That is why, if we are realistic, NATO cannot address global challenges from millions of people living in very insecure situations due to weak institutions and resources (Kaldor et al., 2007).

Humanitarian intervention by NATO

Despite the fact that the NATO alliance is based on collective security, as explained in section 4.3, there has been a consideration in incorporating some humanitarian missions. Still, most of NATO's operations promoted the military structure of the missions, including the armed forces and the army strategies. Peacekeeping operations, crisis management, and stabilisation efforts have been introduced worldwide (NATO, 2019).

NATO has identified many global threats unrelated to traditional aggression due to armed conflict, direct protection of borders and hard power⁴. However, some current threats are related to humanitarian organisations delivering aid and assistance to vulnerable populations, ensuring solid institutions, good governance and protection of the organisation's norms and values.

However, it appears in today's world that NATO intervention as the humanitarian mission for the "responsibility to protect" has changed due to the security threat created by the "global war on terrorism" (Seybolt, 2008). As NATO says, "terrorism poses a direct threat to the security of the citizens of NATO countries, and to international stability and prosperity" (NATO, 2023).

As is the case of the mission carried out in Afghanistan, this mission has related to the fact that after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States and NATO invoked for the

⁴ Hard power referring to coercive tactics: the threat or use of armed forces, economic pressure or sanctions, or other forms of intimidation.

first and only time Article 5 the Washington Treaty, an armed attack occurred on the territory of a NATO member. Therefore, NATO allies and partner countries under the UN security council mandate agreed on deploying a humanitarian mission in Afghanistan. According to NATO, the reason to carry out this operation was due to "safeguard the human rights of all Afghans, particularly women, children and minorities; uphold the rule of law; allow unhindered humanitarian access; and ensure that Afghanistan never again serves as a haven for international terrorist (NATO, 2019). Nevertheless, the main reason for the mission in Afghanistan was the fight against international terrorism.

For this reason, the application of "humanitarian intervention" by NATO is questionable because terrorism has shifted the emphasis on the protection of states from non-states actors instead of the protection of civilians (Seybold, 2008).

5. Applied case of human security in NATO

This section will apply the concepts introduced in the analytical part and, more importantly, filter the official NATO information with a reality check. Accordingly, to evaluate how NATO implements the human security approach, an operation must be chosen from the list of terminated processes and the current missions in which NATO is present. Since NATO has in Kosovo a current operation that is inside the timeline from the creation of the human security concept (1994) and the changes introduced in the Strategic Concept of 2022. Therefore, the Kosovo mission is paradigmatic because the conflict in Kosovo is due to ethnic tensions.

Now follows a brief introduction to the context of the situation in Kosovo. Subsequently, one explanation of why this mission is appropriate as an applied case. Then, the analysis of the application of human security by the NATO framework. And finally, the summary of the findings.

5.1 Introduction to Kosovo's Situation

Kosovo conflict was an armed conflict that lasted from 1998 to 1999 between the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), an Albanian separatist group, and the Yugoslav army and police forces, which ethnic Serbs dominated. The conflict escalated from the long-standing tensions between the majority Albanian population in Kosovo and the Serbian government in control. These social tensions come due to the marginalisation and oppression of the Albanian people, mainly because the population is predominantly Muslim, which contrasts with the historically favoured Orthodox Christian Serbian population (Britannica, 2023).

Therefore, when the Kosovo Liberation Army launched attacks against Serbian police and military targets, the Serbian government responded with a brutal crackdown on ethnic Albanians, leading to widespread violence and massive displacement. These

events' increased violence and destruction resulted in a humanitarian crisis, which made the international community intervene (Britannica, 2023).

On behalf of the international community, NATO responded rapidly to the escalating situation by a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, targeting its military and infrastructure. This military mission lasted for 78 days and resulted in the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo. In June 1999, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1244, which authorised the deployment of a UN peacekeeping force, known as Kosovo Force (KFOR), to Kosovo (NATO, 2022). Since then, Kosovo has been under international administration to help establish the government. Finally, in 2008, Kosovo declared independence from Serbia, which more than 100 countries have recognised (Davis, 2023).

The situation nowadays remains fragile, and there are still ongoing challenges and tensions related to post-conflict. In the case of Kosovo, its government struggles with issues related to corruption, political instability, and economic development. These challenges significantly increase the tension between Albanian and Serbia, creating sporadic violence and unrest incidents in the region. Nevertheless, the country has made progress in implementing reforms related to the rule of law and economic development that has contributed to stabilising the Balkan region.

5.2 Link between human security and NATO in the Kosovo Mission

From the beginning of the escalation of violence, NATO has led a peace-support operation with international support to build peace and create a stable area. Therefore, it is the only organisation providing security and peacekeeping support.

The intervention of NATO has been very criticised since they intervened in Kosovo without official approval from the United Nations Security Council. Some authors have contradictory opinions about whether it was in favour or against the sovereignty,

depending on the view of the states recognising Kosovo's independence. Some argue that it violated international law and undermined Yugoslavia's sovereignty. On the other side, several scholars affirm that the intervention helped to pave the way for Kosovo's eventual declaration of independence (Warbrick, 2008).

NATO's actions have been motivated due to the humanitarian threat. The intervention was motivated to protect the human rights of the ethnic groups and stop the massacre (NATO, 2022 & Kerr, 2009). This argument can justify the human security approach by NATO operations (Kerr, 2009).

Consequently, it is convenient to summarise the responsibility that NATO has assumed, and the actions implemented to achieve the mission's objectives in Kosovo. The first intervention was the 78-day air campaign against the Yugoslav and Serb forces in June 1999. After the UN Security Council passed resolution 1244 entered, around 50.000 personnel from over 30 countries formed KFOR, this group was formed with soldiers, police officers, and civilian personnel.

The initial task included assistance with the return or relocation of displaced persons, offering medical aid, securing public order, protecting patrimonial sites (most of them religious buildings and symbols), border security, intercepting weapons, ammunition, and explosives smuggling activities, helping restoring law and order system and support political and government structure. However, with the time and circumstances of the mission, they have been reducing personnel, and currently, the operation is conducted by approximately 3.500 personnel. Moreover, since 2008, NATO has implemented additional tasks in Kosovo to return control to local and international authorities. For example, the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPS) and the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) help train and supervise multi-ethnic and professional integration to protect and ensure security.

5.3. Human security application

Observing how the intervention in Kosovo has been implemented, NATO has opted to build peace and a state-building agenda since they considered that this strategy assumed that individual rights are best protected through a system promoting stronger states. Therefore, state-building promotes good governance following the rule of law, human rights, and civil liberties; it restores and protects a free market and a strong democracy where all social-cultural diversity is accepted (Dulic, 2008).

It is relevant to mention that rebuilding a state requires not only reconstructing buildings and institutions. In Kosovo's case, restoring the people's trust to accept other values creates a strong and peaceful governance system, which is a very long and complex peacebuilding process (Dulic, 2008). In an unpredictable environment with constant changes due to the problems and the absence of strong institutions, Kosovo requires a lot of finance and support to create a new state.

Reviewing human security concepts through the lenses of the Kosovo conflict. First, from the narrow approach, "freedom from fear," which focuses on protecting human beings so that individuals do not suffer from violence and instability. In Kosovo, the most crucial focus on the state-building agenda has to be the protection of the minority communities that are the most vulnerable groups. Equal treatment on the political agenda, receiving the same economic advantages and being part of the social community to express their cultural rights without suffering discrimination or violence. Kosovo is a multicultural country where the population speaks several languages, Albanian being the main one (Tosk and Gheg). The second official language is Serbo-Croatian, which has two main dialects. Other languages include Turkish, Romani, Bosnian, English, and German. Moreover, a very delicatated topic has been religion since most are Muslims. However, a minority of the population is Easter Orthodox and Roman Catholic. Since the combination of ethnic and religious components has played the central role in escalating the conflict because the lack of a shared national identity, fair political representation, and a social acceptance of the cultural values at schools, institutions, and communities have created a very insecure region (Shabani, 2015).

Consequently, these differences have been the main motive of violence and conflict in Kosovo.

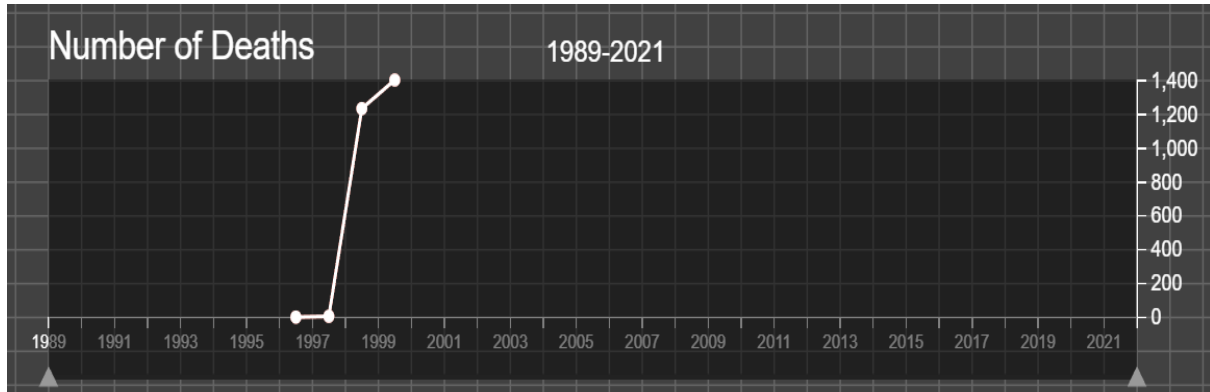
On the other hand, from the wider approach, "freedom from want" focuses more on social and economic insecurities like poverty, unemployment, health, a threat to personal values, environmental instability, and many more. In Kosovo, basic human needs were not secured. The country remains one of the poorest places in Europe. Based on the Annual Report 2021 UNICEF, it is estimated that 23 per cent of the population lives in poverty since the country spends only 8.5 % of its GDP on social protection (European country's average is around 28%)⁵. This limited resource has aggravated social inequalities even more since the COVID-19 pandemic. An example of the consequence of this type of insecurity can be the rise of youth unemployment which is a spillover on gender inequality where girls and women are prone to unequal gender roles at home, and boys are at risk of engaging in child labour to help with the family income. (UNICEF, 2022). This limited resource has aggravated social inequalities even more since the COVID-19 pandemic. An example of the consequence of this type of insecurity can be the rise of youth unemployment which is a spillover on gender inequality where girls and women are prone to unequal gender roles at home, and boys are at risk of engaging in child labour to help with the family income.

Nevertheless, having explained the theory, it is relevant to show some statistical proof of how NATO intervention has mediated the situation. Reviewing some of the most relevant databases about conflict, the evolution of war casualties revealed that they ended with the peace agreement signature.

⁵ Based on the Annual Report 2021 of UNICEF, it is estimated that 23 per cent of the population is living in poverty.

Figure 4

Serbia (Yugoslavia): Kosovo



Source: Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), 2023.

It has been proved that military violence escalated, and deaths sharply increased in 1997 due to the clash between KLA and the Yugoslavia Army. However, it did not last long and ended abruptly in 1999 because of the peace agreement, also known as the Rambouillet Accords, where they agreed on establishing an interim political framework that allowed NATO forces unrestricted access throughout the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In addition, the same information is also shown in the systemic peace database, where Kosovo's score for Major Episodes of Political Violence (MEPV) has been 0 since 2008 (Marshall, 2003). However, there have been some minor tensions between both groups. The only major violent event was in 2004, when KFOR almost lost control, and thirty-three significant violent cases broke out across Kosovo. This event lasted 48 hours, during which minority communities were unprotected and burned 550 homes and 27 Orthodox churches and monasteries (HRW, 2004). Despite these minor tense situations, violence has stopped since NATO intervened. Thanks to its rapid action, it has avoided aggravating the situation and prevented a spillover to the Balkans and Europe security structure. If NATO had not intervened, the problem would become a

major one. That is why KFOR has successfully developed a peacekeeping mission to mediate between ethnic communities to maintain peace and security (Cottey, 2009).

5.4 KFOR approach to human security

In this final subsection, we will compare the official information from NATO's webpage about human security with the evolution of its activities to conclude whether it is just a military intervention or a human security approach.

Based on the UN Security Council Resolution 1244, the UN authorised NATO to deploy international civilian and military presence to Kosovo under its command. Therefore, the mission was operated by the Kosovo Force (KFOR) with 50.000 personnel. The main task was "to prevent relapse into conflict, ensure public safety, demilitarise the Kosovo Liberation Army, enable international humanitarian efforts, and coordinate with the international civil presence" (Heggling, 2023). KFOR was not mandated to defend Kosovo and fight against Serbia; the operation is responsible for internal security to prevent conflict between the ethnic groups from erupting (Heggling, 2023). All actors see KFOR as essential to maintaining good communication and safety; this can be reflected in the decrease of violence through regular exercises with simulation and logistic activities to prepare for a rapid reaction in case of tensions and deter violence.

However, the focus should be on the KFOR as the leading actor in the field to carry out the operation. The mission has its website, where they briefly explain the history of the mission and who does KFOR work. In addition, there has a media centre where they post the latest news. First of all, from the section "about us" on the front page, no activities or proof of the application of human security can be found. However, the following news are published.

On the one side, we have the KFOR Chronicles, updated with monthly reports written by KFOR soldiers and civilians, mainly showing training operations. Some include recommendations for cyberattacks, like in the chronicles of November 2022 (KFOR, 2022). And lastly, other news, showing celebrations of certain events. For example, in the chronicle of March 2023, there is a special mention of Women's Day. Nevertheless, they refer to women's empowerment as the figures making more effective peacekeeping missions and do not refer to Kosovo women.

On the other side, we can also see the video channel, where they post short posts for their Youtube channel from 2016 to 2019. Most videos show training and tactics for a rapid reaction in conflict. However, in 2018 they posted three videos that stand out. One is for International Youth Day, expressing the complicated situation that Kosovo youth live in and encouraging them to study and work hard since they are the future of a stronger Kosovo. The KFOR said that "they will dedicate our effort to supporting any initiatives that might improve the future of the population with a special eye for the younger generation" (KFOR, 2018). Hence, there is no more information, on the KFOR webpage, regarding how they are helping children and young people in Kosovo.

Moreover, the second relevant video is about Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. This video is appropriate because it proves that they follow UN resolutions to comply with international norms, especially admitting the importance of empowering women to stop human rights violations and supporting survivors of conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence (KFOR, 2018). And the last video is about ending violence against women and girls. The most relevant fact of this video is that LT-Coronel Suzana Tkavc speaks as the gender advisor to KFOR Commander, which confirms that NATO is keeping its promise to integrate more equal gender roles in military operations (KFOR, 2018).

And the most significant video is the one from 2019, where they show a Civil-military cooperation project in favour of women through a self-defence course in favour of women victims of domestic violence. In the video, you can see a group of military's

teaching a group of around 15 women self-defence movements. The transcript of the video is the following:

"KFOR and local institutions organised a project favouring women victims of domestic violence. Women have been taught the basic movements to free themselves for eight weeks. Women can now feel more confident and more serene in daily life".

(KFOR, 2019)

To summarise, this is the only proof found on the official web page of the KFOR as a military group in charge of Kosovo protection. Therefore, we cannot see NATO's engagement with civil society to protect them through the human security approach. And consequently, prove that there is no human security in NATO's operations.

6. Conclusion

The world is constantly changing, and international relations theories and scholars must be flexible to adapt to new events that alternate the global connections, whether new actors get involved or interests change. In the case of security, we will experience new threats and challenges that we need to be ready to confront. Climate change will challenge humans with adverse weather conditions; people will need to be more open-minded to learn from other cultures due to globalisation and contribute to helping vulnerable communities create a more equalitarian world. The demand for more robust and inclusive security addresses more significant challenges for peace and safety.

It has been proven that human security is the best security approach for the future. From a bottom-up approach, it is easier to identify the problems and allow people to solve threats that could escalate to tension and violence more effectively. The wide range of threats that addresses and the promotion of early prevention of emerging risks around the world helps to understand better how to tackle human security threats. Many actors are involved in implementing this security, regardless of the approach they view it, from the "freedom of fear" or "freedom of want" schools. In the case of states, their work is essential, as the governments of Canada, Norway or Japan have demonstrated by promoting human security.

The United Nations, as the founder of the human security concept through the reports at the UNDP, has been the leading actor in tackling the evolution of this security. Thanks to the work of the Secretary-General, to encourage the Security Council to work on the approved resolutions S/RES/2282 and S/RES/2553 concerning the Agenda 2030. Recognising the multiple threats to our planet, people, and identities has raised awareness of the need for cooperation to solve wicked global problems. Ultimately, the creation and impulse of the SDG framework has been essential to provide and improve universal strategies.

As the most relevant military alliance, NATO is responsible for responding with appropriate security. This alliance has implemented humanitarian approaches during their missions, as seen in the NATO 2030 agenda. Even though the concept of human security is not mentioned, they indirectly act on this type of security. No official documents of NATO expressed any opinion about human security until 2022, the renovated Strategic Concept of 2022. There appeared the words of "human security" for the first time. In this critical document that shaped NATO's goals, human security was advocated as a fundamental shift in security for the future.

Nevertheless, in the Strategic Concept of 2022, there were no precise specifications on how the organisation would implement it. However, NATO has an official page explaining the five main focus areas. As a military alliance, they have approached human security from the "freedom of fear" school, which involves more action during and after armed conflicts. Also, prioritising these five specific areas is relevant to avoid aggravating the consequences of wars. However, there is a lack of explanation of how they will carry it out during an operation. These fragile situations do not disappear immediately, and resources, mediation and intervention are required to ensure that they will not appear again.

Some of the most important findings of this paper have been that NATO does not mention the SDG, which seems strange since they work hand in hand with the UN for cooperation. That might be interesting for another paper to research. Nevertheless, the main challenge regarding NATO is its high secrecy and lack of transparency. It makes it almost impossible to come up with conclusions. Furthermore, they need to become more open-minded to understand the situation from other perspectives and not only from Western-shaped ideas and interests, since most vulnerable countries need to trust that the security approach is in favour of the people. In the end, NATO must be clear on what they understand as "humanitarian intervention" since introducing WPS and counterterrorism is just a little step towards human security.

This paper has focused on the Kosovo situation to provide a real case. Since NATO is still operating in the country after 24 years since the end of an ethnic conflict that lasted only one year. The conclusions were, on the one hand, that the intervention was beneficial because most of the success was contributed by NATO, taking rapid action and helping to stop violence from escalating and degrading the humanitarian crisis even more. The evolution of peace between the ethnic groups decreased. Consequently, NATO has been a relevant actor since Kosovo became independent in 2008 and helped to build the bases of a strong nation.

On the other hand, the review of the KFOR deployed mission webpage has shown little of human security approach to their mission. This has led to the conclusion that even though the task has been motivated due to the humanitarian threat, it has not included any frameworks to provide security for the participation of Kosovo's people. The gender advisor in NATO represents a step forward, but a more remarkable change is still needed.

In only 29 years, human security has already accomplished many goals by increasing its importance for national states and international organisations. However, NATO, as a conservative organisation that has experienced little change in its identity, has shown that it has already implemented some humanitarian action without knowing that it is indeed encompassed with human security. Nevertheless, it has been proven that in Kosovo's mission, there is no ongoing shift to more human security despite it being mentioned in the Strategic Concept of 2022 and the statement of focus areas to be improved.

It could be predicted that human security will grow even more important to a point where even traditional military institutions, such as the North Atlantic Alliance, will adapt. Problems cannot always be solved with the power of a gun but rather by viewing the solutions for future security as the process of protecting people achieve global peace.

7. References

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