



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF CULTURE
AND SOCIETY

Kosovo's Environmental Development & the EU's Role as a 'Normative Power' in the International System

Sam Arne Whalley

International Relations

Department of Global Political Studies bachelor's degree Programme – (IR 61-90) - IR103L

15 Credits Thesis

Spring, 2020

Supervisor: [Scott McIver]

Date of Submission: 12th of August 2020

Abstract

Ever since Kosovo's declaration of independence in 2008, the EU has striven for a supportive relationship with the burgeoning new state; a relationship which can be seen to have been built upon the institution's constitutive normative principles. This relationship has consequently resulted in a national emphasis upon environmental development throughout Kosovo. However, how beneficial has the EU's promotion of these normative principles over Kosovo actually been for Kosovo's environmental development? And subsequently, what are the potential consequences of the EU being perceived as an *influential* 'normative power' for other actors in the international system?

This thesis has addressed these questions through conducting a series of semi-structured expert interviews, as to generate contemporarily relevant and applicable data which reflects the benefits of the EU's operation in Kosovo and illustrates contemporary EU power exertion. Ian Manners' theoretical conceptualisation of EU power, 'Normative power Europe', provides the theoretical framework for the conducting of this research.

This paper argues that the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo has, overall, been beneficial for Kosovo's environmental development through wide-spread developments to key areas of Kosovo's environmental sphere; however, there have also been certain shortcomings and failures of the EU in in this regard as certain key-areas of Kosovo's environmental sphere, regardless of the long-term presence of the EU in Kosovo, remain largely underdeveloped.

This conclusion can be employed in order to draw reflections on the potential consequences of the perception of the EU as an influential 'normative power' for other actors in the international system; other international actors could move away from more traditional conceptual approaches to power/ influence exertion in the international system, and developing states could also grow to be more receptive to normative power exertion processes. Therefore, the presented conclusions are not only relevant to the case of Kosovo, but could also be employed in a more practical manner in exploring the role and consequences of the EU's contemporary power exertion in the international system as a whole.

Key Words: European Union, Normative Power, Kosovo, Development, Environment.

Word Count: 13,999

Acknowledgements

I briefly wanted to present my gratitude for the continuous assistance of the following group of people, without whom this thesis and the conducted research could not have taken place.

My supervisor, Scott McIver, who has tolerated my attrition campaign of questioning on every detail of the thesis writing process. The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), who generously funded the Minor Field Study necessary for me to carry out this research, in the field, in Kosovo. Ejner, who had to endure my obtuseness towards political theory whilst actually in Kosovo and also throughout our fleeing of the Balkans in the midst of the Corona Pandemic.

And a particularly large thank-you to Anja, my Girlfriend, who has selflessly had to deal with the brunt of my distractions and thesis confusion through being obliged to quarantine with me over the course of this research.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Abstract | I |
| Acknowledgements | II |
| List of Abbreviations | 0 |
| Chapter 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Puzzle, Purposes, and Research Questions | 1 |
| 1.2 Thesis Structure | 2 |
| Chapter 2 Theory | 4 |
| 2.1 Theoretical Conceptualisations of European Power: ‘Military’ and ‘Civilian’ | 4 |
| 2.2 Theoretical Conceptualisations of European Power: ‘Normative power Europe’ | 6 |
| 2.3 The Narrowed ‘Nine Normative Principles’ of European Normative Power Exertion | 8 |
| Chapter 3 The Existing Academic Debate | 10 |
| 3.1 The Impact of the EU on Kosovo’s Environmental Development | 10 |
| 3.2 Assessing the Contextual Academic Debate and Table 1.0 | 14 |
| Chapter 4 Method | 16 |
| 4.1 Qualitative Research as a Methodological Approach | 16 |
| 4.2 Semi-Structured Expert Interviews | 17 |
| 4.3 Conducting the Interviews | 18 |
| 4.4 Operationalising the Narrowed Normative Principles | 19 |
| 4.5 Coding and Analysis of the Generated Data | 19 |
| 4.6 Reliability: Data Triangulation | 20 |
| Chapter 5 Analysis | 22 |
| 5.1.1 The EU’s Impact on the Sphere of ‘ <i>Consensual Democracy</i> ’ in Kosovo | 22 |
| 5.1.2 The EU’s Impact on the Sphere of ‘ <i>Social Solidarity</i> ’ in Kosovo | 24 |
| 5.1.3 The EU’s Impact on the Sphere of the ‘ <i>Supranational Rule of Law</i> ’ in Kosovo | 25 |
| 5.1.4 The EU’s Impact on the Sphere of ‘ <i>Sustainable Development</i> ’ in Kosovo | 27 |
| 5.1.5 The EU’s Impact on the Sphere of ‘ <i>Good Governance</i> ’ in Kosovo | 28 |
| Chapter 6 Discussion and Analysis of Findings | 31 |
| 6.1.1 Discussing the Impact of the EU on Kosovo’s Environmental Development | 31 |
| 6.1.2 Data-Triangulation: Conclusions of the Analysis and the Existing Academic Debate | 33 |
| 6.2 Potential Consequences of the Perception of the EU’s role as an Influential ‘Normative Power’ in the International System | 36 |
| Chapter 7 Conclusion | 39 |
| Bibliography | 41 |
| Appendices | 45 |

List of Abbreviations:

ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations

EU - European Union

EULEX - European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

IPA – Instrument for Pre-Accession Funding

IR – International Relations

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NPE – Normative Power Europe

SAA – Stabilisation and Association Agreement

Sida - The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

UN – United Nations

US – United States

Chapter 1 Introduction

Even long after its declaration of independence in 2008, and after years of widespread cooperation, Kosovo, and its relationship with the European Union (EU), can still be considered to be extremely dynamic and compelling. Their relationship is perpetuated by Kosovo's continued dependence on the EU (Hjortberg and Winqvist 2008), and the new state's development is characterised by large-scale EU presence, normative power exertion, and the EU's promotion of certain normative principles to be assimilated into the newly independent state's everyday practises; this includes principles explicitly related to environmental protection and development, a sphere which Kosovo can be seen to have, historically, never effectively focused upon or even cared about (Fajardo del Castillo 2016).

Academic debates have erupted regarding the contemporary nature of European power exertion. Initially, this debate was largely separated into two primary arguments, the EU as a '*military*' power, and as a '*civilian*' power (Manners 2002: 236); the former of which incorporating tenets of classical IR Realist conceptualisations of power (Bull 1982), and the latter incorporating tenets of classical IR Liberal conceptualisations of power (Duchêne in Manners 2002: 235). This polarised debate is particularly characterising of the academic discussion conceptualising EU power; however, another significant theoretical conceptualisation of European power has emerged, being that of Ian Manners' 'Normative power Europe' ('NPE') (2000; 2001; 2002; 2008).

This power conceptualisation argues that the EU can be considered to be a '*normative*' power, and that its power lies within the normative principles and ideas that the EU promotes as an actor within international relations (Manners 2002: 239). By acting as a 'normative majority' within certain international relations contexts, the EU is able to lead non-member states into international engagements, shared understandings, and debates. This tenet of 'normative power' holds explicit relevance to the EU's relationship with Kosovo, a non-member state; and the perception of the EU as a 'normative power' through this conceptualisation can also potentially have far reaching consequences throughout the international system through influencing the actions of other actors.

Chapter 1.1 Puzzle, Purposes, and Research Questions

It is clear that the EU has been staunchly pursuing the exertion of the institutions' normative principles over Kosovo's environmental development; and this has seemingly resulted in state-

wide steps towards the acknowledgement and pursuit of environmental development throughout the new state. The overarching puzzle and purposes of this case, therefore, naturally present themselves; those being: how beneficial has the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo been for Kosovo's environmental development? And how are we able to use the case of Kosovo's relationship with the EU to exemplify and explore the EU's contemporary power exerting role, and its effects, on the international system as a whole? This case, puzzle, and purpose have allowed for the generation of the following research questions:

The first: *'how beneficial has the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo been for Kosovo's environmental development?'*^{*}

The second, which will be subsequently addressed after presentation of the conclusions of the former research question: *'What are the potential consequences of the perceived role of the EU as an influential 'Normative Power' in the international system for other actors?'*

In order to answer these questions, this thesis employs a Qualitative Semi-structured expert interview based methodological approach, which generates new data for application and analysis in the context of this case. Due to the exceptionally dynamic nature of the development of the EU's relationship with Kosovo, and Kosovo itself, even some of the more recent literature on the subject can be seen to no longer be as reflective of the contemporary situation. Therefore, this thesis not only aims to contribute towards, and further develop, the existing academic debate on the subject-area through the introduction of new hypotheses, but also to generate new contemporarily applicable data for analysis and utilization within this niche.

1.2 Thesis Structure

The previous short chapter briefly introduced the overarching context and theoretical basis of this thesis; that being, the EU's relationship with Kosovo, the growing field of environmental development in Kosovo, and the EU's position as a 'Normative Power' in the international system. The aims, purpose, research question, and method have also been briefly addressed.

The following chapter, **Chapter 2**, addresses this thesis' *'Theory'* component, which will explore the academic discussion surrounding the nature of the EU's power in the international sphere. This chapter seeks to both discuss the existing academic debate on this

^{*} Use of the term *'beneficial'*, in this regard, refers to the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo being considered to have had a *positive* impact upon the *progressive development* of Kosovo's environmental sphere.

topic, and also to academically contextualise and present the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Chapter 3 will then go on to discuss research, and the existing debate, on the impact of the EU on environmental development in Kosovo and in the international sphere as a whole. This existing research is especially important for the isolation of argument-themes for this thesis' latter coding of generated interview data, and comparison with this generated data for the purpose of data-triangulation in the 'Discussion' chapter (**Chapter 6**) of this thesis.

The next chapter, **Chapter 4**, will address the method of this thesis; in which a qualitative semi-structured expert interview-based approach has been chosen in order to generate contemporarily applicable and new data. The operationalization of the aforementioned 'normative principles' into questions for use in the interviews will also be presented, alongside discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the application of such a method.

In **Chapter 5**, the analysis of the generated data in order to answer the presiding research purposes and questions will take place. The normative principles operationalised for use as questions in the semi-structured interviews will also be used to formulate the 5 individual sub-chapters for the breakdown/ analysis of the overarching discussion of the impact of the EU in this context.

Chapter 6 will address the 'Discussion' of this analysis. In which the results of the analysis will be addressed, the first of this thesis' research questions will be addressed, and further comparisons can be made with the generated data's hypotheses and existing academic literature's hypotheses for the purpose of data-triangulation. These conclusions will then be utilised in order to address this thesis' second research question.

The final chapter, **Chapter 7**, is the 'Conclusion'; within which, the overall findings of the research will be presented. The research questions will be conclusively addressed in this chapter, and suggestions will be made regarding potential future academic contributions that could be made in order to develop this subject-area further, and also, further relation of these conclusions to the international system as a whole will be presented.

Chapter 2 Theory

Two primary sub-groupings of the conceptualisations of European power historically arose from the classical IR ‘Realist’ and ‘Liberal’ theoretical debates and general discussion on power: these conceptualise Europe as a ‘*military*’ power, and as a ‘*civilian*’ power (Manners 2001: 4-6) (Manners 2000 26-28). In the following section, I aim to present these ‘mainstream’ theoretical European power conceptualisations, and subsequently delineate Manners’ contemporary conceptualisation of European power, ‘Normative Power Europe’ (NPE), from these academic contextual foundations. This will be done in order to establish both a greater understanding of conceptualisations of EU power exertion as a whole, and then subsequently explore the explanatory potential of ‘NPE’ for assessing how beneficial the EU’s exertion of this normative power over Kosovo has been for Kosovo’s environmental development. This also provides a foundation upon which to address the second research question of this thesis, exploring the nature and consequences of the EU’s contemporary power exertion throughout the international system.

A selection of Manners’ ‘Nine Normative Principles’ (Manners 2008) will then be presented, which have been purposefully narrowed for application specifically to the context of environmental development in Kosovo; and these principles will provide the core of this research’s framework for latter operationalization and then utilization in the analysis component of this thesis. Manners’ ‘NPE’, and its following ontological and epistemological positions, will therefore also provide the necessary theoretical positional basis for the conducting of this research.

2.1 Theoretical Conceptualisations of European Power: ‘Military’ and ‘Civilian’

‘Military Power’ EU:

Especially in classical Realist assumptions of power within international relations, military capacity is often considered to be the best/ most suitable method for the exertion of influence. The concept of the EU as a ‘military’ power largely came as a result of the works of Bull (1982) during the Cold War, based upon classical IR Realist assumptions (Bull 1982: 154-164). Bull (1982) suggests that becoming a ‘powerful’ actor within the international sphere is dependent on the exercising of *military* power; this is also suggested to involve movement away from intergovernmentalism (and other largely Liberal IR assumptions), and in the direction of

supranational integration, which must involve “an appropriate form of political and strategic unity” (Bull 1982) (Manners 2000: 27).

However, in the case of the contemporary climate of the EU and its standing in the international sphere, the EU’s military capacity is observably mostly irrelevant in its modern practises (Manners 2001). As a result of this, this power conceptualisation would lack value in this research through application as an analytical framework exploring contemporary EU power exertion. However, an understanding of this theoretical conceptualisation is important for the contextualization of the overall characterizing/ ‘mainstream’ academic debate on EU power, and for the delineation of these conceptualisations from the later discussed ‘NPE’ based theoretical framework.

‘Civilian’ Power EU:

In the 1970’s, François Duchêne argued that European Communities were able to alter their focuses within international relations from a military approach to a more ‘politically’ emphasised approach; this was referred to as ‘Civilian Power’ (Duchêne 1973: 19). Manners (2000: 26) refers to Twitchett (1976) and Maull (1990) when defining ‘Civilian Power’, and the concept is broken into three primary tenets: The primacy of diplomacy in the resolution of international disputes, the primary role of economic strength in achieving national goals, and openness towards the utilization of ‘legally-binding supranational institutions to achieve international progress’ (Manners 2000: 26). In Duchêne’s conceptualisation, traditional Realist-notions of practical military power had ‘given way to progressive civilian power as the means to exert influence in international relations’ (Duchêne in Manners 2002: 235).

The theoretical conceptualisation of the EU as a ‘Civilian’ power, and the engrained Liberal IR assumptions, however, have been subject to some criticism, especially from the English School. Bull (1982) suggests that the ‘civilian’ power of the EU does exist, however, it is intrinsically reliant upon the foundation of the EU’s military strength. He argues that, as opposed to classical Liberal IR notions of cooperation, ‘power’ in international relations must be achieved e.g. through strong military capacity; concluding that the EU’s reliance upon the military strengths of other actors in the international sphere (e.g. NATO and the UN) simply weakens its own independent ‘power’ and influence (Bull 1982: 151-152).

The discussion of the EU as a ‘Civilian Power’ has mostly dominated the paradigmatic academic discourse on EU power, and traits of the EU’s ‘Civilian power’ can still be seen in the EU’s contemporary operations in the international system; therefore, it is essential to

address in order to academically contextualise European power as a whole and the presentation and application of Manners' conceptualisation of 'NPE' in the following sub-chapter.

2.2 Theoretical Conceptualisations of European Power: 'Normative Power Europe'

The conceptualisation of power as being normative in IR is not a new one. For example, early distinctions were presented by Carr (1962), in which economic power, military power, and power over opinion were separated (Carr [1962] in Manners 2002). Through building upon these writings, and by suggesting that certain developments in world politics in the last 30 years have diminished the relevance of the discussion of 'military' and 'civilian' power in the context of Europe, Manners went on to present a third major theoretical conceptualisation of European power: 'Normative power Europe' (Manners 2002); EU power went on to be defined by Manners as "neither military nor purely economic, but one that works through ideas, opinions and conscience" (Ibid).

Manners employs a transdisciplinary approach in order to explain the complex nature of EU power. Manners agrees with Waeber (1999) in the claim that the English School concept of 'international society' has some fundamental, post-positivist, ontological overlapping with social constructivism, yet claims that it, epistemologically, can still be rooted in objectivism (Manners 2000: 8). This is done by arguing for the inter-subjective structure of the international society, but distinguishing between the ethical and the scientific aspects of the theoretical debate (Ibid).

In the contemporary international role of the EU, according to Manners, the discussion of ideational power is far more suited than that of the aforementioned 'civilian'/ 'military' power discussions. Manners suggests that the actions of the EU can be seen to be driven by a norms-based agenda (Manners 2002: 238); the EU's normative power can therefore be understood to be a socialising process - the EU is able to lead non-member states into international engagements, shared understandings, and debates by acting as a 'normative majority' within certain international relations contexts.

The measurement of the EU promotion of norms is challenging; however, through the foreign relations of the EU, especially in the context of EU member accession/ enlargement, Manners (2002) suggests that this promotion of norms can be clearly highlighted (Manners 2002: 248-252). Within these relations, the expansion and promotion of the EU's normative ideas is the focal point of the engagements (Ibid). Through examples of these engagements we

can see that this expansion and promotion acts as a motivational tool for potential future members to assimilate the EU *legal acquis* into their own norms and standards of practise.

‘NPE’ provides a contemporary understanding of EU influence exertion via the spread/changing of norms (Ibid: 252-253), and due to Kosovo’s progressive assimilation with the EU *legal acquis* since 2008, applying this theory as the basis of a theoretical and analytical framework in the context of this case allows for significant exploration and assessment of contemporary EU normative power exertion. By understanding the nature of EU power and norm exertion through understanding Manners’ conceptualisation of ‘NPE’, explicit empirical relevance of this conceptualisation to the overarching purpose and research questions of this thesis is drawn. It enables the development of a greater understanding of the relationship between the EU and Kosovo as a whole through illustrating a contemporary theoretical approach to EU power dynamics; and conclusively, we are enabled to assess contextually specific impacts of the EU’s exertion of normative power over Kosovo. This conclusive assessment, drawn through the utilisation of this theoretical framework, subsequently also allows this thesis to address this thesis’ second research question through allowing for the exploration of the potential consequences of the perceived role of the EU as an influential ‘Normative Power’ in the international system for other actors.

There are, however, argued to be certain limitations to the utilisation of Manners’ conceptualisation of ‘NPE’ as the primary basis of a theoretical and analytical framework for the analysis of contemporary European power exertion. For example, in relation to contemporary EU-China relations, the EU can be seen to readily trade with China regardless of its insistence on human rights conditionality clauses; these relations directly contradict the norms which the EU seeks to promote (Hardwick 2011: 2). One is subsequently led to a conceptual notion more in line with classical IR Realist conceptions of power, as the EU is seemingly promoting its own self-interest in its relations with China, as opposed to solely acting as a ‘normative power’ (Ibid). This argument perhaps reduces the degree to which ‘NPE’ can be applied as a conceptualisation which *absolutely* encompasses the contemporary operations of the EU; however, it fails to significantly reduce the applicability of this conceptualisation to this research as, aside from certain examples, the EU can still be argued to be largely acting in a ‘normative’ capacity in the contemporary international system (Manners 2008).

2.3 The Narrowed ‘Nine normative Principles’ of European Normative Power Exertion

Manners (2008), within the conceptualisation of ‘NPE’, presented the ‘nine normative principles’ of the EU’s normative power exertion. These principles are substantiated through certain policies and laws of the EU, and *define* what the EU seeks to be promoting in the international sphere (Ibid: 68); they can also be employed as a tool for assessing the impacts made through the EU’s exertion of these norms (Ibid: 75). However, these principles are oriented around general characteristics of EU influence and development, and are therefore not all explicitly relevant to the narrower context of environmental development specifically. Therefore, the total of *nine principles* has been narrowed down to a select *five*, each of which hold explicit relevance to EU influence upon environmental development (*removed principles are listed in **Appendix 1**).

These narrowed principles, alongside Manners’ conceptualisation of EU power in ‘NPE’, function as the basis of the analytical framework of the thesis. The operationalization of these 5 highlighted principles, and the specific method for application of these principles in the latter analysis, will be explained in detail in the Method Chapter of this thesis (**Chapter 4**).

The 5 narrowed principles are as follows:

Consensual democracy [*Principle 3*] – the EU supports and promulgates consensual democracy both in members states and within its sphere of influence. This includes factors such as power-sharing, decentralisation, electoral systems, and coalition governments (Ibid: 70). This principle holds direct relevance to the sphere of environmental development in Kosovo due to the relevance of certain key tenets, e.g. decentralisation of Kosovo’s power to its municipalities allows for more comprehensive approaches to handling environmental issues/ development stages.

Supranational rule of law [*Principle 5*] – This principle seeks to promote the rule of law both within and between states, and should be promoted in such a way as to ensure that the rule of law cannot be disregarded (Ibid: 70-71). The principle holds direct relevance to the sphere of environmental development, as the strengthening of the state’s judicial systems, and implementation of new laws allows Kosovo to be better enabled to handle the majorly prevalent issue of environmental crimes throughout the country, and also issues with widespread corruption throughout environmental development policy-initiatives.

Social solidarity [*Principle 7*] – It is under the principle of Social Solidarity in which the EU promotes the establishment of sustainable development; this is achieved through the promotion of economic growth, price stability, and a competitive social market economy (Ibid: 73). Through establishing these foundations, employment and social progress can be achieved, which also encompasses the protection and improvement of the environment (Lisbon Treaty 2007: Article 3-3) (Ibid).

Sustainable development [*Principle 8*] – This principle holds two primary purposes: The first is for the EU to promote the establishment of a balance between the ecological crisis and uninhibited economic growth, which is achieved through the creation of international common actions/ policies (Ibid: 73-74). The second involves the integration of sustainable development norms into the policies and practises of the EU. This promotion of norms comes through trade, development, environmental foreign policy, and enlargement (Ibid). This principle holds the greatest relevance to environmental development in Kosovo, and will therefore provide a major point for latter consideration in the conclusive assessments of this thesis.

Good governance [*Principle 9*] – The principle of ‘*Good Governance*’ includes the EU promotion of factors such as “quality, representation, participation, social partnership, transparency, and accountability” (Ibid: 74). This is a particularly important principle in relation to environmental development in Kosovo, as it not only allows for the streamlining of the implementation of environmental changes, projects, policy, etc., but it also incorporates efforts to tackle widespread corruption within the environmental development sphere.

Chapter 3 The Existing Academic Debate

There are a number of interesting ideas on the relation between Kosovo's environmental development, the impact of EU power exertion, and the role of the EU as a 'normative power' in the international system to be found within relevant academic literature produced by key scholars of the research-area. The academic debate constituted by this literature will be presented, coded, and discussed in the following section.

3.1 The Impact of the EU on Kosovo's Environmental Development

Within relevant literature surrounding the EU's influence on environmental development in Kosovo specifically, a growing academic debate and rhetoric has established itself. This debate presents key arguments which can be isolated and employed in order to assess how beneficial the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo has been for Kosovo's environmental development, and have also provided bearing for the formulation of the interview questions (discussed in **Chapter 4** & found in **Appendix 2**); furthermore, the arguments of this debate will also be isolated and utilised for the purpose of data-triangulation in the Discussion chapter of this thesis (**Chapter 6**). The conclusions drawn from these discussions and assessments subsequently also allows for the discussion of the latter of this thesis' research questions, exploring the potential impacts of the perception of the role of the EU as an influential 'Normative power' in the international system for other actors.

One primary argument of this referred to academic debate, which is presented frequently throughout the relevant literature, is that of the major legislative progress within the sphere of Kosovo's environmental development which has come as a result of EU presence and norm exertion. This argument can be particularly isolated from the works of Bardh (2013) and Hjortberg & Wingqvist (2008) when stating that:

"[t]hese [EU-Kosovo] environmental projects have successfully integrated environmental regulations and directives as a good example of implementation activities/efforts of environmental policy in Kosovo's national legislation"

(Bardh 2013: 25)

"Kosovo is [...] presently building up its institutions and adapting national legislation towards EU requirements. There is some progress related to the legal environmental framework."

(Hjortberg & Wingqvist 2008: 12)

This very same argument is also supported by other key contributory scholars within this academic debate; as can be found in the works of Nezej (2015) and Obradovic-Wochnik & Dodds (2015), who can be seen to promote a similar rhetoric in relation to the benefits of the EU's presence in Kosovo through environmental legislation developments which have occurred.

In academic literature surrounding the benefits of the EU's exertion of normative power over environmental development in the *international system* as a whole, the same argument in relation to environmental legislative development can also be found. This is especially apparent in the case of the EU's relationship with, and normative influence upon environmental development in China. Engagement particularly with sustainable development and climate change can be seen to constitute a primary focal point of this bilateral relationship, and has resulted in various major steps within the Chinese environmental sphere; as supported by Szunomár when arguing that “[The EU] has helped transform Chinese domestic policy in this area” (Szunomár 2012) and Yan & Zhimin (2009) when arguing that China has ‘dramatically’ improved its own domestic climate change legislation (Yan & Zhimin 2009).

By understanding these presented arguments, from which one can highlight a correlation between the environmental legislative developments which have come as a result of the EU's normative power exertion both in Kosovo and also in the wider international system, one can isolate ‘legislative progress’ specifically as a key element of the rhetoric in relation to the benefits that have arisen due to the EU's normative power exertion over the environmental sphere. This presented argument also maintains particular empirical value for data-triangulation purposes when applied comparatively with the key arguments of this thesis’ generated interview data.

However, within this existing academic debate it is argued that the benefits of the EU in this context have been consistently plagued by certain major practical shortcomings. The primary shortcoming having been argued to be the EU's supposed failures in establishing the necessary facilitative means in Kosovo for the practical implementation of many of these legislative developments. For example, Hjortberg and Winqvist (2008) argue that “implementation and enforcement is still very weak.” (Hjortberg and Winqvist 2008: 12), and Nezej (2015) also highlights that further large-scale development of Kosovo's ‘legal, political,

and human capacities' is required for the actual implementation of these legislative changes (Nezaj 2015: 15). This is a key argument which is also especially illustrated in the works of another key figure within this academic debate, Fajardo del Castillo (2015), when arguing that "Most problems regarding implementation and enforcement of this legal environmental regime are related with weak administrative infrastructure." (Fajardo del Castillo 2015: 9).

Furthermore, another major shortcoming of the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo in benefitting Kosovo's environmental development is highlighted by Obradovic-Wochnik & Dodds (2015), when suggesting that the EU's normative power exertion has failed to have an impact upon Kosovo's own norms and standards of practise. Kosovo can be seen to be 'going through the motions' of the EU's promoted norms, but practically speaking there is very little commitment to actually carrying out these changes (Obradovic-Wochnik & Dodds 2015).

Although this specific argument does not necessarily suggest that the EU has absolutely failed to have benefitted Kosovo's environmental development, it does suggest that the practical benefits of the EU's presence could have been limited by the EU's failures to have developed Kosovo's norms/ standards of practise. And this presents a potential weakness or flaw of the EU as a 'normative' power in this regard, as the changing of norms/ standards of practise is a primary intention of the EU's normative power exertion throughout the international system as a whole.

In the academic literature surrounding the EU's exertion of normative power over environmental development in the *international system*, similar arguments in relation to the shortcomings of the EU in this context can also be found. Kelemen (2010) draws specific attention to the EU's inability to secure the United States' participation in the Kyoto Protocol negotiations between 1995-1997 (Kelemen 2010: 344). Regardless of the apparent successes of the EU in having assumed a leadership role in the negotiations of the international environmental treaty, Kelemen (2010) argues that the EU was unable to have any impact upon the ideological position of the US, which consequently resulted in the US' failure to ratify the treaty in 1998 (Ibid). This example serves to demonstrate that the EU can be seen to have had major shortcomings in relation to changing the normative positions of other states, both in the case of Kosovo and evidently also in the wider international system.

These two presented shortcomings of the EU in having benefitted the development of Kosovo's environmental sphere are important to discuss in order to illustrate the current

rhetoric of the overall academic debate of this subject-area. That being, that although certain benefits have arisen from the EU's norm promotion in this sphere, these benefits have been greatly limited by the EU's failures in developing Kosovo's capacity for implementing these changes, and also the failures in developing Kosovo's norms/ standards of practise; these shortcomings were also illustrated in examples of the EU's normative power exertion over the international environmental sphere as a whole, and could therefore illustrate wider, more structural failures of the EU's contemporary normative power exertion.

The following table, and its structure, is of particular importance to the purpose of this research. It has coded and succinctly illustrated a summary of the primary thematic argument from each of the individual pieces of literature which have contributed towards the debate surrounding the impact of the EU specifically on the development of Kosovo's environmental sphere. Thematic categories have been generated from both the arguments gathered in the reviewing of this literature, and also from the arguments presented in this thesis' conducted interviews (further details of the Data Coding process can be found in **Chapter 4.5**). These thematic categories are also applied when coding/ analysing the generated expert interview data later in this thesis (see **Chapter 6 & Appendix 4**), and the primary arguments were utilised in this thesis' later data-triangulation of the generated interview data (**Chapter 6.1.2**). The breakdown of the literature constituting the highlighted academic debate is as follows*:

(*See Next Page (pp. 14))

Table 1.0:

| Table 1.0: Table Summarising Arguments of the Academic Debate on the Impacts of the EU's Exertion of Normative Principles over Kosovo for Kosovo's Environmental Development: | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|---|--|
| Author(s), (Year): | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere, but not without certain exceptions | Benefits have arisen from the EU, but there have been major shortcomings/ failures | No remarkable benefits have come from the EU regarding the development of this sphere | Benefits have come from the EU for the development of this sphere, but Kosovo must do more |
| Fajardo del Castillo, Teresa (2015) | | | | X | |
| Nezaj, Novitet Xh. (2015), | | | X | | |
| Obradovic-Wochnik, Jelena & Dodds, Anneliese (2015), | | | X | | |
| Xërxa, Bardh (2013) | X | | | | |
| Hjortberg, Antonia Sanchez & Wingqvist, Gunilla Ölund (2008) | | | X | | |
| <u>Total:</u> | 1 | | <u>3</u> | 1 | |

3.2 Assessing the Contextual Academic Debate and Table 1.0

Through carrying out this review of the existing academic debate in relation to how beneficial the EU's normative power exertion has been for Kosovo's environmental development, and through utilising the table above, we can isolate certain key arguments. We can see that the EU has benefitted Kosovo's environmental development primarily through having had an impact upon the development of Kosovo's environmental legislation. However, it's also argued that these benefits have been somewhat overshadowed by certain major failures of the EU in having

benefitted Kosovo's environmental development, as is illustrated in the argued failures of the EU to develop Kosovo's capacity for implementing these changes, and failure to change the environmental norms/ standards of practise in Kosovo (Nezaj 2015; Obradovic-Wochnik & Dodds 2015; Hjortberg & Wingqvist 2008). These factors can be seen to greatly limit the benefits that have arisen from the EU's normative power exertion in this context, and could highlight more structural flaws in the method of the EU's normative power exertion over the environmental sphere in the international system as a whole. Although certain individual deviations from these primary arguments can be isolated from the relevant literature (such as from Bardh (2013) and Fajardo del Castillo (2015)), the aforementioned arguments constitute and establish the existing rhetoric of the academic debate surrounding the themes of this thesis' research questions.

Chapter 4 Method

This thesis employs a qualitative semi-structured expert interview-based methodology in order to generate material/ data for latter analysis. This chapter acts as a presentation of the method chosen for data generation, what this generated data actually is, and how the data will be utilized/ analysed in the thesis' following 'Analysis' chapter (**Chapter 5**).

4.1 Qualitative Research

For the purposes of my research, and in order to answer this thesis' overarching research questions, '*how beneficial has the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo been for Kosovo's environmental development?*', and subsequently '*What are the potential consequences of the perceived role of the EU as an influential 'Normative Power' in the international system for other actors?*', I have chosen to employ a qualitative methodological approach. Flick (2009) suggests that only qualitative methods are able to provide the actual scientific explanations of facts (Flick 2009: 25); and that qualitative studies allow for a specific object within international relations to be the determining factor for the specific choice of method, and therefore, the field of study is not simply an artificially constructed hypothetical political situation, relation, discussion, etc., but the actual interactions and practices of subjects/ actors in reality (Ibid: 15). Conclusively, this understanding of Qualitative research methods highlights the value of its application for this thesis' overarching research questions, as this research seeks to produce an assessment of the non-hypothetical case of the impacts of EU power exertion over Kosovo for Kosovo's environmental development, and subsequently, the impacts of the perceived role of the EU as an influential 'normative power' in the international system.

This method has been chosen over the primary alternative of quantitative research methods, largely due to the fact that, as Oevermann et al. (1979) suggests, 'quantitative methods are only research economic shortcuts for data gathering processes', whereas qualitative methods hold the explanatory potential for understanding facts and phenomena (Oevermann et al. 1979 in Flick 2009: 25). This thesis pursues the *explanation* and *assessment* of this power exertion, which therefore further exemplifies the relevance and applicability of this methodological approach for the answering of this thesis' research questions.

One of the primary reasons as to why this methodological approach was chosen is not only to generate new, particularly contemporary and relevant, knowledge, but also to 'thicken'

existing data; the 'existing data' in this case being that of previous assessments made on the impact of the EU on Kosovo's environmental development and the role of the EU as a 'normative power' in the international system. 'Thickening data' refers to supplementing already existing data with 'richly textured' information (Giltman and Jackson 2013), such as hypotheses drawn from expert interview data. Through employing the following method, I am producing new knowledge, as to 'thicken' the existing data/ research on this specific subject area by drawing my own assessments on the EU's normative power exertion in this context and subsequently drawing new conclusions on the potential consequences of the perception of the EU as an influential 'normative power' in the international system as a whole (Schütz 1967; Geertz 1973; Lincoln and Guba 1985).

4.2 Semi-Structured Expert Interviews

Within the chosen Qualitative methodological approach for this research, in 2020, I have conducted 3 semi-structured expert interviews. Semi-structured interviews are extremely useful research instruments, as they allow for the development of an understanding of people's opinions, experiences, values, and formal and informal roles (Halperin and Heath 2017: 289). The method involves the conducting of a small number of interviews, for which I have used a combination of both structured and unstructured questions (as to provide both factual and experiential answers). These questions have been pre-emptively written, and supplementary questions were also prepared.

The selection of interviewees is also an exceptionally important factor in the conducting of qualitative research of this nature. 'Expert interviews' have been conducted in order to best answer this thesis' research questions. In expert interviews, the interviewees as individuals are not of primary interest, but their capacities as experts within a specific field are what makes them significant to the research study (Flick 2009: 165). Persons that can be considered to be an authority within a given subject can be broadly labelled as 'experts' in this context (Ibid).

I have primarily chosen this methodology as Semi-Structured expert interviews are argued to be the optimum method for developing an insight into a subjects experiences and opinions, and therefore, the approach allowed for the generation of more applicable data to my overall analysis (Ibid). Furthermore, Flick (2009) refers to Bogner and Menz (2002: 36-38) in highlighting the multiple benefits of utilizing expert interviews, such as their use for the purpose of orientation and exploration in a field, which allows for the creation of a thematic structure within said field and allows for the generation of new hypotheses (Ibid: 165). The

generation of thematic structures from the expert interviews was exceptionally important in the coding and analysis of the generated data, and by applying this methodology, data has been gathered which allows me to analyse the actual experiences of, and opinions on, the impact of the EU in this thesis' chosen context.

The 'expert' interview method explicitly benefitted the conclusions of this thesis, as it has enabled this research to deeply explore the subject area and generate new, well-informed, contemporarily relevant, and applicable data, as to develop *new* hypotheses and assessments. This allowed for the 'thickening' of existing data, and simultaneously produces a broader and more in depth understanding of the nature of environmental development processes in the relationships between the EU and other nations within the international system.

However, a shortcoming of the utilization of this method specifically is that comparison between the responses of the same group over time and different groups is fairly difficult (Ibid). It is also practically impossible to present identical questions throughout each individual interview with each interviewee (Ibid). To a minor extent, this could damage the overall reliability/ replicability of the conclusions of this thesis' analysis; however, this issue is not remarkable enough to warrant alteration of the method itself due to the aforementioned benefits that the method provides to this research's conclusions.

4.3 Conducting the Interviews

In the practical execution phase of the interviews, the interviewees were contacted in advance and received a single inquiry as to whether or not they would be interested in/ available to participate in this research. Interviewees were informed about the specific purposes of the research via email, and they were later provided with a document containing concisely summarising information depicting the overarching themes of discussion.

The original intention of this research was to conduct interviews 'in the field' (i.e. Pristina, Kosovo), face-to-face; however, due to the Covid-19 Pandemic (2020) coinciding with my field-study period, my time in Kosovo was shortened, and many of Kosovo's political offices were also subsequently closed. This meant that, upon my forced return to Sweden from Kosovo, the interviews were conducted via Skype, as opposed to face-to-face. However, the quality of the data generated by these interviews was not reduced, as it was the specific opinions, examples, and reflections made by the interviewees which were of primary importance in my analysis, and this could still be drawn from the Skype interviews.

The interviews lasted, on average, **1:30** hours each. The questions were pre-emptively written, and a previously formulated structure guided the presentation of these questions throughout the interview (see **Appendix 2**). Interviews were consensually recorded through Skype's internal recording software, and then transcribed; these transcriptions were then offered to be shared with the interviewees if requested.

From the generated interview data, only material which is explicitly relevant to the purposes of this thesis has been consensually included in this thesis text in the form of quotations in this thesis' final analysis. The final transcriptions of the interview data were coded according to the themes discussed in the later sub-chapter, **Chapter 4.5**.

4.4 Operationalising the Narrowed Normative Principles

Operationalization is the process in which one or more theoretical definition is assigned to one or more operational indicator. In this case, operationalization has taken place through narrowing and translating Manners' (2008) 'nine normative principles' into questions to be presented to the interviewees, which have also been specifically altered in order to better suit the context of environmental development.

In the data generated from these interviews, concisely, when the expert interviewees highlight reflections/ arguments of specific beneficial impacts made through the EU's exertion/ promotion of the normative principles under the given principle's individual sphere, we can use this generated data to suggest that the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo has been beneficial to the development of that principle's respective sphere. When the expert interviewees suggest that there has not been any beneficial impact of the EU in the given principles' sphere, then (simply speaking) the assessment can be made that the EU's power exertion has not been beneficial. Through these isolated indicators drawn from the generated interview data, certain themes emerged from the expert interviewees' reflections of the EU's impact in the individual principles' spheres, and these provided alternative thematic-categories for the overall assessment of how beneficial the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo has been in this context (thematic category generation discussed in greater detail in **Chapter 4.6** and shown in **Appendix 4**). These conclusions then subsequently allow for the discussion of the second of this thesis' research questions.

4.5 Coding and Analysis of Generated Data

‘Open coding’ was employed in this research, which relies upon *grounded codes*. ‘Grounded coding’ focuses upon identifying themes in the generated data, which “emerge from the data as the researcher reads it” (Halperin and Heath 2012: 323). This means that themes are identified in the interview data, and patterns/ shared arguments can then be isolated and categorised (Ibid). Consequently, the data generated in the different interviews can be paired together, or contrasted with one-another, which allows for the analysis of emerging arguments (and therefore new data) from across each of the individual interviews.

Under each of the five operationalized normative principle interview questions, which have created five separate summarising data-tables (as highlighted in **Appendix 4**), separate themes are generated from the presented arguments in each interview and also from isolated key arguments from this thesis’ literature review of the existing academic debate (as highlighted in **Chapter 3**). These individually presented arguments then highlight reflections of the impact that the EU’s normative power exertion has had on Kosovo’s environmental development under each normative principle’s sphere. In the later *Discussion* chapter of this thesis (**Chapter 6**), the recurring thematic arguments from the total five narrowed operationalised EU normative principles’ tables are compiled; which allows this thesis to conclusively make an assessment of the primary arguments of the EU’s impact in relation to each relevant principles’ sphere, and consequently assess the overall benefit that the EU’s normative power exertion over Kosovo has had for Kosovo’s environmental development as a whole. Through utilising the generated assessments, a perception of the EU’s role as an influential ‘normative power’ in the international system has been presented, which allows this thesis to subsequently reflect upon the potential consequences of this perceived role for other international actors.

4.6 Reliability: Data Triangulation

Gerring (2007) explains that in order for data-based evidence to be considered strong, it should be obtained from more than one source and through using more than one method. This is a methodological process called ‘triangulation’ (Gerring 2007). Flick (2009) also argues that this is a primary strategy in promoting the quality of a qualitative study (Flick 2009: 444). Data-Triangulation, as a strategy to verify the data generated by the expert interviews through cross-checking certain examples, claims, arguments, etc., has been conducted in order to ensure the greater validity, and thus reliability, of the assessments and conclusions of this thesis’ two research questions.

Data-triangulation has been employed by comparatively analysing the primary arguments and assessments isolated from the conducted expert interviews (Interview data Analysis conducted in **Chapter 6**) with the primary arguments/ assessments drawn from the existing literature of the academic debate on the same subject; the literature in question, and incorporated primary arguments, were highlighted in **Chapter 3**. Balkan media publications were also employed in the data-triangulation process in order to diversify the types of data used in the comparative analysis. The inclusion of this aforementioned data, for the purpose of data-triangulation, added to the depth of the thesis' conclusions, and also allowed for the introduction of more contradictory perspectives to the arguments presented in the expert interviews.

Chapter 5 Analysis

The following chapter presents and analyses this research's generated data. The following analysis, and applied analytical framework, has been created upon the foundations established in the Theory (**Chapter 2**), existing literature (**Chapter 3**) and Method (**Chapter 4**) chapters of this thesis. The following chapter has been divided into five sub-chapters; each of which will represent one of the narrowed *five normative principles*.

Each sub-chapter of this analysis will assess the impact of the EU's exertion of its normative power on each individual principle's sphere under the overarching case of Kosovo's environmental development. The analysis of each principle (in its given sub-chapter) will begin by highlighting reflections made by the expert interviewees on the impact of the EU's use of normative power, from the generated data, on the principle's given sphere.

Under *each* principle's sphere, conclusions will then be drawn which assess how beneficial the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo has been for the development of that *individual sphere*. By drawing these conclusions on the EU's impact upon each of the relevant principle's spheres, it consequently will allow this thesis to generate a final overall conclusion on how beneficial the EU's exertion of power over Kosovo has been for Kosovo's environmental development as a whole, thus addressing the first of this thesis' research questions. Through this assessment, the second research question of this thesis can be addressed, exploring the potential consequences of the perception of the role of the EU as an influential 'normative power' for other actors operating in the international system.

For specific information on the individual interviewees, see **Appendix 3**; **Appendix 4** presents a summary of the separate thematic argument category's and brief interpretation of the answers provided by the interviewees. Specific Information on each of the Normative Principles can be found in **Chapter 2.3**.

Chapter 5.1.1 The EU's Impact on the Sphere of '*Consensual Democracy*' in Kosovo

Thematic Arguments from the Generated Interview Data:

In each of the conducted expert interviews, the significantly beneficial impacts made through the EU's promotion of the principle of '*Consensual Democracy*' for the development of the relevant sphere have explicitly been remarked upon. **Interviewee 1**, for example, stated that "through having such an impact on Kosovo's economy, social aspects, and society in general,

they [the EU] have affected certain policies in the ‘consensual democracy sphere’” (Interviewee 1 2020); focus throughout the answering of this question by **Interviewee 1** gravitated around the EU’s strengthening of domestic Kosovo institutions, and **Interviewee 3** also presented the same argument through suggesting that the EU has majorly benefitted these same institutions through ‘financial support’, ‘legal regulation’, and ‘general capacity building’ (Interviewee 3 2020). This was a key argument further supported by **Interviewee 2** when stating that “they [the EU] are one of the biggest promoters in investing in visibility and promotion materials to get people out on the streets and voting [...] The EU has made a huge impact just by approaching people.” (Interviewee 2 2020).

In presenting these statements, it’s clear that the EU exertion of normative power over Kosovo has had a significantly beneficial impact upon the development of the sphere of *consensual democracy* in Kosovo through its promotion of the relevant principle; an impact which is argued in these interviews to be particularly reflected through the impact of the EU on developing relevant societal and social spheres.

However, the impacts of the EU specifically in this principle’s sphere can be understood to be somewhat limited; as suggested in an argument presented by **Interviewee 1** when arguing that the EU *has* had an impact on ‘*Consensual Democracy*’ in Kosovo in certain areas, however, “[the EU] really under delivered in others” (Interviewee 1 2020). This is an argument relevant to an earlier point made in the same interview conducted with **Interviewee 1**, in which it was suggested that the EU has failed to make any real progress specifically in relation to *power-sharing* (a key tenet of the principle of *Consensual Democracy*), in which Kosovo can still be seen to have an exceptionally centralised power system (Ibid). This reduces the degree to which the EU’s exertion of normative power can absolutely be considered as having been beneficial to the development of this specific principle’s sphere.

Conclusive Assessment of the Benefits of the EU’s normative Power Exertion over Kosovo for the Development of the ‘Consensual Democracy’ Sphere:

As a result of these arguments, conclusively, in relation to the benefits of the EU’s exertion of normative power over Kosovo upon the sphere of ‘*Consensual Democracy*’, the EU has had a greatly positive impact on development, and can therefore be considered to have been beneficial to the overall development of this sphere. The generated interview data would specifically suggest that this has been demonstrated in the major developments e.g. in democratic institution strengthening, which has been argued to have occurred as a direct impact

of this EU norm promotion (Interviewee 1 2020; Interviewee 2 2020; Interviewee 3 2020). However, the EU's normative power exertion has failed to develop key areas of this principle's sphere, as can especially be seen in the failures to de-centralise Kosovo's political power (Interviewee 1 2020); therefore, when assessing the benefits of this power exertion, the overall benefit for the development of the sphere of *Consensual Democracy*, has been slightly reduced.

These failures in the development of certain areas of *this* principle's sphere in Kosovo raise questions as to the overall benefit of the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo for Kosovo's environmental development as a whole; as it has been argued that certain relevant/ key areas are yet to have benefitted from the EU's power exertion, regardless of the observable development of other areas.

Chapter 5.1.2 The EU's Impact on the Sphere of the '*Supranational Rule of Law*' in Kosovo

Thematic Arguments of the Generated Interview Data:

From the generated interview data relevant to the development of the sphere of the '*Supranational Rule of Law*' in Kosovo, the argued benefits of the EU's normative power exertion were somewhat questionable; polarising accounts of the impacts made by the EU in this context can be isolated from the conducted interviews.

Interviewee 1 stated that "without the EU there would be no backbone to Kosovo's judicial system"; further articulating that "the EU's role has been critical in its impacts. And without them, the judicial system would not be what it is today. It would be a shambles." (Interviewee 1 2020). Throughout the interview, **Interviewee 1** presents a stance consistently highlighting that the EU has had an exceptionally beneficial impact upon rule of law development in Kosovo.

However, in the interview conducted with **Interviewee 2** a polarising argument was presented, arguing that "They [the EU] have constantly failed to have a serious impact on developments of bringing rule of law by any means to Kosovo." (Interviewee 2 2020); this was a statement made in specific reference to the argued niche failures of the EU in developing Kosovo's criminal justice sphere (Interviewee 2 2020). **Interviewee 3** can be seen to have argued for somewhat of a middle-ground between these two presented sides of the argument through having suggested that the EU has been instrumental in strengthening relevant rule of law institutions; especially through the European Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX),

which has been extremely beneficial to the operating and development of the Kosovo police force (Interviewee 3 2020). However, **Interviewee 3** also suggests that EULEX has widely been acknowledged as a “failure”, due to the suggested continuing weakness of rule of law as a whole in Kosovo, and also the presence of “dysfunctional justice systems” (Ibid).

Conclusively, unlike the correlation in arguments from the interviews regarding the impact that the EU’s normative power exertion has resulted in for the sphere of ‘*Consensual Democracy*’, there are three separate presented stances regarding how beneficial the impact of the EU has been for the development of the sphere of the ‘*Supranational Rule of Law*’.

Conclusive Assessment of the Benefits of the EU’s normative Power Exertion over Kosovo for the Development of the ‘Supranational Rule of Law’ Sphere:

The arguments made in the generated interview data polarised the understanding of how beneficial the EU’s exertion of normative power over Kosovo has been for development of the sphere of the ‘*Supranational Rule of Law*’ in Kosovo. As a result of these arguments, this power exertion can be seen to have, overall, been beneficial to the sphere’s development due to the presented arguments regarding widespread, ‘*Rule of Law*’ related, institutional development, and the strengthening of Kosovo’s police force as a whole, an argument presented in two of the conducted expert interviews. However, the degree to which the benefits of this power exertion can be considered reduced by the supposed failures in relation to the EU’s development specifically of the criminal justice sphere in Kosovo, is significant.

Therefore, one can consider the EU’s normative power exertion over Kosovo as having been beneficial to the strengthening and development of the ‘*Supranational Rule of Law*’ as a whole in Kosovo, but the benefit of this power exertion has been greatly limited by the EU’s apparent failures in other significant areas of the sphere. This, once again, raises questions regarding how beneficial the EU’s exertion of normative power over Kosovo has been for Kosovo’s environmental development as a whole, as the EU can be consistently highlighted to have failed to develop certain key areas whilst simultaneously driving major development of others. This consequently implies the presence of certain flaws in the methods of the EU’s normative power exertion in this regard.

Chapter 5.1.3 The EU’s Impact on the Sphere of the ‘*Social Solidarity*’ in Kosovo

Thematic Arguments of the Generated Interview Data:

In the generated interview data, the EU's promotion of the principle of '*Social Solidarity*' is argued to have been significantly beneficial for the development of the relevant sphere in Kosovo. This argument was especially presented by **Interviewee 2** when arguing that "you can see that the EU has been strongly and successfully pushing and impacting social solidarity, e.g. in economic growth, specific societal impacts, election processes, democratic exercise, [...]." (Interviewee 2 2020). **Interviewee 3** also highlights the benefits of the large EU funding in this sphere, and the successes of the EU in 'raising awareness' and national acknowledgement of related issues through various EU campaigns (Interviewee 3 2020). These interviews have provided a fairly straightforward argument to suggest that the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo has been particularly beneficial to the development of the sphere of '*Social Solidarity*', especially in the referred to development of the domestic economy, and society as a whole.

This is a sentiment further promulgated by **Interviewee 1** when suggesting that the EU's normative power exertion has the ability to greatly benefit and develop the sphere of '*Social Solidarity*' in Kosovo. However, as argued by **Interviewee 1**, and referred to by **Interviewee 3**, this development is only achieved through the EU's 'Dangling of the Carrot' in relation to the EU's power over Visa Liberalisation and EU Accession processes (Interviewee 1 2020; Interviewee 3 2020). Therefore, in the presented arguments regarding the EU's impact upon the sphere of '*Social Solidarity*' in Kosovo, it's argued that the EU has been unquestionably beneficial; however, the further specification from **Interviewee 1** and **Interviewee 2** raises the question as to why/ how these impacts have arisen.

Conclusive Assessment of the Benefits of the EU's normative Power Exertion over Kosovo for the Development of the 'Social Solidarity' Sphere:

Through analysing the arguments presented in the conducted expert interviews, we can see that the EU's normative power exertion has been greatly beneficial for the development of the sphere of '*Social Solidarity*' in Kosovo. Within this generated data arose the further argument that the benefits of the impacts of the EU in this regard could have perhaps been even more significant if Kosovo's implementation of these EU developments was better executed. These conclusions, once again, present this thesis with a major consideration for the latter conclusive assessments, as it provides a new factor to consider ascertaining to potential information as to

why certain areas of Kosovo's environmental development field have failed to develop, regardless of the EU's exertion of normative power.

Chapter 5.1.4 The EU's Impact on the Sphere of the 'Sustainable Development' in Kosovo

Thematic Arguments of the Generated Interview Data:

In the conducted expert interviews, in answering the posed question addressing the impacts of the EU's normative power exertion in the sphere of 'sustainable development', the interviewees were consistent in their suggestion that the EU's normative power exertion has been beneficial to the development of this principle's sphere in Kosovo. However, there have once again been argued to be certain 'failures' of the EU in this sphere's development.

Interviewee 1 illustrates examples of certain developments in Kosovo's 'Sustainable Development' sphere, which have once again been related to Kosovo's steps towards EU accession. Specific reference was made to EU 'mandated targets for renewable energy production', and the 'construction of a major wind farm in the north of Kosovo in Mitrovica' (Interviewee 1 2020). **Interviewee 3** also highlights the extensive benefits of the EU's normative power exertion through its impact upon the spreading and provision of information, and also developing and regulating clean water in Kosovo (Interviewee 3 2020). **Interviewee 2** highlights more societally focused developments within this sphere, in arguing that "The EU has left pretty booming sustainable development in the Civil sector in Kosovo [...] we have large groups, NGO's, think tanks, etc. in civil society, which are explicitly addressing sustainable development and sustainability issues." (Interviewee 2 2020). These arguments present various major developments which have been made within the *Sustainable development* sphere in Kosovo, and thus highlight the benefits that have come from the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo for the development of this sphere.

However, throughout the interview conducted with **Interviewee 1**, consistent reference was also made to certain failures and shortcomings of the EU in the same principles sphere. **Interviewee 1** states "Kosovo is only putting time, effort, and resources into environmental policies fundamentally because they are being told to do so" (Interviewee 1 2020). With one of the primary purposes of the EU's normative promotion of these principles being diffusion of norms, and changing of standards of practise regarding these matters throughout the EU's sphere of influence (Manners 2008: 73-74), through **Interviewee 1** suggesting that the

developments have only arisen as a result of Kosovo's pursuit of EU accession, it implies that the norms of practice in this sphere in Kosovo remain unchanged regardless of EU presence and normative power exertion. Therefore, this suggests that the EU has partly failed in the promotion of these normative principles, as the 'norm diffusion' tenet of the EU's exertion of normative power has seemingly not taken place in this sphere.

Conclusive Assessment of the Benefits of the EU's normative Power Exertion over Kosovo for the Development of the 'Sustainable Development' Sphere:

Through analysing the arguments presented in the conducted expert interviews, we can see that the EU's normative power exertion can be seen to have been beneficial to the development of the sphere of 'Sustainable Development' in Kosovo through various major impacts and developments from its norm promotion within the relevant sphere; primarily in the field of renewable energy and civil-society development. However, it can also be argued that the EU's impact has had certain shortcomings, as it was argued that the EU has seemingly failed to reform norms/ standards of practice in this sphere in Kosovo.

Conclusively, the EU's normative power exertion can be seen to have benefitted the development of 'Sustainable Development' in Kosovo through various examples of major developments in key areas of the sphere. However, by understanding the failures of the EU in relation to a lack of an impact upon the changing of norms/ standards of practice within the sphere of 'sustainable development' in Kosovo, the EU can be seen to be failing in its own aims of norm diffusion, as norms have been argued to have remained unchanged in over 12 years of extensive operation in Kosovo. Therefore, this data potentially highlights certain grander structural flaws in the EU's normative power exertion methods/ processes in its relationships in the international system as a whole.

Chapter 5.1.5 The EU's Impact on the Sphere of the 'Good Governance' in Kosovo

Thematic Arguments of the Generated Interview Data:

Throughout arguments presented in the conducted expert interviews, in the sphere of 'Good Governance', the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo has consistently been argued to have been significantly beneficial to the development of this sphere.

Interviewee 2 particularly articulated this argument when stating that “good governance was created through good administration. So they [the EU] invested a lot in good management, and this required basically a strong technical foundation in the form of new buildings, new services for the citizens, online governance, etc. [...] Judging from these perspectives I think that the EU’s impact has been really big.” (Interviewee 2 2020). A similar argument was also presented by **Interviewee 3** in highlighting the development of Kosovo’s governing institutions, in which the “efficiency” of Kosovo’s governance over matters such as human rights has been greatly improved through the EU’s financial and oversight support (Interviewee 3 2020).

Interviewee 1 also argues for the large-scale developments in this sphere that the EU’s presence and norm promotion has been argued to be largely been responsible for. However, reference is once again made to the EU’s impact having only taken place as a result of the motivation of EU accession process developments. **Interviewee 1** stated “the whole accession process and talks once again have made such a significant impact. Do you want to join the EU? [...] How do you do that? You have to follow the EU directives. Those are the beginnings of completely establishing good governance” (Interviewee 1 2020). In the arguments presented by each of the interviewees in relation to this principle’s sphere, we can once again highlight that major benefits have come to the development of this sphere; however, the accession process is also highlighted as being a prominent motivational factor in this principle sphere’s development.

Conclusive Assessment of the Benefits of the EU’s normative Power Exertion over Kosovo for the Development of the ‘Good Governance’ Sphere:

Through analysing the arguments presented in the conducted expert interviews, we can see that the EU’s normative power exertion can be seen to have been extremely beneficial to the development of the sphere of ‘Good Governance’ in Kosovo. This has been particularly exemplified through arguments illustrating the EU’s impact upon the development of e.g. Kosovo’s administrative capacities, strengthening of state institutions, etc. Once again, however, it can also be concluded that the EU has partly failed in its own promotion of this principle, as the EU has been argued to have failed to reform national norms/ standards of practise in this regard. Developments have arguably only occurred in order for Kosovo to achieve eventual accession, as opposed to widespread reformation of Kosovo’s perceptions, norms, and standards of practise.

As a result of these arguments from the conducted interviews, the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo can again be seen to have been significantly beneficial for the development of the 'Good Governance' sphere. In relation to the presented arguments regarding the EU's failures to have reformed standards of practise and norms within this sphere, the fact that this argument was consistently raised in various answers within each of the conducted interviews suggests that this is a major point for consideration when discussing and assessing the EU's normative power exertion. The EU's apparent failures in reforming Kosovo's norms/ standards of practise in line with the EU's *acquis* could once again potentially be employed to highlight more structural failures of the EU's methods for normative power exertion in the international sphere as a whole.

Chapter 6 Discussion and Analysis of Findings

The following chapter will present and discuss the conclusions of the analysis of the generated expert interview data. These conclusions will be employed in order to create an assessment on how beneficial the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo has been for Kosovo's environmental development, thus addressing the first of this thesis' research questions. The generated assessments will then be subsequently comparatively analysed, for the purpose of data triangulation, with the arguments of the presented existing academic debate on the same subject-area (as presented in the literature review of **Chapter 3**) and also Balkan media publications. These conclusions subsequently allow us to address the second research question of this thesis, discussing the potential consequences of the perceived role of the EU as an influential 'normative power' for other actors in the international system (**Chapter 6.2**).

Chapter 6.1.1 Discussing the Impact of the EU on Kosovo's Environmental Development

The EU's exertion of its normative power through these aforementioned 5 normative principles has come through an array of development projects, collaborative efforts with international and domestic actors in Kosovo, etc.; and five of these promoted principles have direct relevance to the development of a key area of focus for the EU's operation both within the international system as a whole and in Kosovo: environmental development. The first research question of this thesis, being '*how beneficial has the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo been for Kosovo's environmental development?*', therefore, naturally presents itself.

The previous chapter has presented assessments, made through the arguments presented in the generated interview data, which address the overall benefits of the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo for the development of *five* normative principle's spheres in Kosovo; all of these spheres being explicitly relevant to Kosovo's environmental development (as highlighted in **Chapter 2.3**). Through combining these contextually specific assessments, it allows this thesis to present a conclusive critical assessment determining how beneficial the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo has been for Kosovo's environmental development as a whole.

The major findings of the conducted analysis of this thesis are succinctly coded and illustrated in *Table 2.0* below using the primary argument from each interviewee for each principles' sphere (further details of which are presented through **Appendix 4**).

Table 2.0: Depicting the Separate Final Arguments from Each Interviewee in Generated Thematic Categories

| Normative Principles' Sphere: | Analysed Data's Arguments as Generated Thematic Categories | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|--|--|---|--|
| | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere, but not without certain exceptions | Benefits have arisen from the EU, but there have been major shortcomings/ failures | No remarkable benefits have come from the EU regarding the development of this sphere | Benefits have come from the EU for the development of this sphere, but Kosovo must do more |
| 'Consensual Democracy' | 2 | | 1 | | |
| 'Supranational Rule of Law' | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| 'Social Solidarity' | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| 'Sustainable Development' | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| 'Good Governance' | 2 | 1 | | | |
| <u>Total:</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> |

The table highlights that in 2 of 5 of the individual narrowed principle spheres in Kosovo, the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo has been argued to be significantly beneficial for the spheres' strengthening and development; these principle spheres being: 'Social Solidarity' and 'Good Governance'. In the remaining 3 principle spheres, there have been argued to have been widespread benefits of the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo in the strengthening and development of the spheres, however, these benefits have been limited by the EU's apparent failures in other primary areas under each principle's sphere; these 3 spheres being: 'Consensual Democracy', 'Supranational Rule of Law', and 'Sustainable Development'. So, what do these findings ultimately mean for this thesis' first research question?

Succinctly, the majority of the evidence from the analysis suggests that the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo has, overall, been beneficial for environmental development in Kosovo. This is reflected through presented examples of certain major progressions that this power exertion has resulted in across *all* principle spheres relevant to environmental development in Kosovo. Widespread institutional strengthening, project implementation, and societal development across each of the relevant spheres has been argued

to occur as a direct result of EU operations in these fields. Even in those principle spheres which highlight certain failures of the EU in developing specific areas, other significant beneficial developments have still simultaneously occurred within *every* individual principles' sphere.

The benefits of the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo, however, are not absolute, and there have undoubtedly been major failures of the EU to develop certain key areas in Kosovo's growth, e.g. in the failures to develop Kosovo's norms/ standards of practise, criminal justice systems, over centralised power system, etc. This can be considered as a major fault of the EU in their promotion of these principles, reducing the degree to which the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo can be considered beneficial for Kosovo's environmental development, and also potentially highlighting certain flaws in the institutions method of normative power exertion as a whole.

However, due to the presence of overwhelming examples of the widespread benefits of the EU's power exertion isolated from the expert interviews, which can be highlighted in *every one* of the principle spheres relevant to environmental development in Kosovo, one can firmly conclude that the EU's normative Power exertion over Kosovo has been beneficial for Kosovo's environmental development. This conclusion is also particularly important in order to subsequently address this thesis' second research question, which explores the potential impacts of the perceived role of the EU as an influential 'normative power' for other actors in the international system. These conclusions and their relation to the second research question, will be conclusively addressed in the later chapter, **Chapter 6.2**.

6.1.2 Data-Triangulation: Comparisons Between the Conclusions of the Analysis and the Arguments of the Existing Academic Debate

In order to ensure the validity of the assessments and conclusions drawn from the arguments presented by the expert interviewees in each of the previous analysis sub-chapters, the primary statements, examples, and arguments have been comparatively analysed/ triangulated with the arguments of the previously presented existing academic literature (presented in **Chapter 3**) which extensively discusses the impact of the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo for Kosovo's environmental development (greater detail on Data Triangulation in this analysis can be found in **Chapter 4.6**).

When comparing the previously presented conclusive assessments, which have been conceived through the analysis of generated data from expert interviews, with that of the presented arguments of the existing academic debate on the topic (as presented in **Chapter 3**), certain interesting similarities and differences can be highlighted.

For example, the arguments of Nezaj (2015), Obradovic-Wochnik & Dodds (2015), Xërxa (2013), and Hjortberg & Wingqvist (2008) all highlighted legislative steps in Kosovo's environmental development which can be used to illustrate examples of the major benefits of the EU's normative principle promotion in Kosovo. The legislative steps were not, however, referred to in any particular detail in the conducted expert interviews, and it was the projects of the EU collaboratively in Kosovo which were primarily remarked upon.

However, the data generated from the interviews conducted for this thesis did have a significant similarity with the existing literature through suggesting that the benefits of the EU's normative power exertion could have been even more substantial if Kosovo's framework/capacity for implementation was greater; a key argument which was highlighted and shared by **Interviewee 1** (2020) of the conducted interviews, and Bardh (2013) of the conducted literature review. Furthermore, Hjortberg & Wingqvist (2008) also explicitly suggested that development in Kosovo has only taken place as a result of Kosovo's pursuit of further accession talks, as opposed to developing norms/ standards of practise; this argument was especially prominent throughout *each* of the expert interviews conducted for this thesis.

Conclusively, however, when observing the 'full-picture' of the referred to data pools, the data generated in this thesis generally contradicts the current academic debate's rhetoric through suggesting that the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo *has* been beneficial for environmental development in Kosovo. Whereas the existing academic debate, as highlighted in **Chapter 3**, generally argues that the benefits of the EU's norm promotion have been extremely limited, due to the suggestion that developments have only taken place in relation to legislative changes, and that the EU's failure to develop Kosovo's capacity for implementing these changes has greatly limited any potential benefits that could have arisen from the legislative changes.

As a result of this lack of convergence between the assessments drawn from the conducted expert interviews and the primary arguments of the existing academic debate/rhetoric, in accordance with the chosen data-triangulation methods, it could be argued that the degree of validity of the conclusions of this research has been somewhat reduced (Creswell

2014; Gerring 2007). However, as was previously highlighted in this thesis' Method Chapter (**Chapter 4**), Bogner and Menz (2002: 36-38) argue that one of the primary benefits of utilising expert interviews as a primary research methodology is that it allows for the generation of entirely new hypotheses (Ibid: 165). Therefore, the inconsistencies between the arguments of the scholars of the existing academic debate with that of the conclusions of this research's generated expert interview data is not necessarily detrimental or even unexpected; this is due to the fact that entirely new data has been produced by these expert interviews, which consequently resulted in entirely new hypotheses on the discussion of the benefits of the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo for Kosovo's environmental development. Therefore, even though inconsistencies can be isolated from the presented arguments/ conclusions of the two different sources of data, this does not necessarily invalidate this thesis' interview data, but perhaps demonstrates that this thesis' generated interview data and subsequent hypotheses have 'thickened' this research-area's existing data-pool. The existing paradigmatic rhetoric of the academic debate can now be questioned due to the existence of a newly generated array of more contemporarily relevant/ applicable data.

For the purpose of further diversifying the type/ sources of material utilised for data triangulation, the assessments drawn from the generated interview data have also been comparatively analysed and triangulated with primary material in the form of Balkan media reports and articles on the impact of the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo for Kosovo's environmental development. Upon comparing the presented arguments of the varying primary material sources with that of the conclusions drawn from the analysis of this thesis' generated interview data, a clear correspondence in rhetoric became apparent. For example, 'Balkan Green Energy News' (2020) and the 'Balkan Green Foundation' (2018) both clearly acknowledge the widespread benefits to Kosovo's environmental development which have come from the EU's operation and support within this sphere. Both sources refer to assistance in relation to the ideological impact of the EU, practical support from the EU in environmental development initiatives, and the EU's funding of environmental projects (Balkan Green Energy News 2020; Balkan Green Foundation 2018). This maintains a clear correspondence with the conclusions drawn from the analysed generated expert interview data, which also suggests that the EU has been particularly beneficial for Kosovo's environmental development through ideological impact and institutional strengthening through practical assistance and funding.

In accordance with principles of the data-triangulation process, this correlation can be employed in order to highlight the validity of the generated interview data of this thesis (Gerring 2007) (Flick 2009: 444). However, importantly, this correlation could also further support the aforementioned notion that, due to the newly generated expert interview data and hypotheses from this thesis' research, the scholars of the existing academic debate are now more enabled to question the current academic debate's rhetoric which promotes the argument that the EU has failed to have been predominantly beneficial for Kosovo's environmental development through its exertion of normative power over Kosovo.

6.2 Potential Consequences of the Perception of the EU's role as an Influential 'Normative Power' in the International System

As has been previously referred to, by acting as a normative majority within certain international relations contexts, the EU is able to lead non-member states into international engagements, shared understandings, and debates. And through the foreign relations of the EU Manners (2002) suggests that this promotion of norms can be clearly highlighted (Manners 2002: 248-252).

Throughout the conducted interviews, reference was consistently made to the influence of the EU in driving environmental development initiatives in Kosovo through utilising Kosovo's EU accession as a motivational tool. Manners (2002) highlights that 'accession talks' are one of the key examples of EU foreign relations which can be utilised in order to demonstrate the EU's promotion of norms (Ibid), and it's through acting as a normative majority, and leading non-member states (such as Kosovo) into engagements, shared understandings, etc. which would allow us to define the EU as a *Normative Power*. The great degree of influence of the EU through utilising EU-Accession as a tool in Kosovo's environmental development was referred to throughout *each* conducted interview, and is especially illustrated in the following excerpt from the Interview conducted with **Interviewee 1** (2020):

“Well fundamentally, the whole accession process and talks once again have made such a significant impact. Do you want to join the EU? Do you want to join this club of nations which will not only secure your immediate future, and also long-term economic prosperity? How do you do that? You have to follow the EU directives.”

(Interviewee 1 2020)

Through having concluded, by analysing the compiled interview data, that the EU has, overall, had a largely beneficial impact upon Kosovo's environmental development through its exertion of normative power over Kosovo, and through consistent arguments presented by the expert interviewees which suggest that these developments have primarily been driven by the EU's utilisation of EU-Accession as a tool, we are conclusively enabled to illustrate the EU as an influential 'normative power'. This thesis is therefore subsequently enabled to address the potential consequences of this perceived role of the EU.

For example, these conclusions which highlight the benefits that have arisen from Kosovo's cooperation in assimilating with the EU's environmental normative standards could be employed to influence the actions of other states similar to Kosovo, within the EU's sphere of influence, to be more receptive to the EU's promotion of these norms; states in somewhat comparable situations, such as Turkey, could provide an example of this. Turkey is also in the midst of the EU-Accession process, and must assimilate its own environmental norms and standards of practise with that of the EU in order to be considered for future membership (Algan & Mengi 2005). Turkey has previously been criticised for having failed to make any progress in relation to compliance with environmental/ sustainable practise standards presented by the EU (Ibid). Through observing and understanding the benefits that have arisen for Kosovo's environmental development as a result of its receptiveness to the EU's exertion of normative power, perhaps Turkey will also consider rapid assimilation with the EU *acquis* to be the optimum method to capitalise upon the benefits witnessed in Kosovo's assimilation, such as widespread institutional strengthening, project implementation, and societal development; thus consequently resulting in a wider adoption of EU norms, policies, etc. as a whole, and furthering its own accession process.

Furthermore, through the utilisation of accession talks as a motivational tool, the EU's widely beneficial/ 'successful' use of normative power in the case of Kosovo's environmental development, which has been clearly illustrated in these interviews and conclusions, could also influence other regional institutions/ actors in the international system to adopt a reflective approach to power and influence exertion. For example, the 'Association of Southeast Asian Nations' (ASEAN) could be encouraged by the example of the EU's successful utilisation of accession-talks to utilise its own regional-intergovernmental-organisation accession as a tool to encourage potential candidates for future ASEAN enlargement (such as Papua New Guinea (Jacobs 2012) and Timor-Leste (McGeown 2011)) to assimilate with its own norms.

Ethically and socially speaking, the assessments drawn from analysing this gathered data, which highlight the widespread influence of the EU as a 'normative power', could also have major re-percussions on the actions of other actors operating in the international system. For example, in the sphere of the 'promotion of democracy', the historically prevalent 'military power' conceptually based approaches, such as US military engagement in Iraq in 2003 (Diamond 2008: 338), could perhaps be disregarded. Therefore, in relation to the wider International Relations sphere, one can argue that the conclusions of this thesis' first research question are not only relevant to IR, but could also be practically employed to allow us to explore the potentially far-reaching consequences of such a perception for other actors operating in the international system.

However, the observable shortcomings of the EU in having failed to have had an absolutely beneficial impact upon Kosovo's environmental development, as argued in the analysed interview data, could potentially have the opposite effect than that of the aforementioned alternative. The argument that certain key areas of Kosovo's environmental sphere have failed to develop, regardless of the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo and also coercion through utilising EU-Accession as a motivational tool, could discourage other actors in the international system to adopt a similar conceptual approach to power exertion; possibly resulting in the retention of traditional conceptual approaches to power, such as the aforementioned 'Military power' & 'Civilian power' approaches. This would greatly reduce the potential consequences of the perception of the EU as an influential 'normative power' in the international system, as the effects of the EU operating as a 'normative power' would consequently largely be limited to the EU's sphere of influence; as opposed to an understanding of the concept of 'normative power' being of global significance, with exertion of normative power taking place inter-regionally throughout the international system, implemented by a wide-range of 'normative powers'.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

This thesis sought to answer the presiding research questions, and incorporated research puzzle, of ‘*how beneficial has the EU’s exertion of normative power over Kosovo been for Kosovo’s environmental development?*’ and ‘*What are the potential consequences of the perceived role of the EU as an influential ‘Normative Power’ in the international system for other actors?*’. The resolution of these questions was approached by this thesis through the conducting of semi-structured expert interviews, and an analytical and theoretical framework constructed upon Manners’ theoretical conceptualisation of ‘NPE’. The data generated through this method was transcribed, coded, and analysed as to isolate examples and reflections of the beneficial developments, or lack of developments/ failures, that have occurred in relevant spheres in Kosovo through the EU’s norm promotion. The following chapter will present the conclusions and assessments drawn from the analysis of this generated data, as to answer the overarching research questions of this thesis.

Through the assessments presented in the ‘*Discussion*’ chapter of this thesis (**Chapter 6**), the EU’s exertion of normative power over Kosovo can be assessed to have, overall, been beneficial to the development and strengthening of Kosovo’s environmental development; this assessment has been drawn through analysis of arguments made in the conducted expert interviews, which have presented major developments that have come as a result of impacts of EU norm promotion across all of the various relevant principles’ spheres in Kosovo. However, there have also been certain major failures and shortcomings of the EU in its exertion of normative power over Kosovo, as the EU has been argued to have failed to have an impact upon the development of certain key areas in many of the relevant principles’ spheres, and also failed to have an impact upon the changing of environmental development norms and standards of practise in Kosovo as a whole.

By understanding the overall influence of the EU in having benefitted Kosovo’s environmental development through its normative power exertion over Kosovo, thus allowing for the progressive assimilation of Kosovo with the EU’s *acquis*, the EU could consequently be perceived to be an influential ‘normative power’ within the international system. This can be argued to potentially result in far-reaching consequences throughout the international system, as other actors may consequently adopt a comparable, normatively-oriented approach to power/ influence exertion both within and beyond their own spheres of influence in order to promote their own norms and ideals; thus also potentially resulting in a widespread movement

away from practical application of the other traditional IR theoretical power conceptualisations, 'Military Power' and 'Civilian Power'.

Specifically analysing and exploring the evolution of the sphere of practical applications of differing power conceptualisations throughout the global political system, especially in relation to the adoption of more 'normative power' approaches to power/influence exertion from actors other than the EU, provides a conceptual foundation for potential future research in order to further develop this specific research-field.

To conclude on a more narrow scope, away from the wider hypotheses on the EU as a 'normative power' in the international system, the conclusions of this thesis not only allow for the resolution of this thesis' research questions, but also allow for conclusions to be drawn specifically on the future of Kosovo as a burgeoning new state. When considering the aforementioned presentation of the EU's extensive history in cooperating with Kosovo, and scholarly suggestion of Kosovo's continued dependence on the EU, the assessments made by thesis' research not only suggests that this relationship, previously, has had certain major benefits, but also that the future of the relationship between the EU and the new, dynamic, state of Kosovo will continue to allow for development to occur. Through these highlighted developments, the foundations for Kosovo's pursuit of EU Accession can be seen to have been steadily set, and could potentially result in far-reaching consequences for the geo-political future of both the Balkans and the EU as a whole in the coming years.

Bibliography:

- Algan, Nesrin & Mengi, Aysegul (2005) 'Turkey's Sustainable Development Policies', *Kluwler Law International*, p. 1
- Balkan Green Energy Foundation (2018) 'Sustainable Development in Kosovo: A Local Perspective'
- Bardh, Xerxa (2013) 'Kosovo 's Challenges in Implementing the Environmental Action Plan', *Maastricht University*
- Bogner, Alexander & Menz, Wolfgang (2002) 'Das theoriegenerierende Experteninterview – Erkenntnisinteresse, Wissenform, Interaktion', in Flick, Uwe (2009) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, London: *SAGE Publication*, p. 165
- Bull, Hedley (1982) 'Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, (21:2), pp. 151, 152, 154-164
- Carr, Edward H. (1962) 'The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations', London: *Macmillan*
- Creswell, John W. (2014) 'Research Design - Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches' Los Angeles, US: *SAGE Publications*
- de Vaus, David (2001) 'Research Design in Social Science', London: *SAGE Publication*, p. 28
- Diamond, Larry (2008) 'The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World' New York: *Times Books/Henry Holt & Co.*, p. 338
- Diez, Thomas & Ian Manners (2007) 'Reflecting on Normative Power Europe', in Berenskoetter, Felix & M.J. Williams (eds.), *Power in World Politics*, London: *Routledge*, pp. 173–188
- Duchêne, François (1972) 'Europe's Role in World Peace', in Mayne, R. (ed.) *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead*, London: *Fontana*, pp. 32–47
- Duchêne, François (1973) 'The European Community and the Uncertainties of Interdependence', in Kohnstamm, M. and Hager, W. (eds) *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign Policy Problems before the European Community*, Basingstoke: *Macmillan*, pp. 1-21
- Essaiasson, Peter., Gilljam, Mikael., Oscarsson, Henrik. & Wängnerud, Lena (2005) 'Metodpraktikan', Stockholm: *Elanders Gotab*, p. 23
- European Union (2007) 'Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community', [13 December 2007], 2007/C 306/01
- Fajardo del Castillo, Teresa (2015) 'The EU's promotion of environmental protection in Kosovo: A Case Study on the Protection of the Environment through Criminal Law in Kosovo', Granada: *University of Granada*, p. 9
- Fajardo del Castillo, Teresa (2016) 'The EU Action to Protect the Environment in Kosovo and to Fight Environmental Crime', London: *Macmillan*

- Flick, Uwe (2009) 'An Introduction to Qualitative Research', London: *SAGE Publication*, pp. 15, 25, 165-169, 444
- Galtung, Johan (1973) 'The European Community: A Superpower in the Making', London: *Allen & Unwin*
- Geertz, Clifford (1973) 'The interpretation of cultures: selected essays', New York: *Basic Books*
- Gitelman, Lisa & Jackson, Virginia (2013) 'Introduction', in Gitelman, L. (ed.) "*Raw data*" is an oxymoron, Cambridge, MA: *MIT Press*, pp. 1-14
- Halperin, Sandra & Heath, Oliver (2012) 'Political Research Methods and Practical Skills', *Oxford University Press*, pp. 166, 317, 323
- Halperin, Sandra & Heath, Oliver (2017) 'Political Research Methods and Practical Skills', *Oxford University Press*, pp. 161, 171, 289-290
- Hardwick, Daniel (2011) 'Is the EU a Normative Power', *E-International Relations*, pp. 2 [Online], Available From: <https://www.e-ir.info/2011/09/03/is-the-eu-a-normative-power/>, [Accessed 17/07/2020]
- Hjortberg, Antonia S. & Wingqvist, Gunilla Ö. (2008) 'Kosovo Environment and Climate Analysis', *University of Gothenburg*
- Jacobs, Sean (2012) 'Is PNG Ready to Join Asean? Not Quite Yet', Jakarta: *Jakarta Globe*
- Joppe, Marion (2000) 'The Research Process', Ryerson, [Online], Available From: <http://www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/rp.htm>, [Accessed 17/07/2020]
- Kant, Immanuel, [1795] (1970) 'Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch', in Reiss, H., (1989), (ed), *Kant's Political Writings*, Cambridge: *Cambridge University Press*
- Kelemen, Roger D. (2010) 'Globalizing European Union environmental policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17 (3), pp. 335-349
- Keohane, Robert (1988). 'International Institutions: Two Approaches', *International Studies Quarterly*, 32 (4), pp. 380-381
- Keohane, Robert & Martin, Lisa (1995) 'The Promise of Institutional Theory' in *International Security*, 20 (1), pp. 41-42
- Lightfoot, Simon & Burchell, Jon (2005), 'The European Union and the World Summit on Sustainable Development: Normative Power Europe in Action?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 43 (1), pp. 75-95
- Lincoln, Yvonna S. & Guba, Egon G. (1985) 'Naturalistic Inquiry', Newbury Park, CA: *SAGE Publications*
- Lukes, Steven (2005) 'Power and the Battle for Hearts and Minds', *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, 30 (3), pp. 481-486

- Manners, Ian (2000) 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', Copenhagen: *Copenhagen Peace Research Institute*. pp. 4-46
- Manners, Ian (2001) 'Normative Power Europe: The International Role of the EU', (unpublished), pp. 235-258
- Manners, Ian (2002) 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40 (2), pp. 238-240
- Manners, Ian (2008) 'The Normative ethics of the European Union', *International Affairs*, 84 (1), pp. 68-74
- Manners, Ian (2009) 'The EU's normative power in changing world politics', in G. Andre (ed.). *Normative power Europe in a changing world: A discussion*, The Hague, Netherlands: *Netherlands Institute of International Relations*.
- McGeown, Kate (2011) 'East Timor applies to join Asean', London, *BBC News*
- Mearsheimer, John (1994/1995). 'The False Promise of International Institutions', *International Security*, 19 (3), pp. 10-12
- Mearsheimer, John (2016) 'Structural Realism', in Dunne, Tim., Kurki, Milja., Smith, Steve. (2016) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, (4th ed.), Oxford: *Oxford University Press*., p. 53
- Meuser, Michael & Nagel, Ulrike (2002) 'ExpertInneninterviews – vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht. Ein Beitrag zur qualitativen Methodendiskussion', in Flick, Uwe (2009) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, (4th ed.), London: *SAGE Publication*, p. 167
- Morina, Visar., Korenica, Fisnik & Doli, Dren (2011) 'The relationship between international law and national law in the case of Kosovo: A constitutional perspective', *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 9 (1), p. 275
- Nezaj, Novitet Xh. (2015) 'The development of Kosovo and its relationship with the EU', Hamburg: *Institute for European Integration*
- Obradovic-Wochnik, Jelena, & Dodds, Anneliese (2015) 'Environmental governance in a contested state: the influence of European Union and other external actors on energy sector regulation in Kosovo Environment and Planning' *Government and Policy*, 33, pp. 935–949
- Oevermann, Ulrich., Allert, Tilman., Konau, Elizabeth., Krambeck, Hans-Jurgen. (1979) 'Die Methodologie einer 'objektiven Hermeneutik' und ihre allgemeine forschungslogische Bedeutung in den Sozialwissenschaften', in Flick, Uwe (2009) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, (4th ed.), London: *SAGE Publication*, p. 25
- Renner, Stephan & Trauner, Florian (2009) 'Creeping EU membership in South-east Europe: the dynamics of the EU rule transfer to the Western Balkans', *Journal of European Integration*, 31(4), pp. 449–465
- Republic of Kosovo (2016) 'Kosovo – EU High Level Dialogue on Key Priorities – European Reform Agenda (ERA)'

- Rowley, Jennifer (2012) 'Conducting Research Interviews', *Management Research Review* (35), pp. 260-271
- Schütz, Alfred (1967) 'The Phenomenology of the Social World', Evanston, IL: *Northwestern University Press*
- Skype Interview with *Interviewee 1*, Malmö, April 6, 2020
- Skype Interview with *Interviewee 2*, Malmö, April 7, 2020
- Skype Interview with *Interviewee 3*, Malmö, April 12, 2020
- Spasic, Vladimir (2020) 'Western Balkan countries on the way to finalizing their National Energy and Climate Plans' *Balkan Green Energy News*. [Online], Available From: <https://balkangreenenergynews.com/western-balkan-countries-on-the-way-to-finalizing-their-national-energy-and-climate-plans/>, [Accessed: 12/07/2020]
- Swedish Research Council ['Vetenskapsrådet'] 'Forskningsetiska principer [Ethical Research Principles]', Available From: <http://www.codex.vr.se/texts/HSFR.pdf>, [Accessed: 20/03/2020]
- Szunomár, Agnes (2012) 'EU-China Cooperation in the Field of Sustainable Development: Challenges and Opportunities', Hungary: *Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Science*
- Tobin, Paul & Burns, Charlotte (2016) 'The Impact of the Economic Crisis on European Union Environmental Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54 (6), pp. 1485–1494
- Wæver, Ole (1999) 'Does the English School's *Via Media* equal the Contemporary Constructivist Middle Ground?', Manchester: *BISA Conference Paper*
- Whitman, Richard G. (2013) 'The neo-normative turn in theorising the EU's international presence', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48 (2), pp. 174-175
- Yan, Bo 薄 & Zhimin, Chen 陈志敏 (2009) 'Quanqiu qihou bianhua zhili zhong de Zhongguo yu Oumeng' 全球气候变化治理中的中国与欧盟 ['China and the EU in Global Governance of Climate Change'], *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi 现代国际关系* ['Modern International Relations'], 2, p. 46

Appendices:

Appendix 1: List of the Removed Normative Principles (4 of the Original 9) (Manners 2008)

- Sustainable peace [*Principle 1*]
- Social freedom [*Principle 2*]
- Associative human rights [*Principle 4*]
- Inclusive equality [*Principle 6*]

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

**Permission to record the interviews was provided by each interviewee before stating the following points.*

The Interviews have been designed in accordance with the ethical research guidelines (as presented by the Swedish Research Council (1990)), highlighted in **Appendix 5** of this thesis. In accordance with these research ethics guidelines, all interviews began by presenting the following points/ statements to the interviewees:

- The specific purpose of this research was stated. Alongside provision of information ascertaining to where the final thesis will be submitted; an offer for the provision of a copy of the thesis itself, to each of the interviewees, was also given.
- That the interviewees are able to terminate the interview at any point without negative consequence.
- Personal information/ records of the interviewee will be kept safe and private, inaccessible to anyone but myself.
- In the final thesis document & appendices, the interviewees will be anonymous, and referred to only as e.g. 'Interviewee 1'. 'interviewee 2'. etc. Any personal information presented in this thesis, outside of this anonymous title, will only be produced with consent from the interviewee in question.
- That the data generated from the interviews, and the information provided by interviewees, will only be used for the scientific objectives, and the purposes of this thesis.

After these points have been made, as to satisfy the ethical research guidelines, the interview questions are presented:

Questions:

1. Broad Invitational Question

I am interested in developing an understanding of the benefits of the EU's exertion of normative power over Kosovo for Kosovo's environmental development, and how these conclusions can

be employed to explore the potential consequences of the perceived role of the EU as a 'normative power' in the international system for other actors. But first of all:

1. Could you tell me about your own experiences with policy development in Kosovo/ the EU's relationship with Kosovo?

2. Guiding Questions on Kosovo's Environmental Policy

1. What would you consider to be the primary focus of environmental development/ policy in Kosovo?

2. What important steps do you feel have been made in relation to Kosovo and environmental development?

3. 'Manners' EU Normative Principles', and Reflections of such in Kosovo's Environmental Development

A scholar called Ian Manners has derived certain *normative principles* which he argues that the EU exerts in the international sphere. By understanding and assessing how well these principles have been exerted through examples and reflections, it allows us to develop an assessment of how successful one can argue that the EU has been in the case of EU influence over Kosovo's environmental development.

I have narrowed these *nine* principles down to *five*, as to ensure explicit relevance to environmental development; and the following questions will rotate around these specific narrowed principles. The first principle being the EU's normative principle of '**Consensual Democracy**':

3.1 Consensual democracy [Principle 3] – *the EU supports and promulgates consensual democracy both in members states and within its sphere of influence. This includes factors such as power-sharing, electoral systems, and coalition governments (Manners 2008: 70).*

1. What immediately comes to mind, relevant to the context of Kosovo's environmental development, when you think of '**Consensual Democracy**' and its tenets (e.g. power-sharing, electoral systems, etc.)?
2. Are there any particular examples that you can think of that highlight reflections of the impact of this principle/ highlight the lack of an impact of this principle, in the context of environmental development in Kosovo?
3. Do you think that an impact has been made by the EU through exerting this principles when considering these examples? And why do you think that this is the case?
4. Any closing thoughts in relation to the principle of '**Consensual Democracy**' in regard to feelings, potential future developments, etc.?

3.2 Supranational rule of law [Principle 5] – *The EU's principle of the rule of law can be considered to be supranational in 3 separate senses: it is to be promoted at the communitarian, international, and cosmopolitan levels (Manners 2008: 71). This principle seeks to promote the rule of law both within and between states, and can seemingly been*

done in such a way as to ensure that the rule of law cannot be disregarded (Manners 2008: 70-71).

5. What immediately comes to mind, relevant to the context of Kosovo's environmental development, when you think of the '**Supranational Rule of Law**' and its primary tenet (i.e. that the law cannot be disregarded).
6. Are there any particular examples that you can think of that highlight reflections of the impact of this principle/ highlight the lack of an impact of this principle, in the context of environmental development in Kosovo?
7. Do you think that an impact has been made by the EU through exerting this principles when considering these examples? And why do you think that this is the case?
8. Any closing thoughts in relation to the principle of the '**Supranational Rule of Law**' in regard to your own feelings, potential future developments, etc.?

3.3. Social solidarity [Principle 7] – *It is under the principle of Social Solidarity in which the EU promotes the establishment of sustainable development; this is achieved through the promotion of economic growth, price stability, and a competitive social market economy (Manners 2008: 73). Through establishing these foundations, employment and social progress can be achieved, which also encompasses the protection and improvement of the environment (Lisbon Treaty 2007: Article 3-3) (Manners 2008: 73).*

9. What immediately comes to mind, relevant to the context of Kosovo's environmental development, when you think of the '**Social Solidarity**' and its primary tenets (e.g. sustainable development through economic growth, price stability, competitive social market economy, [...] achieving social progress, and environmental protection).
10. Are there any particular examples that you can think of that highlight reflections of the impact of this principle/ highlight the lack of an impact of this principle, in the context of environmental development in Kosovo?
11. Do you think that an impact has been made by the EU through exerting this principles when considering these examples? And why do you think that this is the case?
12. Any closing thoughts in relation to the principle of the '**Social Solidarity**' in regard to feelings, potential future developments, etc.?

3.4 Sustainable development [Principle 8] – *This principle holds to primary purposes: The first is for the EU to promote the establishment of a balance between the ecological crisis and uninhibited economic growth, which is achieved through the creation of international common actions/ policies (Manners 2008: 73-74). The second intention involves the integration/ mainstreaming of sustainable development norms into the policies and practises of the EU. This promotion of norms comes through trade, development, environmental foreign policy, and (importantly in the case of this research) enlargement (Manners 2008: 73-74).*

13. What immediately comes to mind, relevant to the context of Kosovo's environmental development, when you think of the '**Sustainable Development**' and its primary tenets (e.g. balancing ecological protection with economic growth, integrating/ mainstreaming sustainable development norms, etc.).
14. Are there any particular examples that you can think of that highlight reflections of the impact of this principle/ highlight the lack of an impact of this principle, in the context of environmental development in Kosovo?
15. Do you think that an impact has been made by the EU through exerting this principles when considering these examples? And why do you think that this is the case?
16. Any closing thoughts in relation to the principle of the '**Sustainable Development**' in regard to feelings, potential future developments, etc.?

3.5 Good governance [Principle 9] – Good Governance has two distinctive characterizations, both have substantial and differentiating internal and external consequences; these being, the promotion of participation of civil society, and promoting the strengthening of multilateral cooperation (Manners 2008: 74). The principle highlights/ emphasises multiple factors that 'good governance' involves: "quality, representation, participation, social partnership, transparency, and accountability" (Manners 2008: 74).

17. What immediately comes to mind, relevant to the context of Kosovo's environmental development, when you think of the '**Good Governance**' and its primary tenets (e.g. promoting the participation of Civil Society & Promoting the strengthening of multilateral cooperation; "quality, representation, participation, social partnership, transparency, and accountability").
18. Are there any particular examples that you can think of that highlight reflections of the impact of this principle/ highlight the lack of an impact of this principle, in the context of environmental development in Kosovo?
19. Do you think that an impact has been made by the EU through exerting this principles when considering these examples? And why do you think that this is the case?
20. Any closing thoughts in relation to the principle of the '**Good Governance**' in regard to feelings, potential future developments, etc.?

The Interviewee is then thanked for allowing me to conduct the interview with him/ her. An offer to provide a copy of the final transcripts and thesis is then made.

Appendix 3: Information of the Interviewees:

| Respondents: | Place of Employment | Professional Role |
|----------------------|---|---|
| <i>Interviewee 1</i> | International Institution Operating in Kosovo | Working in a Project management, coordination, implementation capacity. |
| <i>Interviewee 2</i> | Non-Governmental Organisation Operating in Kosovo | Working in a Project management, coordination, implementation capacity. |

| | | |
|----------------------|--|---|
| <i>Interviewee 3</i> | International Institution Operating in Kosovo | Working in a Project management, coordination, implementation capacity. |
|----------------------|--|---|

Appendix 4: Tables Depicting the Primary Arguments of Interviewees in Each Principle's Sphere

The following appendix sub-chapters present further information in relation to the arguments presented by the expert interviewees when answering questions relevant to each of the individual principles' spheres. The primary argument from each interviewee was then coded, and is illustrated in the tables representing the impacts of the EU's normative power exertion over Kosovo for the development of each relevant normative principle's sphere.

Appendix 4.1 - Theme 1: '*Consensual Democracy*'

(*The categories have been created after completing the analysis of the interview answers of the interviewees and also through the arguments of the conducted literature review).

Table 3.1

| Respondent: | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere, but not without certain exceptions | Benefits have come from the EU, but there have been major shortcomings/ failures | No remarkable benefits have come from the EU regarding the development of this sphere | Benefits have come from the EU for the development of this sphere, but Kosovo must do more |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|---|--|
| <i>Interviewee 1:</i> | | | X | | |
| <i>Interviewee 2:</i> | X | | | | |
| <i>Interviewee 3:</i> | X | | | | |
| <u>Total:</u> | <u>2</u> | | <u>1</u> | | |

Interviewee 1, throughout the answering of this related question, frequently referenced major developments in relation to specific areas within the *Consensual Democracy* sphere. This is particularly shown through the following excerpt taken from the answer of **Interviewee 1** to the related question: "through having such an impact on Kosovo's economy, social aspects, and society in general, they have affected certain policies in the 'consensual democracy sphere' through this."; "they have done very well in certain areas, but really failed in others."

Interviewee 2, in the answering of the related question, presented arguments to suggest that the EU has been significantly beneficial to the development of the sphere of *Consensual Democracy*. Reference was especially made in this regard to developments in democratic strengthening and voter-turnout improvements as is exemplified in the following excerpts: "Kosovo usually has a very low

voter turnout, every election or government they kind of always try to play by numbers in trying to ensure democratic strength by ensuring government.”; “they [the EU] are one of the biggest promoters in investing in visibility and promotion materials to get people out on the streets and voting.” “. The EU has made a huge impact by approaching people.”

Interviewee 3, in their answer to the relevant question, argued for the broader benefits that have arisen from the EU’s exertion of normative influence over Kosovo. A wide array of examples were provided which highlight this: “the EU has given towards Kosovo institutions towards being functional in how they are legally regulated, be that financially through funding, capacity building; in capacity building for example, and sharing of practices from other EU countries. But also showing by example about what consensual democracy is and keeping that line in their own work and in whatever policy or agenda that they have had.”

Appendix 4.2 - Theme 2: ‘*Supranational Rule of Law*’

(*The categories have been created after completing the analysis of the interview answers of the interviewees)

Table 3.2

| Respondent: | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere, but not without certain exceptions | Benefits have come from the EU, but there have been major shortcomings/ failures | No remarkable benefits have come from the EU regarding the development of this sphere | Benefits have come from the EU for the development of this sphere, but Kosovo must do more |
|----------------|--|--|--|---|--|
| Interviewee 1: | X | | | | |
| Interviewee 2: | | | X | | |
| Interviewee 3: | | | X | | |
| Total: | <u>1</u> | | <u>2</u> | | |

Interviewee 1 argued for major benefits in relation to the development of the sphere of the ‘*Supranational Rule of Law*’. This is particularly reflected in the following excerpts: “Yeah without the EU there would be no backbone to Kosovo’s judicial system”; “look at how the EU has set up the ‘rule of Law’ within the nation, the EU’s role has been critical in its impacts. And without them, the judicial system would not be what it’s today. It would be a shambles.”

Interviewee 2, throughout the related answer, staunchly argued that although major benefits have occurred in certain areas of the principle sphere of the ‘*Supranational Rule of Law*’, the EU has failed in developing others. A sentiment particularly reflected in the following excerpt: “They have constantly failed to have a serious impact on developments of bringing justice by any means to Kosovo in these cases.”

Interviewee 3 argued from a comparable stance in the answering of the related question. However, greater detail was provided regarding the developments that have occurred, and also the areas in

which the failures were most prominent. This can be exemplified in the following excerpts: “institutions are more prepared, more advanced, in their functioning; even though they are still run by politically affiliated peoples, they are not independent. So they have all the tools, all the mechanisms are in place, so the EU has really helped in that sense. But when it comes to their effectiveness, I think that this is something which remains to be reached. But EULEX’s biggest achievement is in the Kosovo Police. I think they have improved their functionality and how they operate as a whole, compared with the region, I think that they are fully functioning in terms of how they should operate. And I think that that is maybe their biggest achievement that the EU has had, police and handling general crime.”

“overall the mission I think has been widely acknowledged as having been a failure, just to take into account that the rule of law is still weak in Kosovo, you have dysfunctional justice systems as such, and with EULEX’s original intention to catch the “big fish” the “big guys”, this didn’t happen as there was a lot of evidence disappearing during investigations, there were witnesses who ‘committed suicide’ or disappeared, and the cases had to be closed when they investigated these high-profile figures.”

Appendix 4.3 - Theme 3: ‘*Social Solidarity*’

(*The categories have been created after completing the analysis of the interview answers of the interviewees and also through the arguments of the conducted literature review).

Table 3.3

| Respondent: | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere, but not without certain exceptions | Benefits have come from the EU, but there have been major shortcomings/ failures | No remarkable benefits have come from the EU regarding the development of this sphere | Benefits have come from the EU for the development of this sphere, but Kosovo must do more |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|---|--|
| <i>Interviewee 1:</i> | | | | | X |
| <i>Interviewee 2:</i> | X | | | | |
| <i>Interviewee 3:</i> | | X | | | |
| Total: | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | | | <u>1</u> |

Interviewee 1 specifically refers to certain major developments which have occurred in this sphere, however, suggests that the benefits of the EU’s normative power exertion could have been far greater had there been better implementation from Kosovo. This is succinctly highlighted in the following excerpts: [refers to Kosovo adopting EU mandate in order to pursue eventual EU Accession] “The EU could set all of these various targets in various fields, be they shorter or longer term. They have multiple mandates to complete, e.g. lowering corruption. This can be seen as important as well e.g. in stabilising the government and economy to invite external investment.”; “in social and economic development, I think that they have done as much as they can, but it is not up to the EU to do all the

work. Kosovo also needs to be willing to put in their fair share of work. But so far it seems as though the EU has been dragging Kosovo along, as opposed to Kosovo actively tackling these issues.”

Interviewee 2, in answering the related question, highlights the significant benefits that have arisen from the EU’s exertion of normative power, in regard to this sphere specifically. This argument can be exemplified in the following excerpts: “you can see that the EU has been strongly and successfully pushing and impacting social solidarity and development aspect, especially into a sustainable direction;”; “EU tackled this, and brought much more coordination among relevant investors and actors, and helped Kosovo build far more sustainable strategies in a variety of fields. This includes the ones which were ensuring economic growth, specific societal impacts, election processes, democratic exercise” “The EU made them all sustainably practised and coordinated. They started to harvest these stories of success.”

Interviewee 3, in answering the relevant question, refers to certain major developments and benefits of the EU’s exertion of normative power over Kosovo in relation to this sphere, but argues that these developments are not without exceptions. The two arguments from the relevant answer can be highlighted in the following excerpts: “Through this funding that the EU has provided, there have been a lot of initiatives in the environment and in health issues”; “The EU in this sense, I think that they have done a lot of awareness raising and awareness raising campaigns, and they continue to keep doing new ones all the time as I think educating citizens as well in this area of environmental issues, risks, etc. as well; especially with the pollution that we have, this is becoming an increasing concern, as every winter the air quality drops a lot overall.”; “Kosovo is a poor country, so unemployment here continues to be in these demographics for years now, and it is not really going anywhere, even though there has been a lot of funding from the EU and other international organisations”

Appendix 4.4 - Theme 4: ‘*Sustainable Development*’

(*The categories have been created after completing the analysis of the interview answers of the interviewees and also through the arguments of the conducted literature review).

Table 3.4

| Respondent: | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere, but not without certain exceptions | Benefits have come from the EU, but there have been major shortcomings/ failures | No remarkable benefits have come from the EU regarding the development of this sphere | Benefits have come from the EU for the development of this sphere, but Kosovo must do more |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|---|--|
| <i>Interviewee 1:</i> | | | <i>X</i> | | |
| <i>Interviewee 2:</i> | | <i>X</i> | | | |
| <i>Interviewee 3:</i> | <i>X</i> | | | | |
| <i>Total:</i> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | | |

Interviewee 1, in answering the relevant question argues that there have been certain benefits, but there have also been major shortcomings and failures of the EU in promoting this relevant principle; as the EU has been unable to change relevant norms and standards of practise in Kosovo. This can be seen in the following excerpt: “Kosovo is only putting time, effort, and resources into environmental policies fundamentally because they are being told to do so. They otherwise wouldn’t have focused their limited resources on it. There are other more immediate issues that the people/ the state of Kosovo directly face, and environmental policy is far down the list.”

Interviewee 2 argued that beneficial developments have arisen in the sphere of ‘*Sustainable Development*’, but this has been limited mainly to the civil sector under this principles sphere. The argued beneficial developments can be highlighted in the following excerpt: “The EU has left a pretty booming sustainable development in the Civil sector in Kosovo. In Pristina now we have large groups, NGO’s, think tanks, in civil society which are explicitly addressing sustainable development and sustainability issues.”

Interviewee 3 highlights various major benefits that have arisen from the EU’s exertion of normative power over Kosovo for this sphere specifically. Especially in the development of renewable energy projects and the production and distribution of educational materials on the matter. This can particularly be exemplified in the following excerpts: “EU obviously supports and has been financing projects that the UN [United Nations] has in Kosovo, and they are following the SDGs for such. This includes the environmental goals across different fields, e.g. clean water to everybody, cleaning the water, improving the air quality, to introduce different measures for these things, and helping to implement these measures.”; “I think that Kosovo is in the phase where you have to sell this whole idea to the general population. I think in order to make Kosovo’s practices sustainable; the people of Kosovo need to understand the importance of it, and understand Kosovo’s environmental situation. In that sense I think they have been increasing awareness around this, and I think this is very helpful in order to make these projects work and sustainable.”

Appendix 4.5 - Theme 5: ‘*Good Governance*’

(*The categories have been created after completing the analysis of the interview answers of the interviewees and also through the arguments of the conducted literature review).

Table 3.5

| Respondent: | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere | EU significantly beneficial for the development of this sphere, but not without certain exceptions | Benefits have come from the EU, but there have been major shortcomings/ failures | No remarkable benefits have come from the EU regarding the development of this sphere | Benefits have come from the EU for the development of this sphere, but Kosovo must do more |
|----------------|--|--|--|---|--|
| Interviewee 1: | | X | | | |
| Interviewee 2: | X | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--|--|--|
| <i>Interviewee 3:</i> | <i>X</i> | | | | |
| <i>Total:</i> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | | | |

Interviewee 1 argues for an exceptionally major impact that has been made by the EU in regard to this sphere specifically. Various examples are made which highlight major developments, and **Interviewee 1** also suggests that the sphere in Kosovo would largely be inoperable if it wasn't for the impacts made by the EU. However, reference is also made throughout this interview which suggests that these developments have only occurred as a result of Kosovo pursuit of further accession talks; this does not, however, impact how beneficial the EU's normative power exertion has been on this sphere to a remarkable degree. These presented arguments can be highlighted in the following excerpts: “[In relation to assimilation with the EU's *acquis*] Those are the beginnings of a stable rule of law, the beginnings of a stable economy, and the beginnings of ensuring that environmental protection is at the fore front of government priorities.” (Interviewee 1 2020)

Interviewee 2 also highlights the major developments which have arisen as a result of the EU's impact upon this sphere. The development of relevant institutions is referred to in particular, and various other fields are argued to have also undergone major development. This can be exemplified in the following excerpts: “I think that in this sphere they have a very long legacy. This was firstly done obviously in the beginning of their presence in the legal regard; and to ensure that good governance was created through good administration. So they invested a lot in good management, and this required basically a strong technical foundation (in the form of new buildings, new services for the citizens, online governance, etc.). And these really tackled the concept of governance in a lot of cities.”; “Especially in the local level; things have been changed by the EU very radically through alternative political communication, assuring information for the citizens, and especially via e-governance.”; “Judging from these perspectives I think that the EU's impact on Kosovo has been really big, and has served the country in a lot of different aspects.”. (Interviewee 2 2020)

Interviewee 3 highlights the major developments that have arisen within this principle's sphere, with specific reference to institutional strengthening and specific EU collaborative projects. These arguments can be exemplified in the following excerpts: “There has been a lot of development of efficiency of the central and local institutions. And internally, the functionality that they have, and especially in fighting corruption, which has been one of their main goals for a long time, the same for human rights and rule of law; all are strategic priorities for the EU here.”; “the institutions do definitely function better when compared to the beginning of 2008”; “the impact of the EU as such, when it comes to good governance, is obviously showing the best practices”; “But the main impact is showing the way for Kosovo. And being an overseer of Kosovo's development in this sense.” (Interviewee 3 2020).

Appendix 5: Ethical Research Principles and their Fulfilment:

As a way to ensure that this thesis' research was ethically conducted, the scrutiny of which is mostly required in all contemporary research of this nature (Halperin and Heath 2017: 161), four ethical research principles, as issued by the Swedish Research Council (1990), provided the basis of the execution of this method in an ethical manner (Swedish Research Council 1990). These research principles were all satisfied in the conducting of the aforementioned method

Information Requirement [“**Informationskravet**”]: Intends to ensure that the role of the researcher is known to the interviewee before conducting the interviews, and that the purpose

of the research is also known to the interviewee. Also, to ensure the voluntary participatory nature of the interview, and the right to end all participation/ contribution to the research by the interviewee (Swedish Research Council 1990). This was fulfilled through having personally informed all interview persons about my own role, the thesis purpose and ambition, and that the interviewees have the right to cancel their participation in this study, and that any participation is voluntary in nature.

Consent Requirement [“Samtyckeskravet”]: To ensure that the interview subjects consent to participating in the research (Swedish Research Council 1990). This was achieved through both written and verbal dialogue, in which all interviewees were explicitly asked if they consent to participating in the research; the interview subjects subsequently agreed to participating in interviews, and therefore this requirement was also met.

Confidentiality Requirement [“Konfidentialitetskravet”]: Intends to ensure that the interviewees that participated in the study are given the greatest possible anonymity and confidentiality (Swedish Research Council 1990). This was ensured through assigning a joint identity to all interviewees (e.g. Official 1, Official 2, etc.), and any information presented in this thesis regarding the identity of/ positions held by the interview subjects was consensually agreed to be used. Interviewees were also given access to the transcripts of the individual interviews, and this allows for the removal of any information/ quotations that would unintentionally allow for tracing back to the identity of the interviewee.

Usage Requirement [“Nyttjandekravet”]: Intends to ensure that all material collected in the research is exclusively used for the purpose of the research, and for nothing else (Swedish Research Council 1990). This has been fulfilled in my research through personally assuring all interview subjects that the transcriptions, and any data generated via the interviews, is solely used in order to specifically fulfil the research purposes of this thesis alone.