



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Friendship between a state and non-state actor: The US and Kosovo

Pestoric, Marija

Citation

Pestoric, M. (2022). *Friendship between a state and non-state actor: The US and Kosovo*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [License to inclusion and publication of a Bachelor or Master thesis in the Leiden University Student Repository](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3485046>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).



Universiteit Leiden

**FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN A STATE AND NON-STATE ACTOR; THE
US AND KOSOVO**

*A thesis on whether a friendship with the United States paved the way towards
the recognition of Kosovo's independence in 2008.*

Master Thesis

MSc Public Administration: International and European Governance

Marija Pestic

Supervisor: Yuri Van Hoef

20 389 words

Table of contents

1. Introduction	3
2. The Kosovo conflict and its history	5
3. Literature review	9
- 3.1 Friendship.....	9
- 3.2 Determinants of recognizing a new state.....	11
- 3.3 Causes of Kosovo’s independence.....	14
4. Theoretical framework	15
- 4.1 What is friendship?.....	16
- 4.2 What is recognition?.....	18
- 4.3 Sentimental Utility Theory Model.....	20
5. Methodology	21
- 5.1 Limitations & ethical concerns.....	26
6. Analysis of friendship	27
- 6.1 Affect.....	27
- 6.2 Equality.....	30
- 6.3 Grand Project.....	32
- 6.4 Altruistic reciprocity & moral obligation.....	37
- 6.5 Sentimental Utility Theory Model.....	41
7. The influence of friendship on recognition-giving behavior	44
8. Conclusion	47
9. Bibliography	50

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis will analyze the relationship between friendship and the recognition-giving behavior of states by investigating the following research question: to what extent did a friendship with the United States pave the way towards the recognition of Kosovo's independence in 2008? Traditionally being a neglected field amongst theories of international relations (IR) and political science, in the last decades, the study of friendship has received more attention from both scholars and politicians alike (Koschut & Oelsner, 2014, p. 3). In contrast to philosophy, with its long tradition of studying the concept of friendship, the realm of IR has seemingly been reluctant to investigate the role of friendship in the international system and its subsequent influence (Koschut & Oelsner, 2014). Despite its philosophical roots, it would be somewhat misleading to contend that scholars have entirely neglected the concept, yet the term has remained rather loose concerning its application on empirical grounds, where the attention has been directed towards its theoretical conceptualization (Koschut & Oelsner, 2014, p. 3). As the field and theoretical scope of IR theories have for the longest time followed the assumption that the international system is anarchic, a system in the absence of a supreme authority, the term friendship has remained empirically underdeveloped within the IR domain. The realist school asserts the strong assumption that the actors in this system, being the states, rely on the maximization of power and self-help to ensure its survival (Berenskoetter, 2007, p. 652). That being the case, as the realist scholars do not believe in cooperation through alliances to achieve prospects of security and ensure one's survival, the role of friendship and its subsequent influence on international politics has remained considerably outside the analytical focus of IR theories.

However, looking back at previous academic work, one can argue that in the recent decades, there has been a transition from the Hobbesian anarchy and self-help system towards an environment displaying more trust and cooperation. With the attempt to scrutinize the structures of international politics, the concept of friendship has been subject to more rigorous examination where scholars have studied the relationship between political leaders. Nevertheless, it sparked a debate that questioned whether such a relationship could also be witnessed between sovereign states. As Digeser (2009) emphasized, the character of friendship that existed between George W. Bush and Tony Blair equally captured the nature of a friendship between the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (p. 327). However, scholars have yet to reach a consensus regarding the matter of whether one can witness such affection between states, a criterion that establishes the grounds for a sustainable political friendship (Van Hoef, 2021, p. 4).

Despite being the target of more systematic research, much focus has been directed towards the conceptualization of friendship and defining its characteristics. However, whether a friendship can be the agent of change in the behavior of states, more specifically, influence their recognition-giving behavior, has received limited attention. While the academic literature on secessionist movements and the motive behind recognizing a new state continues to expand, one has yet to examine whether a friendship can influence one's prospect of gaining sovereign recognition in the international community. For that reason, this thesis has the objective to determine through a rigorous analysis whether there is a causal relationship between friendship and the recognition-giving behavior of a state by using Kosovo's recognition of independence as its case study.

The study of international friendship has advanced through academic research and collective projects, as demonstrated by the study of Koschut & Oelsner (2014). While presenting their defense favoring research on international friendships, Koschut & Oelsner (2014) strongly emphasize that the theories of IR cannot adequately capture a friendship of international nature (p. 3). However, Van Hoef (2018) proposes a theoretical framework that sheds light on five elements that determine to what extent one can witness a friendship between governmental leaders. In contrast to Koschut & Oelsner, who introduce symbolic interaction, affective attachment, self-disclosure, and mutual commitment as the four indicators of a friendship, Van Hoef (2021) puts emphasis on five elements that signify a sustainable friendship being, affect, grand shared project, altruistic reciprocity, moral obligation, and equality. Ultimately, both frameworks build on the conceptualization presented by the philosopher Aristotle, one of the first to define friendship as a mutual feeling of goodwill between two people (Heimann, 2012, p. 29). However, Bridget Coggins (2011) is one of the first scholars to use an international-level model of state birth to advance the theory that political leaders, when deciding on whether to recognize a new entity or not, strategically advance their interests, one of the incentives being driven by the dichotomy between friendship and enmity (p. 453). More specifically, Coggins introduces various factors to the recognition of new states where she argues that Great Powers will recognize a state when it does not threaten their national prospects and when their interests align in favor of the state's emergence (Coggins, 2011, p. 453).

Undoubtedly, the academic literature on friendship is growing, likewise the literature on the causes of recognition of new states, however, the current state of the art fails to adequately provide an in-depth analysis as to whether a relationship between the two phenomena exists. As such, this thesis introduces a unique bridge between friendship scholars

on the one hand and recognition scholars on the other by contributing to the general understanding of the role of friendship, but likewise its subsequent influence on the recognition-giving behavior of states. Moreover, this thesis contributes to the operationalization of friendship by adhering to the framework of Van Hoef (2018) and, furthermore, expands the application of the Sentimental Utility Theory (SUT) by using the US as a sample to test the model and its empirical grounds.

The thesis proceeds as follows. Chapter two consists of background information on the Kosovo conflict in order for one to understand its history and the involvement of the US. Chapter three consists of a literature review that discusses the state of the art of friendship, the determinants of recognizing a new state, and the causes of Kosovo's recognition of independence. Chapter four consists of a theoretical framework conceptualizing the main concepts of this thesis and further introduces the framework by Van Hoef, which is utilized in order to determine whether a political friendship was present between the US and Kosovo. Additionally, Chapter four develops four hypotheses illustrating under which circumstances a friendship influences the recognition-giving behavior of a state. Lastly, Chapter four also introduces the SUT model, which is applied later in Chapter six when analyzing two of the criteria of friendship, moral obligation, and altruistic reciprocity, to determine whether the incentive to establish a sustainable friendship was indeed present. After introducing the methodology in Chapter five, the following chapter consists of rigorous analysis with five different subchapters which examine each criterion of friendship, adhering to the framework of Van Hoef. Following a thorough analysis on the degree of friendship being present, Chapter seven investigates whether a friendship influences the recognition-giving behavior of a state by testing the four hypotheses. Concluding remarks will follow, providing an overview of the analysis and whether a friendship with the United States paved the way towards recognizing Kosovo's independence in 2008.

2. THE KOSOVO CONFLICT AND ITS HISTORY

Turning to the case of Kosovo, since the end of the Cold War, the international community has witnessed significant changes to its political environment, namely the occurrence of unrecognized states. With that being the case, academic scholars have attempted to investigate this anomaly and its subsequent emergence in the international system. However, with principles such as sovereignty and territorial integrity being accentuated following the creation of the Westphalian treaty, these norms would later be challenged by Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence in 2008 (Ryngaert & Sobrie, 2011, p. 469). After more than a

century of struggle to break free from political domination in the region, the Kosovo Albanians declared their independence on February 17th, followed by the recognition of fifty-four countries within a year (Perritt, 2010, p. 2). However, for one to understand the self-proclaimed independence of Kosovo and the reason behind it still being considered an anomaly, one must go back to the former Yugoslavian Federation when President Josip Broz Tito made Kosovo an autonomous region in 1974, which would later cause the domino effect of unprecedented events ultimately leading to their declaration of independence (Goldstone, 2000, p. 35).

The origins of the civil war in Kosovo can be understood as a new wave of nationalism that emerged in the 1970s and expanded throughout the 1990s (Goldstone, 2000, p. 1). Despite the territory being demographically defined by a majority of Kosovo Albanians, Kosovo has always illustrated a symbol of nationalist aspirations for both the ethnic Serbs and Albanians (Goldstone, 2000, p. 33). For the Serbs, their historical tie to the territory is traced back to the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, when the Serbian army defended themselves against the Ottoman Empire. Despite their defeat, Kosovo has always remained an important historic site for the Serbs and a fuel to their nationalistic sentiment as the territory hosts several orthodox churches and valuable memories (Goldstone, 2000, p. 33). However, despite bearing memories and driving the Serb nationalism, Kosovo would later also become a home to the ethnic Albanians, becoming a symbol of nationalist aspiration to both conflicting parties.

The civil war in Kosovo that broke out in 1998, cannot be explained without mentioning the disintegration of Yugoslavia, where in 1974, Kosovo would become one of the eight constituent units of the Federation (Goldstone, 2000, p. 34). Following the Yugoslav constitution of 1974, President Tito declared Kosovo and Vojvodina as two autonomous provinces of Serbia, making them almost equal to the status of a republic (Goldstone, 2000, p. 35). As an autonomous entity, Kosovo oversaw its own police, administration, assembly, and judiciary, as they were members of the Serbian federal institutions (Goldstone, 2000, p. 36). Nevertheless, despite their right to self-government, the province would not have the right to secede from the Yugoslav Federation as they did not bear any Yugoslavian sovereignty, and the Kosovo Albanians would be considered a nationality (Goldstone, 2000, p. 36). Over the period from 1961 to 1981, there were significant changes to the territory's demographics as Serbs left Kosovo due to the significant growth of the Kosovo Albanian population, increasing the resentment amongst the Serbs in Kosovo and Belgrade. The growing polarization between the two communities brought about underlying tension, and ultimately, their cohabitation began to exhibit its fundamental challenges (Goldstone, 2000, p. 38).

From 1974 to 1980, the Serbs and Kosovo Albanians would share the same territory, however, the turning point which made the existing predicament take a change of course, leading to the inevitable fall of Yugoslavia, was the death of President Tito in 1980. The political environment left behind was shaped by much uncertainty, and inevitable hostility as the already strained relationships between the six republics and the ethnic communities had been pushed aside for several decades under Tito's leadership. Throughout the mid-1980s, as the relations between the two conflicting parties continued to be strained and filled with tension, the conflict was increasingly on the horizon, yet this predicament quickly changed when the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic visited Kosovo in April 1987 (Majstorovic, 1999, p. 181).

Proceeding with a speech that centered around the sacred right of the Serbs living in Kosovo, Milosevic became a hero to the Serbian population and quickly an enemy to the Kosovo Albanians (Goldstone, 2000, p. 40). Following a series of changes, including the Serbian assembly obtaining more control over Kosovo's security and judiciary, Milosevic decided to revoke their autonomy in 1989 (Goldstone, 2000, p. 41). Losing their autonomy and reasserting authority to the Serb population was the inevitable point that led to the civil war in Kosovo between the two ethnic communities. Nevertheless, it is imperative to understand that while this new predicament was transpiring within the territory of Kosovo, there was a full-scale war within the Yugoslavian Federation. In June 1991, when Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence, the previous goal of becoming a republic quickly turned into the Kosovo Albanians demanding complete independence, and in September 1991, a self-organized referendum on independence was held with 90% of the votes being in favor of independence (Goldstone, 2000, p. 44). At this point, the situation had deteriorated significantly, and there was no turning back.

Essentially, the conflict in Kosovo remained nonviolent from 1989 to 1996 as the leader of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), formed under the leadership of Ibrahim Rugova, pursued a nonviolent campaign for independence which managed to gather substantial international support (Majstorovic, 1999, p. 168). Nonetheless, as Rugova's campaign made little headway, the situation escalated when the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) began its violent anti-Serb insurrection (Majstorovic, 1999, p. 168). Between February 1998 to March 1999, as there were several internal armed conflicts within the borders of Kosovo and KLA's presence was rapidly expanding, the Yugoslav army entered Kosovo with massive reinforcements and began their large-scale operation in coordination with paramilitary units (Majstorovic, 1999, p. 169). Eventually, the ongoing attacks pursued by the KLA led to the

inevitable full-scale conflict between the Yugoslav People's Army and the KLA in 1998, marking the beginning of a civil war in Kosovo (Tansey, 2009, p. 154).

With casualties on both sides and a full-scale war between the KLA and Yugoslav People's army, the conflict had now turned into a full-grown international war between the NATO alliance and the Yugoslav Federation to prevent the alleged ethnic cleansing by President Milosevic and war crime atrocities in Kosovo (Tansey, 2009, p. 154). As late as March 1999, while the United Nations Secretary-General demanded that the Yugoslav armed forces immediately cease their offensive, NATO was simultaneously reporting on the rapidly deteriorating predicament in Kosovo and warned their allies about the human rights violations. What followed was President Clinton appearing on television with his speech emphasizing the need to demonstrate a severe response to the Serb aggression and deter the Milosevic regime. Prior to this moment, the US had paid little attention to the nonviolent movement that had transpired within Kosovo during the 1990s. Being primarily responsible for the Dayton agreement that had settled the war in Bosnia in 1995, an agreement leaving Kosovo off the agenda, the US had only moved towards its leadership role in 1998 when they militarily and financially supported Kosovo (Perritt, 2010, p. 2). By September 1998, the US orchestrated a diplomatic effort to convince Europe that a NATO force and the accompanying demand for an armed peacekeeping presence in Kosovo was ultimately the only way to destroy the Milosevic regime. Anticipating that a veto would place NATO in a challenging predicament, the US made the decision to bypass a UN approval, ultimately leading to the NATO bombing campaign of Serbia in March 1999 (Goldstone, 2000, p. 11).

With support from the US, NATO began their systematic bombing campaign of 78 days with the end-goal to force Milosevic to surrender and withdraw his troops from Kosovo (Majstorovic, 1999, p. 169). Finally, in June 1999, following severe devastations to their industry and civilian casualties, the bombing campaign came to an end with Milosevic's surrender. Following the end of the war, the UN implemented resolution 1244, which authorized a military presence in Yugoslavia and established the UN Interim Administration in Kosovo (Hillestad, 2010). However, despite marking the end of the civil war, finding a sustainable solution regarding the political status of Kosovo was far from reaching a consensus. As the two conflicting parties reached a stalemate, the UN began its talks regarding Kosovo's political status, and with strong support from Washington, Kosovo eventually declared its independence on February 17th, 2008 (Phillips, 2012, p. 186).

Evidently, what began as a civil war turned into a fully-fledged international war with NATO's involvement on behalf of the US advocacy. The declaration of Kosovo's

independence has to this day been recognized by over 150 countries, and amongst these, the US was the second country in the world to recognize its sovereignty. The academic literature that followed paid much attention to the principles of international law, yet, what remained outside the scope of both scholars and politicians alike was to examine whether the involvement and support provided by the US had any influence on the self-proclaimed independence in 2008. Evidently, the academic literature is expanding and growing, yet the academia has failed to capture the potential relationship between friendship and the recognition-giving behavior of a state. Van Hoef (2018) and Koschut & Oelsner (2014), amongst other scholars, have developed their theoretical frameworks on the role of friendship in international politics, whereas Bridget Coggins (2011) introduced one of the political motivations behind the recognition-giving behavior of a state, namely being the dichotomy between enmity and friendship. By making use of the necessary data and adequately drawing inferences from existing literature, the analysis of this thesis is of both academic and sociological relevance, as it provides a new perspective and insight to the studies on friendship and recognition of new states. Therefore, acknowledging its considerable relevance, this thesis will set out to answer the following research question: To what extent did a friendship with the United States pave the way towards the recognition of Kosovo's independence in 2008?

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

A methodical overview of the contemporary academic literature allows for this thesis to establish familiarity both within the field of international friendship and the recognition of new states. Various authors have emphasized the need to direct the attention to the topic of friendship as it has been ignored by the discipline of IR for far too long. However, authors such as Oelsner, Van Hoef, and Koschut have advanced the study of international friendship through their research projects, while authors like Berenskoetter and Keller have produced journal articles (Oelsner & Van Hoef, 2018, p. 118). Yet, what they all share is their acknowledgment that friendship has its roots in philosophy, where the key imprint was left by the work of Aristotle and Plato.

3.1 FRIENDSHIP

The concept of friendship has been subject to numerous conceptualizations, which have proceeded with rigorous operationalizations through various theoretical frameworks advanced by scholars. By scrutinizing the research on friendship in the field of IR, one can witness the distinctive focus amongst the academic literature where one strand pays attention to the

epistemological and ontological issues to explain why a friendship exists, while other strands aim to define its characteristics and whether it can be an agent of change within the realm of international politics. As already mentioned, the concept has its historical roots in philosophy as Aristotle was one of the first to analyze friendship methodically by emphasizing how such a relationship is based on the affection and goodwill of two people (Heimann, 2012, p. 31). With mutual feeling of love and the honest concern for one's well-being demonstrating the two essential elements of a true friendship, Aristotle identified three different types of friendships: one of utility, pleasure, and value (Aristotle, 2003). Nonetheless, without the feeling of love, a friendship cannot be considered as an authentic relationship but, at best instrumental, as emotion is an inherent component (Sheffield, 2011, p. 252).

According to Aristotle's conceptualization, a friendship based on pleasure and utility has a superficial nature where the former connects individuals to an activity that brings pleasure beyond the pleasure of the friendship itself, while the latter entails a business relationship with the aim of obtaining a common goal (Aristotle, 2003). Whether the intent is to achieve pleasure or utility, the relationship is instrumental as it depends on the common goal that both parties desire. On the contrary, a friendship of value is based on true love and care for one another as it is not a means to attain a common goal but is a goal in itself (Pangle, 2003, p. 39). However, while Aristotle introduced his definition, scholars of both IR and political science have demonstrated their interpretations of what a friendship is within the realm of politics. Berenskoetter (2007) argued for the inclusion of friendship in international relations as the concept had remained for far too long outside the analytical focus of IR theories (p. 647). Defining friendship through a functional approach, Berenskoetter (2007) highlights in his approach how such a relationship can empower states to reinforce their identity and gain control in an environment that is shaped by anxiety stemming from the anarchical system (p. 654). As such, states can manage the environment which is shaped by anxiety and seek survival by engaging in international friendships rather than through a self-help system.

Nevertheless, according to Berenskoetter (2007), a friendship must be rooted in theoretical grounds which understand the human condition differently where the focus is on mutual learning, which will lead to the willingness to adapt and share one's concerns (p. 651). As such, one cannot underestimate the phenomena of friendship that can exist between states, as it could lead to a narrow conception of international politics (Oelsner & Vion, 2011, p. 1). According to the framework by Oelsner & Vion (2011), a friendship expressed through the objective of obtaining a common good will advance principles of care and solidarity and further give rise to a shared sense between the parties. However, in contrast to the previous

frameworks, Oelsner & Vion (2011) emphasize scrutinizing speech acts and institutional facts rather than solely examining principles of intimacy and sincerity to locate a friendship (p. 3).

Despite acknowledging the attention directed by scholars towards international friendships and the need for its conceptualization within the field of IR, there is still an ongoing contemporary debate on whether such affection can be evident between sovereign states. According to Simon Keller (2009), the type of relationship introduced between individuals or politicians cannot be translated to one between states, as they are not capable of exhibiting such emotions (p. 60). By introducing an analogy between the interactions of individuals and interactions between states, Keller (2009) explicitly argues against such a relationship as it is both ontologically and ethically dubious (p. 59). However, in contrast to his view, Koschut & Oelsner (2014) present their defense in favor of an international friendship and the need for a systematic analysis as current IR concepts do not adequately capture the relationship and its subsequent influence (p. 3).

Diverging from Keller's (2009) conceptualization, Koschut & Oelsner (2014) argue that a friendship can indeed be an agent of change in international politics as the concept can be applied to the structures that constitute international politics (p. 3). In contrast to Aristotle's account, the two authors emphasize that such a relationship is only related to issues of national security rather than the principles of solidarity and trust (Koschut & Oelsner, 2014, p. 9). By making a distinction between a normative and strategic friendship, Koschut & Oelsner (2014) introduce four indicators that allows one to locate and examine international friendships, which are symbolic interaction, affective attachment, self-disclosure, and mutual commitment. On the other hand, in addition to the aforementioned indicators, Van Hoef (2018) proposes another theoretical framework, introducing five necessary criteria in order to determine the degree of a friendship being present. Adhering to the definition provided by Brent E. Sasley, affect is the "general valence of feelings towards something", this thesis will contend that this definition can be applied both to individuals and sovereign states when analyzing the degree of friendship being present (Sasley, 2010, p. 3). Ultimately, for the longest time, the field of IR has been reluctant to engage with questions of friendship, however, one has witnessed in the recent decades a transition from the Hobbesian anarchical system to an environment shaped more by trust and cooperation, one in which the influence of friendship continues to grow.

3.2 DETERMINANTS OF RECOGNIZING A NEW STATE

Academic studies on the recognition of states have directed much of their attention to international law compliance, more specifically, whether actors adhere to the principles of

sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, limited consideration has been given to explain why states decide to recognize some secessionist movements while, in other cases, they do not. Previously, the recognition of new states was subject to the concise and straightforward theoretical framework which adhered to the Montevideo Convention, yet the dissolution of Yugoslavia introduced a new set of moral norms (Ryngaert & Sobrie, 2011, p. 467). According to the constitutive theory, an entity can become a state only when it is recognized as such, therefore, recognition is a precondition for statehood. On the other hand, the declaratory school argues that statehood can only be determined by a set of factual conditions such as having a government, fixed territory, a permanent population, and the ability to enter relations with other states (Lauterpacht, 1943, p. 387). Today, these conditions also demonstrate the criteria that emerged from the Montevideo Convention, and they are accepted to be customary international law, nevertheless, with the recent practices of recognition not being relatively constant, there is much uncertainty regarding whether these norms of law would apply to the recognition of new states nowadays (Ryngaert & Sobrie, 2011, p. 471).

For the longest period, recognizing a community as a state is to declare that the entity has fulfilled all the required conditions to statehood as emphasized by international law. However, the matter of providing someone with external recognition has become a question of policy rather than one of international law (Lauterpacht, 1943, p. 386). The political aspect of recognition has become more apparent as it is in one's interest to abuse the functionality of recognition to safeguard their national interests (Lauterpacht, 1943, p. 392). De facto states, being entities that have all the required state-like attributes but not external recognition, seek to secure their survival by obtaining legal subjectivity through the relationship with a patron. In some cases, after gaining recognition from an external patron, the de facto state might not be in need of additional recognition (Berg & Vits, 2018, p. 390). The determining characteristics of such a sustainable patron-client relationship encompass reciprocity, asymmetry in recourses and capabilities, compliance with the demands of the patron, and affectivity. Likewise important to acknowledge is that the elements of reciprocity and affectivity are also indicators of a successful political friendship (Van Hoef, 2021). Ultimately, if the de facto state, being the client, obtains recognition and support from an external patron, the prospect of achieving engagement with the international community grows (Berg & Vits, 2018).

Even though securing recognition from a powerful patron can bring about a membership in the international arena, factors such as external security, domestic insecurity, and international coordination are additional determinants of sovereign recognition. According

to Bridget Coggins (2011), one recognizes a new state when its security position is not threatened, when there is coordination among great powers, and when one is not dealing with its own international secessionist challenges. Majority of IR scholars have adopted a bottom-up perspective when explaining the pattern of recognition-giving behavior, however, despite domestic-level theories of state emergence explaining the international outcomes of independence, Coggins also argues for an international state birth model as the phenomenon is inherently social (Coggins, 2011, p. 433). More specifically, Coggins adopts a perspective which takes geostrategic considerations as an important factor to explain why states decide to recognize a new entity. She advances the argument stating how Great Powers prefer coordination in recognition as they strive to align their interests with other states rather than threatening their national prospects by exhibiting diverging preferences (Coggins, 2011, p. 453). Additionally, Coggins theory contributes to understanding the recognition-giving behavior of states by focusing on the relationship between the parent-state of the secessionists and the recognition-providing state by contending that states are less likely to recognize a new state if they are in friendly terms with the parent-state. Evidently, as Coggins logic suggests that recognition-providing states take into consideration their relationship with the parent state, one can argue that the recognition-giving behavior of a state is influenced by geostrategic considerations and the dichotomy between friends and enmity.

On the other hand, by analyzing the unilateral declarations of independence of both Croatia and Slovenia in 1991, Beverly Crawford (1995) presents domestic-level factors to why one ultimately decides to recognize a new state. Threats to security, the role of media outlets, and the pressure of public opinion are examples of such factors which can affect the foreign policy outcomes of recognition and explain why certain states ultimately decide to unilaterally recognize new states (Crawford, 1995, p. 27). In contrast to the aforementioned domestic and international factors, Jonathan Paquin uses the US as his case study with the objective to investigate and explain the recognition-giving behavior of the US through six different secessionist movements (Rich, 2011). Using the framework of “defensive positionalist realism”, Paquin offers the explanation that overall, the US seeks to maintain stability and the status quo in the international system. If a sovereign state is able to maintain the crisis within its borders and exhibits the willingness to negotiate with the secessionists, the US is unlikely to recognize the secessionists as a new state. However, if there is turmoil in the region that spreads into the neighboring countries which cannot be contained by the central state, it is expected of the US to recognize the secessionists as long as they can maintain the order (Rich, 2011, p. 663). Overall, it is in the interest of the US to maintain the status quo as a defensive

power, however, if broader support from a Great Power like the US is received, then the chances of gaining recognition from the wider international community increases (Rich, 2011). By adhering to the underlying logic presented by Paquin, the insights demonstrated can be captured in the expectation that a recognition-providing state will recognize a new state if the status quo is threatened and there is much instability in the region.

3.3 CAUSES OF KOSOVO'S RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE

Acknowledging the various determinants of recognition of new states, one can further examine the diverging causes behind Kosovo's recognition of independence in 2008. Given the fact that the international community intrinsically stigmatizes de facto states, the question that arises is why some states appear to be willing to interact with such states and ultimately recognize them. According to Ker-Lindsay (2018), Kosovo gained substantive recognition within a year following its declaration of independence, undoubtedly due to its strong support and alliance with the US (p. 365). This would further go in accordance with the theory presented by Coggins, where the relationship a recognition-providing state has with either the parent-state or the secessionists, influences the recognition-giving behavior of a Great Power. If the Great Power and the secessionists have developed friendly relations and exhibit direct support to each other, it is expected that the prospects of achieving external recognition increases, especially if the parent-state is considered to be an enemy (Coggins, 2011, p. 453). Ultimately, both Coggins and Ker-Lindsay argue that one can expect that the secessionists will achieve recognition if they are supported by a Great Power.

Moreover, another element that could shape the condition for engagement with a de facto state can be explained through the multiplier effect, which advances the argument that the decision made by the US to quickly recognize Kosovo's independence in 2008 promoted other countries to follow their footsteps and do the same. Ultimately, once a Great Power has granted an entity with recognition, it is expected that other states are more likely to do so, as strategic coordination amongst Great Powers is evident (Coggins, 2011, p. 461). The risk of additional recognition by another state increases when one or more Great Powers have recognized a new entity. According to Ker-Lindsay (2018), at first, countries appeared to be concerned about engaging with Kosovo, Russia being one of the states who strongly opposed their independence and recognition, nevertheless, today, over 150 countries have recognized Kosovo, which can be explained by the multiplier effect (p. 365).

On the other hand, another contextual factor that can explain the engagement with de facto states and the prospect of achieving external recognition is when the parent state is

seemingly willing to accept an interaction between the seceding territory and third countries (Ker-Lindsay, 2018, p. 366). It has become rather evident that the broader attitude of the parent state towards the de facto state can have a significant influence on the decisions made by a third country to interact with the seceding territory (Ker-Lindsay, 2018). As a matter of fact, Serbia continues to insist that they will never recognize the independence of Kosovo, yet the political elite has ceased to take the necessary punitive steps against countries that have already recognized Kosovo, leaving an open platform for others to pursue the same strategy (Ker-Lindsay, 2018, p. 367). Despite the act of unilaterally declaring independence being one of the many sources of a de facto state's stigmatization, Kosovo, to this day, remains the exception (Ryngaert & Sobrie, 2011).

In contrast to the view presented by Ker-Lindsay, Ryngaert and Sobrie (2011) argue that sovereign states justified their support of Kosovo's quest for statehood due to the gross human rights violations perpetrated by the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic throughout the 1990s (p. 478). The disintegration of Yugoslavia marked the beginning of a fundamental change within international law regarding the principles of statehood, as witnessed in the events that transpired in Kosovo. The principle of the right to self-determination has traditionally been confined to colonial contexts within the realm of international law, yet during the civil war in Kosovo and the subsequent secessionist movement, actors argued in favor of the Kosovo Albanian's right to self-determination (Ryngaert & Sobrie, 2011, p. 475). Moreover, adhering to the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity was seemingly moved to the sidelines as the fight for peace and preventing human rights atrocities became the main priority of the international community. Instead, the international system placed emphasis on the sui generis character of the Kosovo case, in other words, they argued for the rather unique character of the case, which explained why the principles of international law did not apply in this predicament (Ryngaert & Sobrie, 2011, p. 481). All in all, the case of Kosovo demonstrated a trade-off between adhering to the principles of international law and morality in contrast to politics, which can further explain why the right to self-determination overruled the principle of territorial integrity. Evidently, the factors that can offer a clarification as to why Kosovo's independence was recognized by the international community are of systemic, contextual, and national nature (Ker-Lindsay, 2018, p. 362).

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Previously known as a neglected field, the aforementioned academic literature on the role of friendship and its subsequent conceptualization has expanded over the last decades. However,

scholars tend to place emphasis on whether a friendship exists within IR and under what conditions it may arise rather than paying attention to the influence it has on political structures, such as the recognition-giving behavior of states. For that reason, the thesis is guided by the research question investigating to what extent did a friendship with the United States pave the way towards the recognition of Kosovo's independence in 2008. Nevertheless, before one can carry out a systematic analysis, one must begin with a thorough conceptualization of both the independent and dependent variable, the former being friendship while the latter being the concept of recognition. Following their conceptualization, a better understanding of the concepts position in the case study of Kosovo will follow using the framework of Van Hoef (2018) by examining the five elements of friendship. Moreover, as the theoretical framework applied in this thesis allows for one to clarify the degree of friendship being present between the US and Kosovo, the analysis also consists of testing four various hypotheses in order to determine whether a causal relationship between the variables exists. As such, the analysis introduces both relevant hypotheses and expectations with the aim to provide a new perspective on friendship and its influence on the recognition-giving behavior of states.

4.1 WHAT IS FRIENDSHIP?

As the term friendship has various definitions due to the multitude of existing theories, one cannot simply reduce the concept to one specific definition. Therefore, this thesis makes use of the study by Oelsner & Koschut (2014) and Van Hoef (2018) to define friendship, the elements conducive to its success, and how one can locate the concept within the political sphere. Therefore, by moving away from its philosophical roots, both pieces of literature introduce the term friendship into the IR domain by focusing on the national and international level of analysis. First and foremost, Koschut & Oelsner (2014) present their defense in favor of acknowledging the high relevance of an international friendship as current IR concepts cannot adequately capture this relationship (p. 3). Placing emphasis on how a friendship is only related to national security issues, as it does not extend to other areas of concern, they argue that a friendship is an open-ended alliance (Koschut & Oelsner, 2014, p. 9). More specifically, by making a distinction between a friendship of normative and strategic nature, the authors introduce four indicators that define the characteristics of a friendship, which are symbolic interaction, affective attachment, self-disclosure, and mutual commitment (Koschut & Oelsner, 2014).

A symbolic interaction involves the bilateral bonds and meanings that transpire between the parties, which are enhanced through summits and forums, where both actors are

able to strengthen their ties. The element of affective attachment emphasizes how the relationship builds on an emotional history and a common identity, which drive the actors closer to each other (Koschut & Oelsner, 2014, p. 20). Thirdly, self-disclosure assumes that the information shared between friends is of spontaneous nature, which can occur through methods of consultations and meaningful discourse. Finally, mutual commitment refers to the principles of solidarity and reciprocity being the key to any form of international friendship, where friends protect and defend each other in times of crisis (Koschut & Oelsner, 2014, p. 21).

On the contrary, Van Hoef (2021) offers a different conceptualization of friendship which takes into consideration such a relationship on the international level, and when present, one can locate an affiliation within the domestic realm. While such a relationship can be witnessed between political parties, which can further transcend to a friendship on the international level between sovereign states, Van Hoef (2018) introduces the concept of friendship between elite actors. His study focuses on five criteria that determine the degree of friendship which are affect, a grand project, altruistic reciprocity, moral obligation, and equality. The criterion of affect refers to an emotional tie that transfers quickly and is almost immediate to emerge. The element of a grand project highlights how the parties must have some common goal in mind that they are willing to pursue through channels of action in order to strive to build something better (Van Hoef, 2021, p. 4). Altruistic reciprocity refers to the natural retribution from each other without having any expectation of a favor in return, more specifically, one provides support and aid because it is in your interest to help your friend (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 67). In contrast to altruistic reciprocity, which takes a more passive stance, moral obligation is of an active nature where one of the parties seeks help and support, thus, placing an obligation on them, creating a “with us or against us” perspective (Van Hoef, 2021, p. 5). Ultimately, the element of moral obligation has the potential to strain the friendship as it puts it to the test to see the degree of one’s support. Lastly, equality relates to the idea that both actors must consider each other to be equal and on the same level (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 74).

Having conceptualized friendship through both studies, this thesis systematically carries out an analysis by using the research by Van Hoef as its theoretical framework. Furthermore, the study was chosen as the theoretical foundation of this thesis as the five criteria can at best capture and give an indication of which dynamics must prevail for a friendship to emerge and become sustainable. As such, Van Hoef (2018) highlights the elements that are conducive for a friendship to develop successfully, which allows for one to thoroughly investigate whether such a relationship potentially existed between the US and Kosovo and whether it paved the way towards recognizing Kosovo’s independence in 2008.

4.2 WHAT IS RECOGNITION?

Following the conceptualization of the independent variable, being friendship, and introducing the theoretical framework of this thesis, one can only begin to examine the potential causal relationship between the two variables after defining the term recognition. The dependent variable of this thesis is the decision to recognize a state or not. As already highlighted in the literature review, the theories by Coggins, Paquin and Ker-Lindsay present the motives behind the recognition-giving behavior of a state. As such, this thesis analyzes the concept of recognition in relation to sovereignty and the emergence of new states. Merriam-Webster dictionary defines recognition as “formal acknowledgment of the political existence of a government or nation” (Merriam-Webster, (n.d)). Using this as the definition of recognition in this thesis, this study expands the notion of external recognition by emphasizing the criteria of statehood developed under the Montevideo Convention. Having a permanent population, defined territory, a government, and the ability to enter relations with other parties are the criteria that define statehood and which, under international law, form the legality of recognition, hence, the factors which are conducive to the emergence of a new state (Lauterpacht, 1943). As already highlighted, the academic literature has provided a multitude of perspectives regarding the incentive to provide another entity with external recognition and membership in the international community. However, this thesis adheres to the studies of Coggins (2011), Paquin (Rich, 2011) and Ker-Lindsay (2018) when formulating the motives behind a state’s decision to recognize a new entity, which contribute to the creation of the hypotheses by highlighting under which circumstances it is expected a state to be recognized. Ultimately, their frameworks are the theoretical backbone of the hypotheses formulated in this thesis, which later in the analysis are investigated in terms of their verifiability.

As previously mentioned, Coggins (2011) introduces both domestic and international factors which influence the recognition-giving behavior of a state, being the element of strategic coordination amongst states and the dichotomy between enmity and friendship. More specifically, Coggins argues how Great Powers prefer coordination in recognition whenever possible as they strive for their interests to align instead of threatening their national prospects by demonstrating diverging preferences (Coggins, 2011, p. 453). As such, Coggins contends that Great Powers will recognize a new entity when their interests align in favor of the state’s emergence and will not when it threatens the Great Power’s position and interests (Coggins, 2011, p. 453). By emphasizing the importance of considering the relationship a recognition-providing state has with the parent-state or the secessionists when it comes to investigating their recognition-behavior, Coggins highlights how the dichotomy between perceiving

someone as a friend or enemy has a significant influence. Therefore, as Coggins considers geostrategic considerations as an important factor to explain the recognition-giving behavior of a Great Power, the following hypotheses can be derived:

H1: *States are more likely to recognize new states if it weakens their enemy.*

H2: *States are less likely to recognize new states if it weakens their friends.*

On the other hand, Paquin offers a theoretical framework that fits well with the research question of this thesis, as he examines the recognition-giving behavior of the US to six various secessionist groups (Rich, 2011). Paquin offers the explanation which argues that the US, being a state that seeks stability and to maintain the status quo, is expected to recognize a state only when there is turmoil in the region that spreads to the neighboring countries as it threatens the status quo (Rich, 2011, p. 664). Being in the interest of the US as a defensive power to maintain the status quo, if the central government can maintain the order and prevent the conflict from spreading across the territorial borders within the region, it is expected that the US will not recognize the secessionist movement (Rich, 2011, p. 663). Evidently, the support given by the US to a secessionist group depends on the ability of the parent-state to control the conflict in both a domestic and external sense (Rich, 2011, 663). Therefore, by following the insights demonstrated in Paquin's framework, one can develop the following hypothesis:

H3: *The United States is more likely to recognize a new state when there is much instability in the region and the status quo is under threat.*

Moreover, as already highlighted in the expectations derived from the literature review, according to Ker-Lindsay (2018), a new entity is expected to gain recognition when receiving strong support and having a Great Power as an ally (p. 365). This goes in accordance with the view presented by Coggins arguing that having a relationship and direct support from a recognition-providing state increases the chances for the secessionists to achieve recognition. As such, if the recognition-providing state has the objective to support their friend and ally, being the secessionists, in order to simultaneously weaken their enemy, external recognition is expected to be obtained (Coggins, 2011, p. 453). Ultimately, one can expect that a recognition-providing state will recognize a new entity if they directly support the secessionist movement and their goal to achieve independence. Therefore, adhering to theory presented by Coggins and Ker-Lindsay, by using the US as a sample to contribute to the general understanding of the

relationship between friendship and recognition-giving behavior, this thesis will derive the following hypothesis:

H4: *Recognition-providing states are more likely to recognize the new state when they were directly committed to the creation of the new state.*

4.3 SENTIMENTAL UTILITY THEORY MODEL

Aside from making use of the study by Van Hoef (2018) as the theoretical backbone when analyzing the degree of friendship between the US and Kosovo, this thesis also utilizes the Sentimental Utility Theory (SUT) model by Van Hoef & O'Connor (2019) when examining to what extent the criteria of altruistic reciprocity and moral obligation are present. The SUT model and its theory becomes a useful tool when examining the degree of friendship being present between the US and Kosovo by adhering to Van Hoef's operationalization of friendship. The SUT model emphasizes the influential role of collective emotions, more specifically, how they can spark action and create a political identity amongst the population. The collective emotions that may emerge can mobilize a whole population, which the political elite can use to their advantage, for instance, if there is political unrest. Van Hoef & O'Connor (2019) demonstrate the SUT model by arguing how the Turkish President Erdogan utilized the Obama-mania that was transpiring amongst the Turkish population to create a special bond with Obama, which in turn made Erdogan solidify his political position by linking himself with Obama's policies at the time (p. 1228). As such, by adhering to Van Hoef's five elements that operationalize the concept of friendship, this thesis applies the SUT model to demonstrate that the incentive of the US to intervene and provide support was not entirely in line with the criteria that define the element of altruistic reciprocity and moral obligation, as other factors were also at play.

Therefore, the SUT model contributes to answering the research question of this thesis when investigating both the extent of friendship being present between the US and Kosovo by analyzing two of the elements conducive to a sustainable friendship. More specifically, the SUT model is utilized when examining the degree of altruistic reciprocity and moral obligation being present to demonstrate how the incentive of the US was not simply to develop a friendship with Kosovo, but also to protect the interests of the US, NATO, and Europe. As such, the SUT model contributes to determining in the analysis whether a friendship is evident to begin with, before one can continue to examine to what extent a friendship paved the way to Kosovo gaining their recognition. Therefore, by using the SUT model as a tool, one can

more rigorously examine the concept of friendship by adhering to Van Hoef's elements, which later allows one to further investigate whether the expectations derived from the hypotheses hold merit and ultimately provide a comprehensive answer to the research question.

In the following section, a rigorous and systematic analysis is carried out, which uses the framework by Van Hoef (2018) to examine the extent of a friendship between the US and Kosovo. After examining the five elements of affect, grand project, altruistic reciprocity, moral obligation, and equality, using the SUT model when examining two of the elements, the succeeding chapter examines the relationship between friendship and recognition-giving behavior in regard to the established hypotheses and tests for their verifiability. As such, one can investigate whether the expectations persist and whether a causal relationship between the two variables is present.

5. METHODOLOGY

To answer the research question "To what extent did a friendship with the United States pave the way towards the recognition of Kosovo's independence in 2008", this thesis conducts a qualitative research design to produce both explanatory and comprehensive insights. As the theories highlighted in the literature review have already established an abstract foundation and allowed for the conceptualization of the concepts, a qualitative design will make the operationalization of both variables feasible. The theory by Van Hoef (2018) is utilized when operationalizing the concept of friendship by adhering to his five elements which are conducive for a friendship to exist. As such, this thesis applies a qualitative research design to investigate the degree of friendship being present between the US and Kosovo by adhering to Van Hoef's theory, and to uncover whether there is a causal relationship between the phenomena of friendship and recognition. To thoroughly answer the research question of whether a friendship with the US influenced Kosovo gaining their recognition in 2008, this thesis relies on two qualitative research methods, within-case, and documentation analysis to produce reliable and comprehensive inferences.

A within-case analysis of the relationship between the US and Kosovo, rather than conducting an across-case comparison, allows one to scrutinize and produce a methodical investigation by bringing forward detailed information about the case at hand (Toshkov, 2016, p. 285). According to Seawright & Gerring (2008), a "case study" refers to any type of research project with the objective to intensively examine a single or a small number of units to determine whether there is any causal inference, which will further allow one to understand the broader phenomena (p. 296). Therefore, as qualitative research is useful when the objective is

to investigate a specific event and process, the method of within-case analysis makes it possible to examine these processes and further scrutinize the underlying causal mechanisms and alternative predictions. By investigating a single unit, making it a single-case study, this thesis evaluates the data retrieved from the various sources to conduct a rigorous analysis and examine whether there is a causal relationship between friendship and the recognition-giving behavior of a state (Toshkov, 2016, p. 285). Moreover, focusing on a single-case study will allow one to review multiple evidence about the single unit which will produce descriptive observations and comprehensive assessment of the five criteria of friendship. By applying the method of within-case analysis, this thesis evaluates whether the hypotheses are verifiable, which will ultimately create a stronger connection between the empirical cases and theories. With the goal being explanatory, the within-case analysis highlights the specific attributes of a friendship and provide rich descriptions of the rather complex phenomenon being investigated (Gerring & Seawright, 2008).

As a single-case study can be utilized in various contexts and with different goals in mind, it becomes a challenge to demonstrate one view regarding how a study of such nature should be analyzed and conducted (Toshkov, 2016). As such, this thesis carries out process tracing as the preferred within-case study method to discover causal mechanisms within the single unit of focus. Process tracing is a method of conducting within-case analysis by retrieving evidence and reconstructing the chronology of specific events from the case study to make inferences about the causal mechanisms (Toshkov, 2016, p. 297-298). Apart from being the preferred single-case study method when examining sources such as speeches and governmental statements, the evidence and information retrieved from both the verbal and written accounts will provide answers to questions regarding the actors' motivations and ideas during the late 1990's and up until Kosovo's Independence Day (Toshkov, 2016, p. 299). As such, by discovering rich details and observations from the various documents and sources at hand, the method of process tracing will answer the research question of this thesis by reconstructing the events that led to Kosovo's recognition in 2008 and determine whether friendship was an influencing factor. Evidently, the strength of process tracing lies in the obtained detailed knowledge which enables within-case inferences to be constructed and to further test the theories by linking the causes to outcomes.

As both academic scholars and politicians acknowledge that Kosovo demonstrates an anomaly in the international community, their path towards external recognition is therefore the ideal case of representation, making it the focus case of this thesis. As the puzzle of interest lies within Kosovo's road to independence and their friendship with the US, this thesis aims to

draw inferences on the causal relationship between friendship and the recognition-giving behavior of states. Next to applying the method of within-case analysis when examining the specific attributes and events that led to Kosovo's recognition, this thesis also applies documentation analysis as a qualitative research method (Bowen, 2009). More specifically, when retrieving evidence from both primary and secondary sources, the method of documentation analysis helps to interpret and evaluate the documents by highlighting detailed and rich descriptions from the single unit under examination, being Kosovo. The data retrieved from the various sources will be data on the context, background information and historical insights in order to understand the historical roots of Kosovo gaining their recognition and whether their relations with the US was an influencing factor (Bowen, 2009, p. 29). Ultimately, aside from relying on the method of within-case analysis, documentation analysis is useful when wanting to track change and development of a specific historical event. By examining and retrieving information from articles, quotes and statements released by the White House from the late 1990s to 2008, this thesis uncovers the underlying conditions and mechanisms that impinge upon the phenomena under investigation, namely Kosovo's road to gaining recognition and their friendship with the US (Bowen, 2009, p. 30).

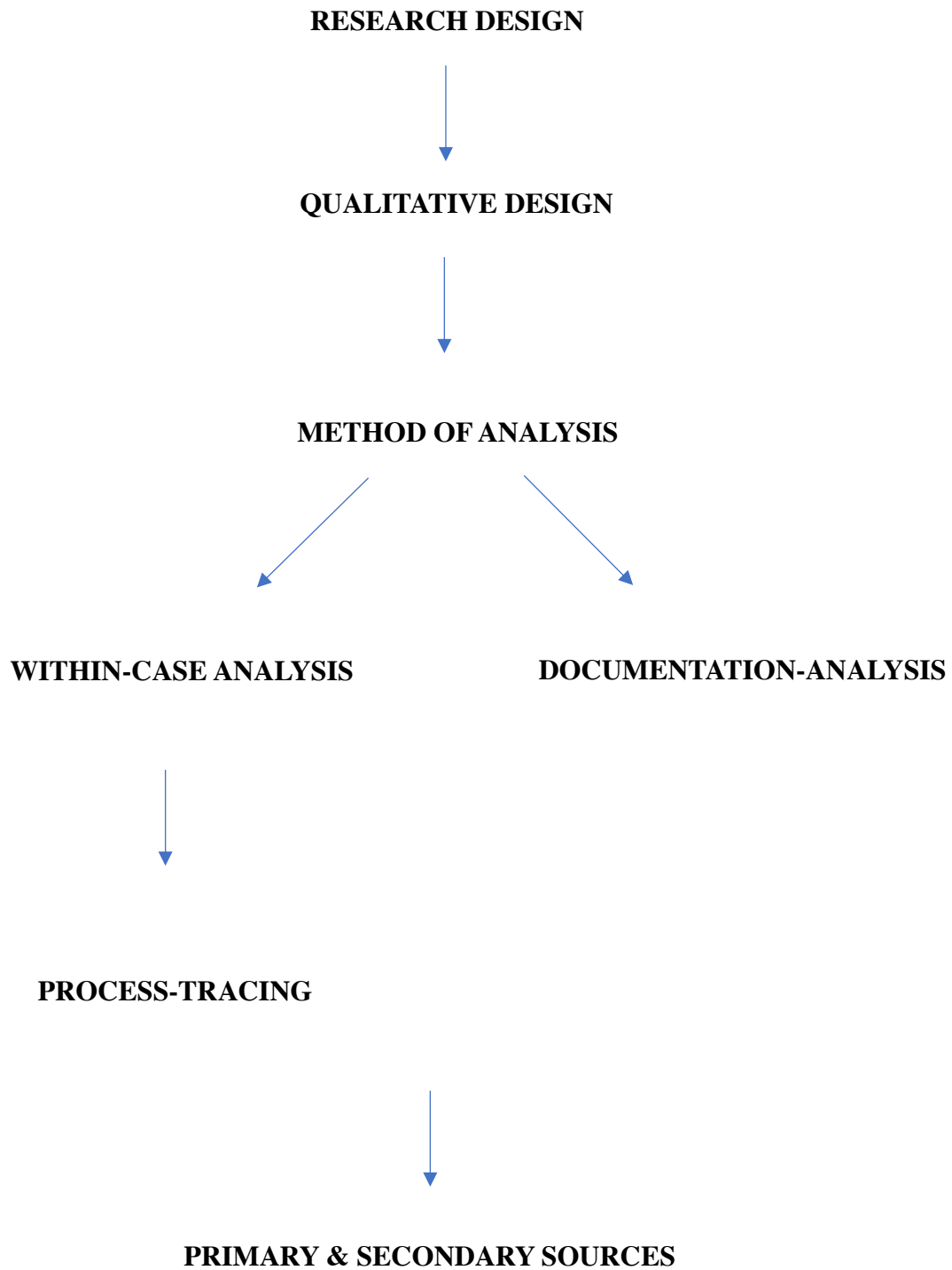
In effort to provide a wide-ranging analysis with valid evidence, this thesis relies on both primary and secondary sources, ranging from books to academic articles, news articles, speeches, and policy reports. Most of them already mentioned in the literature review, the combination of the two sources provides important insights to the single-case study of this thesis. More specifically, in order to reconstruct the chronology of events and further uncover whether a friendship influenced Kosovo gaining their recognition, this thesis relies on data retrieved from governmental documents, statements released from the Clinton and Bush administration, and quotes from history book chapters by Chang (2016) and Phillips (2012) to bring forward reliable evidence. Moreover, when examining the degree of altruistic reciprocity and moral obligation being present, the thesis also applies the SUT model as a tool of examination. Ultimately, using both within-case and documentation analysis as the preferred qualitative research methods will enable this thesis to draw inferences to causal mechanisms of the phenomena under investigation.

The primary sources being governmental documents, public statements, and speeches from the White House, the most relevant for this research being from the Bush and Clinton Administration, are used to discover the extent of the relations between the US and Kosovo. Moreover, with the SUT model as a tool of examination, American opinion polls from 1999 on the NATO bombing and the Milosevic regime are used when analyzing the criteria of

altruistic reciprocity and moral obligation to examine the collective emotions of the American people. Lastly, statements advanced by presidents and politicians in the US, Serbia, and Kosovo are used as evidence when analyzing the five different elements to friendship and determining the degree of friendship being present. Secondary sources, such as newspapers, history books on Kosovo, academic articles and policy reports are made use of as they allow for one to trace underlying information and arguments, which further substantiate the evidence obtained from the primary sources. Ultimately, both the primary and secondary sources will provide the necessary data to track the changes and development throughout the years and ultimately provide a comprehensive overview of the decision-making process regarding the recognition of Kosovo.

The analysis proceeds by first and foremost analyzing the degree of friendship between the US and Kosovo through the method of within-case and documentation analysis. By firstly examining whether a friendship exists, the thesis continues to inspect whether a friendship influences the recognition-giving behavior of the US by testing the hypotheses and their verifiability. Through the within-case method of process tracing, the analysis investigates the various documents by reconstructing the chronology of events and ultimately answer the research question of whether a friendship with the US paved the way towards Kosovo gaining recognition in 2008. By adhering to Van Hoef's framework, the concept of friendship is operationalized by measuring the degree of the five elements that are conducive to a friendship, being affect, grand project, altruistic reciprocity, moral obligation, and equality. Furthermore, this thesis relies on the studies by Coggins (2011), Paquin (2011) and Ker-Lindsay (2018) to operationalize the independent variable, being the decision to recognize a state or not, as their literature highlights the motives behind a state's decision to recognize a new entity. Coggins international-level model on state birth, emphasizes the dichotomy between friendship and enmity as an influencing factor, demonstrating one motive. Additionally, Paquin's theory considering the US as a defensive power wanting to maintain the status quo, and Ker-Lindsay's emphasis on the benefits of achieving broader support from a Great Power, are also motives behind a state's recognition-giving behavior which this thesis will consider in order to enable the operationalization of the independent variable. Ultimately, a single-case study on Kosovo's path to recognition makes it possible to provide new conceptual understandings when it comes to the contemporary recognition of new states (Halperin & Heath, 2020).

Primary sources	Secondary sources
Governmental documents	Newspapers
Opinion polls	Academic articles
Public Statements	Press releases
Speeches	History books
	Policy reports



5.1 LIMITATIONS & ETHICAL CONCERNS

It is imperative to emphasize how certain limitations may arise from conducting such an analysis as it can constrain the research in numerous ways. For instance, the use of verbal and written accounts, such as newspaper articles, can be subject to critique as it presents a rather new and recent perspective, which questions its degree of reliability. This can further potentially produce a bias as the media does not necessarily demonstrate a source that is able to capture a true friendship as conceptualized in a theoretical framework. Moreover, another limitation that can present itself is more related to a single-case design, referring to the possibility of producing generalizations beyond the case study being investigated, more specifically, a single-unit study brings about low degree of external validity. As the research focuses on a single case study, one cannot ensure external validity, more specifically, to make generalized conclusion beyond the research of the single-case study at hand (Halperin & Heath, 2020). As the road to Kosovo's declaration of independence is the case study under investigation, despite there being a friendship or not, one cannot make deterministic causal links to other case studies as they are beyond the scope of this thesis (Toshkov, 2016). Ultimately, as the analysis is confined to the analysis of a friendship between the US and Kosovo, one cannot make deterministic generalizations beyond the case study at hand.

Additionally, a limitation to using an explanatory case design is its substantive reliance on existing theories to provide the necessary building blocks for single explanations (Toshkov, 2016, p. 305). If these theoretical building blocks are nonexistent and previous knowledge falls short in demonstrating the strong causal links between them, the challenge becomes to connect the various pieces of the within-case material into compelling and reliable explanations (Toshkov, 2016, p. 305). However, potential limitations are also evident when it comes to process tracing research, as it is relatively easy to commit two mistakes. The first one is to bring much context into the explanatory research no matter whether it is truly causally relevant or not, thus, potentially representing a threat to the internal validity. The second mistake is to construct narratives that claim to know the origin of something, thus creating mere "just so" stories (Toshkov, 2016, p. 302). As such, having these ethical concerns and limitations in mind, despite the conclusions obtained from this thesis contributing to the general understanding of friendship, it is important to emphasize how one must proceed with caution when researching beyond the scope of this study or making generalizations to other case studies.

6. ANALYSIS OF FRIENDSHIP

6.1 AFFECT

The first key component of friendship is an affective bond, where scholars place emphasis on the role of emotions when examining such a relationship. However, their attention has been directed seemingly towards negative affiliations rather than ones of a positive nature (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 62). One can acknowledge that emotions play a significant role as it is the affective nature of a friendship that makes the relationship such a powerful bond. Yet, examining the presence of such an affective bond has demonstrated its challenges, as scholars utilize various terms such as affect, emotions, or feelings interchangeably, making it a difficult field to study (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 62). As previously mentioned, this thesis will use the definition advanced by Sasley stating affect is the “general valence of feelings towards something,” where the focus lies on the positive affiliations the actors hold for each other and the extent to which this positive valence affects their policies (Sasley, 2010, p. 3). As the influence of affect can be witnessed in summits, negotiations, and through acts of words, there are several instances of positive affect one can witness between the US and Kosovo, both during the 1990s and up until their day of independence but also in present time.

One of the first signs of positive affect was already witnessed in 1992 during the presidential elections when Clinton’s electoral office sent their appreciation to the LDK for their continuous support throughout the elections. As the LDK invested financially and advocated for Clinton’s campaign, in January 1993, the White House showed its appreciation by inviting the representatives of the LDK to Clinton’s inauguration (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 21). Moreover, when Dr. Rugova was elected President in the free elections organized by the US, sixteen US Congressmen signed a formal letter congratulating the new President of the Republic of Kosovo on a unanimous election and wished Rugova success in achieving his goals (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 29). Promising to continue their effort to achieve political freedom in Kosovo, the US Congress sent a sign to Belgrade that the developments in Kosovo had gained the attention of the American political leaders, and they would continue to demonstrate their support to Rugova. In return, to exhibit their appreciation to the US, the letter sent on behalf of the US Congress was published in the Albanian-American newspaper *Illyrian* (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 30). As such, in 1992, there were already signs of a positive affective bond between the Kosovo and US delegation by supporting each other’s political ideology and leadership.

Before Clinton came to power in 1993, President Bush in 1992 wrote the famous letter known as the Christmas Warning, which for the first time demonstrated strong and clear

support for Kosovo. Typed as the “Red Line for Kosovo,” President Bush warned that the US was prepared to intervene militarily in the Balkans if Serbia were to attack the ethnic Albanians (Goshko, 1992). Immediately, Bush became a figure of national importance in Kosovo for writing a letter threatening Serbia and clearly setting the red lines for Milosevic (Bytyci, 2018). Stating clearly, “In the event of conflict in the Kosovo caused by Serbian action, the United States will be prepared to employ military force against the Serbians in the Kosovo and in Serbia proper,” the letter of 1992 made President Bush and the US a hero in the eyes of the Kosovo-Albanians (Goshko, 1992). Following the inauguration of Clinton in 1993, matters did not change between the US and Kosovo, as President Rugova was welcomed multiple times to the White House during the years of 1992 and 1993, signifying they had now become a close ally and a friend to the US (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 31).

Throughout the years that followed, the discourse of the US Congress had changed as the previously introduced resolutions exhibited signs of support for a suppressed nation that the world had little knowledge of. However, in 1998, the discourse was more carefully accounted for, as they relied on more heavy words when addressing Milosevic and Serbia, such as “crimes against humanity,” “humanitarian catastrophe,” and “genocide,” words that ultimately exhibited strong support to Kosovo (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 52). Furthermore, as the Milosevic regime continued to defy the orders of the US and NATO, the affective bond between the US and Kosovo began to grow, especially after the NATO bombing of 1999, and was further substantiated through the highly symbolic visit of Richard Holbrook to Kosovo as the US permanent representative of the UN (Phillips, 2012, p. 118). Holbrook’s visit right after the bombing was filled with symbolism as he visited the mass graves in Kosovo, which followed with his famous statement, “We want to bear witness to the reason NATO bombed and the reason the world community has sent in the UN, and this is the reason-this ravine behind us where people were shot and shoveled over the side” (Phillips, 2012, p. 118). The statement demonstrated the adamant position of the US in showing their support and standing in solidarity with Kosovo by sending the UN representative Richard Holbrook to “bear witness.”

Another instance substantiating the notion that there was an affective bond between Kosovo and the US, which significantly grew over the years, was the speech delivered by President Bush on January 23rd, 2006, when President Rugova died (Bush, 2006). The words exhibited in the speech were filled with meaning which implied that the bond between the two countries had clearly surpassed the relationship of simply being allies and had reached the stage of a special friendship, as demonstrated in the speech made by President Bush:

I am deeply saddened by the death of President Ibrahim Rugova. For many years, President Rugova led the campaign for peace and democracy in Kosovo. He was a friend of the United States, and he earned the world's respect for his principled stand against violence. Throughout years of conflict, he was a voice of reason and moderation that helped Kosovo's people lay the groundwork for a peaceful future. The United States remains committed to working with the people of Kosovo to build a future that is stable, democratic, and prosperous. On behalf of the people of the United States, Laura and I extend our condolences to President Rugova's family and to the people of Kosovo (Bush, 2006).

-President Bush, January 23rd, 2006

Evidently, throughout the speech, President Bush relied on a strong discourse which referred to a close and special friendship, not only between Rugova and Bush himself but also with the US, which goes in accordance with the argument that an affective bond had indeed developed incrementally over the years. This sentiment can be further substantiated when turning to the events that had transpired on Kosovo's Independence Day in 2008, where they yet again received significant support and solidarity from the US. However, appreciation was also witnessed on behalf of the Kosovo-Albanians as the celebration of Kosovo's Independence Day was filled with US and Albanian flags draped everywhere, while on the streets, the people were chanting thank you USA, and God Bless America (Phillips, 2012, p. 181). On February 18th, the US was the second country in the world to recognize Kosovo as an independent country, which followed yet again with a statement made by President Bush, filled with strong and meaningful rhetoric referring to their special and deep friendship throughout the years (Phillips, 2012, p. 10).

On behalf of the American people, I hereby recognize Kosovo as an independent and sovereign state. As in the past, the United States will be a partner and your friend. Kosovo has willingly assumed the responsibilities assigned to it under the Ahtisaari plan. The United States welcomes this unconditional commitment to carry out these responsibilities and Kosovo's willingness to cooperate with the international community during the period of international supervision to which you have agreed. As Kosovo opens a new chapter in its history as an independent state, I look forward to deepening and strengthening our special friendship (Phillips, 2012, p. 181).

- President Bush, February 18th, 2008

Nevertheless, the extensive affective bond that developed between the US and Kosovo did not reach its end following the declaration of independence in 2008. Following their recognition of Kosovo's independence, the US continued to be a supporter and advocator of Kosovo's statehood in the international community. The special bond that had developed between the two countries was evident on the 10th anniversary of Kosovo's independence, where the prime minister of Kosovo, Ramush Haradinaj, stated that Kosovo's "special friendship with the United States is forever" (Dewar, 2018). Likewise, the mayor of the capital Tirana declared that "Albania is for sure the most pro-American country in Europe, maybe even in the world" (Dewar, 2018). Evidently, the intentionally chosen discourse reflects the special relationship that had developed between Kosovo and the US in the early 1990s, which later strengthened through times of war and peace.

However, the NATO intervention of 1999 was the moment when the US became a friend for life in the eyes of both Kosovo and Albania (Dewar, 2018). The sentence that sums up this sentiment and the extent of the affective bond that had developed between the two countries was when the former deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo emphasized their special friendship by saying, "there is also an emotional dimension to this affection that cannot be always explained in rational terms" (Dewar, 2018). Ultimately, it is rather clear that throughout the 1990s and to the present day, there was an affective attachment that grew during times of war and peace, which brought Kosovo and the US closer together. Therefore, this thesis argues that the affective bond is evident and can especially be witnessed from the perspective of the Kosovo-Albanians to the extent to which some scholars have even begun referring to it as Kosovo's America Obsession (Sullivan, n.d.)

6.2 EQUALITY

The element of equality is another key component of a political friendship, which specifically refers to the actors perceiving each other to be equal and on the same level (Van Hoef, 2021, p. 5). However, this does not mean that friends have to be identical to one another, as they can still have an equal standing despite being different from each other. As such, the friendship is grounded in a political environment in which the actors are equal and where they take each other seriously and in confidence (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 80). Ultimately, the element of equality lies in respecting each other's worth to their own, nevertheless, when examining the relationship that developed between the US and Kosovo, one can question the degree of equality being present, depending on whether it is related to their equality of worth or sovereignty (Van Hoef, 2018).

First and foremost, when looking back at the events that transpired before the bombing campaign of 1999 and up until Kosovo's declaration of independence, the two actors were not equal in terms of sovereignty. At the time, the US was the world's only military superpower and a global alliance leader, which on numerous occasions demonstrated its influence and strength (Chang, 2016, p. 149). On the other hand, Kosovo was a non-state actor whose reputation was less known amongst the international community, and the world had little knowledge of the ongoing conflict. By simply looking at their status under international law, one can define their relationship as one between an elephant and a mouse, where the US had the capability to go to the great extent of providing military support to Kosovo by proceeding with their air strikes, where they intentionally made the decision to bypass a potential veto from the UNSC (Phillips, 2012). As such, the relationship that developed between the global superpower and the non-state entity, one being heavily reliant on both the military and financial power of the other, demonstrates the unequal nature of their relationship. Ultimately, the diplomatic relations between the US and Kosovo remain as a good example of non-traditional multilevel diplomacy between a state and non-state actor (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 78).

While the two actors did not exhibit an equal status regarding their statehood, where Kosovo was an autonomous province within Yugoslavia rather than a sovereign state, the evidence further suggests that the relationship between the two was not of an equal nature when looking at the significant financial support given to the Kosovo Albanians. On April 14th, 1999, the US sponsored the "Kosova Self-Defense Act of 1999," where they appropriated \$25 million to arm and train the KLA, which would provide Kosovo's interim government with the capability to defend and protect their population (Phillips, 2012, p. 110). Yet, this was not the first instance of receiving financial support from the US, as the congress had already, in 1992, provided Kosovo with humanitarian aid in the amount of 5 to 8 million \$, designated to the poor who were suffering (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 30). Then later, in 1993, the US Agency for International Development declared in March that they would begin their contribution to distribute aid in Kosovo in the amount of 6.5 million \$ (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 34). However, it is imperative to mention that during the electoral campaign of President Clinton, the LDK did make donations of millions of dollars, although they were not comparable to the contributions of the US.

Furthermore, evidence also points to an unequal relationship when looking at the visits made by President Rugova to the White House, which circled around the ability of the US to provide support as the Kosovo Albanians were reliant on the US in order to succeed in reaching their common grand project, namely, to deter the Milosevic regime. Ultimately, the actions

pursued and the position of the two actors in the international sphere emphasize the notion of them being unequal. Moreover, the US having the means to rescue and support the Kosovo-Albanians militarily through an air bombing campaign, and the rhetoric utilized in Kosovo by referring to the US as a hero and big brother, is yet again a demonstration of the unequal nature of their relationship. In the end, sharing the same goal of destroying the Milosevic regime and to provide Kosovo its statehood are not enough indicators to suggest an equal relationship. However, despite the two countries clearly taking each other seriously and in confidence, the nature of the friendship cannot be characterized as equal as Kosovo did neither have the financial nor military capabilities that would weigh up to the US. This statement can be further substantiated by looking at Kosovo's inability to advance any demands to the US when looking at the element of moral obligation, as they never had the means even to attempt to threaten with "with us or against us" dilemma, as it is posed in the moral obligation criteria which is further discussed in the analysis. Ultimately, as Kosovo was not in the position to do so, the friendship remained rather one-sided when it came to the provision of significant support, another example of the unequalness.

6.3 GRAND PROJECT

"Lovers are normally face to face, absorbed in each other; Friends, side by side, absorbed in some common interest"

C. S. Lewis (1960, p. 91)

According to the framework by Van Hoef (2021), a relationship between political actors or states can be conceptualized as a friendship if they have a grand project, namely, a common goal that parties strive to achieve. History has witnessed friendships with a cause at their core, for instance, the assassination of Julius Caesar carried out by Brutus and Cassius to prevent Caesar from becoming an everlasting dictator (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 63). Another example is the close friendship that emerged between Churchill and Roosevelt, which circled around the common objective of defeating the Nazi Germans, an enemy to both leaders (Van Hoef, 2021, p. 4). As such, political actors can come together in times of need when their interests align by pursuing a common good through various channels of action. Eventually, the grand project tying the actors together becomes the foundation of a friendship, where the parties strive to build the project together. By turning to the case study of this thesis, Kosovo and the US did not from the onset realize a common grand project, nor did they exhibit shared preferences at the core as their relationship incrementally developed over the years.

As the unforeseen circumstances in Yugoslavia were quickly deteriorating with multiple wars being fought on different fronts, the US only intervened as an international actor in 1998, indicating the beginning of a grand shared project. However, before President Milosevic stripped away their autonomy, the Albanian community both in Kosovo and in the US had already been conducting their paradiplomatic efforts prior to the war in Yugoslavia and Kosovo (Dedushaj, 2006). In the 1980s, the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora began to organize themselves politically in the US as a response to the events that were transpiring in Kosovo, which led to the establishment of the American LDK branch in New York in 1990. At that point in time, there was close cooperation between the LDK branch in Kosovo and New York with the objective to free Kosovo, yet there were still no signs of cooperation with the US. In 1989, the Albanian community in the US attempted to pass three resolutions in the US Congress which emphasized the importance of internal autonomy within Kosovo and the end to the human rights violations, however, none of the three resolutions were accepted by the Congress. (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 8). Nevertheless, the issue of Kosovo had been introduced on the agenda of the US Congress and gained attention for the first time from the American political elite.

Matters progressed in 1992 with Bill Clinton being elected for president, where the LDK branch in New York had been a firm supporter and invested a significant amount in his electoral campaign. After the electoral financing, what followed were bilateral and multilateral meetings and discussions (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 22). Evidently, the LDK branch in Kosovo and New York had already developed a common goal, and they began to seek support from the US actively, yet there were still no signs of a common interest between the US and Kosovo. However, with substantive electoral financing and the Kosovo Albanian community in the US pushing for resolution in the US Congress, certain members of the Congress began to pay attention to the Kosovo situation and began to introduce it on their agenda. Ultimately, this led to a resolution in 1990 being introduced where they appealed for Kosovo's autonomy and the condemnation of the human rights violations (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 22). Nevertheless, as Yugoslavia was on the brink of war, no resolutions were passed in 1991 as Kosovo was not the main priority, and the focus shifted towards the wars in Croatia and Bosnia & Hercegovina.

In 1989, the US Congress did not pass any of the three resolutions which addressed the continuation of Kosovo's internal autonomy and the grave human rights violations, however, the matters changed on February 27th, 1992 (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 25). Following the paradiplomatic efforts pursued by the LDK, the American Senate introduced a resolution

expressing the need for the US to recognize the independence of the Republic of Kosovo and provide effective leadership in the international bodies to protect their democracy and human rights (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 25). As such, already in 1992, the idea of creating an international protectorate in Kosovo was brought up, but yet again, no resolution was passed as there was still limited support from the US Congress, leading to Kosovo's independence not being recognized. Nonetheless, the US, at this point, had been shifting much of its attention towards Kosovo and the world began to see more of their involvement in the conflict, which was further illustrated by the decision of New York Senator Alfonso D'Amato to call for free elections in Kosovo under UN monitoring with the aim to reaffirm the Albanian will for independence (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 28). As the presidential elections concluded with 99,5% of the votes in favor of Dr. Ibrahim Rugova and the LDK, the strategy pursued by the US over the recent years took a change of course where they began to provide financial support to Kosovo and arrange numerous meetings with President Rugova in Washington (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 29). As such, the political objectives of the Kosovo Albanians and the US began to align, and there were signs of a common goal, but still not enough to define it as a grand project.

In 1992, the US leaders opened their doors for Kosovo and President Rugova as President Milosevic continued to fight his war in Yugoslavia through tactics of ethnic cleansing and violence. In 1995, the year representing the end of the war in Bosnia & Hercegovina, the Kosovo Albanians were expecting the US to address Kosovo with the world leaders and to find a sustainable solution. However, the Dayton Agreement, finalizing the end of a war in Bosnia, did not address the situation in Kosovo, and despite the US providing them with financial support, the matter of Kosovo's independence was still not a political objective of the US (Perritt, 2010, p. 2). Following years of meetings and summits in Washington with President Rugova and the continuation of financial support to Kosovo, the circumstances quickly changed when the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) emerged and began to pursue violent attacks, in contrast to Rugova's campaign of non-violence. With a full-scale civil war between the KLA and Yugoslav's People's Army, it was not in the interest of the US to allow another war or tolerate the atrocities pursued by the Milosevic regime. Ultimately, this new predicament led to the year of 1998 when the US and Kosovo had one common enemy, namely President Milosevic, which signified the beginning of their grand shared project to end his regime.

As the Rambouillet negotiations in 1999 had failed to produce a peace agreement between the two conflicting parties, another war had broken out in Yugoslavia, this time in

Kosovo (Goldstone, 2000, p. 25). At this moment in time, the US intervened as an international actor as the war had commanded the attention of the Clinton Administration. President Clinton made it clear that he had remarked the violence that was transpiring within the territory by making the following statement: “We do not want the Balkans to have more pictures like we’ve seen in the last few days, so reminiscent of what Bosnia endured” (Chang, 2016, p. 123). Moreover, the Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, paid attention to the war in Kosovo by emphasizing the need for the Clinton administration to prevent the continuation of Milosevic’s regime, as it was the last obstacle remaining towards a democratic and peaceful Balkan. With the failure to prevent war in Bosnia and the war crime atrocities that transpired from 1992 to 1995 in Yugoslavia, Albright stressed the matter and demonstrated the need of the US to support Kosovo by stating; “We are not going to stand by and watch the Serbian authorities do in Kosovo what they can no longer get away with doing in Bosnia” (Chang, 2016, p. 124). It became rather clear that the US and Kosovo had a common goal at the core of their relationship, namely, to deter the Milosevic regime and to create a free and democratic Kosovo.

With the growing consensus that Milosevic had both ignored the demands of the Clinton Administration and the NATO alliance during the war in Kosovo, the US Congress agreed in March 1998 on “the use of United Armed Forces as part of a NATO peacekeeping operation implementing a Kosovo peace agreement” (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 54). Moreover, following a meeting in January 1999, a thirteen-page classified Kosovo strategy known as the “Status Quo Plus” came out, which emphasized how the strategic goals of the US had remained the same, namely, to prevent a resumption of hostilities in Kosovo and renewed humanitarian crisis (Chang, 2016, p. 131). However, as the situation was deteriorating drastically, the US decided to bypass UN authorization and emphasized the need for a NATO intervention in order to protect Europe, which led to a 78-day bombing campaign of Serbia and the Milosevic regime. In June 1999, both the US and Kosovo succeeded in their mission by bringing an end to ethnic cleansing and violence as Milosevic was defeated (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 59). After the NATO bombing, the US Congress passed resolution S. CON. RES 40, which demanded from Slobodan Milosevic:

- (1) The withdrawal of all Yugoslav and Serb forces from Kosovo according to relevant provisions of the Military-Technical Agreement between NATO and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- (2) A permanent end to the hostilities in Kosovo by Yugoslav and Serb forces

- (3) The unconditional return to their homes of all Kosovar citizens displaced by Serb aggression

Following the end of the civil war in 1999, as the common goal of removing Yugoslav troops from Kosovo territory had succeeded, the new objective was to create a democratic and free Kosovo, which ultimately led to the US Security Council Resolution 1244 (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 59). The United Nations Interim Administration Mission (UNMIK) in Kosovo became the executive, judicial and legislative authority for Kosovo (Phillips, 2012, p. 115). The UNMIK for the Kosovo-Albanians was seen as the vehicle for Kosovo's path to independence, however, the road became long and more difficult than anticipated. As the talks regarding Kosovo's status and future were transpiring over the years, with the US continuing to emphasize its strong support, the UN eventually decided to send Martti Ahtisaari to deal with the urgent matter and to reach a sustainable solution regarding their status. By making it clear that the only viable outcome would be independence following a period of international supervision, the US endorsed the Ahtisaari plan in 2007 and called for the end of UNMIK (Phillips, 2012). Eventually, Kosovo declared its independence on February 17th, 2008, and the United Nations immediately recognized its statehood on February 18th (Phillips, 2012, p. 181). Ultimately, what began as a grand project with the aim to remove any influence from the Milosevic regime, the new objective of both the US and Kosovo, following years of successful supervision under the UN, turned into acquiring Kosovo its statehood.

Ultimately, this thesis argues that despite the US not having Kosovo's independence as a clear goal from the onset, when compared to the paradiplomatic efforts pursued by the LDK both in Kosovo and the US, the objective of destroying the Milosevic regime eventually gave birth to a grand shared project. Despite only gaining attention from the US Congress in 1992, the grand project that ultimately brought Kosovo and the US together in cooperation was in 1998 when the civil war broke out, leading to the US bypassing the UNSC and advocating for the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia and Milosevic. The shared objective at the core of the relationship that emerged following the bombing of 1999 was to make Kosovo free and democratic, which later turned into the goal of giving Kosovo its independence and international recognition. In the end, one can argue that from 1998 until 2008, the US and Kosovo had a grand project which they strived to achieve together through various means of cooperation as their interests had finally aligned.

6.4 ALTRUISTIC RECIPROCITY & MORAL OBLIGATION

Altruistic reciprocity refers to the natural retribution from each other without having any expectation of a favor in return, more specifically, one of the actors in the friendship provides support and aid because it is in their interest to help their friend (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 67). The reciprocity within the friendship is entirely altruistic, where one actor exhibits their selfless concern for the other, making altruistic reciprocity one of the characteristics of the highest form of a friendship (Van Hoef, 2021, p. 5). However, the actions pursued are of a passive nature where one of the actors does not demand support or aid, it is rather a deed that is done as it is believed to be appropriate and out of the good for the friendship (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 67).

One instance that resembles the element of altruistic reciprocity between the US and Kosovo was the support given to each other's electoral campaigns. The activities by the LDK branch in New York were concentrated on providing electoral financial support to the Clinton campaign through millions of dollars, a sign to show their support. In return, Clinton's electoral office sent their appreciation to the LDK office for their continuous support and invited them to Clinton's inauguration in January 1993 (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 21). The support given to each other's electoral campaigns continued between both parties throughout the years. Moreover, the support and solidarity given by the LDK to Clinton were later also returned in terms of humanitarian aid through millions of dollars in order to support the poor communities within Kosovo (Dedushaj, 2016, p. 30). However, the reciprocal relationship between the two transpired through different means, such as President Rugova demonstrating his and Kosovo's solidarity by traveling to the US and allowing their presence of authority in Kosovo, while the US returned this gesture through financial means.

Moreover, the evidence also indicates that one part of the decision to intervene in 1999 resembled an act based on the element of altruistic reciprocity as the Clinton administration carried out their bombing campaign because they deemed it to be the appropriate action to help their ally. The Clinton administration did emphasize the need to provide humanitarian assistance to the Kosovo Albanians as Milosevic continued to proceed with his military forces. With the ongoing humanitarian crisis, with over 200,000 Kosovo-Albanians being driven out of their home, the US provided both financial and military aid to help their ally, as Kosovo did not have the means to deal with such a crisis (Chang, 2016, p. 138). However, while evidence suggests that Clinton's decision to intervene in 1999 showed signs of altruistic reciprocity, the question turns to whether the element of moral obligation was present.

While altruistic reciprocity is a passive act, the element of moral obligation is a more active appeal upon a friend to pursue an action that adheres to the rules of the friendship (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 70). One of the parties in the friendship places an obligation on the other to put to the test one's support. As the ancient Greeks believed, there is the obligation to help our friends and the friends of our friends and to hurt our enemies and our friend's enemies (Van Hoef, 2018, p. 70). However, when it comes to the relationship between the US and Kosovo, it is imperative to understand that the moral obligation to act was not present as the Kosovo Albanians did not make the US subject to such a demand. More specifically, they did not refer to "a with us or against us" threat. It was rather an ethical concern as the US believed they had to act in order to promote their interests, but also to bring peace in Kosovo and Europe, which resembles a passive act as illustrated in the element of altruistic reciprocity. Therefore, it is misleading to argue that Kosovo actively demanded the US to act based on a moral obligation or that any of the two parties called upon the other to act out of a moral appeal. As such, it is more correct to state that the Clinton administration deemed it appropriate to provide support as they were allies, but also because President Milosevic was their common enemy. Ultimately, when looking at the conceptualization advanced by Van Hoef (2018), the course of action pursued by the US was not based on a moral obligation, as the acts were of a passive nature, which resembles the element of altruistic reciprocity. The following paragraph provides examples to substantiate the statement.

As highlighted on numerous occasions in the speeches made by the Clinton administration, it was rather clear that the war in Kosovo involved a degree of humanitarian concern. In particular, the massacre in Racak became "the critical level for those in the American government and in allied Western governments to move for military action against the Serbs" (Chang, 2016, p. 148). For many, it was viewed as a sign that the war in Bosnia & Hercegovina was repeating itself, and therefore, President Clinton was determined to fight for the end of human suffering in the region. However, it is imperative to understand that the humanitarian concerns transpiring within Kosovo were not the primary goal of the Clinton administration as there were other imminent concerns to the US, such as safeguarding an "undivided, peaceful, and democratic" Europe, a central interest of the US (Chang, 2016, p. 149). As a defensive power, the US would not allow for an unstable Balkan, which would threaten the status quo (Rich, 2011). The chances of a wider war, a destabilized region, and a potential refugee crisis were too great in the eyes of the Clinton administration, which could ultimately further pose a threat to international peace and security. As stated later by President

Clinton himself, in his address to the nation on March 24th, 1999, on the night of the first air strike, Clinton made the following statement emphasizing the reason for the involvement of the US:

We act to protect thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a mounting military offensive. We act to prevent a wider war, to diffuse a powder keg at the heart of Europe that has exploded twice before in this century with catastrophic results. And we act to stand united with our allies for peace. By acting now, we are upholding our values, protecting our interests, and advancing the cause of peace. Ending this tragedy is a moral imperative (Chang, 2016, p. 139)

- President Clinton, March 24th, 1999.

Evidently, the speech highlights three reasons to why the US decided to move forward with NATO on ordering the air strikes on Yugoslavia and Milosevic in 1999. With one of them being humanitarian concerns, other reasons to act were due to their own national interests and credibility concerns, as both the US as a superpower and NATO were threatened by President Milosevic. However, President Clinton further justified the US air strikes by placing emphasis on how they were not only acting in terms of their national interests but also based on American values and for the cause of protecting peace worldwide (Redd, 2005, p. 131). In his address to the nation, President Clinton continued to underline how the US had to “protect the thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a mounting military offensive, to protect a wider war, and to stand united with their allies” (Blomdahl, 2017, p. 555). Moreover, President Clinton’s argument that the US had an ethical responsibility to protect ethnic Albanians in Kosovo also rang true amongst the Americans, as 64% of the public polls believed the US had such an obligation to fulfill (Gillespie, 1999). As such, the evidence adheres to the element of altruistic reciprocity, where the US continued to advocate for an intervention as they deemed it to be the appropriate course of action, and more importantly, Kosovo never made a demand of moral appeal to the US.

With the ongoing air strikes, President Clinton had several press conferences where he first and foremost stressed how Kosovo was a part of former Yugoslavia, and because of its position being in the heart of the Balkans, the region was of high strategic importance both to the US and Europe (Chang, 2016, p. 137). In short, he underlined two potential threats to US national interests, firstly, the threat of the conflict spreading, and secondly, the ongoing humanitarian crisis (Chang, 2016, p. 138). The US had a strong interest in preventing potential spillovers to other parts of the region as the violence in Kosovo was threatening the stability of

the Balkans, including countries such as Bosnia, Macedonia, and Albania. Countries like Greece and Turkey, NATO member states, could potentially also be drawn into the conflict, which would make matters worse. On the other hand, the ongoing humanitarian crisis with over 200,000 Kosovo-Albanians being driven out of their homes, increasing the potential threat of having a refugee and humanitarian crisis spilling over into the neighboring countries, became an additional concern to the US. (Chang, 2016, p. 139). This goes in accordance with the theory presented by Paquin, namely that the US, as a defensive power, has an interest in protecting the status quo and to promote stability in the region (Rich, 2011). Nevertheless, the humanitarian justification was further emphasized and made clear by Madeleine Albright as she put forward the convincing argument that the US had an ethical obligation as a world military superpower and as the only actor capable of intervening on behalf of groups that were being ethnically cleansed, to establish a peaceful and democratic Europe and Balkan (Redd, 2005, p. 131).

The sentiment of providing humanitarian protection transpiring amongst the Clinton administration was further substantiated by the following statement made by President Clinton, addressing why peace in Kosovo was specifically important to the US:

In this decade, violent conflicts in the former Yugoslavia have threatened Europe's stability and future. For four years Bosnia was the site of Europe's bloodiest war in half a century. With American leadership and that of our allies, we worked to end the war and move to the Bosnian people toward reconciliation and democracy. Now, as the peace takes hold, we've been steadily bringing our troops home. But Bosnia taught us a lesson. In this volatile region, violence we fail to oppose leads to even greater violence we will have to oppose later at greater cost. We must heed that lesson in Kosovo" (Chang, 2016, p. 135).

In addition to this, President Clinton placed emphasis on how a potential failure to react to the threats would send the message that both the US and NATO were not united or strong enough to confront an aggressor such as President Milosevic (Redd, 2005, p. 131). By continuously referring to the values of democracy and the rule of law, Clinton used rhetoric that underlined the obligation of the US as a Great power to protect the values of the world order and its security. As such, there was a moral reason to protect Kosovo as the US would not allow the past to repeat itself, and it was of high importance to protect both their and NATO's credibility (Chang, 2016). Ultimately, President Clinton voiced the tone which believed that a NATO strike against Yugoslavia gave human rights precedent over the rights of states. By not

consulting with the UNSC as they believed the threat was imminent, Clinton demonstrated that “a stable, peaceful and democratic Europe” was very much in the interest of the US, but also to use force against Serbia to uphold American values and to avert a humanitarian disaster was a moral imperative (Chang, 2016, p. 139).

This thesis advances the argument that both the support and solidarity pursued by the US towards the Kosovo-Albanians, when looking at their course of action before the intervention of 1999, resembled signs of altruistic reciprocity rather than an act of moral obligation. More specifically, the US provided substantial financial and military aid as they deemed it the appropriate action in order to safeguard peace within Kosovo. While Kosovo was a faithful ally and continued to advocate in favor of the Clinton administration, the US returned the favor by sending humanitarian aid when needed. However, the analysis also demonstrates that the Clinton administration did not completely act based on unselfish reasons, as they had their interests and concerns, which influenced their decision-making. While they appealed to the ethical obligation of protecting peace and security within Kosovo and Europe, they clearly had their own national interests and credibility concerns (Yang, 2003, p. 235). However, at the time, President Clinton was simultaneously dealing with the Monica Lewinsky scandal, leading to his impeachment, which suggests that there are reasons to believe the US was not necessarily acting on either pure altruistic reciprocity or moral obligation towards Kosovo, as other important factors were also at play. Despite the argument that the US had the ethical responsibility to protect the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo rang true amongst the American population, this thesis will argue that it was also a diversionary tactic pursued by President Clinton as he faced a domestic scandal. The following chapter introduces the SUT model, which investigates whether this claim holds merit.

Affect	Equality	Grand Project	Altruistic Reciprocity	Moral Obligation
YES	NO	YES	YES	NO

6.5 SENTIMENTAL UTILITY THEORY MODEL

Despite there being evidence that would support the argument that the US acted based on an ethical obligation and altruistic reciprocity, there are also reasons to believe that their actions were not based entirely on an ethical incentive. The Sentimental Utility Theory model (SUT) demonstrates how the influential role of collective emotions can spark an action and create a political identity amongst the population (Van Hoef & O’Connor, 2019, p. 1223). More

specifically, rather than perceiving the intervention and later bombing of Yugoslavia as a moral or ethical obligation, the objective of President Clinton arguably was also to establish political power, as at the time, he was also facing domestic instability due to his impeachment. As such, the SUT model can be utilized to explain how President Clinton, due to the political environment at the time, used the collective emotions of the American population to solidify their friendship with Kosovo and simultaneously pursue a tactic of diversionary warfare to gather political support (Van Hoef & O'Connor, 2019).

While a civil war was transpiring within the territory of Kosovo in 1998, it is imperative to understand the political environment that was present in the US at the time following the Monica Lewinsky affair (Chang, 2016, p. 126). As Clinton was confronted with a domestic scandal, various scholars have introduced the possibility that the intervention in 1999 was a diversionary tactic in order to shift the focus from the domestic scandal. At the time, Senator Bob Dole recalled saying how “the whole rhythm of the Government was thrown, off because the big guy has something more important on his mind than any foreign-policy crisis- a 900-pound gorilla that was always in the room with him, named impeachment” (Chang, 2016, p. 146). Likewise, one of Clinton’s political advisors made a statement saying “I hardly remember Kosovo in political discussions. It was impeachment, impeachment, impeachment. There was nothing else” (Bronner & Sciolino, 1999, p. 1). Evidently, at a time when Kosovo was facing a civil war, President Clinton was subject to significant domestic pressure following the Lewinsky scandal, which later led to his impeachment. Therefore, one should investigate the possibility that Kosovo presented itself as a foreign policy challenge to a US President whose powers of persuasion and authority were heavily questioned (Bronner & Sciolino, 1999, p. 1).

As the Lewinsky Scandal had eroded Clinton’s moral authority and power of persuasion, the US president found it challenging to get public and congressional support to send ground troops to Kosovo or even take unilateral military action (Bronner & Sciolino, 1999, p. 1). At the same time, the polls in 1999 indicated that Clinton was losing support, threatening his possibility of re-election (Gillespie, 1999). SUT model explains how the emotions of the public and their position towards the war in Kosovo could have been used by President Clinton to affirm his domestic position and gain an appreciation for saving the Balkans and a threat to Europe. The ratings conducted before the bombing campaign suggest that half of the population was in favor of the US providing military support to the Kosovo Albanians, especially following the failure of Bosnia & Hercegovina (Redd, 2005, p. 135). Furthermore, the sentiment spreading amongst both the White House and the public was how President Clinton should have acted earlier and more decisively on Kosovo, and the question

raised was whether the administration would take any action to reaffirm Bush's previous Christmas warning in 1992. Additionally, as the LDK were pursuing their paradiplomatic efforts at the time, which were in favor of a US intervention, this thesis will argue that Clinton was aware of their collective emotions and exploited them.

The ratings of March 1999 further emphasize that there was a humanitarian concern amongst the American people as they believed the US as a world leader, had the responsibility to provide support and military assistance. The support for US participation in NATO air attacks in Kosovo was at 62%, a level almost identical to the numbers conducted during the first week of the conflict (Deane & Morin, 1999). The ratings indicated growing support for a Kosovo mission as the US public accepted moral obligation as a justification for launching the bombing raids (Gillespie, 1999). At the same time, the public attitude towards the war in Yugoslavia had become angry and personal in the eyes of most Americans where President Milosevic, as a war criminal, had become the enemy, not only to Kosovo but also to the US. As such, the attitudes of the American population had hardened against Milosevic, and they advocated for an increase in military action in order to destroy his forces (Deane & Morin, 1999). Furthermore, The Washington Post-ABC News Polls in 1999 exhibited results which were in favor of the US sending ground troops to remove the Milosevic regime, and even a proportion of the population believed he should have been forced to stand trial for his war crimes (Deane & Morin, 1999).

As such, two in three Americans believed the US had an ethical obligation to establish peace in Kosovo, and nearly six in ten said they would favor the use of US and allied ground troops to end the conflict in Kosovo if the air campaign failed to force Milosevic to the negotiations table (Deane & Morin, 1999). The US media at the time indicated that there was a collective emotion amongst the American public, which was in favor of the US supporting the Kosovo Albanians and providing them with humanitarian aid (Yang, 2003). Ultimately, "the public opinion bears directly on the decision to intervene because presidents weigh the effects in their own political fortunes in the upcoming elections" (Carey, p. 74, 2001). This statement could be further substantiated by the approval ratings of the Republican majority in Congress reaching their low mark in the aftermath of the impeachment-related events (Carey, p. 76, 2001). Yet, one cannot make a strong claim in regard to whether the decision made by President Clinton would have been different if the distraction of his own legal and political problems were not present, however, this thesis argues that he was in need of a tactic which diverted the public from the existing domestic predicament, which he took advantage of in order to solidify his political position by intervening in 1999 (Bronner & Sciolino, 1999, p. 1).

Evidently, there are reasons to believe that the military aid provided to Kosovo was not simply based on pure altruistic reciprocity or an ethical obligation, as the US was also protecting its own national interests and credibility concerns. Moreover, the SUT model also suggests that President Clinton carried out the air campaign in 1999 due to his own domestic scandal and took advantage of the collective emotions that were present amongst the American population to affirm his political position. More specifically, as the ratings suggested that President Clinton was losing support, and more than half of the US population was in favor of supporting Kosovo, this thesis argues that President Clinton emphasized a friendship with Kosovo and the responsibility of the US as a superpower to provide prospects of security and peace to secure his domestic position. Therefore, the evidence implies that despite the US emphasizing their ethical obligation to act on numerous occasions, which later transpired in an active and external nature, one cannot state that it was a moral obligation according to the definition provided by Van Hoef as Kosovo did not make a demand. There was no “a with us or against us” perspective or a moral appeal demanded from either side, which makes it misleading to state that the element of moral obligation was present between the US and Kosovo, as Kosovo did not have the ability to make such a demand. However, despite President Clinton being subject to a domestic scandal and having the incentive to pursue his own interests, it would be misleading to argue that the element of altruistic reciprocity was not present between the US and Kosovo, as such, this thesis will contend that the element was present between the two.

7. THE INFLUENCE OF FRIENDSHIP ON RECOGNITION-GIVING BEHAVIOR

Following a rigorous analysis of whether a friendship existed between the US and Kosovo, this thesis posits the argument that, indeed, there was a friendship between the two. Despite not meeting all the requirements that substantiate a friendship put forward by the framework of Van Hoef (2021), it would be misleading to state that a friendship did not exist at all. First and foremost, my analysis proves there was a great degree of affect shared between the US and Kosovo, which was further substantiated through their shared grand project and acts of altruistic reciprocity. Nevertheless, even though the nature of their relationship did not meet the requirement of moral obligation and equality, the US did on numerous occasions advocate in favor of them having the ethical obligation to provide Kosovo with both humanitarian and military support. In fact, the Clinton administration, next to having their own domestic and national interests, did ultimately intervene in 1999 as they believed it was the ethical action to pursue, despite Kosovo never making or being in the position to make a demand of moral

obligation. Therefore, as a friendship had developed between Kosovo and the US, the following section investigates whether the nature of their friendship influenced the recognition-giving behavior of the US.

H1: *States are more likely to recognize new states if it weakens their enemy.*

H2: *States are less likely to recognize new states if it weakens their friends.*

Turning to hypotheses one and two, the completed analysis highlights evidence in favor of H1, as it holds merit and is verifiable. As the two hypotheses exclude each other, by arguing that H1 is applicable to this case study, H2 remains out of the scope of this thesis. Despite the US being the second country to recognize the independence of Kosovo in 2008, they were a strong advocator of Kosovo gaining its statehood long before their declaration of independence. One of the reasons for this was due to the Milosevic regime and his acts of ethnic cleansing, which put a nation in danger while simultaneously stripping away their autonomy and pursuing human rights violations. As President Milosevic's military forces would not retreat from Kosovo, according to the US, a potential war in Kosovo did not only pose a threat to the Kosovo Albanians but also to the Balkan region and Europe (Chang, 2016). As demonstrated in subchapter 5.3, the US and Kosovo did share a grand project, which primarily focused on destroying their common enemy, President Milosevic, and his regime, but later that project turned into providing Kosovo their recognition as an independent state. Therefore, as H1 argues that a state is more likely to recognize a new state if it weakens its enemy, this thesis contends that the US was more likely to recognize Kosovo as a state because it weakened its enemy, namely President Milosevic, and it eliminated any concerns of credibility and threats to their national interest (Redd, 2005, p. 131).

H3: *The United States is more likely to recognize a new state when there is much instability in the region, and the status quo is under a threat.*

Furthermore, when analyzing H3, evidence from the conducted analysis suggests that the hypothesis is verifiable as the US, on multiple occasions, used rhetoric that referred to protecting their national interests and the subsequent status quo in the Balkans. During the decision-making process on whether to intervene in 1999, the Clinton administration often put emphasis on their responsibility as a global superpower to provide peace in the Balkans as they

could not allow for another failure in the region following the war in Bosnia & Hercegovina in 1995. The belief was that a war in Kosovo could cause potential spillovers to other parts of the region as the violence was threatening the stability of the Balkans, including countries like Bosnia, Macedonia, and Albania. Moreover, NATO member countries like Greece and Turkey could potentially be drawn into the conflict, which would only escalate the already challenging predicament. Therefore, the US, as a defensive positionalist state, recognized Kosovo as it was in their interest to safeguard the region and to minimize the stability gaps in the international environment (Rich, 2011). Moreover, as argued by Paquin, the US is also remarkably sensitive to the demands of friendly countries when it comes to recognition controversies, and because of that, this thesis has demonstrated evidence that supports the argument that the US recognized Kosovo because there was instability in the region and the status quo was under threat (Rich, 2011).

H4: *Recognition-providing states are more likely to recognize the new state when they were directly committed to the creation of the new state.*

Lastly, when examining the analysis conducted of the five different elements of friendship and how such a relationship developed between the US and Kosovo, this thesis argues that the US, as a recognition-providing state, recognized Kosovo as they were directly committed to their creation. More specifically, the state-building process of Kosovo was linked and dependent on the diplomatic relations and support of the US (Dedushaj, 2006, p. 78). As the conducted analysis highlights, the US, on numerous occasions, demonstrated its solidarity being with Kosovo by providing both military and financial support, but also by referring to their alliance and special friendship through numerous speeches. By only appearing on the international stage in 1998, the decision of the US to bypass an approval from the UNSC and to proceed with their air bombing campaign in 1999 substantiated the notion that they firmly supported Kosovo in its quest to become independent and free of any influence from the Milosevic regime. Moreover, following the intervention of 1999, the US did not stop in its support, despite their success in eliminating the presence of Milosevic and his regime, they continued to stress the need for the presence of peacekeeping efforts on behalf of the UN and advocated for Kosovo's statehood.

As the talks regarding Kosovo's future continued to be a topic of debate both within the White House and the UN, the United Nations decided to send Martti Ahtisaari to deal with the urgent matter and find a solution regarding Kosovo's status. When Ahtisaari made it clear

that the only viable outcome would be independence, the US immediately endorsed the Ahtisaari plan in 2007 and called for the end of UNMIK in Kosovo (Phillips, 2012). In the end, Kosovo declared its independence in 2008, and the US was the second country in the world to recognize its statehood already the next day (Phillips, 2012). Ultimately, when examining the actions and responses pursued by the US throughout the 1990s and up until 2008, this thesis argues that H4 is also verifiable as evidence illustrates that the US was directly committed to the creation of Kosovo becoming a state.

8. CONCLUSION

Following an examination of the four hypotheses, this thesis argues that the friendship between the US and Kosovo influenced the recognition-giving behavior of the US. As their friendship had already developed by the time Kosovo declared its independence, the prospects of the Kosovo-Albanians achieving their statehood were great with the continuous support of the US. Adhering to the framework by Van Hoef (2018), evidently, a friendship emerged at a time when the US could not be threatened or painted as a weak actor following the failure to protect Bosnia & Hercegovina. As such, the US deemed the appropriate action to be to provide aid to Kosovo as they could not allow another humanitarian crisis. In the end, the US provided significant military and financial aid to Kosovo, and as the analysis demonstrates, a friendship had developed between the two, which later influenced the recognition-giving behavior of the US. Ultimately, with the research question of this thesis being to what extent did a friendship with the United States pave the way towards the recognition of Kosovo's independence in 2008, the results obtained indicate that a friendship with the US did to a great extent pave the way towards the recognition of Kosovo's independence in 2008.

Nevertheless, despite three out of the four hypotheses being verifiable, indicating that a friendship influenced the recognition-giving behavior of the US, the objective of this thesis has not been to advance the argument that friendship is the sole determinant of recognition of new states. While the case study of this paper has focused on Kosovo's road to independence by examining the influence of their friendship with the US, the analysis has exhibited evidence that goes in accordance with the expectation that the friendship with the US did pave the way towards Kosovo's recognition of independence. However, with Kosovo being an anomaly in the international society, their friendship with the US was used as a sample with the objective of contributing to the general understanding of recognition as a phenomenon. As such, this thesis has provided one perspective which demonstrates a causal relationship between friendship and recognition giving-behavior through a rigorous analysis of Kosovo.

Moreover, this thesis has demonstrated how the friendship between the US and Kosovo developed incrementally, where in the beginning, both the US and Kosovo exhibited diverging incentives and political agendas. As a defensive positionalist state, the US had the goal of asserting its power and protecting the status quo, both in the Balkans and Europe, by removing President Milosevic. On the other hand, the primary objective of the Kosovo-Albanians was to acquire back their autonomy, which later turned into the quest for their independence and to remove any influence from the Milosevic regime in Kosovo. However, as the years passed, they both exhibited similar interests, and as their objectives aligned, a grand shared project emerged, which led to the two joining forces as they had one common enemy, and with time, a friendship had formed. Evidently, this thesis acknowledges that the US was, to a great extent, the main driver of the relationship as they, at the time, were a superpower entering an alliance with a non-state actor that neither had the financial nor military means to advance their interests. Despite the US stressing their own national interests, next to the objective to safeguard peace in Europe and to respond to credibility concerns, the US was still a firm supporter of Kosovo's quest for independence and statehood. Therefore, one cannot disregard the fact that a friendship with the US did contribute to the recognition of Kosovo's independence in 2008. Ultimately, by examining whether a friendship existed between the US and Kosovo, the conducted analysis has demonstrated evidence in favor of there being a positive association between a friendship and recognition-giving behavior. However, this does not signify that one can, with the utmost confidence, argue for the generalization of this causal relationship as other research may yield different results.

Ultimately, this thesis has offered a new perspective on the relationship between the concept of friendship and the recognition of states by utilizing the framework of Van Hoef and the Sentimental Utility Theory model. The study has contributed to the expansion of the operationalization of friendship through the framework of Van Hoef (2021) by applying his five criteria to a national level of analysis. By adhering to the results obtained from the analysis, this thesis proposes that future research should focus on the role of friendship and its subsequent influence beyond the individual level, which contributes to the enlargement of the concept within the IR academia. Moreover, with the US as a sample case, this thesis has introduced a different perspective when it comes to the application of the SUT model and its subsequent influence when investigating friendship by demonstrating how President Clinton used collective emotions as a diversionary warfare tactic to consolidate his political position. Therefore, future studies should pay attention to a more diverse application of the SUT model in policy areas that extend from the sole concept of friendship and the IR domain. Additionally,

as the recognition of new states is a rather new field of study within the IR realm, this thesis demonstrates its relevance by providing valuable insights for future research by focusing on the variables that are conducive to the decision-making process on the recognition of new states. Ultimately, this thesis recommends that future research should continue to examine the relationship between friendship and the recognition of states by investigating other case studies and further analyze whether a friendship between states or political leaders was an influencing factor in achieving statehood.

9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aristotle. (2003). *The Nicomachean ethics* (H. Rackham, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Berenskoetter, F. (2007). Friends, there are no friends? An intimate reframing of the international. *Millennium*, 35(3), 647-676.
- Berg, E., & Vits, K. (2018). Quest for survival and recognition: insights into the foreign policy endeavors of the post-soviet de facto states. *Ethnopolitics*, 17(4), 390-407.
- Blomdahl, M. (2017). Diversionary theory of war and the case study design: President Clinton's strikes on Iraq and Yugoslavia. *Armed Forces & Society*, 43(3), 545-565.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative research journal*.
- Bush, G. W. (2006, January 23). *Statement on the Death of President Ibrahim Rugova of Kosovo*. Retrieved from The American Presidency Project: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-the-death-president-ibrahim-rugova-kosovo>
- Bytyci, F. (2018, December 5). Day of mourning in Kosovo for Bush, seen as hero for 1992 letter. *U.S.* Retrieved March 18, 2022, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-kosovo-usa-bush-idAFKBN1O41MY>
- Carey, H. F. (2001). US Domestic Politics and the Emerging Humanitarian Intervention Policy: Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo. *World Affs.*, 164, 72.
- Chang, C. H. (2016). US Foreign Policy after the Cold War: Clinton's Foreign Policy. In *Ethical Foreign Policy?* (pp. 61-93). Routledge.
- Coggins, B. (2011). Friends in high places: International politics and the emergence of states from secessionism. *International Organization*, 65(3), 433-467.

- Crawford, B. (1995). Domestic pressures and multilateral mistrust: Why Germany unilaterally recognized Croatia in 1991. *German Politics and Society*, 13(2), 1.
- Dedushaj, N. (2006). *'Paradiplomatic' relations between the United States and Kosova: a friendship between an elephant and a mouse* (Master's thesis, University of Malta).
- Dewar, J. (2018). "Our Special Friendship Is Forever": The Ties Between Albania, Kosovo and the USA. *Penn Political Review*. <https://pennpoliticalreview.org/2018/09/our-special-friendship-is-forever-the-ties-between-albania-kosovo-and-the-usa/>
- Digester, P. E. (2009). Friendship between states. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(2), 323-344.
- Gillespie, M. (1999, March 26). *Support grows for Kosovo mission, but public still divided*. Gallup.com. Retrieved May 9, 2022, from <https://news.gallup.com/poll/3985/support-grows-kosovo-mission-public-still-divided.aspx>
- Goldstone, R. J. (2000). *The Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Goshko, J. M. (1992, December 29). BUSH THREATENS "MILITARY FORCE" IF SERBS ATTACK ETHNIC ALBANIANS. *Washington Post*. Retrieved May 1, 2022, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/12/29/bush-threatens-military-force-if-serbs-attack-ethnic-albanians/ebca2f38-0d0a-4ce7-8918-b5c8be97fe58/>
- Halperin, S., & Heath, O. (2020). *Political research: methods and practical skills*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Heimann, G. (2012). Can States Be Friends? The Relevance of Friendship to International Relations. *International Proceedings of Economic Development and Research*, 48(7), 28-34.

- Hillestad, A. E. (2010). *A Right to Remedial Secession?: The Case of Kosovo and its Implications for International Law*(Master's thesis).
- Keller, S. (2009). Against friendship between countries. *Journal of International Political Theory*, 5(1), 59-74.
- Ker-Lindsay, J. (2018). The stigmatisation of de facto states: Disapproval and 'engagement without recognition'. *Ethnopolitics*, 17(4), 362-372.
- Koschut, S., & Oelsner, A. (Eds.). (2014). *Friendship and international relations*. Springer.
- Lauterpacht, H. (1943). Recognition of states in international law. *Yale LJ*, 53, 385.
- Lewis, C.S., 1960. *The Four Loves*. Harcourt, Brace, New York.
- Majstorovic, S. (1999). Autonomy of the sacred: The endgame in Kosovo. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 5(3-4), 167-190.
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d). Recognition. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. Retrieved May 9, 2022, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/recognition>
- Morin, R., & Deane, C. (1999, April 8). Attitudes Harden Against Milosevic. *Washington Post*. Retrieved February 3, 2022, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/04/08/attitudes-harden-against-milosevic/0fd83b4d-efe2-4a0a-b0f0-243f7d0c1853/>
- Oelsner, A., & Vion, A. (2011). Friendship in international relations. *International Politics*, 48(1), 1-9.
- Pangle, L. S. (2003). *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perritt Jr, H. H. (2010). *The road to independence for Kosovo: a chronicle of the Ahtisaari plan*. Cambridge University Press.

- Phillips, D. L. (2012). *Liberating Kosovo: Coercive diplomacy and US intervention*. MIT Press.
- Redd, S. B. (2005). The influence of advisers and decision strategies on foreign policy choices: President Clinton's decision to use force in Kosovo. *International Studies Perspectives*, 6(1), 129-150.
- Rich, J. (2011). Seek Stability and You Shall Find: US Policy and Secessionist Movements.
- Ryngaert, C., & Sobrie, S. (2011). Recognition of states: International law or realpolitik? The practice of recognition in the wake of Kosovo, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia. *Leiden journal of international law*, 24(2), 467-490.
- Sasley, B. E. (2010). Affective attachments and foreign policy: Israel and the 1993 Oslo Accords. *European Journal of International Relations*, 16(4), 687-709.
- Sciolino, E., & Bronner, E. (1999). How a president, distracted by scandal, entered Balkan war. *New York Times*, 18, 1.
- Seawright, J., & Gerring, J. (2008). Case selection techniques in case study research: A menu of qualitative and quantitative options. *Political research quarterly*, 61(2), 294-308.
- Sheffield, F. C. (2011, April). VIII—Beyond Eros: Friendship in the Phaedrus. In *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society (Hardback)* (Vol. 111, No. 2pt2, pp. 251-273). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Sullivan, S. (n.d.). Kosovo Independence: Most Pro-American Country in the World. *TIME.Com*. Retrieved May 8, 2022, from <https://time.com/kosovo-independence-america-obsession/>
- Tansey, O. (2009). Kosovo: Independence and tutelage. *Journal of Democracy*, 20(2), 153-166.

Toshkov, D. (2016). *Research design in political science*. Macmillan International Higher Education.

Van Hoef, Y. (2018). *Modelling Friendship between Elite Political Actors: Interpreting the Relationships of Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing, Kohl and Mitterrand, Thatcher and Reagan, and Bush and Major* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Leeds).

Van Hoef, Y. (2021). Positive Peace Through Personal Friendship: Franco-German Reconciliation (1974–1995). In *The Palgrave Handbook of Positive Peace* (pp. 1-19). Singapore: Springer Singapore.

Van Hoef, Y., & O'Connor, R. (2019). Sentimental utility theory: Interpreting the utilization of collective emotions by the political elite through the Erdoğan-Obama friendship. *Political Psychology*, 40(6), 1217-1233.

Yang, J. (2003). Framing the NATO air strikes on Kosovo across countries: Comparison of Chinese and US newspaper coverage. *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, 65(3), 231-249.