A Sheffield Hallam University thesis

"Tourism governance in post-war transition: the case of Kosova"

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Abstract

The aim of this research study was to examine tourism governance in post-war transition with specific reference to the influence of political, economic and social factors, institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations. Within this context, a crucial objective was to assess the role of mindset. Reviewing the literature in relation to the key concepts, it was discovered that research tends to focus on political and economic transition, whereas the social dimension, despite its importance, is largely neglected. Similarly, tourism governance has been overlooked in studies of tourism in post-war transition. Furthermore, the literature on tourism governance rarely takes the issue of mindset into account. To address these gaps in knowledge, a qualitative research approach was applied to study tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 56 stakeholders from different sectors of Kosova's tourism industry and beyond; these were examined using thematic analysis based on Robson's (2011) five phases. Political, economic and social conditions were found to strongly influence tourism governance; therefore, it is argued that tourism governance cannot be determined without considering these dimensions. In particular, the findings emphasise the importance of acknowledging the social dimension of transition, since, if there is no societal change and advancement from the pre-war era, it obstructs political and economic transition processes, through crucial aspects, for example, educational barriers. Overall, tourism governance was found to be constrained by weak institutional arrangements, limited collaborative efforts, imbalanced power relations between the central government and tourism institutions and high level of politicisation. Thus, the conditions of tourism governance largely reflect the overall conditions of transition in post-war Kosova. A key finding of this study is the importance of 'mindset' in being an integral part to Kosova's transition, and particularly, tourism governance. The findings were used to develop a theoretical framework that can guide future research.

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List of abbreviations and acronymes

BTI	Bertelmann Stiftung Transformation Index
e.g.	for example
EU	European Union
EULEX	European Rule of Law Mission in Kosova
GIZ	Gesellschaft fuer Internatioale Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for International Development)
Ibid	from the same source
IDA	International Development Agency
IDO	International Development Organisation
i.e.	that is/ means
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KLA	Kosova Liberation Army
LDK	Democratic League of Kosova
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDK	Democratic Party of Kosova
QUINT-countries	UK, Germany, France, Italy and USA
UN	United Nations
UNMIK	The UN Mission in Kosova
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe

Candidate's Statement

I confirm that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam University, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is my own original work.

The main body consists of five chapter:

      Chapter 1. Introduction

      Chapter 2. Research Location

      Chapter 3. Literature Review

      Chapter 4. Methodology

      Chapter 5. Results and Discussion Post-war transition and its implications for tourism

      Chapter 6. Results and Discussion

      Chapter 7. Conclusion

Chapter 1 provides an overview each chapter including themes and issues that are discussed.

The main body is followed by a list of references to acknowledge the body of literature, I have drawn on for completing the thesis.

I confirm that my research is not part of a collaborative group project.

Acknowledgement

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Context of the study

Tourism has proven to be a very resilient industry with its rebounded demand increasing by 7% in 2010 after the global economic crisis (UNWTO, 2015). International travel and tourism increased by 5% in 2015 from 2014, with the Americas leading the growth whilst, Europe remains the most visited region in the World (UNWTO, 2016). International tourism has snowballed significantly over the last five decades, with 25 million international travellers in 1960 and 1.3 billion in 2015 (UWNTO, 2016). The enormous tourism growth comes from people being able to afford to travel, and furthermore, a growing perception that leisure travel is a necessity rather than a luxury. This growth has put the volume of tourism level with or above industries like of oil, food and automobiles (UNWTO, 2016), and it is claimed, its revenue sources significantly contribute to improved employment, household income, and national budgets worldwide (Oh, 2005).

The UNWTO (2016) estimates that international tourism will continue growing and, contributing to the economies of countries and their political and social progress and diversification (UNWTO, 2016). More destinations have opened to tourism worldwide, especially in the last two decades, since many regions of the world experienced changes in political systems or conflict resolutions that resulted in tourism development (Sofield and Mactaggart, 2005). The influx of destinations offering tourism services includes transitional countries such as the former Soviet Bloc. According to Chou (2013), tourism is very important for transitional countries as it can help speed the transition processes. Also, countries that have experienced wars and civil conflicts (such as Sri Lanka, Rwanda and Cambodia) have invested in tourism as part of wider reforms and national development (Fernando *et al*, 2013).

Tourism is regarded and utilised as a tool for development, particularly by countries that have experienced war in their recent past, and continue to struggle with the challenges of political, economic and social transition (Hall, 2004). However, knowledge about the difficulties that tourism development is faced with, in post-war

transition, remains limited (Novelli *et al*, 2012). Even less research consideration has been given to the complications of developing tourism in countries, where tourism was almost absent, in the pre-war period. Ominously, literature on tourism governance in the context of post-war transition is limited (see: section 2.4. Tourism governance).

Post-war societies that have endured consecutive, prolonged periods of oppression can experience important psychological imbalances and difficulties, which may obstruct the processes and the progress of transition. Such mindset difficulties can also hinder efforts to establish the governance of tourism development. Mindset has been a focus in established research platforms such as organisational behaviour (Meyer, 2015), public policy (Sullivan, 2011) and psychology (Cilliers and Greyvenstein, 2012). However, knowledge on the role of mindset in tourism governance is yet to take form in the tourism literature, with Stoyanova-Bozhkova's (2011) academic study being almost the only recent one (see: section 2.5.4. Mindset in tourism governance (in post-war transition).

Other studies that have briefly aknowledged the influence of mindset related issues were in sustainable tourism, such as, different stakeholder values in sustainable tourism development (Dodds and Butler, 2009), producing a unique destination identity (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003) and, challenges of developing wine tourism due to a 'cottage mentality' in the wine tourism industry (Beames, 2003). In tourism in transition literature studies that have referred to mindset issues include Hall (2000), who finds individualism as ab obstacle to collective tourism development in Albania, and William and Balaz (2000) who identify a lack of trust and issues of realibility and honesty as common problems in Central and Eastern European Countries (CEE). Despite general avoidance of examining the influence of mindset in tourism literature, there is a great need to fill this gap, due to its importance in industries like tourism, where, people and their interaction is the essence of its reality. Dodds and Butler (2009:46) state that *"tourism is a complex system with multiple stakeholders as well as value systems which need to be considered"*. They argue that challenges in implementing long-term tourism policies are *"political, cultural, economic, social and psychological"* (ibid:48).

This doctoral thesis contributes knowledge to the body of literature concerning tourism governance in the context of post-war transition. The research, firstly, examines political, economic and social dynamics and the role of mindset in post-war transition, and the associated implications for tourism and tourism governance. Secondly, it investigates key 'pillars' of tourism governance, namely institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations (see: 1.5. Conceptual framework).

This chapter sets out the basis for the thesis by introducing key concepts: 'post-war transition'; 'tourism in post-war transition'; 'tourism governance'; and 'mindset'. Thereupon, the research problem will be stated together with the aim and objectives of this study. This is followed by the presentation of the researcher's conceptual thinking and methodological considerations relating to how the aim and objectives will be achieved. At the end of the chapter, the structure of this thesis is outlined.

1.2. Key concepts of this study

1.2.1. Post-war transition

The Oxford English Dictionary (2010:1) defines transition as *"the process or period of changing from one state or condition to another"*. The term transition in the academic literature pertaining to development refers to the processes of political and economic shifts from one well-defined system to another. This is often depicted from a socialist centralised system to democratic decentralised governance and, from state planning to open market and capitalism (Hall, 2006). A more explicit definition of transition is made by Turley and Luke (2011:1) as

> *"social, political and economic transformation from a command system characterised by state ownership, collective action and central planning to a market system characterised by decentralised decision-making arrangements and private sector market transactions".*

Most countries that have entered transition after the termination of the Cold War in the late 1980s-early 1990s did so for the purpose of moving on from the demise of socialism or communism to enter the gates of a New World Order advocated by the United States. This change required the establishing of a capitalist system with a market-led economy and the development of democratic legal framework, policies and societies (Ikenberry, 2005).

Transition processes frequently start with the termination of one system and the launch of a new one and, in certain circumstances, the former is overthrown by an uprising or war, for example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosova. A country, undergoing post-war transition, does not only face challenges to control and administer its statehood, but risks being pulled back into further instabilities because of weak political, economic and social conditions (Armstrong and Chura-beaver, 2010). The ultimate aim of post-war transition is to achieve sustainable peace, good governance and economic prosperity. Related to this, a growing area of academic literature focuses on post-war peace-building transition (Berdal, 2009; Dayton and Kriesberg, 2009), post-war nation-building (Ghani and Lockhart, 2008; Paris and Sisk, 2009), and stabilisation (Brinkerhoff *et al*, 2009; Looney, 2008; Szayna, 2009). According to Armstrong and Beaver (2010:3) of the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (2010: 3) post-war transition is defined as:

> *"both a multi-disciplinary process and points of change, in time, when conditions for stability are achieved in security, justice and reconciliation, infrastructure and economic development, humanitarian and social well-being, and governance and reconciliation, through the enabling and empowering of Host Nation Institutions, in order to facilitate enduring positive effects and improved quality of life for citizens".*

1.2.2. Tourism in post-war transition

The significance of tourism is acknowledged in many debates around development, (Mowforth and Munt, 2009; Sharpley and Telfer, 2015). Many transition countries, including those that have suffered with political instability, utilise tourism as a tool to achieve political and economic stability and advance social and environmental conditions (Causevic and Lynch, 2013; Sofield *et al*, 2003; Stoyanova-Bozhkova, 2011; Suntikul, 2005). It has been noted that tourism development should be at the forefront of the national export strategy to help speed transition processes (Conrad and Barreto, 2005). However, there are challenges to developing tourism in a transitional context, particularly when transition is on the back of conflicts and wars as it is confronted with political instability, economic depression and dependency on foreign investment and a fractured society with identity crises (Hall, 2004; Winter, 2008). Additionally, there are difficulties that a small landlocked country, undergoing post-war transition can face due to the lack of resources and strained political relations with its neighbours (Faye *et*

al, 2004). Morgan *et al* (2011) acknowledge that conflicts and wars not only damage the image of a destination more extensively than short-term unrests, but incapacitate their often fragile economic and infrastructural systems.

As indicated above, tourism is universally observed by International Development Organisations (IDOs) such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and academic researchers as a panacea for equitable and sustainable development and a source of economic development, institution-building and sustainable reconciliation (Dieke, 2003; Pritchard *et al*, 2011). However, tourism is also viewed sceptically by a significant voice of researchers as an illusion of what it can supposedly achieve in post-war countries, because of unequal distribution of wealth, contested heritage, disputed history and territorial claims (e.g. Botterill and Klemm, 2006 and 2007; Cole and Morgan, 2010; Hilary, 2011; Meyer, 2011). It can be questioned, however, whether the illusion arises from tourism itself, or from the inability to organise and manage tourism appropriately, due to lack of expertise in this field. With appropriate governance, tourism development can provide prospects to local businesses and the local economy, and beyond that, it can help build political relations and bridge social and cultural differences in a post-war and divided society (Causevic and Lynch, 2013).

1.2.3. Tourism governance

Tourism governance is pivotal to successful tourism development as it shapes the pathway of tourism through appropriate actions, decision-making, policies, legislations and strategic development (Hall, 1994). Effective tourism governance also helps to build networks of tourism stakeholders with the aim of achieving mutual goals that otherwise would be difficult to realise individually. There is no consensus on how to define governance and tourism governance (Hall, 2011). In simple terms, it can be referred to as 'the act of governing'; whilst wider definitions can also be found in the literature (e.g. Kluvánková-Oravská *et al*, 2009; Lynn, 2010; Mayntz, 2003; Rosenau, 1992).

This study utilises Bevir's (2013:1) definition of governance:

> *"all the processes of governing whether undertaken by a government, market or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or informal organisation or territory and whether through laws, norms, power or language".*

It adopts this definition as a guiding principle in that the study understands governance as the processes of governing by one or more stakeholders through different approaches.

Literature on tourism in transition since the late 1980s and early 1990s has yielded an abundance of knowledge of how tourism can be used as a tool for political and economic progression (Hall, 2008; Williams and Balaz, 2002), whilst the governance of tourism development in post-war transition, although critical for this process, has generally been overlooked (Novelli *et al*, 2012). This study contributes to this uncultivated area of research as it sets out to explore tourism governance in a post-war transitional context. This is achieved by examining the impacts of post-war transition on tourism governance and how tourism governance is determined by key pillars such as institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations (Bramwell and Lane, 2011; Hall, 1994). Power relations are discussed in the results and discussion chapter with reference to politicisation, which includes corruption and nepotism.

It should be noted that, whilst politicisation is defined by the English Oxford Online Dictionaries as *"the action of causing an activity or event to become political in character",* in this thesis, the term 'politicisation' is adopted as the appropriate phrase to convey the meaning of the Albanian word *'politizimi'*. This word was used by the interviewees in this research to reveal illegitimate practices of civil servants that exploit their positions and public resources for personal benefits. Therefore, 'politicisation' is defined here as the actions of using political positions and associated networks to exploit public resources through corruptive and nepotistic means for personal gain or party benefits at the expense of the country's development. Similarly, Sotyanova-Bozhkova (2011:34) defines politicising as *"a range of personal actions by individuals who were perceived to be using their political positions, and the associated networks, for personal gain".*

1.2.4. Mindset

The study of 'mindset' is an area of focus in various disciplines such as political science, psychology, anthropology, sociology and ethnology, which contributes towards developing knowledge on the psychology of a nation (Buyanova, 2006). The

importance of mindset is generally an unexplored area in governance literature, especially in relation to tourism governance and tourism in post-war transition (Stoyanova-Bozhkova, 2011). This study seeks to contribute to this area by exploring the influence of mindset, which is shaped by the legacies of the past and the current circumstances of post-war transition, on tourism governance.

Most transition processes involve moving from 'the known to the unknown', which often creates a battle between those who are for and against change (Gandomani *et al*, 2014). It is essential for the mindset of the people to cope with change, when society is transitioning from old governance approaches to a new system. The English Oxford Dictionary (2015:9) defines the term 'mindset' as:

> *"an established set of attitudes, esp. regarded as typical of a particular group's social or cultural values; the outlook, philosophy, or values of a person; (now also more generally) frame of mind, attitude, disposition".*

It (ibid) also defines 'mentality' as *"the characteristic way of thinking of a person or group".* This research recognises mindset same as mentality and vice-versa, therefore, for the purpose of this study the term 'mindset' will be used throughout the thesis. This is supported by Kozlova (2014) who, from a socio-psychologically perspective, perceives 'mentality' with the characteristics of 'mindset'. She (ibid) also argues that the term 'worldview' has been absorbed in modern humanities into the term mentality or mindset. Gurevich (1993:42) defines mindset as *"all that set of basic beliefs about the world, by means of which a human mind in any given era processes in an orderly world picture".* This study believes that cognitive worldviews of people or societies are made of their mindset, and in turn, their mindset is made of their worldviews. Bondarenko (2012:106) defines 'worldview' as

> *"the fundamental cognitive orientation of an individual or society encompassing the entirety of the individual or society's knowledge and point-of-view, including natural philosophy; fundamental, existential, and normative postulates; or themes, values, emotions, and ethics. Additionally, it refers to the framework of ideas and beliefs through which an individual, group or culture interprets the world and interacts with it".*

The definitions above by EOD (2013), Bondarenko (2012) and Gurevich (1993) are combined here, to convey the comprehensive meaning of mindset and what it

represents in this study. Therefore, in this research, 'mindset' is defined as the characteristic way of thinking and the established set of attitudes, characterising with the fundamental cognitive orientation of an individual or society - encompassing the entirety of their knowledge and point-of-view, including natural philosophy; fundamental, existential, and normative postulates; or values, emotions, and ethics. Additionally, it refers to the framework of ideas and beliefs through which an individual, group or culture interprets the world and interacts with it.

For the purpose of this thesis, the definition of mindset on tourism governance in post-war transition is influenced by the above definition, Bevir's (2013) definition of governance and Stability Operations Institute's (2010) definition of post-war transition. Therefore, this study defines it as: the thinking and attitudes characterising cognitive worldviews, of relevant stakeholders, in the processes of governing tourism in post-war transition.

1.3. Research problem

Post-war tourism is considered to be essential in helping to recover societies from a difficult past (Causevic and Lynch, 2011; Hall, 2009). Tourism development in post-war transition is faced with difficulties such as society's lack of trust towards the state, weak political leadership, social division and the legacies of the conflict such as high emotional feeling of injustice amongst the divided society, on both sides (Engberg-Pedersen *et al*, 2008; Morgan *et al*, 2006; Stewart and Brown, 2010). Due to such challenges, good governance of tourism is imperative in the efforts to satisfy these objectives. However, the legacies of the past, weak tourism structure, limited expertise and resources and inadequate policy implementation, tangled with power struggles are the realities of post-war transition that add to the difficulties of tourism governance (Altinay and Bowen, 2006; Yasarata *et al*, 2010). Shamsul-Haque (2007) notes the high tendency of government officials in post-war transition to prioritise personal gain at the expense of society benefits. Internal difficulties of the country, strained relations with the neighbours and the negative destination image internationally are critical factors, as it can be problematic to attract conventional tourists if the region is viewed politically unstable (Causevic and Lynch, 2013).

It has been accentuated that the amount of literature on post-war tourism development is not yet saturated (Novelli *et al*, 2012). This research employs the role of mindset to examine how post-war transition influences tourism governance. More specifically, it seeks answers to the following questions:

What are the characteristics of post-war transition? How does mindset influence post-war transition? How does it influence tourism governance?

How is tourism governance shaped by its 'pillars' of institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations? How does mindset influence tourism governance?

In the geographical context of Kosova, post-war transition is influenced by pre-war forces such as political tension, suppression and imprisonment of society, factors that led to the Kosova War 1998-1999, and post-war forces; humanitarianism; returning refugees; peacekeeping; stabilisation; as well as the physical reconstruction of the state and the psychological recovery of society, which prolong transition (Armstrong and Chura-Beaver, 2010). These are additional factors that post-war transition societies have to contend with in political, economic and social reforms, which can slow down confidence when striving to achieve good governance and overall stability.

As aforementioned, Novelli *et al* (2012) assert that literature on post-war tourism is not matured, and even less knowledge exists in recognising how post-war transition impacts on tourism governance. To appreciate the current situation in Kosova, this study aims to explore how the socialist legacy of tension, suppression and imprisonment of a society for a period of time has influenced the processes of its post-war transition and to examine how that affects tourism governance. The role of mindset is central in determining such legacies of the pre-war on post-war transition, including its effects on tourism governance.

The research problem is deliberated using the perspectives of relevant stakeholders, which focus on how tourism governance is shaped and determined in a post-war transition. Therefore, the study does not claim to produce a fixed picture of what post-war transition is, or what tourism governance in post-war transition is, but rather relies on the views of the participants based on their understandings of post-war transition

and tourism governance in this context. The researcher attempts to meet the ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions of qualitative research, whilst examining multiple stakeholder perspectives on tourism governance in post-war transition. It is considered that valid knowledge is established here by reporting accurately the constructed realities of the interviewees. Due to this subjective epistemological assumption, the axiological issue of the value-bound nature of this research was also acknowledged when data was collected and discussed. These issues will be discussed further in the methodology chapter.

1.4. Aim and objectives

The research topic was established during a review of the pertinent literature, but also emanated from my own personal and educational experiences. The topic evolved through phases and changes at the beginning from: 'post-war tourism products', to 'cross-border tourism in a politically tensed region', to 'rebuilding the image from war-torn to tourism bound', to 'the politics of tourism in a post-war and transitional context', until it was finalised as 'tourism governance in post-war transition'. The latter became the final focus due to the shortage of knowledge at present concerning the governance of tourism development in this context. The incentive was to answer the aforementioned research questions and discover new knowledge

Literature on tourism governance was reviewed, several drivers or measures of tourism governance were selected and themes were developed. This shaped the following aim and objectives of the research. In order to answer the research questions, an overall aim was developed, 'to examine tourism governance in post-war transition using institutional arrangements, collaboration, power relations and mindset'.

Four specific research objectives were then formulated.

1. To examine post-war political, economic and social transition;
2. To determine the implications of political, economic and social post-war transition for tourism governance.

3. To assess tourism governance by examining its institutional arrangements, and how key stakeholders consider and respond to collaboration and power relations.

4. To analyse how mindset influences tourism governance in post-war transition.

The research aim and the objectives were evaluated in order to develop a conceptual framework that would guide data collection. This is outlined in the next section.

1.5. Methodological considerations

Tourism is a social manifestation by the people, of the people and for the people, and developing understanding of human behaviour is a complex task which requires a qualitative approach. The research therefore adopts a qualitative methodological approach; according to Morris and Wood (1991), this also facilitates an exploration of both the situation being studied and its operational processes. Jennings (2009) also argues that qualitative research is crucial for developing deeper examination of socio-cultural and political influences in tourism. In this particular study, a qualitative approach enabled the congregation of in-depth information and to develop an understanding about political, economic and social post-war transitional conditions, how they influence tourism governance, how tourism governance is shaped by institutional arrangements, collaboration, power relations, and stakeholder mindset.

The qualitative approach is explained further in detail in chapter 3. It utilises semi-structured face-to-face interviews. These are the most common type of interviews in qualitative research, because they involve predetermined questions, the chance to pursue unforeseen issues and enable consent to seek clarification (Berg 2009; Holloway and Wheeler, 2010; Ryan *et al* 2009). This flexibility helped the researcher to pursue a thorough examination of tourism governance and the role of institutional arrangements, collaboration, power relations and stakeholder mindset. New topical issues surfaced in the interviews, such as politicisation of tourism governance, and problems related to tourism legislation and policies. These emergent ideas were achieved by encouraging the research participants to use their personal views, experiences and knowledge to discuss any matters that they judged to be relevant to the broad themes of the researcher's conceptual thinking (evidenced through the

conceptual framework, Figure 9.). The research participants were individuals, who were identified to be key stakeholders of tourism governance, and/ or to have knowledge and awareness related to the topic under investigation.

The primary research was carried out in Kosova in 2013; Kosova is a country that is undergoing post-war transition. Having experienced war in 1998-1999, and is transitioning from socialism under former Yugoslavia and Serbia to democratic governance and neoliberalism. The post-war period from 1999 to 2013 is crucial in this study and is examined in terms of its political, economic and social transition and tourism governance.

The research setting is also one with which the researcher is familiar as a former citizen of Kosova, and having previously conducted masters-level research on tourism in this geographic setting. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 56 individuals from the public and private sectors, tourism associations and international development agencies (IDAs). The data collected was analysed using thematic analysis, whilst the conceptual framework was used for guidance and to maintain the focus of the study.

1.6. Structure of the thesis

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. The following section introduces each chapter in reference to the research objectives. This introductory chapter has outlined the research focus and scope by exploring key phenomena: post-war transition; tourism in post-war transition; tourism governance; and the role of mindset. It began with a brief consideration of the significance of tourism and its importance to post-war transition. It presented the research problem followed by the research questions and the overall aim and objectives. Some key points about tourism in transition and the challenges of post-war conditions to tourism led to the importance of tourism governance and, in turn, to the mindset issues shaping tourism governance. It highlighted the key areas of this research by introducing some of the gaps in knowledge concerning post-war transition and its implications for tourism governance. It underlined how this thesis will examine tourism governance by investigating institutional arrangements, collaboration, and power relations, whilst exploring the

role of mindset in determining the causes for concern. The examination of tourism governance in post-war transition, combined with mindset issues, is a major step towards increasing knowledge about the experiences of countries such as Kosova. This research area merits the commitment of a doctoral study, as it can inform the processes and struggles of post-war transition and tourism governance in such a context. It can raise the attention of both the benefits and obstacles of post-war transition and tourism governance, whilst also contributing to the education of Kosova society, as a whole.

Chapter two introduces the research location, Kosovo and a brief history about how the country went through different political stages in the former Yugoslavia before the war 1998-1999. It also provides a brief summary of its post-war political, economic and social situations before drawing the attention to the conditions of its tourism sector.

Chapter three reviews relevant literature and academic theories in an attempt to understand the existing knowledge and gaps in this research area that fit this research. Firstly, it presents the literature on transition, and emphasises how post-war conditions influence the processes of transition. It reviews transition literature from political, economic and social viewpoints to understand its developments and obstacles. It also gives consideration to how mindset can influence the journey of post-war transition. Secondly, it reviews the literature on 'governance' to understand its complexities and what it means for this research. Stakeholder theory is employed to theorise the concept of governance. This theory will also be used in the discussion of the research findings, later on. The issue of governance will then be reviewed through a tourism lens, using tourism literature, before focusing its attention on specific 'pillars' of governance, institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations, including the influence of mindset.

Chapter four discusses the methodology of this research. It outlines the interpretivist philosophical underpinnings of the research and evaluates the qualitative approach of the methodology and its non-probability sampling technique. This includes a presentation of the interviewees' characteristics and the sectors that they represent in Figure 10. The section on data collection evaluates semi-structured interviews as the main research method, whilst drawing on some experiences that involved observation

and participation in public-private-voluntary meetings. The data analysis section outlines the strategy and the processes of analysing raw data. This part discusses how the main themes of the research were identified in the data and it explains the filtering process by using Robson's (2011) 'five-steps to data analysis'. This chapter also outlines the ethical steps that have been taken to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees, before drawing on a reflexive account of myself as the researcher, and my connection with the social world that I researched.

Chapter five presents the results and a discussion of findings with regards to post-war transition and its implications for tourism. Firstly, it examines post-war transition through political, economic and social perspectives, before highlighting their implications for tourism governance. The influence of mindset on post-war transition and its effects on tourism governance is also analysed in the discussion. It discusses the opportunities and the obstacles of transitioning from a former socialist system to democratic governance, in line with a European approach. The findings with regards to post-war struggles are emphasised in the discussion, to reinforce the analysis on the conditions of Kosova's transition. The arguments are supported throughout, by interviewees' quotes, together with the extant literature.

Chapter six examines tourism governance in the context of post-war transition. This includes an analysis of key pillars of tourism governance from the initial conceptual framework, in turn. It begins with a discussion of the findings concerning institutional arrangements and collaboration, followed by power relations, whilst referring to the mindset issues identified earlier in the chapter and how they influence tourism governance. To construct the arguments, the examination of the data is supported by direct and indirect quotes from the interviewees, together with references to the literature and relevant academic theories.

Chapter seven concludes the thesis and its outcomes, by reviewing its key findings and presenting the new theoretical framework, which is a refinement of the initial framework, based on the empirical research findings and their discussion. It then highlights the key research contributions to the literature and the implications for relevant beneficiaries such as relevant tourism stakeholders, the Kosova Government

and society. Finally, the chapter outlines the limitations of the research, and makes recommendations for further research studies.

Chapter 2: Research location – Kosova

2.1. Key characteristics

Kosova is a small landlocked country located in the centre of the Balkan Peninsula. Kosova borders Albania and Macedonia in the south and Montenegro and Serbia in the North (Figure 1.).

Figure 1. Political Map of Europe

Source: youreuropemap (2008) - edited by Kosovo-Info (2015)

With a territory of 4,212 square miles (10,887 square kilometres) and an estimated population size of 1.9 million people in 2015 (The World Bank, 2016), it is smaller than Northern Ireland, which has a territory of 5456 square miles (14,129 kilometres square) and a similar population size of 1.8 million.

An estimated 50% of Kosova's population is younger than 20 years old, classifying the population as the youngest in Europe (European Commission Liasion Office to Kosova,

2010). Kosova is a multi-ethnic country but dominated by one ethnic group, Kosova Albanians (Kosova Agency of Statistics, 2011)[1]. Other ethnic groups include Serbs, Turks, Bosniaks, Gorani and Roma (often grouped with the Ashkali and Egyptians) (Independent International Commission on Kosova, 2000). According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova (The Republic of Kosova, 2008:1), *"Kosova is a multi-ethnic society consisting of Albanian and other Communities, governed democratically with full respect for the rule of law through its legislative, executive and judicial institutions".* It is also *"a secular state and is neutral in matters of religious beliefs"* (2008:2). This approach aims to integrate minorities and eliminate any type of discrimination. Multi-ethnic integration is explicitly strived for, which is, for example, emphasised by the design of Kosova's flag showing six white stars that symbolise Kosova's six ethnic groups (Figure 2.).

Figure 2. Kosova's flag

Source: The office of the Prime Minister of Kosova (2016)

Various ethnicities comprise different religious groups of approximately 90% Muslims (Kosova Albanians, Kosova Turks, Kosova Bosniaks, Kosova Gorani and Kosova Roma), 6% Kosova Serb Orthodox and 4% Kosova Albanian Catholics (Blumi, 2005).

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[1] It is estimated that 90% of the total population are Albanians; exact statistics are not available (Kosova Agency of Statistics, 2011).

2.2. Kosova's political, economic and social history

Kosova under Tito's Yugoslavia (up to 1989)

Kosova has been under the invasion of Slav settlers (Serbians) since the 11th Century (Vickers, 1998). It was also ruled by the Ottoman Empire for 500 years, from 1453-1912. After the decline of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans in 1912-1913, Serbia reinvaded Kosova (Elsie, 2011) and began their operation of mass murder and ethnic cleansing of Kosova Albanians, similar to what happened in 1999 (Bellamy, 2000), in order to 'correct' statistical figures of the population in Kosova, that were not in their favour (Trotsky, 1999). From 1912 up to the end of World War 2 Kosova was invaded and ruled in turns by Serbia, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Italy and Germany, (Kola, 2003). Kosova   as a province of Serbia was merged into Yugoslavia, until its collapse in the 1990s (Agir, 2012). What differentiates Kosova from the rest of the former Yugoslavia is the fact that Albanians, who comprise the majority of the population in Kosova, are not South Slav (Yugoslav) settlers, do not share the same ancestors and the Albanian language is not Slavic. Illyrians who are direct ancestors of Kosova Albanians (Holland, 1815; Leake, 1998), inhabited the Balkans for centuries BC, before Slavic people travelled from the former Soviet regions to occupy parts of the Balkans (Bideleux, 1998).

The former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with its capital Belgrade was modelled after the Soviet Union as the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia Josip Bros Tito sided with Joseph Stalin after the World War 2, because of USSR influence in the region (Ramet, 2006). Nevertheless, Tito distanced himself from Stalin in 1948, after refusing to be subordinated by the Soviets, and Yugoslavia followed its own path of socialism under Tito's political leadership (Chapman, 2014). Due to the detachment from the Soviet Union, and its refusal to join neither NATO nor the European Common Market the country became isolated politically and economically, emphasising the need for political and economic reforms. As a result, Tito adopted a non-alignment policy and in 1961 together with the leaders of India, Egypt, Indonesia and Ghana created the Non-Aligned Movement so as not to get entangled in the Soviet-USA tension, which Tito thought would start another war (Nixon, 2012). In the 1960s and 1970s the country's internal political system became decentralised and it adopted an

economic model of workers-self management and encouraged inbound tourism (Chapman, 2014).

The 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia made Kosova an official unit alongside the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, with equal rights (Rogel, 2003). The constitution aimed at ending violence and provided a semi-statehood status for Kosova where central decision-making was dependant on the consensus built by Kosova political leaders (Cohen, 1995). The constitution protected all ethnicities equally and called for unity against class warfare and social class inequality, which had been a grave issue for Kosova Albanians from 1953-1966 under the control of Yugoslavia's Vice President and Interior Minister, Alexander Rankovic. Rankovic, a Serb, who vigorously policed and suppressed Albanians in Kosova, implemented a mission of ethnic cleansing of Kosova Albanians (Pavlovic, 2004). Rankovic's partisan forces expelled tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians out of Kosova, only for the high birth rate of Kosova Albanians to hamper his plans for demographic engineering of the Kosova population (Philips, 2012).

The 1974 constitution was generally supported by all ethnicities in Kosova, as it ensured Kosova's participation in the Federal State of Yugoslavia comparable to the other republics (Rogel, 2003). Kosova Serbs on the other hand did not support this constitution as they lost their dominant rule in the province (Vickers, 1998). On a broader level, with the 1974 constitution, Kosova became *de facto* and enjoyed a substantial degree of autonomy in all spectrums of life (social, economic and political) (Kosova Constitution 1974). Kosova's constitution was similar to the other republics apart from the right to secede. It had the same protection as the other republics from the Federal Constitutional Court, was equally represented at the Yugoslavian national assembly in the course of decentralisation and had the same voting power at national level (Zajmi, 1996). In accordance with the economic success, social factors such as medical care, life expectancy and literacy improved significantly. However, the economic gap between the developed and the underdeveloped regions of Yugoslavia was visibly widening. Though Kosova had some mineral resources and industry, it remained largely underdeveloped and in poverty, since national development was focused in the north of Yugoslavia, widening the gap in standards of living with the

south (Archer *et al*, 2016). As a result, Kosova remained the poorest region in the former Yugoslavia in the late 1980s, even compared to the other southern regions (Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, 2001: Singleton, 1976). Nonetheless, employment was perceived stable, Albanians and Serbs lived in relative harmony and morale was high. This was the case until Serbia's Federal powers removed Kosova's constitutional rights and cancelled its autonomy in 1989 (Kostovicova, 2009).

Pre-war tension and resistance (1989-1997)

The changes to the 1974 Constitution began after the speech that Slobodan Milosevic gave on 28th June 1989 to a large Serbian crowd in Kosova at the 600th Anniversary of the 'Kosova Battle'. Serbia's nationalist movement led the pathway for its government to limit the rights of freedom to Kosova Albanians. This began by coercing the resignation of the Kosova Albanian Assembly Leaders with pressure or intimidation and replacing them with Serbian personnel. This allowed the constitutional changes to be accepted by the Kosova Assembly of removing Kosova's Autonomy. Such actions were followed by political tensions between Kosova Albanians and the Serbian government, which led to repressive policies and measures against Kosova Albanians, under the dominance of Serbs in Kosova, subjecting the former to a state of subjugation (Agir, 2012). While the Serbian Government abolished Kosova's 1974 Yugoslav Constitution, Kosova Albanians were demanding for Kosova to become a republic within Yugoslavia. Ledvai and Parcel (1991:257) explained that:

> *"In the unanimous view of non-Serbian observers inside and outside Yugoslavia, there were significant grounds for the province receiving the status of a republic, particularly as there are now more ethnic Albanians living in Kosova than there are Slovenes, Macedonians or Montenegrins living in their own republics".*

The cancellation of the autonomy meant Serbia created an apartheid system in Kosova by subjugating Kosova Albanians to *"the status of non-citizens, excluded from any decision-making process"* (Bellamy, 2002:8). Their rights were abolished in all spectrums of life, denying freedom of speech and rights to national identity. Serbian regime carried out mass dismissal of approximately 150,000 of the Kosova Albanian workforce (90%) on the grounds of ethnicity, from Kosova's economy sectors, healthcare, education, sports, media and culture (Pula, 2004). Widespread dismissal of

Kosova Albanian employees, the physical exclusion of Kosova Albanian students and staff from schools and the University among other restrictions intensified the situation. Demonstrations and clashes between the Serbian police and the Kosova Albanian civil movement became a norm (Elsie, 2011). Kosova Albanians did not resign to the pressure but responded by creating a Kosovar Albanian parallel society. This was made up of parallel educational and social institutions, healthcare, media, financial associations, and a taxation system managed by the government-in-exile. This movement was coordinated and led by the Kosova Albanian leader, Ibrahim Rugova from within Kosova and his party, the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) (Pula, 2004). It is important to note that the term 'parallel society' in this context does not mean 'parallel state', because under such conditions the clandestine parallel structures could not function adequately but it was certainly a parallel society (Kostovicova, 2001). In this parallel society, there was a mass-movement of essentially all Kosova Albanian society following a non-violent national resistance under one common goal - to preserve the rights granted by the 1974 Constitution and liberation from the oppressor. Rugova's pacifist strategy in the 1990s was also aimed at building the groundwork for a future independent state, with education being the main form of resistance (Kostovicova, 2001).

In July 1990, the Kosova Albanian parallel structures in an improvised secret session promulgated its constitution and declared Kosova a republic within Yugoslavia. This was to give the Albanian population of Kosova freedom, wellbeing and overall fairness within Yugoslavia. It was also to give the right for secession and in September, 1990 it announced the referendum for independency (Elsie, 2011). The referendum was held in secret locations and it provided overwhelming results amongst the Kosova Albanian people in favour of independence. The Kosova Albanian leaders declared Kosova an independent country in September 1991, named as the Republic of Kosova, which was recognised only by Albania (Kostovicova, 2005). Even though the independence was not recognised by the international community, it provided the legal groundwork from which the parallel state was being built. As the Serbian regime heightened repression, Kosova Albanian politicians went into exile (Hudson and Bowman, 2012). Only Rugova's presidential office was working inside Kosova. The rest of the system was operating from abroad. The Kosova Albanian Diaspora established a tax system,

contributing 3% of their earnings, which helped with basic functioning of the structures (Bekaj, 2010). It also funded the Albanian satellite, TVSH that broadcasted news every evening from Albania to Kosova, undermining Serbia's propagandistic news, regarding the events in Kosova and its efforts to ban Kosova Albanian media in Kosova (Hockenos, 2003).

The parallel education system, which was funded by the Kosova Albanian Diaspora, was one of the only functions that met its basic objective to continue educating the youth irrespective of it being declared illegal by the regime (Kostovicova, 2005). During that period, *"452 elementary schools, 67 secondary schools, and 14 university faculties were kept going, attended by some 400,000 students and taught by around 21,000 teachers and professors"* (Elsie, 2011: 91). Although, the parallel education resisted the Apartheid system, it did not provide adequate standards of education to the youth due to the difficult circumstances. As a result of inadequate education from 1991-1999 *"a whole generation of people in Kosova is now without proper education, a phenomenon that has substantially slowed down the country's recent development"* (Elsie, 2011: 91). However, despite education not reaching its full potential as it was carried out in basements, sheds and private houses, with its quality being anything but ideal, the 'school of resistance' gave a purpose to the existence of Kosova Albanians and provided hope for independence (Sugar, 1999). It strengthened national identity and provided forte for resistance, at the time when reality was bleak facing a fearful dictatorship.

Figures 3, 4, and 5 provide images relating to the parallel education that existed in Kosova with the intent of helping the reader to visualise the situation. In particular, they highlight the environment of exclusion in which the education of Kosovar Albanians occurred.

The banning of education was Serbia's threatening response to force Kosova Albanians to give up on the right to education in Albanian language and the right to design their own curriculum (Pula, 2004). Designing your own curriculum without interference became a nationalist movement for both, Kosova Albanians, as it was to resist 'Serbianisation' of Kosova, and for Serbs, as it was to do exactly that (Kohl and Libal, 1997). History, geography and literature were considered to be of national importance

as both sides changed or modified the region's history, geographical areas and borders and focused on nationalistic literature with the aim of legitimising their own political position for Kosova (Kostovicova, 2005). Mythological histories have ensured that coexistence was

Figure 3. Parallel education in a home-school in Kosova in the 1990s (1)

Source: Vreme Photo Archive

Figure 4. Parallel education in a home-school in Kosova in the 1990s (2)

Source: Vreme Photo Archive

Figure 1. Parallel education in Kosova in the 1990s (3)

Source: Vreme Photo Archive

no longer sought by either side after the abolishment of the 1974 constitution. The Serb and the Albanian nationalist movements intensified segregation and the importance of distinct identity, at the expense of the Communist and Yugoslavian 'brotherhood and unity' moto (Bezdanov, 1986). Nationalising curriculum by both sides, decriminalised Serbia's actions against the Kosova Albanian people in the eyes of Serbs, on the one hand, and legitimised the resistance of Albanians against the oppressor and preserved national identity for the Kosova Albanian people, on the other (Kostovicova, 2005). Thereby, education contributed to increased tension and divisions between the people of Kosova, because both sides promoted education for war at the expense of education for peace. To intensify the situation, Serbia orchestrated massive poisoning of Albanian pupils across Kosova as part of the ethnic cleansing programme, but Serbia has denied such actions, ever since (Kostovicova, 2009). Kosova Albanian pupils of primary and secondary levels were packed in basements and sheds, while everyday passing by their former schools seeing them half-empty as the number of Serb pupils was not enough to fill them (Kostovicova, 1999). The outcome of two intractable education forces moving in opposite directions influenced the breakdown of overall society and the alienation of its people. This served as a contributor to the Kosova War 1998-1999 and a major obstacle to post-war

reconciliation due to the divisive mindset developed during the pre-war tension and conflict.

The establishment of a parallel education system meant discontinuation of any interaction with the regime. This enigmatic independence of education was born out of harsh repression (Hockenos, 2003). The functioning of parallel education was challenged with regular intimidation, harassment and imprisonment of Albanian pupils, students and teachers alike (Bekaj, 2010). A series of Albanian parallel university student demonstrations was organised demanding the former schools and the university back (Clark, 2000). These student demonstrations were also the start of protesting against the pacifist tactics of the Albanian national movement, which they considered unproductive (Pula, 2004). They succeeded with the latter demand, as they transformed the Albanian resistance from invisible pacifism to visible and active, with peaceful demonstrations and petitions demanding democracy, among other activities. From 1990 onwards, Serbia carried out systematic intimidation, persecution, execution and orchestration of the sudden disappearance of many of the Kosova Albanian revolutionists, politicians and teachers (Human Rights Watch, 1998). The ever-increasing violent oppression by Serbia coupled with the perceived fruitless non-violent strategy by the LDK leadership obliged the Albanians to intensify the approach of resistance in the mid-1990s by establishing financial channels with the diaspora to fund the development of the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA) (Rama, 2010).

The war in Kosova (1998-1999)

The KLA became public and announced its willpower to fight for freedom against the oppressor at the funeral of a teacher executed by the regime. This was an 'all or nothing approach' by both sides, where, on one hand, Milosevic demanded total ethnic cleansing of Albanians from Kosova; on the other hand, the newly established KLA applied a high-risk military strategy to provoke the aggressor with the hope that its overreaction would be met by international military intervention against Serbia to stop the war and liberate Kosova (Bieber and Daskalovski, 2003).

The war continued for two years; tens of thousands of people lost their lives and approximately 900,000 Kosova Albanians were removed from Kosova as a result of the ethnic cleansing programme (Spiegel and Salama, 2000). Kosova received high

attention from the media, which forced EU policy-makers to amend their hesitant approach displayed during the Bosnian war (1992-1995), and adopt a more determined response to end Serbian genocide in Kosova (Stahl, 2010). According to Bono (2002), the Kosova War acted as a catalyst for the EU to change its role in international security. The decision to intervene was supported by the EU Council on the grounds of preventing a humanitarian catastrophe in Europe, but it was the NATO operation, led by the United States of America, that ended the fully fledged Serbian war in Kosova (Roberts, 1999). After 78 days of air intervention from NATO, the war ended on 24th March 1999 (Wedgewood, 1999).

Post-war transition: Kosova under UNMIK (1999-2007)

Immediately after the war in June 1999, the UN established an international interim administration in Kosova under the Resolution 1244, which guaranteed substantial autonomy for the people of Kosova within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Security Council, 1999). This meant that Kosova legally was still part of Yugoslavia, which then consisted of Serbia and Montenegro. The Resolution 1244 served its purpose of guaranteeing peace in Kosova, immediately after the war, developing the initial framework for law and order, functional administration and the protection of minorities (Yannis, 2001). A lot has changed however, since the Resolution was enforced. The resolution positions Kosova within the *"territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia"* (Security Council Resolution 1244, 1999: 6), which no longer exists. This indicates that the resolution is currently outdated. The FR Yugoslavia was renamed to the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in 2003 (Horowitz, 2005). Furthermore, since Montenegro declared its independence in June 2006 (BBC News, 2006) the union has ceased to exist altogether. Thus, the UN must dissolve its Resolution 1244 because it ties Kosova to a country that no longer exists. As a result, the UN would be legally accurate to recognise Kosova's independence or at least to remove its Resolution 1244. The UN recognition of Kosova as a separate entity would further safeguard the stability in the region and close the door to future conflicts.

After the war, Kosova had no political and socio-economic infrastructure, and therefore, began its development to a new path of democracy and market led

economy in 2000 with the help of the international community with four major international organisations namely, UN, NATO, OSCE and the EU (Ozkanca, 2009).

The U.N Mission in Kosova (UNMIK) became the civil authority for law, justice and order, while NATO assumed the responsibility for the country's security under the leadership of the Secretary General, alongside international humanitarian aid organisations. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE's) main operations in Kosova were the development of democratic and civic institutions, promotion of human rights and the rule of law, protection of community rights, monitoring local governance and judiciary reforms (OSCE Kosova, 2016). OSCE was also engaged in the development of independent institutions such as the Kosova Judicial Institute, Kosova Police, Independent Media Commission and Ombudsperson Institution of Kosova (OSCE Kosova, 2016). The EU office's role in Kosova is to assist the young nation's journey of becoming a member of the European Union by helping to ensure its legislation and policy are according to the EU policy framework (European Union Office in Kosova, 2016). The EU Office in Kosova also helps to implement European financial assistance to Kosova.

During this period, local political parties, mainly the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK), which has existed since 1992, and the Democratic Party of Kosova (PDK), established by former KLA commanders after the war, were competing for power as to who would lead the provisional government of post-war Kosova that shared the authority with UNMIK/KFOR. A number of politically motivated assassinations followed from 2000-2003, where LDK members were mainly targeted, supposedly by oppositions, to weaken the party. Kosova went through a period of disorder where the local police force was being established from scratch, UNMIK was slow to start off with, due to its complicated bureaucracy, resulting in the UN deploying 1800 UN Police troops when UNMIK's Chief Administrator Bernard Kouchner said they needed 6000. The consequence was that organised criminals were able to use this lawless vacuum to their advantage (Saint Group, 2016). UNMIK governed Kosova until the declaration of its independence in 2008. It helped to set-up the provisional government and their institutions for self-governance such as the Parliament of Kosova and state ministries. UNMIK also enforced legislations concerning human rights, democratic governing and

the economy (UNMIK, 2008). UNMIK's role changed when the government of Kosova was installed as the permanent civil authority in Kosova, by the international community involving UNMIK, the EU and the U.S government. The Kosova Government carried out public sector reforms and established the necessary legislation and policies that guaranteed equal rights for the minorities in Kosova in order to declare Kosova independent.

This transition journey was understandably difficult considering Kosova suffered from the legacies of five decades of communism and one decade of apartheid. This transition would arguably not have been possible without the assistance and presence of all the international organisations operating in and out of Kosova. However, with so many international organisations and sub-organisations present, it has increased the complexity of administrating Kosova as they all have their own mission and vision, which often overlaps or in some cases is contradictory (Brosig, 2011). The complexity is mainly due to the fact that the UN continues to uphold its Resolution 1244 on Kosova, whilst the EU organisations on the ground implement Kosova's constitution and assist the country for a future in the European Union.

Post-war transition: New Born Kosova (2008-present)

Kosova Parliament declared Kosova independent on 17th February 2008 (BBC, 2008) and so far, 113 UN member nations have recognised its independence (European Parliament, 2016), but not the UN as an institution itself because Russia and China have vetoed Kosova's membership. The independence derives from the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosova Status Settlement, known as the Ahtisaari Plan (Kosova Parliament, 2007). The declaration of independence has been disputed by Serbia and in October 2008, the Serbian government questioned Kosova's independence before the International Court of Justice and challenged its legality (Tanner and Stevenson, 2010). However, the court ruled that the declaration of independence is not illegal and did not violate international laws (International Court of Justice, 2010). The international auditing by western powers remains strong in Kosova, with the presence of European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosova (EULEX) and the QUINT embassies. The QUINT is a group consisting of only five states: France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the USA. They are a leadership group that

dominates other member states in the EU foreign policy decision-making process (Gegout, 2002). They are jointly active in monitoring the political affairs in Kosova. Western presence in Kosova is encouraging the country to overcome profound obstacles and achieve democratic milestones that would have been difficult to reach alone, considering limited political and legal expertise in Kosova and the challenges to territorial autonomy from Serbia.

The Constitution of the Republic of Kosova derives from the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosova Status Settlement 2007, a project led by the UN Special Envoy Marti Ahtisaari (Former President of Finland) (The Republic of Kosova, 2008). The Commission is composed of 21 Kosova members of different minorities. The constitution announces Kosova a parliamentarian state, and pledges to protect its minorities and provide equal rights to all (ibid). The Constitution states that out of 120 parliament seats, 100 seats are for political subjects directly voted, 10 are reserved for Kosova Serb Representatives, 10 for the representatives of other minorities (Kosova Parliament, 2008). The President is the 'Head of State' and the Prime Minister is the 'Head of the Government', elected by the Assembly. As part of the Democratic transition after the independence, Kosova enacted laws on free and fair elections, minority rights, especially superior treatment of Serbs, including non-electable reserved seats in the Assembly (Beha, 2014). Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development (KIPRED, 2008: 5) states that:

> *"Kosova's government has pledged to respect and implement the highest standards for minority communities' protection enshrined in the new Constitution. The nature of the state, as pledged in the Constitution, is inclusive for all communities and has symbolic neutrality to any community living in Kosova."*

Implementing minority rights can hopefully in the future normalise relations between Albanian-Serb people and establish concrete steps in moving forward from historical conflicts and inter-ethnic tension (Briscoe and Price, 2011).

2.3. Challenges of post-war transition

Political challenges

Kosova is a parliamentarian state and its government has the authority to democratically govern the country but only under the terms of the Comprehensive Status Proposal aforementioned. Slow international recognition or refusal to recognise Kosova's independence by sovereign states has presented significant external challenges that Kosova currently faces.

Despite Serbia's non-presence in Kosova since June 1999, it still manages to obstruct Kosova's stability by causing significant problems. The main obstructions created by Serbia are its official stance against Kosova's independence and its control of the Kosova Serbs in Kosova (McKinna, 2012). Serbia's refusal to recognise Kosova's independence has been backed by Russia and China, its biggest allies, by having a veto against Kosova becoming a UN member state (Payerhin, 2016). Furthermore, five of the 23 EU member states (Spain, Romania, Slovakia, Greece and Cyprus) do not recognise Kosova, which means accession into the EU is restricted (Shaw, 2008). Two arguable reasons for their opposition are firstly, their support for Serbia, which intractably lobbies against the recognition of Kosova and secondly, to protect their own internal affairs. For example, Spain might fear to provoke further tensions relating to their own pro-secession movements in Catalonia and Basque and similar concerns exist in Romania with its 7% Hungarian population seeking autonomy in the region of Transylvania (Balkan Insight, 2015). These refusals and Russia-China vetoes have a devastating impact on Kosova's political integration internationally and thwart its socio-economic development due to restrictions imposed on Kosova's participation as a sovereign state in the global arena (Sorheim, 2014).

These obstructions have created ethnic-division, by keeping Kosova Serbs hostile to any multi-ethnic coexistence with Kosova Albanians or any other minority in the country (Kurti, 2011). By doing this, Serbia has curtailed the reconciliation and the integration of Kosova Serbs' in wider Kosovar society. With these actions, Serbia has divided the Kosova social order into the Serb enclaves on one side and the rest of the population on the other, which includes Kosova Albanians and all the other minorities (McKinna, 2012; Vardari-Kesler, 2012).

To make the situation more evasive, the Kosova Serbs who comprise the largest minority in the country with approximately 6% do not recognise Kosova's statehood and its symbols (Beha, 2015). As a result, they established Serb parallel structures to govern their interests, similar to how Albanians did in the 1990s as a result of Serbian repression and being banned from all public institutions. Different from the situation in the 1990s, the Kosova Serbs remain hostile despite being urged to integrate into the Kosova institutions, without compromising their rights. In order to improve relations, Kosova and Serbia encouraged by the EU agreed to negotiate technical terms regarding Kosova and its Serb minority and reached an initial normalization agreement in 2013. The negotiations are still ongoing to date with gradual progress. Successful completion of these negotiations is expected to provide sustainable stability in the region, special autonomous status to Kosova Serbs, stronger economies and a pathway into the European Union for both, Serbia and Kosova.

According to the Council of Europe, Kosova has a lot of work to do, with the rule of law and democratisation as the two main platforms of nation building, yet to achieve adequate progress (Ernst, 2011). Political interferences and corruption in judiciary institutions and other public administrations have been condemned by the people and international organisation rapporteurs for obstructing the progress. Such hindrances impact on governance and administration of the state, international relations and ordinary life of the people and their trust on their own state institutions (Dressel, 2010).

Economic challenges

According to the Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI) (2016), Kosova is amongst the poorest countries in the world with 30% of the population below the poverty line of $1.90 a day. It has one of the lowest employment rates in Europe of only 28.4% and an average annual income at one-tenth that of EU level. However, unemployment has decreased from 43% before its independence in 2008 to 31% in 2014 (BTI, 2016). Kosova's economy has continually developed since the post-economic crises of 2008, recording an average growth rate of 3.5%, which is slightly higher than the region but remains below global average (The World Bank, 2015).

Kosova's GDP was 3400 Euros per capita in 2016 (Trading Economics, 2016), ranking the lowest in Southeast Europe (SME Policy Index, 2016). The service sector contributes largely to the GDP (64.5%) followed by industry (22.6%) and agriculture (12.9%) (CIA Factbook, 2013).

Kosova has a simple tax system but given that the informal sector is responsible for a large share of the economy coupled with limited tax enforcement staff, tax evasion among local and international businesses remains a serious problem (BTI, 2016). Privatisation of state-assets has advanced with 50% of such enterprises already privatised but only a handful in operation (CIA Factbook, 2013).

Slow recognition of Kosova's statehood internationally, foreign direct investment and the rejuvenation of its key economic sectors suffer, most notably insurance, transport, telecommunication and energy (The World Bank, 2015). As a result of impartial international recognition, Kosova's businesses are denied access to other markets that have not recognised Kosova. While, the European Commission recommended that Kosova should be given visa liberation (European Commission, 2016), the EU is yet to approve it, thus Kosova entrepreneurs are faced with delays to access other countries. Visa application for Kosova citizens is exhausting with its overall procedure taking up to six months and requires enormous documentation (Wrobel, 2016). This restriction means the youth have a limited window of opportunities to learn from their European fellows and to utilise their potential.

While Kosova's economy has made visible progress in transitioning from dominant state-owned economy to a market-led system in order to achieve macroeconomic stability (BTI, 2012), poor implementation of the rule of law discourages investors. However, moving up in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business ranking from 117 out of 190 in 2012 to 60 in 2017 (The World Bank, 2017), provides a glimmer of hope. It remains dependent for financial support on the international community and Kosova diaspora with approximately, one quarter of the population living abroad, mainly in Germany, the United States, Austria and Switzerland. The country aims to improve its economic conditions through various reforms and privatisations but the negative ratio of high imports against low exports and lack of foreign investment diminishes optimism. Furthermore, because of the five EU countries that refuse to recognise

Kosova as an independent state, Kosova cannot enter into contractual relations with the EU, restricting economic development (European Stability Initiative, 2016).

Social challenges

Kosova has the youngest population in Europe with 50% under the age of 25, who are the most affected by unemployment due to weak education system, low skills and limited employment opportunities (The World Bank, 2015). Extreme poverty mostly affects children, the elderly, and families with disabled members, as well as female-headed households, and certain minorities, in particular Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians (BTI, 2016).

The education system remains weak but extensive educational reforms are applied to improve the productivity of the workforce. Educational reforms such as teacher training, improved teacher salaries, curriculum improvements and upgraded learning conditions and school infrastructures have resulted in increased percentage of enrolment in pre-primary and upper-secondary education with 72% and 92%, respectively (The World Bank, 2015).

A public opinion survey in 2010 by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development found that democracy is highly supported by the Kosova people across all ethnic groups, with 75% preferring democratic to any other political system (EBRD, 2010). Being pro-Western, democracy is also sought by the people of Kosova as a way of striving to become like the 'Western friends'. Corruption in terms of political positions and abuse of power remains a serious problem despite national and international measures in place (BTI, 2016). Veton Surroi, a publicist and a critic of the government, argues that a kind of insurgence must and will happen in Kosova, because those on top have seized the state, so to say the government is corrupted is an understatement (Surroi, 2016).

Other internal issues that Kosova faces stem from religious and ethnic resentments. Since its independence in 2008, Kosova has constitutionally applied a secular national identity to avoid religious and ethnic resentments (CIA Factbook, 2013). The faith of Islam for the majority of people in Kosova has traditionally been a cultural virtue, more so than anything else. Poor economic conditions and high unemployment have altered

this virtue with some people turning to religion more intensely. This made a section of the youth with economic difficulties vulnerable to being lured by imported religious radicalism, which pays people to practice religion (Idrizi, 2014). This arguably caused the youth, who struggled to mix with society and find employment, to seek identity and comfort in religion, follow Eastern customs and thus, some became prey to radical doctrines (Strategy for prevention of radicalisation, 2015).

Kosova citizens are geographically in Europe but accessibly remain secluded from the rest of the continent, with Turkey, Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro the only European countries that allow them to travel without visa. This leaves Kosova as *"one of the most isolated countries in the world"* (Group for Legal and Political Studies, 2015: 6). High unemployment, poverty and isolation are contributing to youth radicalisation (Gusia, 2014). Poor economic conditions met by access restrictions from Europe on one hand, coupled with accessible free scholarships offered by religious organisations for religious studies in the East, and money to follow Islam on the other hand have made radicalisation a serious concern for Kosova (Sorheim, 2014).

The situation in the northern part of the city of Mitrovica remains peaceful but tense, with some Serbs perceiving a viable future through cooperation with the rest of Kosova, whereas others remain hostile and follow parallel Belgrade-run institutions (BTI, 2016). This region was dominated by Serb parallel structures and remained outside the jurisdiction of the Kosova Government until 2013 (Brand, 2003). In 2013, Kosova and Serbia signed a normalisation agreement for the parallel structures to be integrated into the Kosovar legal framework in exchange for increased autonomy for the Serbs living in the country (BTI, 2016).

2.4. Tourism in Kosova

Tourism in Kosova under the former Socialist Yugoslavia

Tourism development in Kosova during the period of 1950-1980 was limited in comparison with other parts of Yugoslavia. The economic development of the Socialist state of Yugoslavia prioritised tourism development on the coastlines of the country, mainly in Croatia. Surveys conducted in the 1970s and 1980s on tourism property development registered that the highest tourism development was on the coastline of

Croatia with 53.4%, followed by Serbia 27.2%, Slovenia 10%, the northern province of Serbia, Vojvodina 7.8%, Montenegro 4.3%, Bosnia 3.2%, Macedonia 1.9% and Kosova 0.4% (Papeonik, 1989). Tourism development patterns mirrored other levels of economic development, and this reflection acknowledges that Kosova was by far the least developed and the poorest region of the former Socialist Yugoslavia (Thomas, 2003). The Yugoslavian tourism industry's marketing efforts were largely focusing on the promotion of sun, sea and sand products and, even though with the same efforts they promoted the Orthodox monasteries of Kosova, this only attracted small transit tours (Grandits and Taylor, 2010).

Tourism in Kosova in post-war transition

The on-going conflict in the region led to the Kosova War 1998-1999 that had a harmful impact on the country and its image due to negative international media, discouraging potential international tourists from visiting (Judah, 2002). The aftermath of the war was characterised by fear of conflict leading to the consequence that it had an even greater impact on the country (Judah, 2002). In particular, due to a lack of knowledge international communities have on the political situation, stability and safety in Kosova, it takes a long time for its image to recover and attract potential tourists. Nevertheless, Kosova is a country of diversity, rich cultural heritage and exceptional natural beauty strengthening the country's potential as a tourist destination (Warrander and Knaus, 2007). It has been suggested that some of the potential types of tourism to attract domestic and international visitors are winter sports tourism, cultural and rural tourism including mountaineering and health tourism (MTI, 2006).

Fourteen years after the war, the development of tourism is still in its initial stages, facing various challenges including a weak economy, internal and external political instability, lack of awareness of tourism values among the government as a principal actor and limited expertise (Reka, 2013). Kosova's tourism industry is not competitive with regard to its neighbouring countries in the region as it lacks the basic needs such as tourism infrastructure and skilled human resources to provide qualitative service (MTI, 2006). It is estimated that Kosova annually receives 130,000 international tourist arrivals that include people from the United Nations (UN), as well as diplomats, army

personnel, and development consultants including their families and friends (Warrander and Knaus 2007). However, detailed information such as data on tourist spending is not available, making it difficult to further characterise tourists in Kosova (MTI, 2006). Warrander and Knaus (2007) argue that in addition to the aforementioned tourist groups there are small numbers of independent travellers who follow irregular visitation patterns. Kosova is regulated by a visa regime enforced in 2013, replacing the previous visa-free policy for all, which requires visa for citizens of 87 countries in the world including India, China and Bosnia and Herzegovina and all former Soviet countries that are not part of EU including Russia (Prolink Global, 2013). No visa is required for citizens from the EU, USA, most of South America, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Israel, South Africa and the Gulf countries. Those visitors emphasise and agree that residents in Kosova make travelling to the country very special, according to the Bradt Travel Guide (Warrander and Knaus, 2007). There is small investment in the tourism infrastructure, mainly from international development agencies but seeing that tourism development is not a priority for the government, there is little evidence of tourism growth (Reka, 2011).

2.5. Summary

This section provided an overview of the research location, namely Kosova, to emphasise how it relates to the study's requirements of being a post-war country undergoing transition. The section aimed to equip the reader with background knowledge that will help to understand the complex issues of this study. It was reviewed that until 1989, as part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Kosova was in a stable political condition. However, this changed when Serbia's Federal powers removed Kosova's constitutional rights, which was the beginning of repressive policies and measures of the Serbian government against Kosova Albanians, e.g. systematically removing Kosova Albanians from public sector jobs and closing down schools. The political tensions peaked in 1998 when the Kosova War began and lasted until 11th June 1999. Immediately after the war, the UN established an interim administration, which guaranteed substantial autonomy for the people of Kosova, within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Having had no political and socio-economic infrastructure, Kosova began its development to a new path of democracy and market-led economy, with the support of the international community. The transition journey

has been understandably difficult, considering how Kosova suffered from the legacies of five decades of communism and one decade of apartheid.

A key milestone of this transition journey was the declaration of independence in 2008. While, some political, economic and social stability has been achieved, the transition processes continue to be challenged, e.g. the unsettled political relations with Serbia, high unemployment and limited FDI, and little reconciliation achieved between Kosova Albanians and Kosova Serbs. These circumstances particularly influence the governance of tourism development, which is the focus of this doctoral research. Tourism in Kosova under the former Yugoslavia was not developed, although, the Yugoslavian tourism industry was much developed. Kosova is a country of diversity, rich cultural heritage and natural beauty, on which it seeks to develop its tourism industry. This study examines tourism governance in Kosova by evaluating its organisation and structure, assessing how key stakeholders consider and respond to collaboration and by analysing power relations. A key factor of the study is how the mindset influences post-war transition and tourism governance.

Chapter 3. Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

Tourism research *"should not be conservative, non-critical, and value-free, since tourism is not the result of a rational decision-making process. Rather, it is the product of complex and interrelated political, economic, and social factors"* (Zhao and Timothy, 2015:498). Similarly, Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010) argue that it is crucial to understand tourism policy in relation to its socio-economic and political context. In agreement with Zhao and Timothy (2015) and Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010), this research assesses the complexities of the political, economic and social environments in post-war transition using the case of Kosova, and determines how they influence tourism (research objectives 1 and 2). Therefore, this chapter will, firstly, review the literature in relation to political, economic and social post-war transition, before highlighting studies that evaluate the implications of these conditions for tourism.

The importance of government involvement in tourism development has been widely emphasised, although there are variations to the extent of government involvement in different countries (Zhao and Timothy, 2015). Bramwell and Alletorp (2001) point out that a government has the responsibility to control the scope and pace of tourism development. In the first phase of tourism development, however, the responsibilities of governments are wider than controlling and monitoring, in a way that guidance and leadership are crucial to coordinate the diversity of stakeholders and their interests, reduce potential negative effects of tourism and establish favourable conditions at macro-level (Bramwell, 2011; Ruhanen, 2013). Zhao and Timothy (2015) describe the gradual change of government responsibilities in tourism development from being 'purely' infrastructure provider to taking leadership and entrepreneurial roles, for example, by providing policy frameworks and initiating plans. While Hall (1999) observes that in the Western world, original government responsibilities have been largely transferred to the private sector to support the industry's self-regulation, Zhao and Timothy (2015) highlight that it might be reasonable for governments to continue engagement with tourism development. They (2015:491) note that:

> *"it is difficult, if not impossible at present, for the Chinese government to disengage from developing red tourism since it is not merely an economic,*

social, or cultural activity. Rather, it is more importantly a political endeavour, where the transformation from hierarchical control to decentralization can hardly occur."

This research aims to evaluate tourism governance in post-war transition and seeks to examine how tourism governance in a such a transition process is constituted by institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations (in line with research objective 3). Hall's (1994) model highlights the importance of institutional arrangements, power relations and values as key pillars for tourism policy and planning. Furthermore, this is supported by Adijya *et al* (2015:125) arguing that the quality of tourism institution in *"providing a robust human resources base needed to resolve existing skill and knowledge gaps among different government-led bodies"* and co-ordination of stakeholders and their power determine tourism governance. Achieving a specific objective with regard to tourism development is the result of the *"political wrestling process where multiple stakeholders struggle for power"* (Zhao and Timothy, 2015:490). Since power is inevitably linked with individual and organisational interactions in tourism, it is crucial to study these 'power relations' in tourism governance in the context of post-war transition. Furthermore, Zhao and Timothy (2015:489) conclude that, if China was to decentralise, privatise and deregulate tourism, power needs to be transferred; however,

> *"Instead of dispersing power suddenly, long-term orientation and education are required to help grassroots forces gain the knowledge, skills, and confidence needed to use power in an appropriate, rather than radical, manner. In this way, effective partnerships and collaboration can be established in both top-down and bottom-up directions"*

In this way, partnership and collaborative efforts can provide indication of tourism governance - thus, being a key pillar of tourism governance in this study. This chapter will review literature on tourism governance, specifically focussing on institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations. Without specifically conceptualising mindset, Krutwaysho and Bramwell's (2010:685) study indicates that tourism policy implementation was influenced by residents, in being *"more independent-minded and less cooperative".* Therefore, this research takes particularly the role of mindset in tourism governance in post-war transition into account (in line with research objective 4). Finally, the chapter is summarised and key gaps in the literature are outlined.

3.2. Post-war transition

3.2.1. Introduction

This section reviews the literature on post-war transition – firstly, focussing on what transition is, before defining post-war transition, the context of this study. The review particularly highlights the importance of considering how post-war conditions are a challenge that can impact on transition processes. The focus then switches to three recognised dimensions of (post-war) transition: political, economic and social to understand its processes and challenges.

3.2.2. Definition and understanding of 'post-war transition'

As highlighted in the introduction chapter of the thesis, 'transition' is defined as *"the process or period of changing from one state or condition to another"*. In the development literature, it often refers to the processes of political and economic shifts from one well-defined system to another. This tends to be depicted from a socialist centralised system to democratic decentralised governance and from state planning to open market and capitalism (Hall, 2006).

A more explicit definition of transition is made by Turley and Luke (2011:1) as

> *"social, political and economic transformation from a command system characterised by state ownership, collective action and central planning to a market system characterised by decentralised decision-making arrangements and private sector market transactions".*

Most countries that have entered transition after the termination of the Cold War in the late-1980s-early-1990s did so for the purpose of moving on from the demise of socialism or communism to enter the gates of a New World Order advocated by the United States. This change required the establishment of a capitalist system with a market led economy and the development of democratic legal framework, policies and societies (Ikenberry, 2005). Adopting democracy and neoliberalism has been the main prerequisite for the majority of post-communist or post-socialist European countries seeking EU membership (Blokker, 2005).

Transition has become one of the most testing challenges in modern times for any society involved, a test not only to change from plan to market or from state to capitalism but to evolve as a nation of transparency (Kolstad and Wiig, 2009). Transition is a challenge of mindset, not only to establish democracy but to abolish old myths, legends and backwardness that were developed by the doctrine of previous systems of command rule and control. Davies (2007: XIV) claims that *"the Iron Curtain could not be as easily dismissed from people's minds as it was dismantled on the ground. Mentalities changed slowest of all".* The significance of 'mindset in transition' is explored later in this chapter.

Transition processes frequently start with the termination of one system and the launch of a new one and in certain circumstances the latter is overthrown by an uprising or war, for example, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosova. A country, undergoing post-war transition, does not only face challenges to control and administer its statehood, but risks being pulled back into further instabilities because of weak political, economic and social conditions (Armstrong and Chura-beaver, 2010). The ultimate aim of post-war transition is to achieve sustainable peace, good governance and economic prosperity. A growing area of literature focuses on post-war peace-building transition (Berdal and Suhrke 2013; Dayton and Kriesberg, 2009), post-war nation-building (Ghani and Lockhart, 2008; Paris and Sisk, 2009), and stabilisation (Brinkerhoff *et al*, 2009; Looney, 2008; Szayna *et al*, 2009). Armstrong and Chura-Beaver (2010:3) of the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (2010: 3) define post-war transition as:

> *"both a multi-disciplinary process and points of change, in time, when conditions for stability are achieved in security, justice and reconciliation, infrastructure and economic development, humanitarian and social well-being, and governance and reconciliation, through the enabling and empowering of Host Nation Institutions, in order to facilitate enduring positive effects and improved quality of life for citizens"*

This study is carried out in a post-war transitional context, focusing on how political, economic and social conditions in post-war transition influence tourism governance. In the next section, literature on political, economic and social post-war transition is considered.

3.2.3. Dimensions of post-war transition

Political dimension

Political transition from top-down authoritative governance to horizontal network governance is necessary for achieving minority rights and for decentralising power so decision-making is made by the ones being affected by those decisions. Dana and Ramadani (2015) narrow down political transition to three domains: political liberalisation, free elections and democratisation. Miller and Martini (2013) notice the difficulties in replacing an old political system where answerability to society was low with a new one that requires transparency and healthy relations with it. It is common that political transition from an authoritarian rule of many decades is often long, complicated and strenuous. Political divides causing instability, difficulties in establishing democratic institutions and the appearance of radical movements are just some of the political complexities of transition. Miller and Martini (2013) examine how transition in the Arab world brought differing results as some states approached democratisation whilst maintaining the same bureaucracy (Egypt and Tunisia) whilst others (Libya) went for a complete revamp. While the former approach is viewed to be a gradual process of transition and challenged by the bureaucrats who prefer the old ways, it prevents escalated civil conflicts and further destruction. Libya on the other hand, began a deep transition by changing the whole state apparatus but different political parties and revolutionists with very contrasting ideologies have plunged the country into deep and ongoing civil instability. Some strict authoritarian regimes have intentionally kept the state institutions weak to avoid power surges, and thus, undergoing political transition in such conditions is almost similar to building a country from scratch (Miller and Martini, 2013). Bache and Flinders (2004), claim that the nature of accountability is challenged in a transitional multi-level political system.

Transition in a post-war country is necessary, but it is equally challenging due to the damage of state capacity and the national institutional system during war. Post-war transition is different to the transition in countries that did not experience wars. This is, because post-war transition begins with the emergency phase of avoiding or minimising the risk of further conflicts, while at the same time reforming and developing new institutions and policies. Such transition is viewed as unmanageable without the aid of international community, especially due to the high risk of re-

occurring conflicts (Ndikumana, 2015). International aid is of multiple dimensions, with military presence to help with security, human expertise to support political reforms and financial aid to implement reforms being some of the important necessities. Post-war transition is described as a complex continuum of milestones with authority, legitimacy and public service capacity being the key milestones of early transition (Stewart and Brown, 2009). Authority and legitimacy are threatened by corruption at the highest level and slow political progress marked by political instability, which results in poor governance (Tikuisis *et al*, 2015). Authority refers to the ability of the government to implement its legislation and to provide a safe environment for the people. Legitimacy focuses on the level of support the population gives to the government and how that support is internationally recognised. Capacity refers to the power of the government to utilise state resources to improve society benefits. The transitional countries whose governments have not achieved sufficient authority, legitimacy and capacity, remain prone to political fragility and, economic and social issues because of their interrelations (Nay, 2014; OECD, 2014).

Political transition is a vital task in ensuring that transition is progressing. Political transition is inter-linked with economic and other spheres of transition that if not satisfactorily successful can damage wider progress. As important as it is, political transition is argued to be one of the most challenging tasks for a society aiming to move on from their past into a different future path because of the problems it faces and the problems it creates through political divides, non-democratic bureaucracy. Political transition in a post-war context is argued to be more problematic because of the instability it faces in society through social divides whilst developing new policies and institutions with the rubble of the past system and the war.

Economic dimension

Economic transition is a steep challenge to develop *"capitalism out of a developed, highly articulated socio-economic entity that had, with some success, been a significant challenger to the West for a number of decades"* (Swain, 2011: 1671). However, the inescapable slowdown of the socialist system influenced by its inflexibility of the command and control economy, left little room for innovation and competent use of resources (Svejnar, 2002). Socialist countries did not use their financial system to

allocate credit to its best value but instead as an accounting system for carrying out economic plans. Funds were allocated to firms according to a central plan. The economy in former communist/socialist countries was almost completely under state ownership from production to distribution. They were governed by monist party structures that strongly opposed *privateships* (private ownership) and the nature of open markets. The legacy of communism and socialism in the Eastern part of Europe is affiliated certainly in the last decade and a half of the twentieth century, with the absence of a market of value and competitiveness. Furthermore, overvaluation or undervaluation of state assets and state-owned enterprises were characterised by inefficiency and mass production and failed improvement in technology and innovation (Swain, 2011). Such conditions led to the need for privatisation, which Mandelbaum (1993: 6) branded as *"selling assets with no value to people with no money"*. Whilst the Western economies were thriving by focusing on service sector and industry, in contrast the socialist nations were disproportionately out of touch competitively. It should be noted that in some socialist systems for example Hungary, the former Yugoslavia and Poland corporations were given a degree of autonomy in their decisions and some private firms did exist and economic centralism was not as high as in other Eastern European states.

Most literature acknowledges that transition is a different economic journey for every nation involved and that the length of time it takes can vary, depending on numerous factors. The reasons behind the dissimilar length of time are normally argued to be down to the approach of economic transition, the institutional structure and the policies available to facilitate the process and the agents involved in the procedures. When making comparisons of how far transitional countries have progressed, authors normally look at the end-result without considering where certain countries were when they started transitioning and how far they have come. Put simply, a country undergoing transition without war would be in a more advanced position and its transition would be more straightforward than a country that has suffered war prior to transition. Turley and Luke (2011) argue that the conditions before transition influence the processes and the success of transition. The breadth of inherited problems that post-war countries carry with them during transition is more problematic than in other countries where there was no war beforehand. The differences can relate to economic

conditions, political capacity, institutional structures, and relations with the West, amongst other equally important factors such as socio-cultural and historic-religious factors. Such differences, may also partly explain why nations need to take different approaches to economic transition.

The differences in economic transition are normally down to the way that state assets are privatised. Svejnar (2002) illustrates that, some countries such as Poland and Slovenia slowly privatised state assets through commercialisation, meaning assets remained state-owned, but were independently governed by private firms. Arguably, this was not a huge change from the past especially in the case of Slovenia, since the Yugoslavian enterprises were largely corporately governed even before the breakaways because the system of Yugoslavia was market socialism. Hungary and Estonia focused on individual asset privatisation to foreign owners, leading to slow progress. On the other hand, Russia and Ukraine undertook mass privatisation of state assets to anyone who could afford it, giving rise to financial oligarchy but with little revenue to society, which increased the gap between rich and poor (Kotz, 2001). The Czech Republic, Lithuania and Slovakia distributed the majority of state shares to their citizens, a plausible idea at first but assets were diluted thinly, which meant limited prospects for further investments.

Dana (2002) considers the depth of transition, in reference to the way that some countries, especially in Asia, replaced their central economic system with a capitalist economic system, whilst keeping the same political structure and agents. However, in Europe, transition entailed a more complex process since transitional reforms of the economic system were carried out often alongside the political system.

Cojocaru *et al* (2016) claim, that European transition countries have made substantial progress in reforming their financial markets and institutions. Whereas, Svejnar (2002) claims that, in general, transitional countries have not met the expectations, mainly due to their policymakers underestimating the complexities of the economic problems involved in their transition processes. Also, the advanced economies have been doing so well that the gap between advanced and transition countries has widened more than narrowed, although transitional countries have made significant progress (Epstein

and Jacoby, 2014). The under-estimation of the policymakers comes from the assumption that their countries would quickly develop and catch up with the advanced economies once they opened up their markets. However, such assumptions were proven wrong as high inflation increased the realisation, that transition is a gradual process rather than a quick-fix event (Svejnar, 2013). Major debates have taken place with no conclusive agreement as to whether 'big bang' reforms or gradual reforming countries have performed better. The former approach required dismantling of the previous system thoroughly, conducting mass privatisation of all state-assets and price liberalisation. Privatising state assets faced a major hurdle since the legal framework, institutional arrangements and effectual governance to ensure protection and successful market-oriented economy was not in place fully and thus privatisation was forced to remain gradual or assets faced devaluation. On the other hand, gradual reforms ensured enforcement of laws and regulations before commencing with privatisation processes.

From another point of view, countries adapting the 'big bang' approach have arguably embraced capitalism more thoroughly than the countries that adapted the 'gradualism' approach, where they are known more for lingering with the old ways. 'Gradualism' reforms the old structures and policies suitable for capitalism, whereas the' big bang' aims to cut ties with the old and off with the new (Havrylyshyn, 2007). The 'big bang' approach simultaneously implements transition on all sectors of life and its philosophy is advocated by the Washington Consensus (Iwasaki and Suzuki, 2014). Gradualism on the other hand, is a non-radical approach to transition where economic, political and social reforms do not take place at the same time. The speed of transition is much slower and sometimes interrupted if not deemed appropriate (Aghion and Blanchard, 1994) as its principles demand quality over speed (Iwasaki and Suzuki, 2014).

Authors such as Wei (1997), Myant and Drahokoupil (2012), and Havrylyshyn (2007) argue for and against different economic transition strategies. According to Havrylyshyn (2007), the 'big-bang' approach is supported for providing critical scale efficiency in the privatised economy and increased credibility of transition. It reduces opportunities for rent-seeking behaviour, increased consistency of results and

witnesses benefits quicker than gradualism. According to Wei (1997) arguments supporting gradualism claim that it is less costly for the national budget to handle, it maintains stable living standards, it gives time for adjustments and to trial and error policies and approaches, and it is more sustainable in the long run.

None of the transition countries succeeded in quickly developing a legal system that would fully support the open-market approach, with some doing better than others. The ones that have focused on enforcing a functional legal framework have arguably progressed further in their transition than the ones that did not. It has been noted that the geographically remotest Eastern European ('super periphery') countries have experienced slower transitional progress than their more western (central) counterparts (Sokol, 2001). The reasons for this difference have been that most of the more western transition countries have historically shared the same religion and alphabet and enjoyed similar educational systems with Western Europe so they could attract higher Western European investments (ibid).

Overall, economic transition takes place because of socialist inflexibility and lack of innovation. However, as much as it was necessary to transition the economy, doing it when the private sector was not ready to take over the economy responsibilities from the centralist system meant the economy plummeted immediately in most transition countries. Drahokoupil and Myant (2015) have found that, as a result of limited existence of private sector in socialism, none of the European transition countries have fully developed their business environment to compete in an advanced market economy. Arguments have been made as to whether the 'big bang' or 'gradualism' approach would most suitably transition the economy of a nation, with both approaches being equally complemented and criticised (Havrylyshyn, 2007). Geographical location of transition countries has also been noted as a factor in influencing economic transition, with core and periphery playing a part.

Social dimension

Sisk and Jarstad (2008:Foreword) state that:

> *"attempts to introduce democracy in the wake of civil war face a critical problem: how can war-torn societies move toward peace and democracy when*

competitive politics and hard-fought elections exacerbate social and political conflict?"

During the transition period, countries face enormous social dilemmas - which need sufficient consideration in order to enhance transition (ibid.)

Freedom of speech is seen as the foundation of civic liberty, whilst it is challenged by restrictions in many countries, particularly, when moving from an authoritarian regime towards democracy (Sapiezynska, 2017). Similarly, Mirkin (2013) argues in a United Nations development report, that achieving freedom of speech is paramount on the way towards a new democracy - using the example of the Arab Spring revolutions. However, enabling 'freedom of speech' is equipped with challenges – particularly, considering that *"Communism had given rise to a society of individuals […] with no experience of individual or collective initiative and lacking any basis on which to make informed public choices"* (Judt, 2010:692).

One of *"the strongest and most enduring impacts"* that a war has, relates to a country's education system, which is not only destroyed, but utilised to increase divisions (Kreso, 2008:353). Evaluating the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Kreso (2008:369) argues that education was a *"vehicle for creating three separate ethnic systems, with three separate religions, histories, languages and cultures, rather than as a tool enabling the development of a common (BiH) identity"*. Consequently, mainly the young generations suffer from the weaknesses of an existing education system in post-war societies. Without improving education, thus investing in' the Youth', it will be difficult to move forward – which has been indicated with regard to several other regions (Bassler, 2006; Chisholm, 2004). Chisholm (2004), reports that systemic barriers to education have been placed on inferior groups by regimes, for example, the apartheid regime in South Africa. Fiske and Ladd (2004) discuss how the apartheid regime in South Africa governed the education system based on racial lines. They (ibid.) argue that the regime funded schools for white students multiple times more than those for African students. The government spending on education facilities and schooling 'gear' such as textbooks was ten times higher for white students than for black students (ibid.).

The weaknesses of the educational system leave their mark on the country's economic development, and indirectly, influencing social stability. Castillo and Phelps (2017:1) point out that, whilst developed countries face the challenge of broadening economic and social inclusion within an existing dynamic environment,

> *"the problems of war-ravaged countries are far more acute and their choices much more constrained. Indeed, they confront a double challenge: to create dynamic economies and to promote, at the same time, economic and social inclusion".*

They (ibid) argue that when economic and social inclusions are not tackled, *"national reconciliation will likely prove impossible".* Particularly, the younger generations are affected, if there is a shortcoming of jobs (ibid.). Therefore, it is crucial for countries, having experienced war, to encourage economic development in order to maintain social stability.

Social stability in a post-war environment is constantly endangered since society remains extremely vulnerable (UN, 2014). In the post-war period, stabilisation is a key in order for individuals and communities to overcome their war-traumas by using means of dealing with the violent past (ibid). Despite the importance of providing support, quite often professional services and their coordination are limited, as identified by Lončar *et al*, (2006) and Loga *et al* (2000) in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Similarly, on-going ethnic divisions are a threat for stability (O'Loughlin, 2010). Kettley (2003) found, in the case of Romania's ethnic issue involving its Hungarian minority in the region of Transylvania, that ethnic division and tensions are a result of deep-rooted security fears on both sides, which are often driven by mistrust in bilateral relations between Hungary and Romania. O'Loughlin (2010) believes that in order to reduce ethnic boundaries and social distance between people, a sense of inter-ethnic friendship needs to be established. Hewstone *et al* (2006) and Noor *et al* (2008) show that developing in-group identity through contact between ethnic groups are crucial for forgiveness and reconciliation, when examining divisions in Northern Ireland. However, enabling personal contacts requires trust, which is difficult to re-establish considering a past of hostility and conflict (Cook *et al*, 2005; Widner, 2004; Varshney, 2001). It is evident that achieving trust and contact is necessary scenario for post-war societies in order to reduce ethnic divisions; however, most of research

focussing on Former Yugoslavia accepts that ethnic divisions are *"historic, reinforced by conflict and will remain for the foreseeable future"* (O'Loughlin, 2010:29). Thus, these divisions are being viewed as unchangeable, which results in limited attempts of creating contact, trust and 'new identity' (O'Loughlin, 2010). On the other hand, it is argued that the conflicts in Former Yugoslavia produced a sense of ethnic awareness (Sekulic *et al*, 2006). Therefore, ethnic divisions might be intensified in that region. O'Loughlin (2010:29) points out that *in "postwar BiH [Bosnia and Herzegovina], civic identity is strongly aligned with ethnicity"*. Considering this finding, creating a 'new identity' is deeply challenged, because people might feel that they give up their ethnic origins by establishing an inter-group identity.

3.2.4. Summary

In summary, the term 'transition' simply describes a process from one state to another. According to Turley and Luke (2001:1) 'transition' is frequently linked to

> *"social, political and economic transformation from a command system characterised by state ownership, collective action and central planning to a market system characterised by decentralised decision-making arrangements and private sector market transactions"*

In other words, societies undergoing transition in this era are shifting from state-plan to open market and from socialism or communism to democratic governance (Elkomy *et al*, 2016). Transition has become one of the most testing challenges for societies – which are intensified when the 'era of transition' starts with 'the ending of a war' since post-war societies are extremely vulnerable (Armstrong and Chura-Beaver, 2010; UN, 2014). As highlighted by Turley and Luke's (2001) quote above, transition requires the transformation of three dimensions, namely: social, political and economic. While the debates of political economic transition have been the most prominent of all in the literature of transition (Elkomy *et al*, 2016; McGrattan, 2012), social aspects have received less attention (Miller and Martini, 2013).

Political transition is arguably at the forefront, strongly supported by international organisations and agencies, since it should provide the guidance for socio-economic development. Key aspects of economic transition are the establishment of a legal infrastructure and privatisation of state-assets, in order to encourage economic

dynamism. Castillo and Phelps (2017:1) point out that economic and social development are strongly linked, and both need to be achieved 'hand-in-hand', otherwise *"national reconciliation will likely prove impossible".* Social stability in post-war countries, under-going transition is strongly endangered due to on-going hostility between ethnic groups and identity crises and vulnerable socio-economic structures resulting, for example, from a weak educational system. Furthermore, implementing steps towards ensuring human rights such as freedom of speech, are equipped with difficulties and complexities, and require democratic awareness and learning of the society. Overall, the literature review emphasised the strong interrelationship among the three dimensions of transition: political; economic; and social.

3.3. Implications of post-war transition on the role of tourism

Tourism is widely observed, for example by international organisations such as the IMF, as a panacea and a source of economic development, institution building and sustainable reconciliation (Dieke, 2003; Pritchard *et al*, 2011) As a result, many destinations in various regions that abolished their authoritarian regimes and went into transition to embrace capitalism and an open market have embraced tourism due to its potential benefits such as economic development, foreign exchange, employment, social stability and international recognition (UNWTO, 2015). Similarly, post-war destinations, undergoing transition, such as Sri Lanka and Rwanda have invested in tourism as part of wider reforms and national development (Fernando *et al*, 2013; Maekawa *et al*, 2013). Alongside providing prospects for economic development, Causevic and Lynch (2013) believe that tourism has the potential to bridge social and cultural differences in a post-war transitional society. However, there is also a more sceptical view of tourism as an illusion 'of what it can supposedly achieve', because of existing inequalities, for example, in terms of the distribution of wealth (e.g. Botterill and Klemm, 2006 & 2007; Cole and Morgan, 2010; Hilary, 2011; Meyer, 2011).

Tourism development is understood to be a challenge for any society because of its fragmented nature, coupled with its requirement for complex governance structures. In the context of post-war transitional countries, developing tourism is faced with even 'tougher' challenges (Reka, 2011). Winter (2008) points out that those challenges

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relate to the image of a war-torn country as well as political, economic and social conditions. To develop tourism successfully, an appealing destination image is required since it is one of the key elements that influences tourists when choosing a tourist destination (Ferreira Lopes, 2011). Hall (1994) and Upadhayaya (2013) stress that an image of peace, safety and stability is crucial for attracting tourists to a particular tourist destination. It has been identified, that marketing a peaceful, safe and stable destination image after having experienced war, is a difficult task since in the aftermath negative media exposure is on-going (Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996; Upadhayaya, 2013). Consequently, the image of a war-torn country remains for a long time after the war itself and discourages potential tourists (Mihalic, 1996; Schlesinger, 1991). Therefore,

> *"destination branding has become a strategic marketing component with considerable importance in promoting the (re)discovery of tourism destinations severely impacted by global crises, war, ethnic and political conflict"* (Vitic and Ringer, 2007:129).

If a region is viewed as politically unstable, it can be virtually impossible to attract mainstream tourists (Causevic and Lynch, 2013). A factor that contributes to the tourists' perception of 'political instability', and thus to declining tourist numbers, is unsettled bilateral relations with neighbouring countries (e.g. Amer and Jianwei, 2014). Even the uncertainty of how bilateral relations might develop in the future, can influence people's travel behaviour - as identified in a recent discussion paper by Humphrey (2016) on how BREXIT may affect British tourists travelling abroad due to restricted travel bureaucracy. In a context of unsettled bilateral relations, it has been noted that *"governments are known to manipulate tourism for political purposes",* for example, through the use of economic restrictions, embargos or simply travel warnings against another country (Oulette, 2016:428). On the other hand, a country might utilise tourism to develop national pride amongst domestic tourists and spread the same propaganda to foreign tourists (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). In particular, heritage tourism has been utilised for *"instilling political ideologies by the ruling class"* (Zhao and Timothy, 2015:489). Despite the highly negative propaganda towards North Korea by international media, North Korea has managed to reverse that image leading Oulette (2016:431) to ask *Is the country trying its own "image makeover" through tourism?"* Using various means, such as social media, North Korea tries to propagate a

more 'favourable image' - which falls back to Ellul's (1973:282) argument: *"who fails to make propaganda will be defeated immediately"*.

As a result of war in a country, political, economic and social systems and basic infrastructures are destroyed (Morgan *et al*, 2011; Winter, 2008). Establishing and/ or restoring general systems and infrastructures, is crucial, before tourism achieves importance on the government's agenda. This is intensified, if tourism is not considered as a tool for development due to limited awareness of the values and potential benefits of tourism, as identified by Ionnides and Apostolopoulos (1999) in the context of post-war countries, undergoing transition. As a result of limited awareness, tourism development is not supported effectively by providing financial resources and developing governance structures, which affects overall development of the tourism industry (Alluri, 2009; Reid, 2003).

If tourism governance structures are established, they are often fragile. According to Altinay and Bowen (2006) and Yasarata *et al* (2010), weak tourism structure and limited policy implementation tangled with power struggles are post-war realities that add to the difficulties of tourism governance. Lack of accountability has been identified to be a major challenge for tourism development in post-war transition, which results from political instability and frequent government change (Issa and Altinay, 2006; Ladki and Bertramini, 2002). Furthermore, limited know-how combined with a high tendency of government officials in developing countries or politically unstable regions to prioritise personal gain at the expense of society benefits impede tourism development (Shamsul-Haque, 2007). These direct challenges are coupled with indirect issues such as fragile state-society relations, social division amongst different ethnic groups and high feeling of injustice (Engberg-Pedersen *et al*, 2008; Morgan *et al*, 2006; Stewart and Brown, 2010).

In general, literature on post-war tourism development is limited - as argued by Novelli *et al* (2012). This is, particularly, relevant for research that explores social conditions such as the status of the education systems, ethnic division, identity crisis and fundamentalism in a post-war transitional context, and their implications for tourism development and governance. In terms of 'education', Lokuhetty *et al* (2013) identified a shortfall of well-trained and -experienced staff in the case of post-war Sri Lanka. They

(2013) describe this as a major challenge for tourism development and argue that adequate initiatives focussed on staff development by the government and private sector are required. Alifragkis and Athanassio (2013:699) debate the issue of education in their research on post-war tourism development in Greece and argue that *"educating the emerging urban middle-class about modern life"* was crucial for developing an image of Greece as an ideal tourist destination. Furthermore, Arnaud (2016) evaluates the importance of identity-building for image development in post-war Croatia. Causevic (2010) argues that tourism can help to relax internal ethnic boundaries and establish social reconciliation in a divided country. Ethnic divisions and fundamentalism are evaluated in the light of 'stability', in that both may influence a country's stability negatively, which, as already discussed, discourages people from travelling to the destination. In other words: tourism development remains 'poor' without, economic and social stability (Teve, 1988 in: Sonmez, 1999).

In summary, there is a range of implications resulting from the war itself and political, economic and social conditions in post-war transition. It was identified that a destination's image, which is strongly influenced by the country's political stability, has been of great interest among tourism scholars. Furthermore, research shows that understanding of tourism as an economic sector is limited, which leads to weak implementation in terms of tourism governance and tourism policy. Whilst political and economic issues are discussed in literature of post-war tourism, social issues affecting tourism and tourism governance in a post-war transitional context are not widely explored.

3.4. Tourism governance

3.4.1. Introduction

This section focuses on reviewing the literature with regards to tourism governance in a post-war transition. Firstly, literature on governance in general, and secondly, on tourism governance is reviewed in order to learn from both sets of literature. Thereupon, tourism governance is narrowed down to its specific pillars: institutional arrangements; collaboration; and power relations.

3.4.2. Definition and understanding 'governance'

Understanding governance is critical to develop an appreciation of how societal systems are structured (Robichau, 2011). The term 'governance' was initiated in the late 1980s, first applied in a World Bank report and then gained prominence in the academic literature since the 1990s onwards (Hall, 2011). Mayntz (2003) states that the roots of the term governance can be traced back to immediate post-World War II politics, when the Western states looked for ways to move on from interventionist and controlling systems to modern governance as a way of navigating socio-economic development. She (2003) further claims that the first alternative to advance the steering of modern societies was by changing from 'state-to-market' and the second alternative was to shift from 'government-to-governance'. Kluvánková-Oravská *et al* (2009: 187) argue that government refers to *"hierarchical activities of centralised bodies. Governance implies the involvement of various actors that are independent from a central power and operate at different levels of decision making"*.

The description from 'government to governance' seems to be unsuitable, because 'government' refers to an institution, and 'governance' refers to actions or the act of governing by government and/or by other institutions. Thus, they are not aligned. Thereby, putting government (institution) and governance (actions) in the same 'basket' creates confusion. This is because the description 'from government to governance' is similar to arguing that there has been a shift from institutions to actions, an untenable proposition. According to Liu (2014), there are different types of governance from hierarchical to community governance. Therefore, the term governance on its own does not indicate the type of governing.

In this thesis 'governance' is specifically conceptualised as a process or action and governing actions are different from government. The type of governance is identified as a differentiating factor when considering governance in a post-war transitional context as in this research. As societies experience transition from socialism to democracy, changes of both structure (government) and processes (governance) are acknowledged to occur.

In the context of this thesis, some potential overlaps between power and governance can be recognised. Lukes' (2005) concept of power accommodates the idea of governance as an action or process. Power may occur 'with' as well as 'over' others. The way in which power is exercised, is influenced by type of government. A change in government from socialist to democratic, for example, and an associated shift in type of governance (hierarchical to networked) can affect the nature of power.

Figure 6. aims to make appropriate distinctions using some of the definitions and terms of governance discussed above (Benz, 2007; Kjaer, 2004; Kluvánková-Oravská *et al*, 2009; Liu, 2014; Mayntz, 2003; Newman and Clarke, 2009; Pierre and Peters, 2005; Rosenau, 1992).

Figure 6. Governance institutions and types of governance

Figure 6 demonstrates my understanding of different types of governance and institutions involved and it does not claim to be exhaustive, in any way. It merely aims to make a demonstration to the argument that government and governance are not of parallel standing, even if commendably argued by various authors.

The phrase 'governance' is viewed as an umbrella (Newman, 2007), that encompasses various expressions used in coordinated processes of decision-making between a network of stakeholders (state and non-state) at the planning and at the implementation stages of authority including in public administration, policy and planning, sociology, and political science (Kooiman and Bavinck, 2013). There is no universally accepted definition of governance due to its complex nature. Therefore, it

leaves room to manoeuvre or argue its definition from various angles to suit different interests, similar to the interpretation of holy books. Many theoretical and applied models of governance contribute to its complexity. Liu (2014: 95) provides a list of some of these models

> "global governance, corporate governance, governance without government, good governance, governance as a public management, socio-cybernetic governance, political-economy governance, governance as networks, hierarchies, social governance, community governance, polycentric governance and holistic governance").

The complexity of governance is the result of its many branches deriving from its applicability in many different social science spheres (Robichau, 2011). They are all used to help differentiate between each other in terms of content, processes, agents, and purpose, but arguably have furthered the imprecision, woolliness (Fredrickson, 2005), and shapeless form of governance (Lynn, 2010). Bevir (2009) accumulates fifty concepts of governance from different disciplines, which all make different claims, but have some commonalities, i.e. they all agree that governance is broader than government. Lynn (2010:671), for example, defines governance as *"the action or manner of governing—that is, of directing, guiding, or regulating individuals, organizations, or nations in conduct or actions"*.

Bevir (2013:1) refers to governance as *"all the processes of governing, whether undertaken by a government, market or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or information organisation or territory and whether through laws, norms, power or language"*, which is utilised in this research. According to Robichau (2011), the strength of this definition is its breadth, since it can describe both hierarchical and non-hierarchical systems of governance, because it does not give an indication of the type of governance (Mayntz, 2004). These definitions take a broader perspective to governance and pose the question as to whether its meaning is being overcomplicated by authors because of the need to take a narrower approach and pinpoint a specific type of governing, especially by relating it to 'advanced', 'collaborative', 'horizontal' and 'liberal' systems of governing (Bogason and Musso, 2006; Klijn, 2008, 2010; Mayntz, 2002).

Due to the complexity of governance, individual definitions cannot mirror the totality of the framework (Kooiman, 2003). Kersbergen and Waarden (2004) remind us that scholars are so far away from agreeing on a definition that they are yet to achieve a consensus on the set of phenomena that can be grouped under the term 'governance'. Definitions are reciprocated by scholars in order to incorporate all aspects of the model. While Yee (2004: 487) defines governance as *"new governing activities that do not occur solely through governments"* outlining that the state adapts to new forms of operating in the political and economic environment, Hall (2011) considers governance as a normative conceptual theory of how the government ought to operate in the state system. The collaborative terms of governance such as 'network governance' have become more acceptable than the hierarchical terms of centralised governance (e.g. Liu, 2014). This is because they are not perceived to be authoritative approaches of 'power over others', but rather 'service providers' applied together in collaboration and sharing 'power with others' (Raman, 2012). In other words, in a globalised society, governance is portrayed as an authority utilised with everyone involved or affected by it (Flinders, 2002). Authors such as Pierre (2000) accept that modern governments have had to alter their functionality to accommodate new governance principles, but they have not replaced existing structures. Governments are nonetheless pivotal to the success of a governance approach as often they are the steering body with the capacity to coordinate other actors involved in governance processes.

In social sciences, the term governance not only refers to abstract theories, but also to politics and political systems (Bevir, 2013), hence the confusion, since governance resides in both, the abstract paradigm of theories and in the paradigm of political systems. In the political sciences literature governance usually means *"collective action without the authority to make final decisions"* (Benz, 2007: 5). Even though this study does not agree with this particular concept of governance, it acknowledges that the debate about governance gained prominence, after the shift from central planning nation-states to liberalised, market-based and decentralised structures in modern decision-making democracies.

In tourism, expressions such as 'tourism policy process', 'policy-making' and 'planning', and 'destination management' have been commonly used, but all could be subsumed

under the concept of tourism governance (Bramwell and Lane, 2011). Hall (2011: 439) recognises governance as *"the act of governing"* and accepts that there is no agreement on defining governance. Bramwell (2011: 459) goes along with *"systems of governing"*, and the ways in which societies are governed, ruled or "steered". For Baggio *et al* (2010: 51) governance means *"relationships between multiple stakeholders and how they interact with one another"*. Zahra (2011: 535) believes governance is about *"multiple stakeholders in numerous relationships at a range of levels"*. Considering these views, it becomes evident that the understanding of the term governance in tourism literature reflects that of other social science spheres, meaning some authors consider governance to signify collaboration of various stakeholders at different levels, whilst for others the term connotes something broader ("the act of governing"), without indicating the type of governance.

Recent studies focus on tourism governance and power relations (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Church and Coles, 2007; Dredge, 2006; Beaumont and Dredge, 2010), governance and sustainable tourism (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Bramwell, 2004; Bramwell and Lane, 2008 and 2011; Vernon *et al*, 2005; Moscardo, 2011; Yasarara *et al*, 2010) and government involvement in policy activities in tourism (Pastras and Bramwell, 2013), while earlier studies examine governments' roles in tourism and the influences of state policy on tourism development (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Hall, 1994; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Jenkins and Henry, 1982). Thus, it can be argued that recent studies are more likely to address the comprehensive ideas of governance, while earlier studies often take a narrower perspective and lose sight of the more encompassing idea of governance (Bramwell and Lane, 2011). According to Beaumont and Dredge (2010), the 'new' focus on governance is the result of globalisation and neoliberalism as economic and social forces which transform governing organisations and structures. Ansell and Gash (2008) claim that governance has emerged as an alternative model of governing due to the failures of adversalism and managerialism, because of the former's focus on 'winner take all' approach and the latter's unilateral decision-making by government experts (Futrell, 2003).

This research acknowledges the shift; however, it also considers governments as a crucial part in the composition of multiple bodies/ stakeholders involved in governance.

This is in agreement with Bramwell and Alletop (2001) and Zhao and Timothy (2015), who recognise the importance of government involvement in any type of tourism governance.

3.4.3. Institutional arrangements

Institutional arrangements are examined widely in the research literature (Bianchi, 2009; Wilson *et al*, 2008), and they are considered a key pillar to evaluate tourism governance (Bramwell and Lane, 2011; Hall, 1994). Healey (2006:302) defines *"institutions"* as *"the ensemble of norms, rules and practices which structure action in social contexts"*. Accordingly, institutions shape and regulate social actions, which are constituted by people acting and interacting with each other. Lapeyre (2011) outlines the importance of institutions in the context of tourism development by arguing that it is through institutions that the standards of tourism can be raised and economic development can be supported. Bianchi (2009) argues that there are powerful institutional actors in the state that create the environment to exert power. Thus, there are institutions that hold relatively more power than other institutions to shape development in a country. Accordingly, if these institutions do not acknowledge tourism as a tool for economic progress, then tourism development will remain stagnant.

Lapeyre (2011) argues that institutions can reduce opportunism, uncertainty and process-constraints as they can co-ordinate and normalize relations between stakeholders. However, while institutions can limit stakeholders pursuing their own individual interests at the expense of the group, they might also decelerate the governing processes due to increasing complexity. If many institutions are involved in implementing a 'new' tourism product, the decision-making processes can be hindered by the diverse objectives of each institution. For example, Causevic and Lynch (2013) argue that the complex government structure in Bosnia-Herzegovina impedes the development of tourism, because there are many conflicting institutions involved in economic decision-making processes. Therefore, 'appropriateness' is important so that institutional arrangements adapt to the environment and allow effective tourism governance.

In the context of transition, Williams and Balaz (2005:38) argue that effective tourism governance involves *"a reworking of the institutions and practices of central planning"*. Having had a well-organised system of institutions in a communist era combined with closed markets, it can be argued that the system may be destined to fail under the radically new influences streaming from globalisation and neo-liberalism (William and Balaz, 2005). Thus, Bramwell and Lane's (2011) idea of appropriate institutions becomes highly relevant in the context of transitional countries, as 'old' institutions need to adapt to the global and neo-liberal environment and 'old' and 'new' institutions need to find a common ground within these surroundings. The pre-transition era needs to be taken into consideration to understand whether current institutions are more in line with the previous control and command system or with a democratic and neo-liberal type of governance. Stark (1996:995) emphasises, that transition in former communist countries is a process that involves *"rebuilding organisations and institutions not on the ruins but with the ruins of communism"*.

Zhao and Timothy (2015) highlight the conflict of institutional arrangements, representing a strong hierarchical structure, with wider interests of tourism development in China's economy. The hierarchical structure seems to hinder tourism product development and innovation since transfer of power and knowledge from central to local administration and responsibilities does not take place (ibid.). In a post-war environment, government involvement is crucial since tourism development is in its early stages requiring leadership for stakeholders in a highly-fragmented industry (Qin *et al*, 2011). Bramwell and Alletorp (2001) describe that the government is responsible for balancing the industry objectives and monitoring the path of tourism development. If this does not happen, it is likely that conflict will occur and both excessive costs and limited benefits will be experienced (Bramwell and Alletorp, 2001; Qin *et al*, 2011; Zhao and Timothy, 2015).

This study analyses institutional arrangements in Kosova, the power they exercise and how they influence the processes of tourism governance. It also explores whether and how institutions that are involved in tourism governance work together, and whether and how their interdependency is balanced. However, effective tourism governance is not only dependent on having appropriate institutions but also having the willingness

of those institutions and stakeholders involved. This is, in order to progress, to cooperate and to collaborate (Zahra, 2011) in the decision-making processes based on established practices (Bramwell and Lane, 2011).

3.4.4. Collaboration

Bramwell and Lane (2000) describe tourism as an assembly process, where diverse stakeholders are needed in collaboration to plan its development. Collaboration is considered to have positive impacts on the effectiveness of tourism governance as stakeholders may improve their understanding by sharing their knowledge and they may thus avoid potential conflicts (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999). Imperial (2005) also argues that collaboration can enhance performance, reduce long-term costs, and can be applied as an implementation strategy to avoid distortion in the processes of governance. In accordance with the above statements, Jamal and Getz (1995:188) define collaboration as:

> *"a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain".*

Wood and Gray (1991:146) explain that collaboration occurs *"when a group of autonomous stakeholders of a problem domain engage in an interactive process, using shared rules, norms, and structures, to act or decide on issues related to that domain"*. Hall (2008) argues that collaboration is an important means for tourism stakeholders to achieve collective benefits and therefore, is a model of joint decision-making.

Stakeholder theory can be applied to understanding human engagement in the processes of governance (Puyvelde *et al,* 2012). A stakeholder is any individual or group that can affect or is affected by the actions or the inactions of a corporation or an institutional body (Clarkson, 1995; Freeman, 1984). Depending on the context, there are various stakeholder groups e.g. employees, competitors, partners, suppliers, customers, unions, associations and society (Bridoux and Stoelhorst 2013). Stakeholder theorists claim that fairness is the most vital and valued aspect in the relationships between structure and agency due to diverse values, power differences and the complexities of functioning in open societies (e.g. Bosse *et al*, 2009; Harrison *et al*,

2010). Bridoux and Stoelhorst (2013) downplay the importance of fairness and instead suggest that bargaining power is the most important outcome valued by stakeholders. Whilst Ferreira (2013) agrees that stakeholders demand morally fair processes in strategic discussion with their corporations, she also argues that stakeholders expect the institutions to solve economic, social and environmental problems affecting them. This indicates that fairness is important to stakeholders, but their bargaining power is decisive.

Stakeholder theory has been used to measure and understand the motives of cooperation and collaboration among different stakeholders. Bridoux *et al* (2011) assert that stakeholders have heterogeneous motives to cooperate and those motives shape their collective behaviours in value creation. Bridoux and Stoelhorst (2013), Engelmann and Strobel (2004), Fehr and Gachter (2002), Fehr and Falk (2002) distinguish those motives by two main stakeholder types: 'self-regarding' and 'reciprocal'. Self-regarding types are individualists who only care for their own interests with little regards to fairness. Reciprocal stakeholders are those who pursue a positive outcome for everyone involved by compromising and consensus building, whilst ensuring fairness remains central.

First of all, however, identifying relevant stakeholders to collaborate have been noted as a main challenge to successful collaborative efforts in tourism (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Marien and Pizam, 1997; Swarbrooke 1999; Tosun, 2000). Aas *et al* (2005) argue that for collaboration to work in a fragmented environment as is the tourism industry, collaborative initiation needs to occur from the government, with a clear direction to keep stakeholders committed and it requires a leader organisation. The literature strongly emphasises the importance of having a leader organisation that guides collaboration of diverse stakeholders in tourism governance (Bramwell, 2011; Ruhanen, 2013; Zhao and Timothy, 2015).

It has been recognised that collaboration will suffer, if there is a history or a mindset of conflict, of divisions or of mistrust between stakeholders. Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011), for example, found mistrust to be a factor that limits collaboration between the public and private sectors and civil society, which in turn restricts long-term tourism development in the case of post-socialist Bulgaria. Problems of disrespect and

pessimistic attitudes need to be challenged foremost in order to achieve collective gains (Ansell and Gash, 2008). This is particularly relevant in the context of post-war transition where collaboration may need longer time to establish due to damaged trust amongst stakeholders of different ethnicities. Lack of trust, is also found by Causevic and Lynch (2013), to be a critical problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is obstructing collaboration between tourism stakeholders of diverse national entities. Roberts (2002:61) argues that *"the existence of path dependency lengthens the time taken to develop trust that underpins willing cooperation and reciprocity".* She (2002) claims that external support, by consultants and development organisations, is needed. It is important for this research to identify how stakeholders are involved in the processes of tourism governance and evaluate to what extent collaboration exists amongst them. It will also aim to examine whether the existing approach works well and how the stakeholders involved perceive it.

Ansell and Gash (2008) emphasise the integration of public, private and non-profit stakeholders in tourism governance by establishing procedures to achieve common goals. Collaborative processes of governance can improve work relations among public and private sectors and NGOs, as well as amongst wider society. Collaborative tourism governance has been supported to enhance democratic and legitimate decision-making and its quality processes, to advance mutual gain, and to foster fairness and equality (Dredge, 2006). However, it remains uncertain whether these processes can provide the best outcome when it comes to choices, the quality of processes, implementation and positive impacts.

This research will evaluate how actors from different sectors or segments such as public, private and tourism associations are included in or excluded from the processes of governance. As collaborative governance is associated with more democratic policy-making processes, it is of particular interest to examine it in the context of this study of tourism governance in a post-war transition. It will help to establish knowledge on whether and how the processes of collaboration in tourism governance are influenced by new democratic governing approaches, and those of a previous, socialist system.

3.4.5. Power relations

There are different theories of power and developing understanding of power relations is highly complex and challenging since power is an *"essentially contested concept"* (Lukes, 1974, 2005:137). 'Power' has been conceptualised from different, even opposing, perspectives, in that, one the one hand, structuralist supporters view 'power' as a form of 'domination', and, on the other hand, agency-centred approaches (e.g. Parsons, 1964; Arendt, 1970) tend to view 'power' as 'capacity' (Haugaard and Glegg, 2009). Whilst, Foucoult (1978) views power as neither agency nor structure, but instead as a force that is present everywhere. The origin of conceptualising power as domination is seen in Marxist ideology of power creating divisions between the two main classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat, in modern capitalist society (Heywood, 1994). The dominance of the bourgeoisie results from its economic power (i.e. owning means of production), which also enables the bourgeoisie to have political and social power, while the proletariat accepts the inferiority due to 'false consciousness' (Heywood, 1994). Our current understanding of power has particularly been influenced by Lukes (2005:37), who describes the concept of power as follows: *"A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests"*. Lukes (2005) distinguishes three dimensions or 'faces' of power in Figure 7.

Lukes' three-dimensional concept of power derived from the structuralist perspective in the 1970s. A structuralist approach for evaluation was taken in this research, because the researcher felt a superiority of power as domination throughout the stages of interviewing, transcribing and analysing. Furthermore, Lukes' dimensions are more 'practical' to use for analysis than previous work in this area. Alongside being well-suited and being concrete, Lukes dimensions have been less frequently applied in tourism research. Therefore, the researcher felt that he can bring valuable contribution to the tourism literature.

Figure 7. Lukes' dimensions of power

1. Dimension	2. Dimension	3. Dimension

Conception of power	Power as decision-making	Power as decision making and agenda setting	Power as decision making, agenda setting and preference shaping
Nature of power	Visible and transparent	Both invisible and visible (visible only to agenda setters), but can be rendered visible through gaining inside information	Largely invisible – power distorts perceptions and shapes preferences; it must be demystified

Source: Adapted from Hay (2002:180)

These dimensions of power are also often referred to as: 'open', 'overt' and 'latent' power. 'Open power' is seen as political power, in the way that governments make decisions on behalf of people, for example. This face of power can be considered as legitimised since politicians came to power through election from the people. The second dimension refers to 'agenda-setting power', i.e. a person can influence which issues will be and will not be discussed. In doing so, a person with agenda-setting power can limit the choices and/ or prevent decisions to be made in order to positively influence one's personal interests. The third dimension refers to 'ideological power' that makes people agree with decisions being made, for example by governments, although the decisions do not necessarily benefit the individual. Gaventa (1980:15) points out that the third dimension of power is *"the means through which power influences, shapes or determines conceptions of necessities, possibilities and strategies"*.

Power as capacity is associated with consensus-building among individual actors as pointed out by Arendt (1970:44):

"power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps it together. When we say of somebody that he is 'in power' we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name. The moment the group, from

66

which the power originated, to begin with… disappears, 'his power' also vanishes.

Accordingly, power does not only exist; but power is the result of social agreement among individuals. Goehler (2009) puts forward an assertion that power is existent in peoples' actions, i.e. in their relations, rather than being directed from 'the powerful' to 'the powerless'.

Researching power relations in practice is fraught with difficulties and requires practical tools of analysis (Gaventa, 2003). Power is often expressed in descriptive terms of 'power over, power to, power with and within', whilst 'power over' and 'power to' have been most prominently discussed (Gaventa, 2006; Goehler, 2009). 'Power over' is associated with a form of domination, whilst 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within' are used to describe power in more equitable and collaborative ways (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002). Figure 8 shows the four expressions of power and provides an explanation for each.

In this research study, power relations will be analysed using the four expressions of power. To do so, the research draws mainly on interviewee's perceptions of power in terms of decision-making (open), decision-making and agenda-setting (covert), and decision-making, agenda-setting and preference shaping (latent) – supported by direct experiences of 'open' power relations among tourism actors, for example, during meetings.

Power is one of the key, whilst at the same time contested, concepts in social science; however, Church and Coles (2007: Foreword) argue that *"it has been routinely and conveniently overlooked in critical discussions of tourism"*. Additionally, they (2007:23) point out that limited tourism research utilises *"Lukesian thinking"* – with the

Figure 8. Expressions of power

Expression of power	Explanation

Power over	The most commonly recognised form of power, power over, has many negative associations for people, such as repression, wealth, force, coercion, discrimination, corruption, and abuse. Power is seen as a win-lose kind of relationship. Having power involves taking it from someone else, and then, using it to dominate and prevent others from gaining it.
Power to	'Power to' refers to the unique potential of every person to shape his or her life and world. When based on mutual support, it opens up the possibilities of joint action, or power with.
Power with	'Power with' has to do with finding common ground among different interests and building collective strength. Based on mutual support, solidarity, and collaboration, power with can help build bridges across different interests to transform or reduce social conflict and promote equitable relations.
Power within	'Power within' has to do with a person's sense of selfworth and self-knowledge. It includes an ability to recognise individual differences while respecting others. Power within is the capacity to imagine and have hope; it affirms the common human search for dignity and fulfillment.

Source: VeneKlasen and Miller (2002:39)

exception of Hall's (2013) study that seeks to develop understanding of issues limiting stakeholder participation in tourism policy and planning. Hall (2013:310) emphasises that since Lukes' (1974; 2005) *"three-dimensional view of power was not specifically created to be applied to stakeholder groups, it is appropriate that it should be extended"* (see: details of Hall's (2013) study below). Most tourism studies tend to adopt theoretical perspectives implicitly without explicitly recognising the influence of these theories of power on their work (Church and Coles, 2007).

Power relations play an important role in tourism governance, with groups of stakeholders having unequal influence within the governing processes (Bramwell and Lane, 2011; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007; Wang and Bramwell, 2012). As a result, some stakeholders or stakeholder groups are more likely to achieve their goals and

objectives than others (Hall, 2003). Similarly, Hardy (1996:3) points out that power *"is a force that affects outcome"*. Thus, it is essential to pay attention to and evaluate power and power imbalances in stakeholder relationships in tourism (Hall, 2013). Despite the relevance of power in stakeholder groups and collaborative and participatory processes, Everett and Jamal (2004) believe that power has been insufficiently considered in the field of collaboration. In the context of tourism development in developing countries, stakeholder participation and collaboration is seen as a tool for empowerment, which is based on the underlying assumptions of an imbalance of power relations in the first place (Timothy, 2007). In contrast, Hall's (2013) study explores stakeholder groups within tourism governance in the UK. She (2013:310) finds that power and empowerment results from various sources, and although, stakeholders *"may not have adopted the interest of the powerful as their own, as envisaged by Lukes, they can still conspire in their own non-empowerment through perpetuating non-empowering practices"*.

Zhao and Timothy (2015) explore red tourism development in China, focussing on how power determines participation of stakeholders, and particularly government involvement. Considering China's hierarchical structure, it was found that local governments lack power to implement tourism policies and regulations and development innovative tourism products. Local governments have very limited authoritative power and are not involved in strategic planning and policy-making, however, required to implementing policies top-down (ibid.). As mentioned in the introduction, transition towards decentralisation, privatisation and deregulation requires a gradual transfer of power combined with capacity-building in terms of knowledge and confidence (ibid.). Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010) found in the case of Thailand, strongly centralized and top-down public administration, in which the central government controls local government activities. They (2010: 680) argue that this *"centralization reflected a legacy of past periods of absolute monarchy, military authoritarianism and politics dominated by a few powerful groups"*.

Bramwell and Meyer (2007) study power and policymaking in tourism development on the island of Ruegen in former East Germany. Analysing power relations among tourism actors involved in the transition of the island's tourism industry, the study

(ibid.) shows that external actors with economic strength had power to influence tourism policies to be pro-growth. Their study (ibid.) also identifies how new initiatives occurred mainly within groups existing from the communist past and within the newly established groups who operated in isolation from each other rather than between them, which emphasises the difficulty of establishing collaboration. Further, it is shown that groups representing the former structures remain highly influential, while new agencies often had less political power (ibid.). Additionally, Adiyia *et al* (2015:126) come to conclusion that tourism governance in Uganda is characterised *"by a field of tension between a weak institutional setting on one side and an uncoordinated and unregulated powerful private sector on the other".* As a result of this power imbalance, there is inability to govern stakeholders and advance tourism development (ibid.)

In summary, tourism research on power relations in tourism governance indicates a strong imbalance of power among stakeholders, resulting from either political or economic dominance. Furthermore, tourism governance in transition strongly reflects legacies of the past, which requires a change of mindset and values.

3.5. Mindset

3.5.1. Introduction

The study of 'mindset' is an area of focus in various disciplines such as psychology, sociology and ethnology, which contributes towards developing knowledge on the psychology of a nation (Buyanova, 2006). The importance of mindset is generally an unexplored area in governance literature, especially in tourism governance and tourism in post-war transition. As a result, many questions are unanswered as to: how resistance to change can influence transition; how culture and history impact on transition; how the damage from previous regimes affects transition; and how the influence of other regions or nations on the country that is under transition affects the mindset of society.

This section, firstly, discusses the concept of 'mindset' in order to clarify the researcher's understanding of 'mindset' in this study. This is followed by an outline of the importance of considering 'mindset' in studies conducted within a post-war

transitional context. Thereupon, attention is drawn to 'mindset' in tourism governance (in post-war transition) literature.

3.5.2. Understanding 'mindset'

The term mindset was first used in the 'Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods' in 1909. As highlighted in the introduction of this thesis (Chapter.1), the definition of mindset on tourism governance in post-war transition is influenced by the definitions of mindset and mentality by Bondarenko (2012), EOD online (2013), Gurevich (1993), Bevir's, (2013) definition of governance and the Stability Operations Institute's (2010) definition of post-war transition. Therefore, this study defines mindset on tourism governance in post-war transition as: the thinking and attitudes characterising cognitive worldviews, of relevant stakeholders, in the processes of governing tourism in post-war transition.

Mindset is an integral factor in determining reality (Yurevich, 2013) and thus, a regulator of human behaviour (Gostev, 2010). Humans' ability to process information is forever tested by the complexity and the ambiguity of the world we interact with (Gostev, 2010). The way we live with these everyday challenges is by filtering what we engage with and how we process that information (Artem'eva, 2010). Mindset is the human ability to cognitively rationalise those choices. This ability is governed by our cognitive mosaic or cognitive worldviews developed by our histories, experience and the environment that surrounds us. From the above literature on mindset, this study evaluates mindset as cognitive worldviews, with the ability to rationally process information in order to regulate human behaviour and determine reality (Artem'eva, 2010; Gostev, 2010; Yurevich, 2013).

We, as humans, gather and judge new information using our current mindset, which is influenced by our past and our present. Normally, we only select new information that reinforces our current mindset. However, sometimes we are challenged by new information that is different from our mindset, and when that happens, we either reject it because it is incompatible with our current mindset or we challenge our mindset and learn to adapt to that new information. Whether we reject or accept and adapt to new information depends on whether we lean more towards a fixed or a

growth mindset (Dweck, 2006). A 'growth mindset' is the desire to learn through practice and efforts in order to improve abilities, whereas a fixed mindset believes abilities are genes related and thus unchangeable (Dweck, 2010).

3.5.3. Mindset in post-war transition

Democratic transition as a reaction to failures of communism or any other dictatorship or authoritarian system offers alternative approaches to advancing societies and maintaining sight of the competitive world. Many countries have undergone or are currently in the process of transition by applying different approaches, with differing outcomes and diverse experiences (Carvalho *et al*, 2016). Thereby, some societies experience higher or lower quality, faster or slower delivery, and embrace or resist transition differently. Changing from a 'traditional' system to a new one requires from any society a significant transition of people's mindset – which is, particularly, challenging because transition processes involve moving from 'the known to the unknown' (Swain, 2011). The transition processes should go 'hand-in-hand', because people and their behaviour are the drivers of change – if, they lack the mindset, the process of transitioning from one state to another is significantly endangered.

Human behaviour and mindset are crucial categories that can determine the pathway of transition. Moving from one system of life to another, demands wider efforts from society and institutional structures for a considerable amount of time. Some researchers argue that the best way to apply transition is to leave behind the past behaviours and mindset and begin to apply the new practices (path creation), whilst others disagree and claim that the best way to smoothen the transition processes is by building democracy and open market with the attributes the society already has, often expressed as the worthy 'rubble' of the old system (path dependency). Despite all efforts to move towards capitalism, a socialist mindset might remain present amongst policy makers and state decision-makers as long as they continue to reference the socialist system and compare the flaws of the 'new' with the strengths of the 'old' system (Acha and Balazs, 1999).

It can be viewed as interference in the progress since the mindset remains attached to the previous system that the country wants a divorce from, often with nostalgia about

the approaches and the policies that they believe worked better in the old system. However, this can be argued to be a misleading sentiment triggered by the inertia to learn and apply the new system regardless of whether it is better or worse in reality. Acha and Balazs (1999) found that this is the case due to the socialist model being deep-rooted in the societies that governed them for four decades. In addition, the lack of understanding of the complex design of the democratic system and how it works can make people in transitional countries uncertain of its functionality. Acha and Balazs (1999) argue that learning is 'path-dependent' using the existing concepts of life. Thus, democracy and capitalism are arguably being applied from the standpoints of a socialist mindset in transitional countries. The standpoints only shift when new generations with no relations to the old system become involved.

A post-war transitional society is mentally tested by the complexity and the uncertainty of its environment. The way a society lives with post-war transition challenges is by filtering what they engage with and how they process transition based on their cognitive ability that is determined by their histories and the environment that surrounds them. Therefore, a post-war transitional society accepts and adapts or challenges and rejects transition using its current mindset, which is influenced by the system that governed it in the past and by the situation in the current environment. Yurevich (2013) points out, that mindset is an integral factor in determining the path of progress in society. Accordingly, the success of post-war transition is highly dependent on the growth mindset of the society to accept and adapt to new ways of life. On the other hand, transition is greatly limited by the fixed or rigid mindset of the society that resists and rejects change. Judt (2010:692) argues that *"Communism had given rise to a society of individuals* […] *with no experience of* […] *initiative"*. Accordingly, as a result of communism, people do not take the initiative, which would be necessary to encourage transitional change.

Tiessen (1997) adds that the individualist 'I' mindset and the collectivist 'We' mindset operate in a continuum rather than opposite each other. This connection is raised by mutual trust and commitment to one's special interest group. Furthermore, Liargovas and Chionis (2002) argue that due to common history and being faced with similar political, economic and social conditions, Balkan countries have a set of common

characteristics, in terms of mindset, attitudes and values, which might encourage a collective mindset. On the other hand, Balkan societies have a strong ethnic awareness, in which identity is equated with ethnicity, thus supporting an individualist ethnic-related mindset (O'Loughlin, 2010; Sekulic *et al*, 2006). A common characteristic seems to be a post-war trauma (UN, 2014). Nelson (2006), for example, discusses the psychological effects of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and found that post-war psychosocial problems such as unemployment, poverty and family disorder add to post-war traumatic anxieties in society.

3.5.4. Mindset in tourism governance (in post-war transition)

The challenges in tourism development in post-war transitional societies are often seen to stem from weak institutional arrangements and lack of stakeholder engagement. To emphasise this, 'new' institutional arrangements might not have been established; however, continuing to apply top-down and hierarchical methods in tourism governance to a society under democratic and neo-liberal transition would not be functional either since stakeholders need to move towards 'the new', which requires a transition of their mindset. Accordingly, tourism governance in a transitional and post-war society can only be successfully achieved, if and, when transition of the mindset takes place. Being aware and accepting the need to transition the mind would mean appreciating new ways of doing things, and genuinely making efforts (Song AND Muschert, 2014) to achieve important milestones of successful tourism governance, such as collaboration of stakeholders and reducing inefficient power differences.

As stated in the introduction, the definition of mindset on tourism governance in post-war transition is influenced by Bevir's (2013) definition of governance and the Stability Operations Institute's (2010) definition of post-war transition. Therefore, this study defines mindset in tourism governance as: cognitive worldviews of relevant stakeholders in the processes of governing tourism whether by or in combination with government and network, over a destination, and whether by or in combination with laws, norms, power or other arrangements. Moreover, this is context specific i.e. when the destination is in the process of post-war transition, undergoing a multi-disciplinary

journey of evolution and milestones, to achieve enduring political stability, economic development, and social well-being (Stability Operations Institute, 2010).

Whilst, external reasoning mainly, political and economic have been the focus of tourism development in a transitional context, internal reasoning such as mindset have been widely neglected (Hall, 2008; Stoyanova-Bozhkova, 2011). Even less research has been done in the context of post-war transition, and with consideration of how they influence tourism governance. Although Krutwaysho and Bramwell's (2010) study indicates that people's mindset impacts on tourism policy implementation, they do not specifically refer to how mindset influences tourism governance. Ibu and Nicolau (2010) refer to changing mentalities within the Romanian tourism industry as a necessity to support environmental protection and sustainable tourism development. However, limited literature relating to attitudes was utilised in support of their claims. Stoyanova-Bozhkova's (2011) research is one of the few studies that consider '*mentalities*' in tourism development in transition. Whilst, Stoyanova-Bozhkova's (2011) discussion briefly refers to partially related works on '*mentalities*' in, she (ibid) makes no attempt to define and review literature on this concept. Nonetheless, Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011) finds that achieving democratic objectives in a transitional context can be impeded by the mindset that consists of both: the socialist mindset and the mindset that is influenced by the opportunities of the new democratic approach. While, this is important in a transitional context, Stoyanova-Bozhkova's study (2011) provides brief discussion on '*mentalities*', without adequate consideration of the factors that have formed and influenced mindset by examining in-depth historical reasoning.

The literature review is a direct benefactor of the conceptual framework, including its main focused areas and how they are interconnected. The section below introduces the conceptual framework and its components, whilst discussing its purpose and importance to this research.

3.6. Conceptual framework

The researcher utilised the literature review to help him develop the conceptual framework for this research, which is presented below. The purpose of the conceptual

framework is to use it as a guide to data collection and also to help with the analysis of the data collected. The initital conceptual framework, which focuses on key pillars of tourism governance, mainly institutional arrangements, collaboration, power relations and mindset, is the outcome of the literature review (Bramwell and Lane, 2011; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Hall, 1994; Hall, 2008; Zhao and Timothy, 2015). Hall's (1994) model of 'Policy Environment' focuses mainly on institutional arrangements, power relations and values, which relate to three of four pillars of this conceptual framework, including mindset. Whilst, he (ibid) does not specifically include collaboration as an equal pillar of policy environment, he does indicate the importance of interaction between institutions. The importance of collaboration is however strongly emphasised as a crucial pillar in, both, tourism governance and tourism development literature, by Adiyia *et al* (2015), Bramwell and Lane (2011), Bramwell and Sharman (1999), Hall (2008), Zhao and Timothy (2015).

The initial conceptual framework is used to set the boundaries of the study's scope and guide the design and the execution of the research fieldwork in order to achieve the overall aim and objectives of this study. By using this conceptual framework the research sought to assess the complexities of the political, economic and social environment in post-war transition in the case of Kosova, and to determine how they influence tourism governance. Therefore, this research firstly, aimed to examine political, economic and social post-war transition, before investigating the implications of these conditions for tourism governance. By examining the key issues of post-war transition and their implications for tourism governance, it was intended that clear insights into how tourism governance is challenged by societal issues will be provided. This paved the way for the assessment of how tourism governance is shaped by its institutional arrangements, collaboration, power relations, and stakeholder mindset, in order to develop comprehensive knowledge on this issue.

The study's focus lies with tourism governance, which is emphasised by its central position in the framework presented in Figure 9. The framework depicts the four key domains of (1) 'institutional arrangements', (2) 'collaboration', (3) 'power relations', and (4) 'mindset of stakeholders' that are central to this research on tourism governance. The four domains in this framework are provided as a nested hierarchy

and will not be considered in isolation from each other due to their inextricable interrelations. This interconnectivity is represented in the framework by broken lines separating each domain particularly by the continuous arrow that brings together the domains within the model. This arrow emphasises that the four key domains are envisaged to be simultaneously and continuously incorporated in tourism governance. Tourism governance and its four domains are located inside a circle that represents the wider context of post-war transition in which the study of tourism governance takes place. Particularly, the framework draws attention to the political, economic and social issues of a post-war transitional situation and their influence on tourism governance.

Three recognised dimensions of (post-war) transition: political, economic and social aspects are employed, to understand the processes and changes of post-war transition and their implications to tourism. Political, economic and social issues are changing constantly in the course of transition. The question of change is addressed in this study to evaluate, in a comparative sense what stems from the past and what are current influences on institutional arrangements, collaboration, power relations, as well as the mindset of stakeholders.

Figure 9. Conceptual framework

POST-WAR TRANSITION IN KOSOVA

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

COLLABORATION

ECONOMIC

TOURISM GOVERNANCE

SOCIAL

POWER RELATIONS

MINDSET
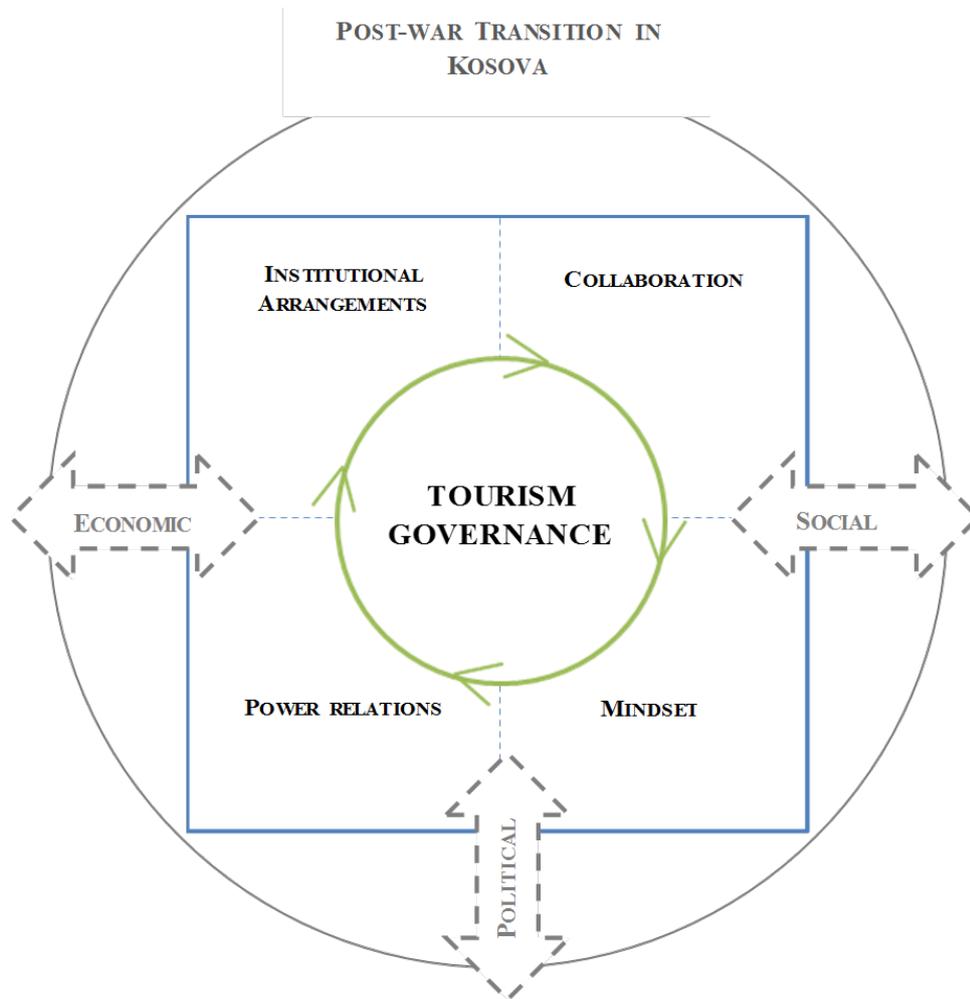
POLITICAL

The *political* dimension of transition and post-war transition has been discussed in various publications (Armstrong and Chura-beaver, 2010; Miller and Martini, 2013; Ramadani, 2015; Turley and Luke's, 2011). *Economic* dimension is also strongly discussed in transition and post-war transition studies (Cojocaru *et al*, 2016; Dana; 2002; Drahokoupil and Myant, 2015; Epstein and Jacoby, 2014; Iwasaki and Suzuki, 2014; Jacoby, 2014; Svejnar, 2013; Swain, 2011). Whilst, *social* dimension is not as strongly represented in transition and post-war transition literature, various authors recognise its importance (Chisholm, 2004; Judt, 2010; Mirkin, 2013; Sisk and Jarstad, 2008; Kreso, 2008; Zalaquett, 2017).

From the *political* dimension of transition, the research will observe the temporal societal shift from socialism to capitalism and the associated changes in approaches to governance. The *economic* dimension requires the research to examine how the attempts at a new style of governance have re-shaped the economic environment. The

social dimension of transition the research will investigate social characteristics deriving from former Yugoslav socialist Kosova and those traits of the new and more neoliberal Kosova. It should be noted that a new theoretical framework shaped by the empirical research findings is presented in the 'Conclusion' chapter of this thesis (Chapter 5).

3.7. Chapter summary

The chapter reviewed the main concepts of this study, namely post-war transition and its implications on the role of tourism, tourism governance and its key pillars of institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations. The concept of mindset was reviewed as a way of understanding it in a post-war transition and in tourism governance.

Three recognised dimensions of (post-war) transition: political, economic and social aspects were employed, to understand the processes and changes. The literature articulated that societies undergoing transition are generally shifting or trying to shift from state-plan to open-market and from hierarchical systems of governing such as socialism and communism towards democratic governance (Elkomy *et al*, 2016). The review recognised a gap in the literature that whilst, political and economic dimensions have been the most prominent of all in the literature of transition (Elkomy *et al*, 2016; McGrattan, 2012), social aspects have received less attention (Miller and Martini, 2013). Transition has become one of the most testing challenges for societies – which are intensified when the 'era of transition' starts with 'the ending of a war' since post-war societies are extremely vulnerable (Armstrong and Chura-Beaver, 2010; UN, 2014).

Political transition is arguably at the forefront, strongly supported by international organisations and agencies, since it should provide the guidance for socio-economic development. Key aspects of economic transition are the establishment of a legal infrastructure and privatisation of state-assets, in order to encourage economic dynamism. Castillo and Phelps (2017:1) point out that economic and social development are strongly linked, and both need to be achieved 'hand-in-hand', otherwise *"national reconciliation will likely prove impossible"*. Social stability in post-

war countries, under-going transition is strongly endangered due to on-going hostility between ethnic groups and identity crises and vulnerable socio-economic structures resulting, for example, from a weak educational system. Furthermore, implementing steps towards ensuring human rights such as freedom of speech, are equipped with difficulties and complexities, and require democratic awareness and understanding of society.

The implications of post-war transition on the role of tourism are manifold, mainly resulting from war, such as unattractive destination image, and political, economic and social conditions in post-war transition. Whilst political and economic issues are discussed in literature of post-war tourism, social issues affecting tourism and tourism governance in a post-war transition are not explored nearly as equally.

Literature on tourism governance was reviewed in relation to understanding what governance means, before reviewing tourism governance and the key pillars of tourism governance, namely, institutional arrangements, collaboration, and power relations.

In this thesis 'governance' is specifically conceptualised as a process or action and governing actions are different from government, because they convey different meaning. The type of governance is identified as a differentiating factor when considering governance in a post-war transitional context as in this research. As societies experience transition from socialism to democracy, changes of both structure (government) and processes (governance) are acknowledged to occur.

In tourism governance literature, many studies focus on government involvement, and/ or more widely, stakeholder participation and power relations. Despite the wide interest in studying tourism governance, research on tourism governance in post-war and transitional contexts remains limited (Novelli *et al*, 2012). Many authors focus on certain dimensions of governance to examine tourism governance. Hall's (1994) model of governance is based on institutional arrangements, power relations and collaboration to a degree to understand tourism governance. This research also focuses on these three pillars to examine tourism governance in post-war transition. The pillar of institutional arrangement was employed in this research, because

institutions play a crucial role in tourism development, since they are the 'decision-makers', provide resources and coordinate tourism stakeholders (e.g. Bianchi, 2009; Bramwell and Lane, 2011; Lapeyre, 2011).

Three key issues have emerged in relation to institutional arrangement:

- The 'appropriateness' of institutions is important since an overly complex structure; might impede successful tourism governance (e.g. Causevic and Lynch, 2013);
- In a transitional context, institutions and responsibilities need to be redefined, in order to reflect the changing tourism economy (e.g. Williams and Balaz, 2005; Zhao and Timothy, 2015);
- The government takes a crucial role in providing the resources and guiding tourism stakeholders in order to successfully develop tourism (e.g. Bramwell, 2011; Bramwell and Alletorp, 2001, Ruhanen, 2013), particularly, in post-war countries, since tourism infrastructures have been largely destroyed and need rebuilding.

Collaboration in this chapter was considered as *"a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders"* in tourism (Jamal and Getz, 1995:188). Stakeholder theory was introduced as a model to examine collaboration, mainly in order to measure and understand motives of stakeholders in getting involved in collaborative efforts in tourism governance (e.g. Bridoux *et al,* 2011). These motives can be distinguished between the' self-regarding individualist' and the 'reciprocal consensus oriented stakeholder' (e.g. Fehr and Falk, 2002). Accordingly, the level of collaboration depends on the motives and might suffer with a dominance of 'self-regarding individualist' and a history of conflict, division and mistrust among stakeholders (e.g. Ansell and Gash, 2008; Causevic and Lynch, 2013; Stoyanova-Bozhkova, 2011).

The literature review on power relations found that they play an important role in tourism governance. Particularly, power imbalances in the processes and outcomes were identified in the literature related to policy and planning in tourism (e.g. Adiiya, 2015; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010; Zhao and Timothy,

2015). Power imbalances result from various sources, for example, politically supported or weakened through institutional arrangements (e.g. Adiiya, 2015; Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010; Zhao and Timothy, 2015) or economic strengths (e.g. Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). In a transitional context, this chapter indicated that power relations in tourism governance might reflect the past (e.g. Bramwell and Meyer, 2007) and illegitimate purposes (e.g. Stoyanova-Bozskova, 2011, Yasarata *et al*, 2010). Yasarata *et al* (2010) emphasise that politicisation of processes might be the main reason for unsuccessful (sustainable) tourism development; although research has widely remained silent about these practices. Overall, research on power relations in tourism has been criticised for insufficiently conceptualising power, for example through making use of Lukes (1974, 2005) dimensions of power (Church and Coles, 2007).

The literature review lastly focused on issues related to 'mindset' in tourism governance to understand mindset in this research. It was emphasised that moving from one state system to another requires a transition of people's mindset, since people's behaviour is the main driver of change. If the transition is not supported by people, because they remain in their 'old mindset', it is unlikely that transition process will be successful. Finally, this section explored if and how the issue of 'mindset' has been considered in research on tourism governance. It was found that the topic has received little attention in tourism research so far. Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gap and contribute to knowledge on 'mindset' in post-war transition and its influence on tourism governance in this context.

By reviewing the literature, the researcher was able to compose the conceptual framework introduced in this chapter, which serves as a focused guide to achieving this research. This framework is intended to guide the research design and to conduct the fieldwork as well as to help with the analysis of the results.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides insights into the research location, namely Kosova, and the research methodology. It begins by presenting some key characteristics about the case of Kosova, before outlining Kosova's political, economic and social conditions during different historical phases and the current challenges that the country is faced with. This is followed by an outline of tourism in pre-war and post-war transitional Kosova, specifically focusing on the current characteristics of tourism. The provision of details about the background to the study will provide a geographic, political, economic and social context, which will facilitate the reader's understanding of the complexity of issues relating to tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova.

Thereupon, the research methodology is discussed. Firstly, I provide insight on the philosophical underpinning and qualitative methodology employed in this research, particularly, emphasising the importance of this approach in order to gain access to research participants' views. The chosen research method and sampling technique are then outlined. The next section discusses data collection, and particularly, presents critical reflections. This is followed by an outline of the strategy that was employed to analyse data, before considering the ethical steps that have been undertaken to ensure the anonymity of the participants and for the participants to gain trust as an academic researcher. The chapter closes with a summary of the key issues discussed.

4.2. Philosophical perspective

4.2.1. Ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions

Research philosophy in tourism literature is typically classified into three paradigms: positivism and post-positivism; interpretivism; constructionism and critical theory (Tribe, 2008). This research on tourism governance in post-war transition is carried out and examined from an interpretivist perspective. Schwandt (2000: 197) asserts that interpretive social science perspectives reflect that:

> *"humans do not find or discover knowledge so much as we construct or make it. We invent concepts, models and schemes to make sense of the experience, and we continually test and modify these constructions in the light of new*

experience. Furthermore, there is an inevitable historical and sociocultural dimension to this construction. We do not construct our interpretations in isolation but against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices, languages and so forth".

In this quote, Schwandt (2000) highlights, that interpretivism is linked to consensus theory of truth, in that knowledge is a product of social agreement between those, who exist in a particular setting. Similarly, Johnson and Duberley (2013:73) argue that "*Truth is attached to a set of beliefs that have managed to prevail in a particular social context".* This study develops knowledge of tourism governance in post-war transition through multi research participants' views. It acknowledges that some accounts of the participants' views may not be true realities of the setting because of the possibility of 'false consciousness' or limited engagement.

This research makes objective ontological assumptions, in that reality is existent and interpreted through social engagement, shared experience and understanding of subjects, thus it has a subjective epistemology. Interacting and engaging with research participants during the interviews and leading the discussions the researcher did not consider himself as being passive, neutral and objective in the process of observation, rather his axiological assumptions are of an *"active social agent conducting a value-laden enterprise in a particular historical context"* (Johnson and Duberley, 2013:62). The axiological issue of the value-laden nature have been acknowledged in this research, together with how the researcher's values have influenced his judgement as a researcher when conducting the research and interpreting the data. The interpretation of the results is influenced by his sociocultural and historical background related to the research location, including practices related to customs and language. As Cole *et al* (2011:142) articulated it that *"no research can be free from the taint of the researchers own knowledge, understanding and assumptions, and neither can the reader consult the data except through their own subjectivity".* However, measures were taken throughout to ensure bias interpretation is minimised and does not fault the authenticity of this research, by having three other academics that have no connection with Kosova read this thesis. They provided feedback and recommendation whenever unconstructive bias explanation or interpretation was evident.

In order to make sense of the interviewees' worldviews, the researcher aimed to establish means of interpreting the messages of the participants. This is done by evaluating the political, economic and social dimensions of the research setting to construct the discussion and, by considering historical trends to justify the transition journey 'from-to'. This is examined against the backdrop of stakeholder mindset in order to understand the socio-psychological context of the issues discussed in the interviews. Since this study is tasked to interpret the results of tourism governance in post-war transition using the interviewees' perceptions and seeks to evaluate mindset, whilst being influenced by sociocultural practices and norms, it means it cannot be carried out by using a positivist paradigm. The research is likewise, not seeking emancipatory outcomes in society since it does not interrogate the 'is' in terms of the 'ought' and does not aim to change the realities of the interviewees or of society in the future, therefore rejecting critical theory or constructionism. The study does, however; aim to provide counsel and knowledge to those individuals or groups that may find them useful.

4.2.2. Personal background and familiarity

To underline the researcher's philosophical assumptions, his personal background is briefly explained that has undoubtedly shaped his worldviews. He will also explain how his subjectivities were managed. It is of value to know his previous familiarity with the research setting and his pre-knowledge regarding the issue that he researched for this study. The researcher was born and lived the first fourteen years of his life in Kosova, until he arrived in the UK in 1999 following a United Nations refugee programme to settle down the displaced Kosova war refugees. Since arriving in the UK and completing his earlier education, he enrolled to study for a degree in tourism management at Sheffield Hallam University where he was first encouraged to conduct his final year dissertation on the image of Kosova. This topic left a mark on him and thus, he wanted to continue further; so he completed his MSc dissertation on the challenges of tourism development in post-war Kosova where he carried out 15 interviews with various participants in Kosova that later helped hin to widen his network for conducting this PhD research. It was during the MSc research in Kosova that he first heard the term 'transitional mindset' in some of the interviews. Subsequently, for the PhD research he wanted to examine how stakeholder mindset

amongst other issues, shape tourism governance in a post-war transition, utilising Kosova, once again as a research setting. It became his desire to undertake research with regards to how factors such as mindset and post-war transitional environment shape tourism governance. He was aware that it was not only an issue in this research setting but also in other geographical regions considered by researchers such as Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011) and Causevic (2009), but it continues to remain an undeveloped area of research in tourism.

The position of the researcher in this study was reflected upon at various stages of the research process. Familiarity with the geographical case context existed (see Chapter 1) and the researcher was conscious of a need to acknowledge and manage (where possible) his subjectivity. One way to address this was to actively seek to enable the voices of interviewees to be heard through use of an interpretivist approach and semi-structured interviews that were conducted flexibly (see section 4.7). The interview data was analysed using an established approach to reduce subjectivity in data interpretation (Robson's 2011 five-step data analysis - see section 4.8).

Being an insider, having lived in Kosova during the war, actually helped the researcher to understand the potential ethics associated with the topic area from the perspectives of the interviewees. He was able to assume many of the sensitivities around the potential ethics associated with post-war transition as there was a shared understanding between the researcher and the interviewees. This enabled the research to be designed as implicitly ethically sensitive from the Kosovar perspective. It should also be emphasised that the focus of the research was not on personal experiences of war but on businesses and economic sectors (see Chapter 1).

4.3. Methodological approach

The methodological approach to the research is qualitative. In seeking to address the research issue, subject matters were developed by the literature to formulate the conceptual framework. The compilation of the framework ensured that the research is focused on particular matters of tourism governance in post-war transitional context. These include, 'institutional arrangement', 'collaboration' and 'power relations' of

relevant stakeholders and the role of 'mindset'. It is important to note that the conceptual framework is not intended for testing, it simply aims to frame the development of knowledge, which will be obtained inductively. As such, the purpose of constructing a conceptual framework prior to fieldwork was not to develop a 'definitive concept' but instead to use what Blumer (1954: 7) calls a *"sensitizing concept"* as a point of reference and a guideline when approaching the empirical world. Put simply, the conceptual framework provides a sense of direction in which to explore the variety of issues, whilst being open to new themes arising in the research. Conducting this research inductively has the advantage of gaining access to sensitive topics, such as 'power and politics' that are often shielded with secrecy and controversy (Johnson and Clark, 2006). Reviewing the literature improved the consciousness that institutional arrangement, collaboration and power relations and stakeholder mindset may be enigmatic in post-war transition, hence the interest and challenges in researching those areas. The process of the research analysis involved generating a theory grounded in observation from data collected through a series of discussions in the empirical world (Johnson and Duberley, 2013).

The research utilises a qualitative methodology in knowledge seeking and knowledge sense-making, which is underpinned by an interpretivist perspective. Qualitative research is being considered more acceptable than ever before within the mainstream of tourism research since the thinking of researchers is changing in how they view the social world, while becoming more interested in understanding the philosophical paradigms that underpin their knowledge creation (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). This study recognises that qualitative research enables knowledge production about *"activities, events, occurrences, and behaviours and seeks an understanding of actions, problems, and processes in their social context"* (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004: 3).

Qualitative research is defined by Strauss and Corbin (1998: 11) as *"any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification".* Qualitative research does not involve statistical procedures to carry out the research nor to analyse and discuss the findings, therefore embracing a philosophical position that is different from the positivist standpoint of seeking truth. Gill and Johnson, (2010: 148) assert that this leads to a different perspective from what

is known in the natural sciences, to explaining human behaviour and *"why people do things that they do in various social contexts".* A qualitative methodology enables the evaluation of the interviewees' perspectives of the setting they are a part of, including its social and cultural implications by exploring the meanings of the issues they brought to the discussion. Therefore, it has allowed this research access to the interviewees' realities in exploring their worldviews and responses to tourism governance in the context of post-war transition in Kosova. This enables the analysis of stakeholder mindset in order to evaluate psychological reasoning of why things happen in this social context in the way that they do.

It was decided that the primary research will be carried out in Kosova, because the setting itself provides a unique context (Saunders *et al*, 2009) due to its distinctive historic and contemporary complexities impacting its transition journey and ultimately its tourism governance. This was reinforced by the familiarity of the researcher with Kosova, which made it a suitable location for this research. Secondly, it enabled the examination of an issue that remains relatively recent, which is tourism governance in post-war transition with an evaluation of mindset to give socio-psychological meaning to the issues in hand. It is believed that the most effective way of examining how and why people behave in a certain way towards issues in their social surroundings is by seeking access to their *"internal culturally derived logics"* in order to make knowledge intelligible (Darabi and Clark, 2013: 109).

It was crucial to apply a qualitative methodology, as it allowed access to sensitive topics such as power relations and to discuss with interviewees the influence of mindset on the situation in question. The research was restricted by various trust issues on a number of occasions, because of the researcher's ethnic background, language and customs being the same as the interviewees'. His familiarity with the research location became a problem of trust rather than an aide, a contrasting observation to the widespread claim that *"correlation between familiarity and trust has been explored and proved by many studies from different perspectives"* (Zhang and Ghorbani, 2004:1)*.* Some of the reasons the participants were hesitant to open up at first were that they suspected that he may either be a government agent trying to get them into trouble, someone close to their political rivals or simply someone trying to

take advantage of their information for personal gain. Gaining trust is more difficult in traditional societies, due to a history of mistrust (Guillemin, 2014); thus, human interaction is managed with suspicion.

The trust of the suspicious interviewees was gained when they understood that this research had no connection with the institutions they work for or the people in their line of work. Most importantly, some of the public-sector interviewees felt insecure about providing information in case his professional progression would threaten their position in the near future. To overcome this liability, it was implied from the outset that the researcher's career plans do not reside in their environment and therefore, he was not competing with them. He conducted the research as a 'semi-outsider', because of his Kosovar roots but with no particular interest in ill-treating the openness and the trust of the participants for personal advantage at the expense of theirs. Such a position licensed him to gain access to their feelings, emotions and untold stories about delicate issues that would not have been so readily available in such individualist 'every person for themselves' mindset had the methodological approach been different.

4.4. Research methods

Personal face-to-face interviews have been used in this qualitative study to collect data on tourism governance (Saunders *et al*, 2012). Interviews were conducted in Albanian and translated into English. Qualitative research using interviews seeks in-depth understanding of a phenomenon being studied, in this case tourism governance through institutional arrangements, collaboration, and power relations and stakeholder mindset in a post-war transition. It is concerned with giving meaning to the concept of tourism governance through individual views based on individual experience (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006). It is not concerned with quantitative information or seeking to test hypotheses. It was necessary that the type of interviews used in this research enabled personal engagement to allow uninterrupted discussion of complex issues such as mindset. Some individuals may be reluctant to discuss delicate issues over the phone or via other non-personal engagement methods with a stranger. The decision to use face-to-face interviews was therefore to try to minimise the risk of unproductive efforts. Such situations could be lessened in face-to-face

conversations because the interviewees would open-up or ask for clarification more naturally than if the interview was conducted from a distance. It is important to note that attempts were made to communicate with several potential interviewees via e-mails to organise Skype sessions with them with no success because the individuals in question did not respond to the emails. The researcher was told by one of the interviewees, (MP.1) not to consider e-mail or Skype routes because it is difficult to get hold of people that way as:

> *"Some are negligent at times or not used to e-meetings. The way people respond most positively in this society is if you went to meet them in person, get hold of their business cards from associates or from other contacts and call them, explain what you need and they will be happy to meet with you. But, if you email them and ask to meet them on Skype you can forget it, they'll never get back to you, no matter in what profession they're in"*

The types of interviews used in this research are semi-structured, where a set of themes with indicating questions were organised prior to the fieldwork to help with focus. The themes and questions were not fixed but intended as a guide to ensure the interviews do not deviate into something fruitless. The interview process therefore had appropriate flexibility to allow new themes or issues to arise, based on what the interviewees felt was important. This flexibility enabled additional questions to probe new discussion matters. Therefore, depending on the background and experience of the individual being interviewed the direction of the discussion varied from interview to interview (Saunders *et al*, 2009) whilst being within the boundaries of the research interests and focus. The order of the themes discussed was not always the same. The researcher accommodated the natural course of the discussion with each interviewee in order to enable fluidity. So, if they naturally started discussing for example; 'topic C' before covering 'topic B' then this was permissible. The researcher was conscious that semi-structured style interviews can influence reliability of data (Easterby-Smith *et al*, 2008), but was more concerned with understanding how they view and interpret tourism governance in post-war transition from their own perspective than maintaining an ordered schedule.

The nature of the themes and questions in the interviews required that data needed to be audio-recorded so the discussion would develop as a social conversation between

two people, with one being interested in what the other has to say. Key follow-up words or questions were noted to remind the researcher to return to that topic again during the interview. This pre-determined that the most appropriate method would be participant interview style where, the researcher led the discussion by introducing themes and questions and the interviewee responded (Easterby-Smith *et al*, 2008). The interviews were designed for one-to-one discussion in order to allow each participant space and comfort to discuss the themes in as much depth as they felt necessary and more importantly to cover issues that they felt were important but may not necessarily have mentioned if another associate or individual was being interviewed at the same time.

It was important to be aware of practical techniques that would help the researcher during the interviews because the topics of the research focus were not always answered directly by all interviewees; therefore, different ways were considered of how to simplify words or rephrase questions. The advantage of speaking fluent Albanian was significant in this research. Follow-up questions were modelled as probes to encourage the expansion of ideas deemed important for the research. Investigative techniques of non-verbal probes such as non-facial-expressive nodding, eye-contact and waiting for specifics were also applied to encourage expansion at times when interviewees were hesitant to elaborate or continue further on a particularly sensitive issue. The interview questions were designed to result in open answers. Key discussion points were regularly summarised to ensure accurate and informative understanding.

Finding a comfortable environment to conduct the interviews was crucial to ensure the interviewee is stress-free to discuss issues around tourism governance, transition and the war of the 1990s in Kosova. A relaxed environment was also important to achieve informative and detailed interviews. However, in practice this was not always possible and at times one aspect was sacrificed to achieve another. So, some interviewees would ask for the interview to be conducted in their office because they wanted to be in their own comfortable space but then the interview was sometimes not expansive enough because colleagues kept popping in to ask questions or to say "hello" and thus, they did not feel comfortable discussing sensitive issues freely, in case someone heard them. One government official grabbed the dictaphone and placed it nearer to his lips,

so that he does not need to say things out loud. After realising the circumstances, the researcher suggested that they go off premises into a local café where the interview was then conducted more comfortably. However, public places meant loud noises at times but it was the best option since more interviewees felt comfortable when being interviewed outside of their working environment. The dictaphone had a background noise limitation facility, so this problem was minimised.

4.5. Sampling

This research was conducted using a non-probability sampling technique because a complete list of possible tourism stakeholders did not exist in the research setting; hence non-probability sampling was adopted (Saunders and Lewis, 2012). Two main sampling techniques were employed: purposive and snowball sampling. According to Morrow (2005), qualitative research is always purposeful, in order to provide information research data. Initially, it was applied using personal judgement of who would be best able to help answer the research questions (Saunders and Lewis, 2012). There was a fairly established network with potential participants from previous academic research and conventions prior to this PhD research, which enabled the research process to commence without having to spend time or resources identifying those individuals. The initial established network included individuals from the national government, industry operators and associations. The established network in those three sectors was beneficial in two ways. Firstly, to get a sense of the views of the participants from the government sector, the private sector and associations on the themes discussed in interviews. Secondly, having established contacts with members from the three sectors, it provided the platform to widen the network of potential interviewees, using snowball sampling, by asking the interviewees to provide access to their own networks (Saunders and Lewis, 2012) in their line of work or beyond.

The table below is a list of all 56 interviewees that participated in this research. The Figure 10 provides their anonymised name, their position and their respected sectors they operate and their experience in their sector.

Figure 10. Sampling

Name	Position	Sector	Experience in sector
MP.1	MP	Public sector	11 YEARS
MP.2	MP	Public sector	12 YEARS
ICS.1	Head of a department at a ministry	Public Sector	22 YEARS
Civil.Servant.1	Director	Public Sector	9 YEARS
Civil.Servant.2	Director	Public sector	11 YEARS
Civil.Servant.3	Senior Official at a ministry	Public sector	9 YEARS
Civil.Servant.4	Head of Culture, Youth and Sport at Local Level	Public sector	3 Years
Civil.Servant.5	Department Director at a ministry	Public sector	11 YEARS
Civil.Servant.6	Business Inspector/ Tour Guide	Public/Private	13 YEARS
Civil.Servant.7	Senior Offical at local government level	Public sector	26 YEARS
Civil.Servant.8	Senior Official at a ministry	Public sector	4 YEARS
Civil.Servant.9	Director at local government level	Public sector / Local government level	7 YEARS
Civil.Servant.10	Senior Official at a ministry	Public sector/ central government	8 YEARS
Civil.Servant.11	Judge	Public sector/ municipality level	3 YEARS
Civil.Servant.12	Director at local government level	Public sector/ local government level	2 YEARS
Civil.Servant.13	Director at a ministry	Public sector /government	12 YEARS
Civil.Servant.14	Business inspector	Public sector	4 YEARS
Civil.Servant.15	Deputy Minister	Public sector / Local government level	29 YEARS
Civil.Servant.16	Director at a ministry	Public sector/ NGO	13 YEARS
Civil.Servant.17	Deputy Minister	Public sector/ government level	13 YEARS
T.industry.1	CEO	Private sector	12 YEARS
T.industry.2	Sales Manager	Private sector	8 YEARS

T.industry.3	Owner/ Director	Private sector/ NGO	29 YEARS
T.industry.4	Hotel Manager in the former Yugoslavia	Private sector	36 YEARS
T.industry.5	Marketing Manager in the former Yugoslavia and in post-war Kosova	Private sector	27 YEARS
T.industry.6	Business Owner in post-war Kosova / Tourism professional in the former Yugoslavia	Private sector	33 YEARS
T.industry.7	Founder/ Director	Private sector	25 YEARS
T.industry.8	Owner	Private sector	28 YEARS
T.industry.9	Tour guide / Front Desk Manager	Private sector	12 YEARS
T.industry.10	Tour guide	Private sector	12 YEARS
T.industry.11	Events Manager in the former Yugoslavia	Public sector / U.S. Government agency	9 YEARS
T.industry.12	Manager	Private sector	4 YEARS
Tourism.Association.1	Director/Founder	NGO	6 YEARS
Tourism.Association.2	Director/Founder	NGO	4 YEARS
Tourism.Association.3	Director/Founder	NGO	7 YEARS
Tourism.Association.4	Deputy Director	NGO	6 YEARS
Tourism.Association.5	Manager	NGO	10 YEARS
Tourism.Association.6	Co-Founder	NGO	4 YEARS
Tourism.Association.7	Founder/ Director	NGO	4 YEARS
Tourism.Association.8	Co-worker	NGO	2 YEARS
Tourism.Association.9	Founder	NGO	23 YEARS
Tourism.Association.10	Founder/ Director	NGO	13 YEARS
Public.Association.1	Director / Former First Advisor of the state leadership	NGO	11 YEARS
Public.Association.2	Kosovo Branch Director	NGO	5 YEARS

Public.Association.3	Director	NGO / Public sector	9 YEARS
Public.Association.4	Kosovo Branch Director	NGO	5 YEARS
Public.Association.5	President	NGO	11 YEARS
Public.Association.6	Board member	NGO	13 YEARS
Public.Association.7	Vice-President	NGO	24 YEARS
IDA.1	Project Manager	NGO / Public sector	7 YEARS
IDA.2	Project Manager	NGO / Public sector	8 YEARS
IDA.3	Field Coordinator	NGO	2 YEARS
Academic.1	Writer (Albanian history)	Public/Private	43 YEARS
Academic.2	Writer (Albanian history and politics)	Public/Private	38 YEARS
Journalist.1	National newspaper	Private sector	12 YEARS
Journalist.2	TV Journalist	Public sector	23 YEARS

Gerson and Horowits (2002) argue against the use of snowball sampling because it invites a form of bias into the research and condenses the degree of generalisability. King and Horrocks (2010) further assert that snowball sampling is no more than a form of convenience sampling, which does not necessarily target appropriate recruits. While, it is acknowledged that biased elements can reduce generalisability, the type of snowball sampling in this research cannot be compared to convenience sampling. This is because snowball sampling was the best option to ensure that personnel in key positions were not missed out for two reasons. Firstly, in this particular setting, it is unusual to see individuals conducting exhaustive research for academic purposes, whether via clipboard or interviews. The perception in this particular society is that people do research for news or for the government; so, unless they trust you or you meet them through a snowballing approach then they will be hesitant to participate or to 'open up' due to concerns over getting into a misfortune.

Langdridge (2004) and Howitt and Cramer (2005) support the use of snowball sampling, especially when the potential recruits are difficult to access, as was the case in this research, especially for gaining access to government officials. Secondly, for example, access was needed to all tourism government officials, but only one of them was an existing contact. This individual was used to gain access to the others. So, it was purposive snowball sampling in a sense that the researcher knew that access was needed to the members of the tourism department within the government, but he was not aware who they were so that individual enabled him to access the others. This approach also supports the view that access to individuals from relevant government institutions, private sector organisations, voluntary associations and international donor agencies was purposely pursued. This was necessary in order to achieve the criterion of diversity in experience and to have access to different worldviews and meaningful variances.

A snowballing technique gave interviewees a sense of inspiration to help the research, by encouraging the researcher to tell new contacts that it was he/she who recommended them for an interview, in order to increase participation. King and Horrocks (2011) believe that using such insiders can be a notable advantage because the request or recommendation to participate in something is made by a known and trusted colleague, thereby increasing positive responses. The researcher was aware that relying only on such occurrences could increase the risk of resulting in a homogeneous sample; hence, why approaching other individuals, was important. It is essential to note that such insiders were only used to identify potential recruits, whereas the contact was at all times initiated by the researcher directly with the individuals, and meetings were organised at their own accord. However, asking interviewees for support to identify further potential participants provided a safety cushion that minimised refusals because as one of the 'insiders' put it: *"culturally, once recommended by an associate you are more likely to participate; it's a thing of honour".* This helped speed the process of engagement and ensured that the researcher was not a stranger among potential participants but an acquaintance.

Furthermore, in several cases individuals were recommended by interviewees who were naturally rivals in their line of work but did so at the researcher's request to help

increase a variety of views in the research. For ulterior reasons, the researcher believes such gestures also served their personal motives because showing a sign of respect for their rivals by recommending them as a source of know-how helped improve their relations, which in most cases was received in kind, resulting in a higher number of interviews. Therefore, the researcher is confident that the interviewees represent a heterogeneous sample of participants.

The research is cross-sectional in nature, focusing on contemporary issues, largely because of the constraints imposed by the PhD programme. This is often labelled a 'snapshot' of events (Yin, 2012), but this study takes into consideration the past and how it influences the present situation. Changes and difficulties taking place under transition are evaluated from political, economic and social perspectives. The views of relevant tourism stakeholders and their responses to tourism governance, collaboration etc. are discussed, whilst evaluating their mindset based on their behaviour towards issues discussed in the interviews. Interviewees' perspectives on the issues of mindset of the overall society are also evaluated in this particular context.

4.6. Data collection

4.6.1. Primary data

Primary data was collected from June to September, 2013. Data collection entailed conducting 56 semi-structured interviews with participants from different sectors, all of which were voice recorded.

Semi-structured interviewing is heavily applied in tourism research (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). As well as proving guidance to inexperienced researchers, semi-structured interviewing allows flexibility in probing follow-up questions and ensuring in-depth discussion of issues (Bryman, 2004). Pastras (2012) notes that semi-structured interviews are appropriate for interviewing individuals from a variety of sectors, e.g. the government or private sector, where issues of tourism development are often perceived differently, as the more diverse the perspectives are the more breadth it provides. This way, the researcher is able to determine whether the views

are personal reflections or represent some form of consensus within the sector they derive from, which is supported by Dredge and Thomas (2009).

The research topics of the semi-structured interviews were guided by the research objectives, which, in turn, were developed with the aid of the literature review. Figure 11 presents a brief summary of the topics and questions that guided the conduct of the interviews in the fieldwork.

Figure 11. Interview questions in each research topic

Topic 1: Tourism governance

- Can you compare the governance system before and after the war? Is there a change?
- Can you compare the pre-and-post-war influence of the government/ associations/ private sector/ IDA/ local governments?
- Why was/is it like this? What were/are the influential factors?
- How should the influence of the government/ associations/ private sector/ IDA/ local governments change in future?

Topic 2: Tourism institutional arrangements

- Can you compare institutional arrangements among relevant tourism stakeholders before and after the war? Is there a change?
- Why was/is it like this? What were/are the influential factors?
- *Can you compare pre- and post-war institutional arrangements with regards to their efficiency/outcome in driving tourism forward?*
- What needs to change in terms of institutional arrangements in order to drive tourism forward successfully?

Topic 3: Collaboration

- Can you compare how stakeholders worked together before and after the war? What influenced the way stakeholders worked together?
- Can you compare how stakeholders worked together with regards to their efficiency/outcome in driving tourism forward?
- Why was/is it like this? What were/are the influential factors?
- What needs to change in terms of working together to drive tourism forward successfully?

Topic 4: Power Relations

- Can you compare the dominance of stakeholders before and after the war? Is there a change? How has it changed?
- Can you compare pre-and-post-war dominance of stakeholders with regards to their efficiency/outcome in driving tourism forward? What did/ does

> (didn't/ doesn't) go well?
> - Why was/is it like this? What were/are the influential factors?
> - What needs to change in future to drive tourism forward successfully?
>
> **Topic 5: Tourism Stakeholder mindset and the mindset in society**
>
> - Can you compare thinking and attitudes of tourism stakeholders before and after the war? Is there a change? How has it changed?
> - Can you compare how thinking and attitudes influenced/ influences the processes of tourism governance and why?
> - Why was/is it like this? What were/are the influential factors?
> - What do you think needs to change in thinking and attitudes in future to drive tourism forward?

4.6.2. Secondary data

With regards to secondary data, documents such as reports from international and national organisations have been mainly utilised to enhance the context of Kosova as a research location, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Secondary data was employed to provide background information on Kosova's history, and its current political, economic and social situation. Documents relating to Kosova's tourism development have not been centrally referred to by the research interviewees during the interviews apart from the tourism legislation, and the tourism policy. The reasons why many interviewees did not refer strongly to documents were because the tourism legislation was only made public during the data collection period so, was not being implemented at the time. As a result, not many of the interviewees had considerable knowledge about the document, and the tourism policy remains invalidated. Generally, many documents belonging to this post-war transitional country are withheld in Serbia and are being used by its government as a bargaining tool in the bilateral dialogue. The ones that have been drafted have not been officially approved by the parliament, and the ones that have been ratified are not implemented. As a result, not all that is written is practiced and vice versa (Hall and Rist, 1999).

4.6.3. Reflections on data collection

The interview design of themes and questions was nine pages long when the first pilot interview was conducted. It became evident after the first interview, that it was too lengthy and needed to be considerably shorter because some of the questions were phrased differently but had similar meaning and some others were not as relevant as

first thought, so they were taken out or combined with others. The interview design was shortened to three pages long, and whilst the number of themes remained the same (6 themes), the number of questions reduced, with each theme consisting of only five to six questions, plus probing questions. Probing for thorough discussion of issues became a productive tool (Jordan and Gibson, 2004 and Rubin and Rubin, 1995), since it served to gather sensitive information at times when interviewees were tentative to begin with. However, interviewees quickly opened up. The researcher was reminded by several of them that they did not feel insecure in revealing their experiences because of his non-affiliation with any specific sector in Kosova, combined with the knowledge that their accounts would be for academic research purpose only. Listening to the interview recordings helped him to develop informed probing questions for subsequent interviews.

All interviewees agreed to the interviews being tape-recorded. Some of them even asked that their names can be used next to their quotations, even for politically or socially sensitive issues. However, they were informed that all interviewees would be anonymised and coded when referred to. They felt that their quotes were strong, shrewd and accurate so they wanted people to know that it was them who had said them. Three interviewees from the public sector out of the 56 interviewees in total asked for a transcript of the interview. They reassured the researcher that this was not to verify what they had said but they felt that the discussion was so informative that they too learned a lot from their own reflections and would like to refer to them in the future. One of the three interviewees Civil.Servant.13 reflected that *"the topics and the questions opened another avenue of my understanding about situations I did not know I knew".*

The interview themes and questions were intended to be the same for all interviewees. One section of the interview, however, was designed specifically for each sector. For example, when an interviewee was from the NGO sector or from the private sector the researcher would ask questions relating to how they perceive their sector and how their organisation influences or is involved in tourism governance. This was naively designed so that they would only be asked to provide views on what they are involved with personally, since they know best. However, it quickly became apparent in the

pilot process during the first three interviews that everyone was very positive about the impact their organisation and their sector have on tourism governance but would hint at being very critical of the other sectors of tourism. The researcher then, altered the approach slightly and asked the same questions about all sectors because only then was he able to collect data across the board from different sector points of view, rather than only from within a sector. With this, he was able to view comprehensively where the problems lay, how the government, the NGO, the private sector and the international agencies perceive their own responsibilities and liabilities and how they perceive each other's. This provided rich information in understanding the issues relating to institutional arrangements, collaboration amongst them, and how power relations and politics influence the overall tourism governance. It also made the researcher aware of mindset issues that were central to the problems.

Out of the 56 interviews, 10 lasted between 30 minutes to 58 minutes and the rest of the interviews lasted between one hour to three and half hours long. It is important to note that in the researcher's experience, the longer the interviews were the more revealing they were, driving a number of probing questions as the interviewees provided detailed and diverse elucidations. The shorter interviews, especially, the thirty minute ones normally provided brief accounts, which lacked breadth. The reasons for having shorter interviews varied from limited experiences of the interviewees and restricted awareness of the themes discussed in the interview, to intentional avoidance of discussing certain issues. Nevertheless, the interviews were very productive and informative.

Organising the interviews was challenging, because the interviewees did not always turn up to the interview that they agreed to in advance. More often than not, they would not cancel or inform the researcher that they would not be able to attend. In several cases, the researcher waited for half an hour for the interviewee to turn up because it is a custom in Kosova that being half an hour or an hour late for a meeting is normal so he tried to be patient and accept the norm. He then would ring them to ask if they would meet as planned and in several cases, they confessed to forgetting about the meeting and on three occasions they answered and said they were on holiday outside the country. To overcome this issue, the researcher was advised that he should

not rely on organising the interviews in advance but instead he should call and ask them if they could meet straight away or later in the day, or even turn up to their offices because that is the most efficient way to get people to see you. Such approaches proved to be effective as the researcher was getting more interviews done and the interviewees appreciated such efficiency since they felt they did not need to involve administrative procedures to organise a meeting in advance in case they could not make it.

The data collection process comprised two stages: the networking stage and the interviewing stage. In order to be able to network with a wider variety of tourism related stakeholders the researcher decided to work as a volunteer adviser to one of the national tourism associations. As a result, he participated in several of their meetings. The first two meetings were with municipality leaders of Kosova's capital city, Prishtina. The meetings were to seek financial support for the association to establish the first ever Tourist Information Office (TIC) in the capital. In these meetings, he acted as a minute taker. The support was not provided because local authorities were preparing for local elections in the summer 2013, and they promised that if they were to win the elections, (which everyone thought of as a given) then they would provide the support. However, they lost the elections and the support was not provided by the new local government. The TIC was established with the associations' own finances but only stayed open for six months because of high expenses. This was a useful experience as it gave him some insight in how to approach and discuss issues with government officials and extend his network. These efforts awarded him with an interview with one of the officials.

During the same period, he participated in two short meetings with United States Aid for International Development (USAID) and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GmbH (German Society for International Cooperation, Ltd), (GIZ). The purpose of the meetings was the same, to seek aid for running the TIC. One of the organisations aided the TIC with business equipment and the other provided some small finance to purchase electronic devises for administration purposes. The resarcher carried out two interviews, one with each agency afterwards. The experience was educational, especially when comparing with how different/professional USAID

and GIZ officials approached the meetings compared to the local government officials. Before the meetings, the association was asked by both the USAID and GIZ to provide a formal business case for the TIC in advance, but this was not the case when meeting the government officials.

The researcher also participated in two meetings with the local officials of a town called Rahovec and the purpose was to negotiate the association's contract terms in organising the annual wine festival in Rahovec. In the first meeting in Rahovec he was a minute taker. In the second meeting, the President of the association asked his help with the negotiation, because the local officials were demanding ambitious objectives without giving sufficient financial support to meet them. The meeting was heated and a little loud but they were persuaded in the end, that their objectives were unfeasible considering the support they were willing to provide. By the end of the second meeting the municipality officials were referring to the researcher as 'the tourism expert' and this reputation helped his arguments to sound persuasive in the discussion. In the end, they lowered their demands and the agreement was reached with both parties satisfied. This experience provided him with a lot of insight into how political everything can be, and not necessarily honest politics but also how key signatory individuals can have their own personal hidden agenda in benefiting from a public event.

Volunteering with the Tourism Association, the researcher witnessed two central government meetings led by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. The first meeting was when the new tourism legislation was presented to the public and another time when the Ministry of Trade and Industry invited tourism stakeholders to discuss the revised tourism policy draft.

As well as the meetings, more often than not the researcher found himself networking with relevant people at organised events in Prishtina such as a beer festival, an employment fair and tourism fair. The purpose of which was to create contacts with potential interviewees and arrange interview meetings. Many of the events he went to were held after working hours, which helped him to use the day for carrying out interviews and most evenings for networking. However, this was exhausting and it meant that he did not progress with transcribing, whilst in the field.

Translating and transcribing the interviews was done simultaneously, listening to the interviews in Albanian and transcribing them into English. The process of translating and transcribing the interviews took from October 2013 to December 2014, alongside teaching responsibilities. Reflexively, it was a challenge to conduct the interviews in Albanian and to transcribe them into English (Edwards, 1998; Squires, 2009, Temple, 2002; Temple and Young, 2004). The researcher was fourteen years old when he left Kosova and even though he speaks Albanian fluently as this is the language he uses with his family on an everyday basis, he never undertook any Albanian classes to improve his terminology since 1999. As a result, this was a limitation. Thereby, he found it difficult in the first two or three interviews to grasp the meaning of some Albanian terms, but only to the extent where during the interviews he needed to ask for further clarification of certain phrases mentioned. Albanian being his mother-tongue, he became better at it after a few interviews and felt much more comfortable to discuss complex and delicate issues with government personnel, journalists, lecturers and individuals from associations and businesses. He received contrasting feedback from two interviewees at the beginning of the fieldwork concerning his language skills; a journalist told him he needed to improve the oratory skills, whereas a government official praised him for those skills.

4.7. Data analysis

Data analysis is a critical stage in doctoral research to demonstrate the journey from collecting the data to discussing the findings in the thesis. It will explain the approach employed to transcribe the interviews, before discussing how data was analysed. The approach to analyse interview transcripts was by manual thematic analysis and supported by the conceptual framework.

Thematic analysis has been applied as a constructionist approach to examine tourism governance and whether and how its situation is the effect of a range of events, experiences and discourses present in this post-war transitional society. This process drew upon *a priori* issues from the research objectives and the conceptual framework developed from the research literature, which guided the data collection. It is within the standards of thematic analysis to involve predetermined arrangements in data

analysis (King, 2004; Robson, 2011). It has been reflected prior to data analysis that such prearrangements can lead to missing out on potentially important findings and themes. However, such preparation enhanced the researcher's ability to identify new features and connections that may otherwise have been missed (Tuckett, 2005). As a result, high consideration was given to new recurring issues that emerged inductively from the interview discussions, which provided important dividend. Thematic approaches to data analysis are applied in a wide range of research fields including management (McDowall and Saunders, 2010) and psychology (Brooks and King, 2012). The flexibility of this approach allowed the analysis of a priori themes in addition to the previously unobserved themes, enabling the natural construction of the data. Data was analysed in a specific order, following the guidelines provided by Robson (2011).

Phase 1: Transcribing and familiarising

The full transcribing of the interviews began at the end of the fieldwork, after the data collection was brought back to Sheffield, in October 2013[2]. Out of the 56 interviews that were recorded, 43 of them were transcribed. The decision to stop at 43 was due to reaching 'saturation' or 'redundancy point' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), and due to time constraints. The remaining 13 interview recordings were concisely reviewed to check whether any important information would be discovered. Overall, they did not provide any new insight into the research.

The transcribed interviews amassed on average to approximately one hour and 50 minutes per interview, which amounted to 64 hours of recorded interviews in total. Bryman (2004) advises that transcribing a one hour interview may take longer than the five or six hours suggested, without considering the challenge and time consumption translation takes up. It took up to 14 hours, sometimes longer to translate and transcribe a one hour interview, belonging to this research, from Albanian into English.

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[2] During data collection, several interviews were listened to and notes were made on key issues to improve probing questions for the following interviews

The task of translating and transcribing the interviews was carried out using the dictaphone to listen to the recordings and the Microsoft Word to type the transcript. This task was done without the aid of electronic software to help translate/transcribe interviews (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Transcribing and familiarising

This was due to high cost and unreliable software available that could help with translation/ transcription from Albanian into English. The interviews were transcribed into English verbatim but not 'full' verbatim or 'word-for-word', because as Robson (2011) argues, it is not a necessity to conduct full verbatim in thematic analysis. More importantly, this was not a useful option due to linguistic variances and grammatical dissimilarities between the native language of the researched and the language of the

research. The meanings were not illustrated correctly when 'full verbatim' was attempted at the beginning of the transcription process. It was judged that correct meaning of the expressions was more important to the quality of the research than translating recorded speech word-for-word, including the 'hmms' and 'uh-huhs'.

Although, Edwards (1998) warns that inconsistent or inappropriate interpretation of cross-language data can threaten the accuracy of the translated findings, the researcher is confident that the authenticity of the data was not lost at any point in translation. Though, to ensure consistent accuracy of translation, the transcription process took longer than expected, thus this was a limitation concerning time rather than reliability of translation. Transcribing and translating Albanian spoken words from a dictaphone to text involved judgement and interpretation (Marshall and Rossman 2006). Still, the transcripts and the interview recordings remain open to anyone wishing to review their accuracy.

As an average typist, translating and transcribing 40 interviews of one hour and fifty minutes long on average, plus three other interviews that were carried out in English felt like an endless test of patience, determination, focus and belief. This was done with regular intermissions of approximately every two to three hours during the day. As the transcribing process was exhausting mentally and lasted longer than expected deliberate time off from it was needed approximately every month for a few days. This was without considering the hours spent away from transcribing to fulfil other academic responsibilities such as teaching, preparation, meeting students and marking students' work. Nonetheless, the process of transcribing was valuable since the researcher was able to familiarise himself with the data, so that by the end of transcribing, he had extensive knowledge of the data and ideas for categories emerged. These were refined and utilised in the next stage (Phase 2).

Phase 2: Analysing systematically

Data analysis involved categorising quotations of each interview transcript according to the research objectives, the indicative themes of the conceptual framework and the findings. Miles and Huberman (1994) provide a list of common analytic approaches in qualitative research, which have been followed in this research. The data analysis of this research included labelling and categorising transcripts into particular sets of data.

This stage involved further familiarisation and engagement with the data by repeatedly reading each interview transcript and finding meanings and patterns in the process. This enabled further refinement of the categories and all quotes were highlighted and arranged according to each category. Quotes that did not belong to any of the categories were separated and reviewed. They were either added to the existing categories after further consideration or clustered under new ones. This helped the conceptual thinking and the conceptual framework to evolve with the data analysis. The data was then compared to try and identify some patterns, relationships and differences to assist with the systematic analysis. A series of categories were developed from the data at this stage that were used for further analysis (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Analysing systematically
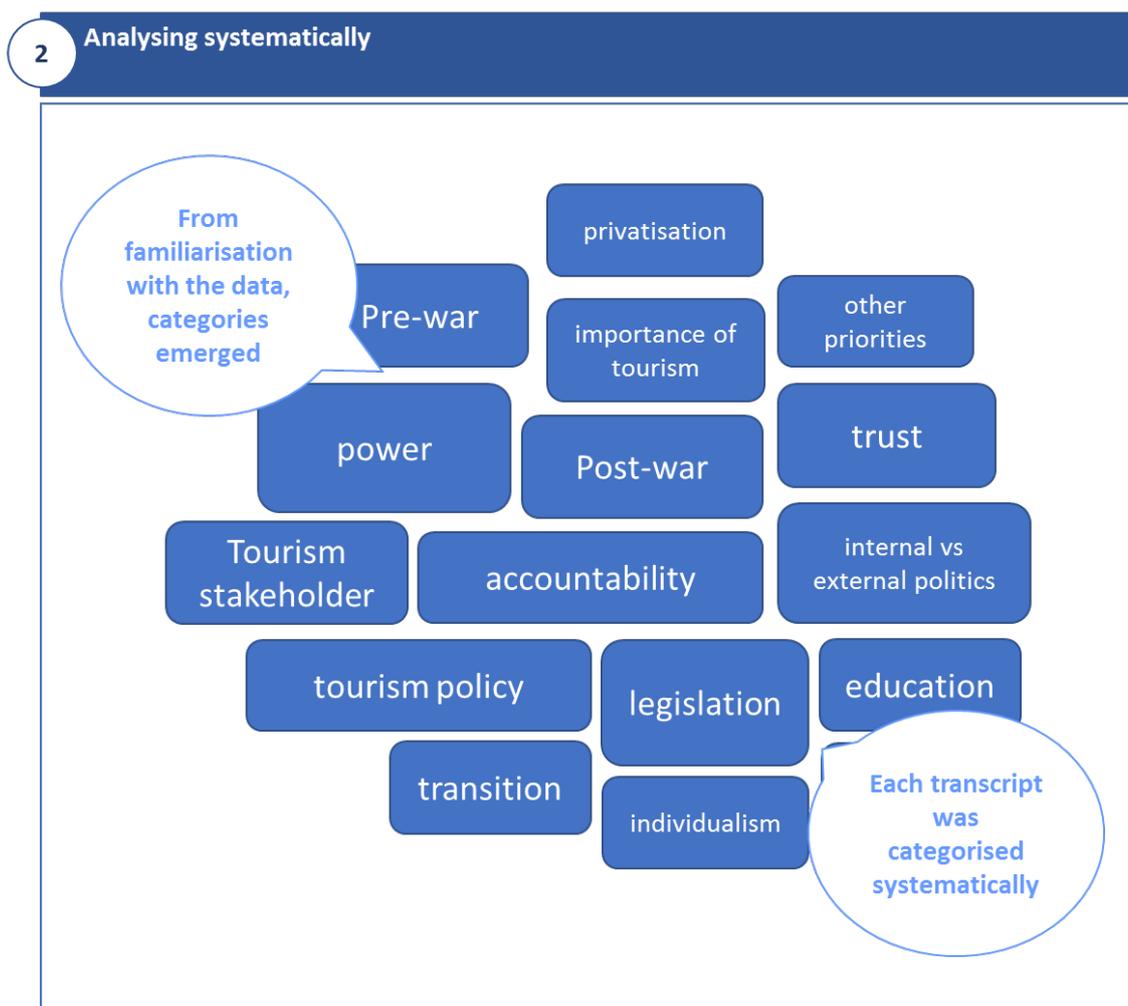
The process of data analysis was conducted manually, using Microsoft Word and Excel software, but also via printed copies of the data and highlighter pens. This was entirely without the aid of specialised computer software. This was critical as the researcher needed to go into different folders to open different files to review over 200 thousand words in total, in over 400 pages of transcript documents, in order to start making connections between them. The decision to analyse the data manually was made during supervisory discussion, where it was believed that it would to be more beneficial to manually analyse the data for several reasons: Better informed choices would be made of the themes that are important and best represent the interviewees' perspective of their reality and continually refine interpretations to make connections and find patterns and structures (Seidel and Kelle, 1995). This data analysis approach was beneficial because of the dynamic process of understanding issues thoroughly through the creative process of inductive reasoning (Ketokivi and Mantere, 2010; Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). Nonetheless, the process was challenging as many intricate themes and issues were discovered where they needed cutting, sorting, reorganising and categorising, without the help of computer-generated coding. In the future, relevant computer software, such as NViVO would be considered for data analysis.

Phase 3: Identifying themes

The initial stage of analysis explored all topics from the interview transcripts that were considered important to the research objectives and interesting to the study. Topics were labelled, grouped, compared and constructed into meaningful sets based on their possible relevance to the study and relationship with each other. For example, issues in relation to 'individualist mindset' and 'lack of trust' were categorised separately but then were put under the same theme at later stages of analysis. The themes created were driven by the initial conceptual framework and from the data itself (Robson, 2011). This stage of analysis labelled and categorised events that had been referred to in the interviews, activities that were mentioned, practices explained, conditions discussed, meanings analysed, participations described, relationships clarified, constraints considered, consequences evaluated and reflexive observations identified (Gibbs, 2007). This process was dynamic as categories were constantly changing due to new emerging data. After the first stages of analysing raw data, 286 issues and categories were highlighted and labelled. Labelling assisted with retrieving information

when needed to go back to the source. It is important to note that data analysis began descriptively but moved to more theoretically analytical once connections, relationships and differences began to emerge.

Further analysis or third-stage analysis was carried out on the data sets that involved integrating 286 discovered issues and categories into sub-themes by way of finding possible relationships and differences between them (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The conceptual framework was used as a reference, and at the same time the findings supported the continuous evolvement of the conceptual framework. This was an iterative process, going back and forth where the whole data set was reread to improve the fluency in the manner the data was arranged. Changes were made to the structure and text was regularly moved from one group to another to achieve better transparency and clarification. Several themes and sub-themes were renamed at this stage to capture a more comprehensive understanding of their material.

By this stage, 29 themes were established from 286 categories. It was revealed that not only the relationships and the differences between sets of data began to uncover but also a form of cognitive connectivity between interviewees' perspectives and their worldviews became apparent. Maxwell and Miller (2011) argue that such contiguity relations are as important as similarity and relations and both need to be sought in alternation for productive outcomes. By doing this, some consistencies began to appear in the data (Figure 14), which made it apparent of what the themes were and the appropriate way to use them.

Further analysis enabled the clarification of the manner that they needed to be presented and structured. This also helped to understand how they were connected together and the story they wanted to tell of what was found from the research. This helped to elaborate an overview of the findings in the end and later to discuss those findings in relation to the pertinent body of literature and theories in the hemisphere of tourism and beyond.

Figure 14. Identifying themes

3 | **Identifying themes**

Kosovo has no tradition of democracy from the past, and because of the past system people lack the mentality that they can contribute and drive change

- (NAME, M1.3) - I can tell you we are still in diapers of Democracy, meaning we are still a baby in a democratic environment and we have lots to learn to ensure Democracy is implemented accurately.
- (NAME, G6. 5) - It should be noticed that Kosova does not have a tradition in democratic governance but it is by choice wanting to become a democratic country and it is going through a lot of changes. The government makes mistakes in the process of democratization but those errors are being eliminated as we go along since we have many international organisations monitoring the processes and guiding us to a righteous path of development.
- (NAME, G3. 9-10) - We need to understand that Kosovo was never governed by a multi-party governments and it never had democracy before since it was historically ruled by non-democratic dictatorship of Serbia.
- (NAME , I1. 11) – The governance system is striving to be parliamentarian, democratic but to be honest with you dictatorship would be much better because maybe only that system would ensure the rule of law is implemented. Liberalisation is much better but we need to find ways to encourage people to express themselves more and get more involved because at the moment this is lacking because of lack of tradition to be involved and lack of belief that their contribution can change anything. We inherited this from the communist era where we didn't have ... opportunity, especially when Kosova war under the regime of Serbia

For example: this section in data analysis identified the theme of lack of tradition in democratic governance

Phase 4: Developing networks

By having established set themes, the next stage involved creating a network or networks of themes so they could fit together, in order to shape the important body of research that was collected from the fieldwork. Robson (2011) recommends that networks of themes can be arranged on the basis of content and theoretical grounds. In this research, the networks of themes were established on the basis of content,

influence, theoretical grounds, and sometimes chronologically. On the basis of content for example, the theme on 'lack of democratic governance' was arranged next to the theme on 'political inexperience and limited professionalism'. This helped to understand what the political conditions are and why they are as such. Together, they were arranged under the network of 'political transition'. On the basis of influence for example, 'the role of mindset' was arranged first then ' fragile social stability' was put underneath, to show how mindset in society influences social stability, before their implications to tourism governance were added. Together, they were put under the network of 'social transition'. On the basis of theoretical grounds for example, the themes of institutional arrangements, collaboration and power were arranged together to coincide with the conceptual framework and also with theories of network governance and stakeholder theory. Together they made up the network of 'tourism governance' (Figures 15-20).

Figure 15-20. Developing networks:

Figure 15.

112
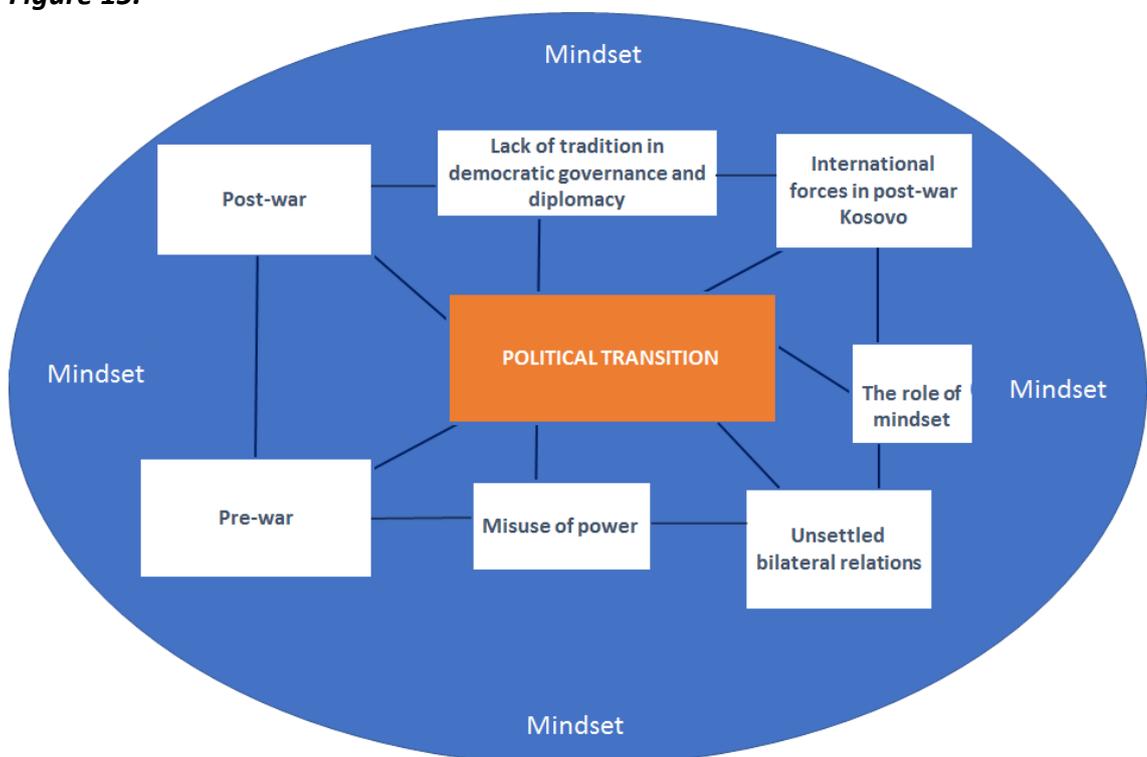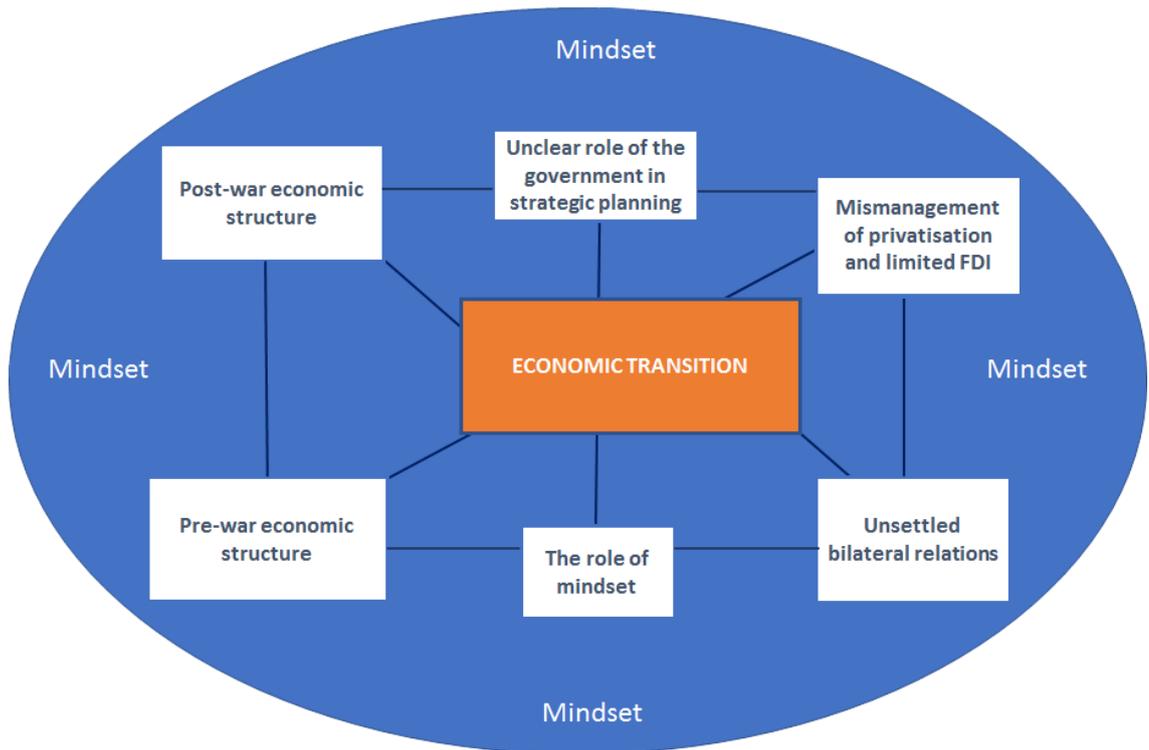
Figure 16.

Figure 17.
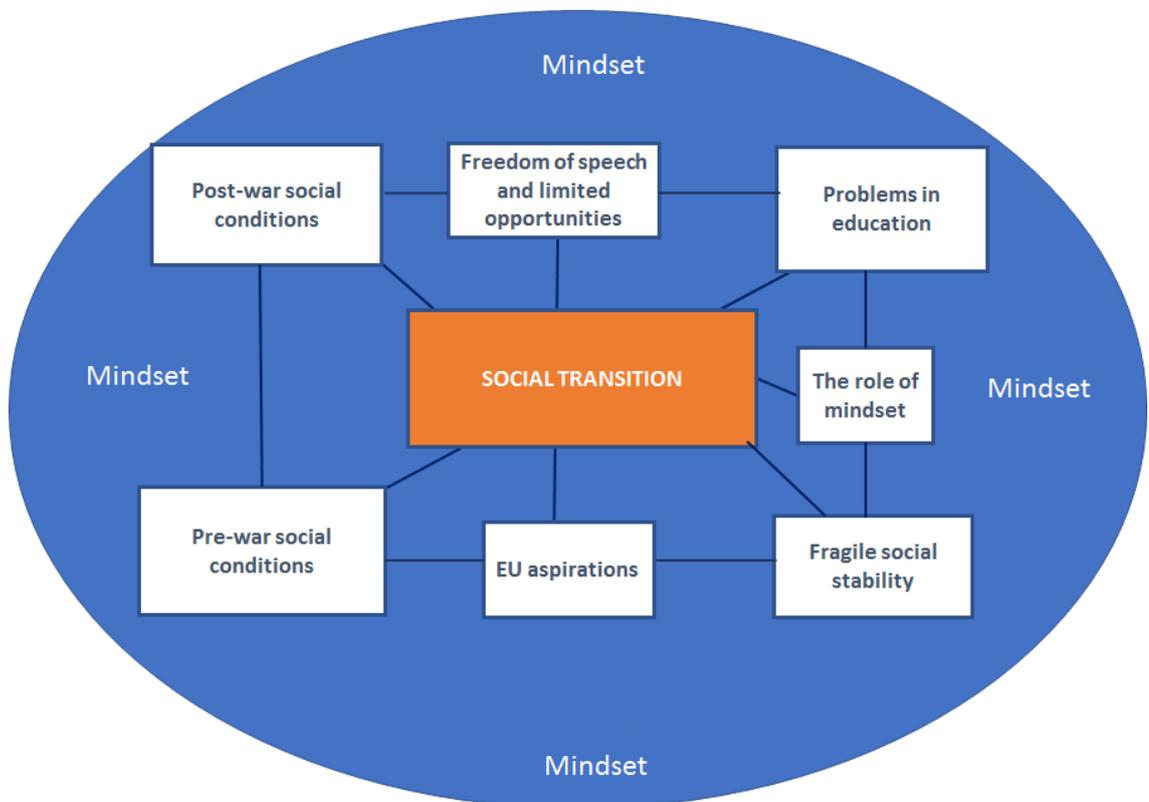
Figure 18.
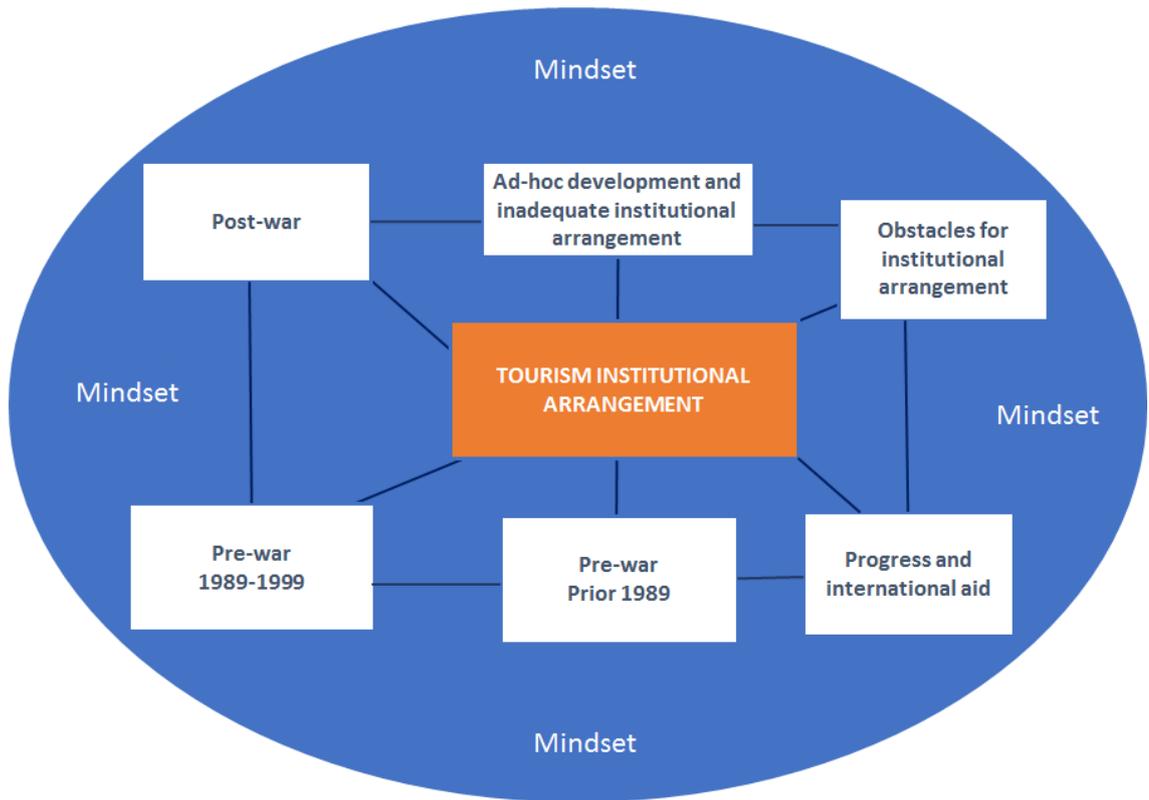
Figure 19.
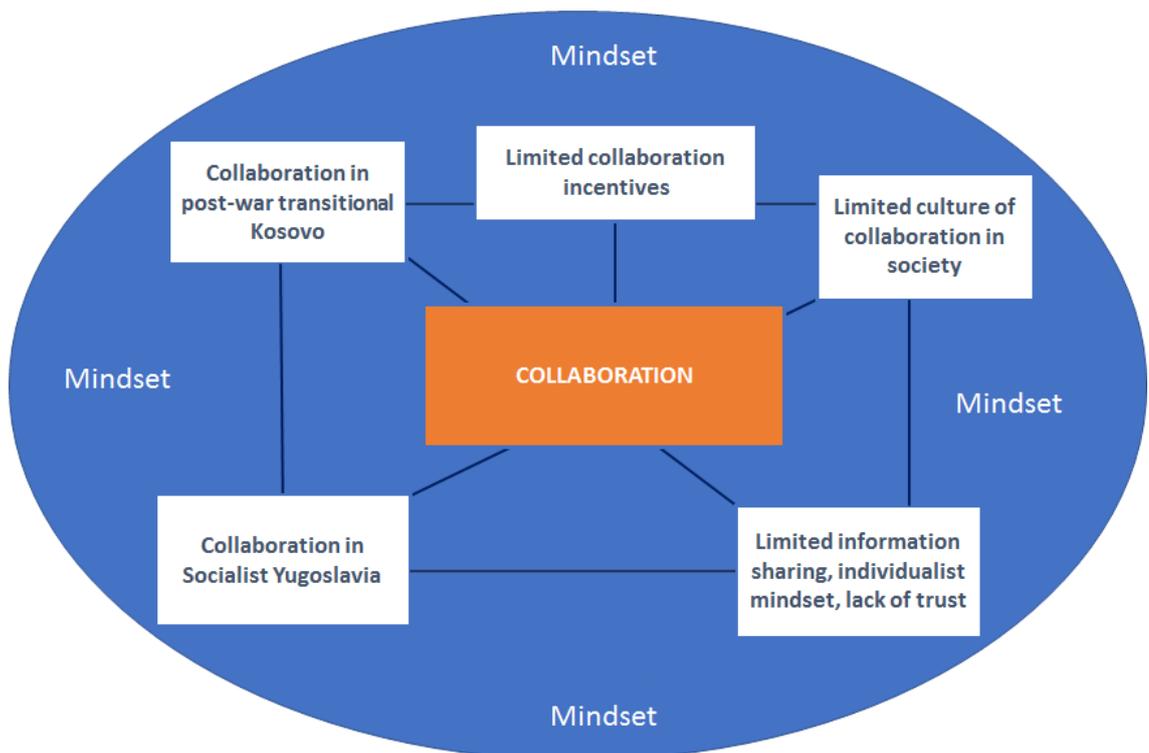
Figure 20.
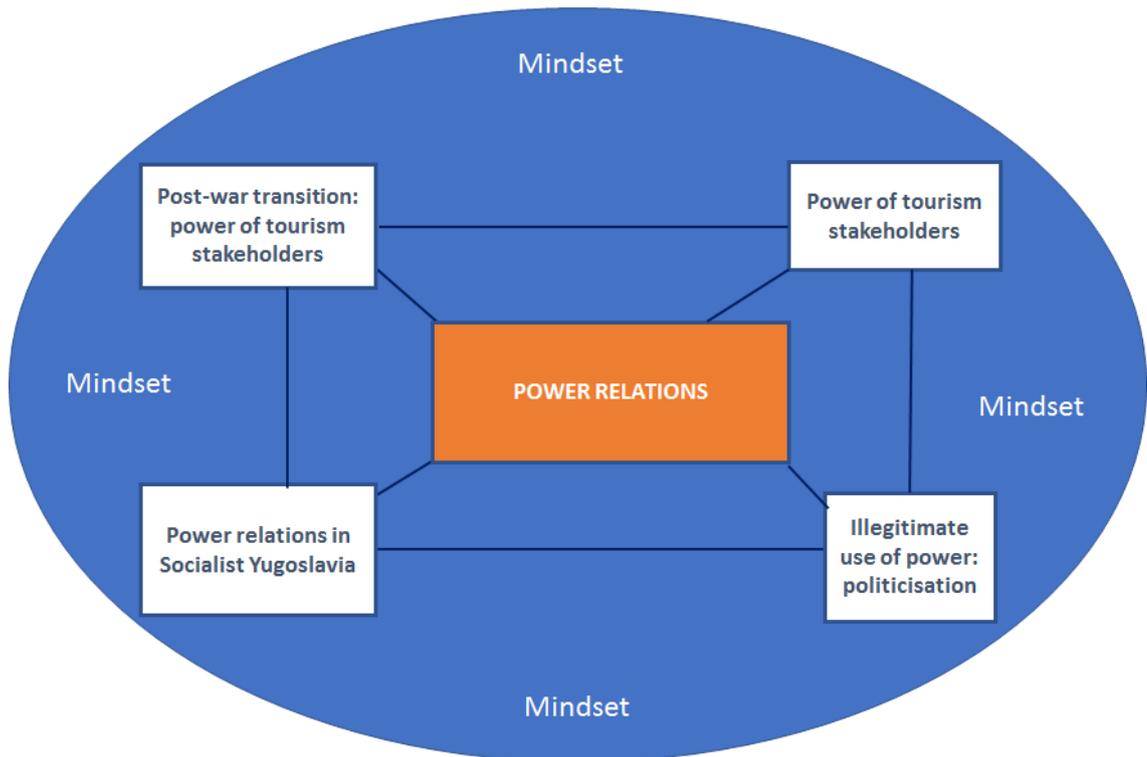
On a chronological basis, the themes in relation to tourism in the former Yugoslavia were arranged above the themes in relation to tourism in post-war Kosova, in order to show the journey of transition and how things have changed from pre-war to post-war.

Phase 5: Integration and interpretation of data

This stage of analysis involved exploring the themes and their material to make sense of how they are linked together and how they impact one another in order to generate threaded meanings across the themes (Miles and Huberman, 1994). For example, it was here that data analysis confirmed how the themes in relation to mindset became the 'across-the-board trend', pivotal to examining the findings in its entirety. This level of analysis also explored how the conceptual framework evolved with the data analysis and how it was covered within the themes. Integrating and interpreting data meant using some of the practices of the earlier data analysis stages such as comparing and contrasting data sets and finding patterns and connections between them. It elaborated the interrelationships between different themes and networks for example, finding affiliations or interdependencies between political, economic and social factors

(Figure21), as well as making links between the research findings and literature and relevant theories.

Figure 21. Integrating and interpreting:
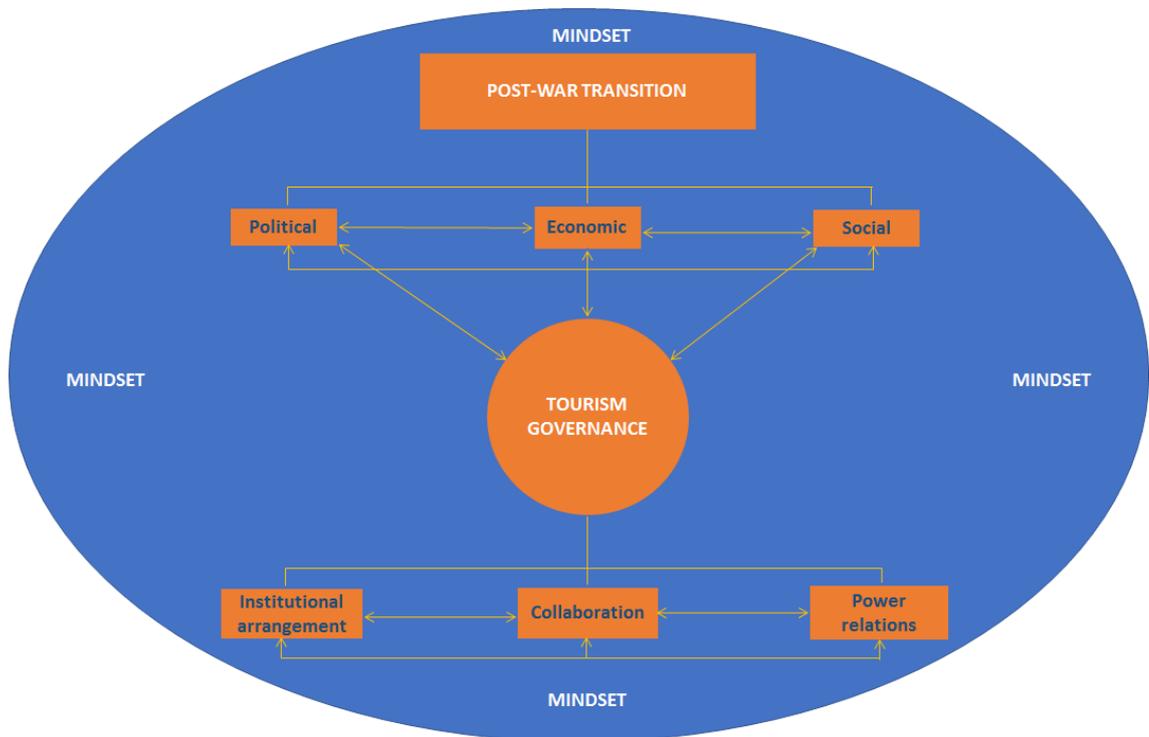
The first discussion chapter features wider issues that are critical and paramount not only for the conditions of tourism governance but to the overarching circumstances in the country where the research took place. These dominant issues in the first discussion chapter are presented as three themes: political, economic and social post-war transition, with reference to pre-war and their implications to tourism governance. The second discussion chapter presents the narratives of tourism governance grouped into four themes: 1) the role of tourism governance in post-war transition. 2) Institutional arrangement. 3) Collaboration of tourism stakeholders. 4) Power relations and the subject of politicisation impacting on the governance of tourism development. This chapter also discusses the interviewees' perspectives on the circumstances of tourism legislation and tourism policy to have a deeper insight in evaluating the circumstances in tourism.

Reflections on data collection, transcribing and analysis

The researcher encountered a number of problems and obstacles during the processes of data collection, transcribing and data analysis.

The first problematic encounter was related to the timing of the fieldwork. Data was collected during the summer period, when some of the government officials that were identified as potential interviewees were on their summer holidays outside the country. This meant it took over a month to get hold of them and to arrange a meeting. This is a lesson for the future to consider holiday seasons and possibly find out when the potential research participants would be on holiday, so such a period can be avoided.

The second issue was related to the dictaphone. In one of the interviews with a government official the batteries of the recorder failed half way through the interview and it was only discovered afterwards. The researcher always kept spare batteries in the bag but forgot to monitor the recorder during the interview. He had a tendency to put the recorder on the table next to the interviewee and focus on the discussion. This was a lesson learnt that he made sure he always monitored the recorder during the interviews. He also calculated how many hours of recordings it took for the first set of batteries to be drained of energy and then always ensured the batteries were replaced before that amount of time was reached again.

The third issue was related to a high tourism civil servant. Due to his position, the researcher understandably wanted to interview him but he refused unwaveringly, even though his colleagues were being interviewed in the same building. According to a passer-by in the ministry *"he is a very nice guy but he does not know much about tourism in Kosova, so he does not want to be put under pressure"*. Such restrained behaviour was described by other interviewees to be typical of managers within the public sector that have been recruited through nepotism. This experience improved the researcher's awareness that such barriers can be encountered, but fortunately such occurrences were not repeated again.

4.8. Ethics

The main ethical issues in any primary research are concerned with consent, confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants. Ethical approval with Sheffield Hallam University was carried out prior to conducting the research and this confirmed no person would be harmed during the research (Diener and Crandall, 1978). The researcher obtained verbal consent from each interviewee face-to-face prior to starting the interviews. The verbal statement included an overview about the researcher's background, the research, and the purpose of the research and how the interview was going to be carried out. The statement also explained how the interviewees would remain anonymous and their rights protected and were assured that the interviews would be used for academic purposes only. Bryman and Bell (2011), state that, complete anonymity of the research participants is necessary, for when findings are made public knowledge. This study does not provide any personal details of the interviewees that could identify any individual. All names have been coded into letters and numbers, according to their sector. For example all government officials interviewed in this research are coded into Civil.Servant.1, Civil.Servant.2… Civil.Servant.7. All interviewees from the private sector are coded into pseudonyms of T.Industry.1, T.Industry.2…T.Industry.10. All interviewees from tourism associations are coded into T.Association.1, T.Association.2…T.Association.4. The interviewees from other public associations are grouped into coded names of Public.Association.1, Public.Association.2 and Public.Association.3. International development agencies are coded into IDA.1, IDA.2. Each respondent was asked for their consent to audio-record the interview discussion. It was explained that the purpose of it was to help analyse the data and ensure reliability of information and to avoid any misinterpretation of their perceptions. They were also informed that the recordings would be safely stored. All interviewees gave their consent for the interviews to be recorded. The participants were informed of the main interview themes prior to asking for their consent and this helped to clarify the type of interview that would be conducted with them.

4.9. Chapter summary

This chapter provided an overview of the research location, namely Kosova, to emphasise how it relates to the study's requirements of being a post-war country

undergoing transition. It has provided some information on Kosova as a research location, including its political, economic, and social conditions, including its tourism background, in order to equip the reader with background knowledge that will help to understand the complex issues of this study.

The chapter then explained the methodology of this research and the processes involved. It clarified how this qualitative research was designed, piloted and analysed, by conducting 56 semi-structured interviews and analysing 43 of them, to study tourism governance in post-war transition. The methodology considers interpretivism to be the most suitable philosophical paradigm to guide the research; this looks at truth as being constructed by humans against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices and experiences. The chapter pursued justification for applying qualitative methodology and argued that this methodology, through the employment of semi-structured interviewing, enabled knowledge construction through seeking to understand the meaning of actions, problems, and processes in a particular social context. It argued that qualitative methodology allows access to the interviewees' realities in exploring their views of, and response to, tourism governance in post-war transition. It also enabled the analysis of stakeholder mindset in order to evaluate psychological reasoning of why things happen in this social context in the way that they do. It explained why purposive and snowball sampling was the most appropriate technique, in that it enabled connection with interviewees that would otherwise not have been as freely accessible. It would also have been difficult to fulfil the objectives of discussing sensitive and complex issues without targeting particular personnel.

The data analysis section provided reflexive accounts of the challenges and processes involved in data collection, translation and transcription. The processes and tools of data analysis were clarified at this point. This section evaluated and justified how the research applied thematic analysis and the use of Robson's (2011) five-phase strategy to analyse the data. This approach included accounts of how recorded interviews were transcribed and translated and familiarisation with the data was achieved. Systematic analysis was carried out to establish categories, before further analysis helped to identify themes. The next phase of analysis developed networks between those themes and the last phase integrated those central networks with each other and

exposed the interrelationships between them. Ethical steps taken in the research were explained, including the awareness of possible bias deriving from the researcher's personal background in relation to the research location and measures taken to reduce bias interpretation. This now enables the presentation and discussion of research findings in the following chapters.

Chapter 5. Post-war transition and its implications for tourism

5.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines and discusses the results of this study. Firstly, political, economic and social conditions in post-war transitional Kosova are identified and evaluated against the literature. In doing so, objective 1 of this study, which is *'To examine post-war political, economic and social transition'* is addressed. Thereupon, political, economic and social conditions are related to tourism governance by discussing their general implications for tourism, which represents the second objective of this study (*'To determine the implications of political, economic and social post-war transition for tourism governance'*). This is followed by an evaluation of how tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova is constituted, by presenting and discussing the results in terms of the key pillars of institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations. This section relates to the third objective of this study, which seeks *'To assess tourism governance by examining its institutional arrangements, how key stakeholders consider and respond to collaboration and power relations'*. The results for achieving the fourth objective of this study *'To analyse how mindset influences tourism governance in post-war transition'* are integrated throughout this chapter, since it emerged as the dominant issue. Each section starts with an introduction and ends with summary. Finally, an overall summary of the findings is provided.

5.2. Political, economic and social transition in post-war Kosova

5.2.1. Introduction

This section is dedicated to determining political, economic and social transition in post-war Kosova, which relates to the first objective of this research. To start of with, attention is drawn to the interviewees' perceptions of pre-war political conditions in Kosova under the former Socialist Yugoslavia. This will help to understand the political transition in post-war Kosova. During the analysis of the collected information, key themes related to political transition emerged. An in-depth evaluation of these key themes such as lack of tradition in democratic governance and diplomacy, international forces acting in post-war Kosova, unsettled bilateral relations and misuse of power, is provided in this section. Thereupon, economic transition in post-war

Kosova is evaluated - again starting with pointing out pre-war conditions before discussing post-war conditions and its related themes. The third section will focus on an in-depth analysis of social transition in post-war Kosova, using the same approach as in the previous two sections (i.e. pre-war and post-war transition discussing key themes against the literature). All three sub-sections refer to and evaluate the role of mindset for political, economic and social post-war transition, which is an objective of this research. The section closes with a summary of political, economic and social transition in post-war Kosova, before their implications for the role of tourism in post-war transition are examined.

5.2.2. Political transition in post-war Kosova

Pre-war political conditions under former Socialist Yugoslavia influencing Kosova's post-war transition

Post-war political transition in Kosova from Socialist Yugoslavia to a European governance system is ongoing with complex obstacles stemming from the past system, particularly, the damage the oppressive regime caused in Kosova during the period 1989-1999, which society continues to struggle with to this day. The findings of this thesis suggest that Kosova was governed considerately by Socialist Yugoslavia when the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution came into power. Some research interviewees even suggest that the political system was more efficient and Kosova was better governed in Socialism from the period of 1974-1989 than it has been in the post-war democratic period of 1999-2015. For example, T.industry.5 claimed that:

> *"in terms of effectiveness the governance currently is weaker than the governance of Kosova in the former Yugoslavia from the period 1974-1989. Kosova had its own parliament and its own central representatives. Every segment of life had its responsible institutions and was governed appropriately, unlike now".*

Not all interviewees were experienced enough to recall how the political system was during the period 1974-1989, but the ones that did know generally had positive views as T.industry.6 recalled that *"compared to the other eastern socialist or communist countries yes, it was the most liberal with the 1974 Yugoslav constitution".* However, the period 1974-1989 can only be considered a pause in the oppressive measures Serbia applied in Kosova prior to 1974, which was then revived in 1989 for a decade,

and caused the Kosova War 1998-1999. Prior to 1974, in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s Kosova Albanians experienced severe treatment from the Serbian regime, with many civilians executed and thousands more Kosova Albanians were ethnically cleansed to various other countries, most notably Turkey (Cohen, 1995). T.industry.5 explained how:

> "The Yugoslavian Minister of Internal Affairs, Alexander Rankovic ran Kosova as a police region from the early 1950s until 1966. Rankovic was a Serb nationalist and his mission in power was not to allow the development of Kosova Albanians in any aspect of life. He carried out ethnic cleansing on us and made Kosova Serbs dominant [nomeklatura]. Rankovic applied hard-line governance against Kosova Albanians. This nationalist approach was rejuvenated by Slobodan Milosevic from the period of 1989-1999. As a province of Serbia, Kosova was not governed in the same way as the other former Yugoslavian Republics".

It is understood that Tito's treatment of Kosova was progressive due to his approach of establishing a 'brotherhood' mindset across Yugoslavia. However, as Kosova was not a republic of Yugoslavia but a province of Serbia, it was managed directly by Serbia rather than Yugoslavia. Thus, oppression was utilised in Kosova since World War 2 until 1999, except for the period 1974-1989. This is because the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution officially established the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova in Serbia, within Yugoslavia and guaranteed equal rights (Independent International Commission on Kosova, 2000). Civil.Servant.5 claimed that:

> "Yes, the situation was more harmonised when Tito was president but even then, the Interior Minister of Serbia, Rankovic was brutal towards Kosova Albanians, it was he who pioneered the tactic to demonise and cleanse Kosova Albanians that Milosevic used upon us later. The overall Yugoslavian system even under Tito was different in Kosova compared to the rest of Yugoslavia, especially before 1974 and after 1989".

After 1989, with the rise of Milosevic into power things changed dramatically in Kosova as Serbia abolished the Constitution of 1974, denying Kosova Albanians the basic human rights promised by the constitution. All the governing institutions in Kosova were abolished and Kosova Albanians were relieved of their duties and replaced by Serb personnel. Thus, everything fell under the direct control of Serbia. The views of the people on the system of Yugoslavia when Tito was in power are understood to be generally positive and are interpreted here as an indication that if Tito was still alive, the Yugoslavian wars would have been spared as his governance system was more

approachable and peaceful (Synovitz, 2010). One of the factors why people believe Tito could have spared the loss of so many lives by avoiding wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosova is that his objective was ' brotherhood and unity' (West, 2012) and not ethnic cleansing or seeking supremacy for Serbs at any cost.

Tito's Socialist Yugoslavia has been compared to a European democratic system as it enabled social rights such as freedom of movement and encouraged the labour-force by empowering them to co-operatively manage state assets. This interpretation however, is questioned by Public.Association.1, who insisted that:

> *"Even if the governance in the former Yugoslavian period was not as good as perceived, people wouldn't have easily known the truth about it because of the closed governance approach and the manipulative media of communism. In the socialist or communist governance, a lot of illusions and propaganda were implanted on people's minds by national mediums as they portrayed the state governance and the government as divine, with all the right ingredients and being in the best interest of the people".*

It was understood that the governance of Socialist Yugoslavia in Kosova was unlike in other parts of the country because of Serbia's oppressive rules. Understandably some interviewees found it difficult not to blame the former Yugoslavia for the oppression in Kosova. This was particularly, since the former Yugoslavian central government was supposed to govern all parts of the country equally. However, this was not the case in Kosova. Civil.Servant.5 argued: *"I cannot understand how the former Yugoslavian system can be compared to a European system when that very system allowed the torture, the imprisonment, the execution and the cleansing of Kosova Albanians only because we are Albanians".*

There is a general agreement in the findings that Kosova's infrastructures were destroyed from 1989 to 1999 when Kosova's constitution of 1974 was abolished and its institutions were integrated into Serbia's structures after the Kosova Albanians were made redundant from the public sector. Civil.Servant.5 explained that *"Kosova Albanians were left out of all political, economic and social engagement in Kosova and were treated as second class beings, surplus to society".* When all these challenges are added to the effects of war it can be established that the decade old obstacles and absolute destruction during the war has left the state, the government and the society

with devastating and long-lasting obstacles and burdens, which are affecting the system of governance. Reflecting on the damage the oppression has done in Kosova for many years, not only physically but mentally and other long-term damages, the question that comes to mind is: how difficult is its post-war political transition? This is addressed in the following section.

The findings indicate that the political system of the Socialist Yugoslavia in Kosova varied throughout different periods. The Socialist Yugoslavia in Kosova from the end of World War 2 to 1966 was oppressive, with waves of ethnic cleansing of Kosova Albanians, particularly by the leadership of Alexander Rankovic. These findings are consistent with the arguments made by Pavlovic (2004) and Philips (2012). Because of such exploitive measures, Tito developed the constitution of 1974 to end repression and provide equal rights to all ethnicities in Kosova. This period is considered progressive, which saw an improvement in harmony amongst different ethnicities and development of Kosova. This healthy period came to an end with the rise of Milosevic who like Rankovic, preceded with oppressive measures against Kosova Albanians, by denying their rights to education, freedom of speech and involvement in Kosova's governance, all of which resulted in the Kosova War 1998-1999.

The war caused significant destruction in Kosova, in terms of infrastructure, facilities and other physical damages that will take years to overcome. More significantly, the pain that people experienced from the Serbian paramilitaries during the war, because of loss of lives, torture and sexual abuse is difficult to measure or predict a time-frame for it to heal. More about the social challenges society currently faces, because of long-term oppression and the war in 1998-1999, is discussed in section 4.2.3 Kosova's social transition.

Kosova's post-war political transition towards democratic governance

Post-war political transition, from Yugoslavian Socialism and the Serbian oppressive regime of the 1990s to democratic governance has become an influencing factor, which will shape the future of this small and troubled nation. Deciding a suitable approach to transition has been a topical debate in the literature of transition since the break-up of the Soviet Union. Many researchers have identified different types of

transition by examining transition approaches of the former Soviet Union countries and more recently several Arab countries, such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia (Miller and Martini, 2013). Some transition countries have undertaken a *"gradual approach"* to reforms whilst others apply a *"big-bang"* style that simultaneously embarks on a profound transition to revamp the whole state apparatus (Havrylyshyn, 2007: 3). Both approaches have been praised for several key characteristics, whilst being criticised for other factors. The gradual approach is noted to have strong benefits in its fluidity if applied appropriately, meaning it does not necessarily risk instability or cause disorder in a country, since transition is conducted gradually throughout a long period (Wei, 1997). On the other hand, it is criticised for being excessively slow and unproductive, since the intertwining of two different systems in a country can be unmanageable and, whilst it may not cause disorder it may not enable progress, either.

Kosova's post-war political transition is understood to have taken a completely revamped approach with a new democratic system to govern the country currently being developed. Due to associated emotions coming out of a ten-year oppression and the war, understandably there was only one transition option for Kosova to apply - escape from the past, including the previous system and embark into the unknown called democratic governance. Civil.Servant.2 explained that *"the fact that we endured a difficult experience with the past regime it was more than necessary to start with a new step for a long road ahead"*. *"The long road ahead"* appears appropriate to describe Kosova's transition processes after 16 years, but understandably considering its difficult past. Civil.Servant.2 emphasised that *"ten years absent from the modernised world, whilst being oppressed by a tyrant is a very long period. This is a plague that continues to obstruct the progression of transition"*.

Another reason why Kosova could not have taken a different approach to transition is the fact that immediately after the war in June 1999 international organisations, NATO's Kosova Force (KFOR) and later, the United Nation's Mission in Kosova (UNMIK) took control of the country and became the highest military and civil authorities in Kosova, respectively. KFOR was in charge of stabilising the post-war social disorder and ensuring Serbian forces did not enter Kosova. UNMIK applied its own system of governance, developing laws and policies from nothing and administering the public

sector on a daily basis. Civil.Servant.2 offered one reason why Kosova could not apply any of the policies of the socialist system: *"because in 1999 Kosova was flooded with so called experts of UNMIK and they had all the authority to decide what approach Kosova's governance would take".* Scheye (2008) confirms that UNMIK was fully in charge of establishing a system of governance in Kosova, immediately after the War 1998-1999.

UNMIK's governing of Kosova lasted until 2006 when reforms were conducted and the provisional the Kosova Government was considered ready by UNMIK to take charge. Therefore, UNMIK handed over its political, administrative and economic responsibilities to the Kosova Government in 2006. UNMIK was succeeded by the EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosova (EULEX) on 16th February 2008, (one day before Kosova's declaration of independence). Even though, UNMIK's responsibilities were taken over by EULEX, it continues its presence in Kosova at the request of Serbia, especially in the north of Kosova where Kosova Serbs mainly populate the area. This is despite several attempts by the Kosova Government pleading with UNMIK to end its presence in Kosova (De Wet, 2009).

Another milestone in political transition was achieved when Kosova was declared independent by the Parliament of Kosova, on 17th February 2008. The process of being internationally recognised by other nations is still ongoing. To this date, 113 out of 193 UN member states have recognised Kosova (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). This is considered by all interviewees as a deliberate delay due to the hesitance or in a number of cases refusals of the rest of the UN member states to officially recognise Kosova. In March 2011, the governments of Kosova and Serbia began a dialogue to normalise relations between the two states. The dialogue is ongoing, with some key agreements achieved but due to resistance from both sides it cannot be anticipated when these negotiations will be concluded (Szpala, 2016). In the meantime, the Kosova Government is working to meet the objectives and the directives of the European Union to prepare Kosova for visa liberation and for future EU membership.

During the first stage of transition, UNMIK was welcomed with open arms at the end of the war, because they were seen as liberators, similar to NATO (Lemay-Hebert, 2009). A number of interviewees state that UNMIK was considered very highly in Kosova and

that a large number of locals wanted to be a part of. Tourism.Association.4 recalled that **"Kosova and its people surrendered themselves to the international organisations and their mercy"**. UNMIK avoided the conflict between its new system of governance and the old socialist system by establishing a new comprehensive legal framework, without intertwining the laws and policies of the previous system. Therefore, a new governance system was built from the beginning (Scheye, 2008). Though the clash of the two systems ('socialist' vs 'democratic') was avoided, UNMIK's system of governance, as argued by the interviewees, *"was not of the same cloth"* *(Civil.Servant.2)*. The expression *"not of the same cloth"* was intended by the interviewee to explain that UNMIK's system in Kosova could not be categorised as one particular framework but was made of a mixture of types and practices. Civil.Servant.2 argued that *this was "because UNMIK was made of so many countries, cultures from various parts of the world, with conflicting interests in Kosova"*. This indistinct situation was created by the unclear vision of UNMIK and its limited capacity and experience to govern post-war regions (Lemay-Bebert, 2009). The findings suggest that it became unclear what the objectives of UNMIK were because different parts of Kosova were witnessing inconsistent results from UNMIK's governance depending which UN countries were involved. Tourism.Association.4 claimed that:

> *"We thought that these organisations came with a lot of knowledge and experience in helping a crippled country like Kosova to stand back on its feet. As a result, we agreed to and accepted every decision their ground officials brought forward because we thought it would be for the good of the country. However, every decision made by them was influenced by the politics of the countries they were from, towards Kosova. It felt that the Western countries were working towards Kosova's progress and the Eastern countries, including the East European countries were realising Serbia's wishes in Kosova. Such politics created numerous cramps that have left Kosova still trying to get out of the survival stage of transition".*

Stahl (2010), states that Kosova Albanians became dissatisfied with UNMIK, because of the UN Resolution 1244 that officially view Kosova within Yugoslavia, ultimately under Serbia. Additionally, the findings indicate that UNMIK's legitimacy was further diminished, because some of its officials seemingly bureaucratised, delayed and maybe criminalised transition processes in Kosova. Civil.Servant.2 provided a more detailed argument concerning UNMIK and maintains that some of UNMIK countries operating in Kosova are members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), *"which made UNMIK*

shed crocodile tears for the Kosova war because of their affiliation with Serbia". The world always had superpowers such as the former Soviet Union on one side and the Western democratic countries on the other, with NAM countries supposedly maintaining their nonalignment. The former Yugoslavia was a very important factor in the world of Non-Alignment as this organisation was established in Belgrade in 1961 (NAM Government, 2001). Therefore, Civil.Servant.2 argued that:

> *"It was extreme of us to expect more from these countries where it is known that they always idolised Yugoslavia. The friendship of Serbia with the Non-Aligned Movement countries in UNMIK was very active and Serbia's influence ensured the delaying of Kosova progress through these countries in all processes that UNMIK was involved in. Kosova diplomats did not have the authority to intervene or even take part in these decision-making processes".*

Despite the disappointment of some Kosova people regarding UNMIK's debatable achievement of its objectives and its belated presence, UNMIK was a key factor in helping Kosova to progress to its current stage of transition (Tansey, 2009). UNMIK developed the bedrock of legislations and policies that ensured Kosova's functionality, under the leadership of the French politician, Bernard Kouchner. The UN Resolution 1244 officially sees Kosova as part of Yugoslavia. The resolution states that a small number of Serbian security forces would be permitted to return to Kosova however, this was never realised (Gow, 2009). On the ground UNMIK realised as early as 2000 that it was no longer possible for Kosova to remain within Yugoslavia and that a new status needed to be established (Stahl, 2010). UNMIK's first leader, Kouchner, implanted the idea in the UN Security Council of the need for Kosova to have an independent status. After his mandate was finished, Kouchner explained how every two months he needed to face the Russian and the Chinese UN representatives amongst other less opposing members to explain to them that no other solution was possible in Kosova. The status proposition by Kouchner was being challenged by diplomatic resistance of the opposing nations that an independent status for Kosova is not envisaged by the Resolution 1244 (UNRIC, 2014). His response: *"yes, it is not the law, but what if you have to kill everyone to apply the law?"* (UNRIC, 2014: 3), warned the UN Security Council that unless they want to witness another war in Kosova, a status of detachment from Serbia was the only realistic option.

Whilst vouching to maintain its neutrality in the dispute between Kosova and Serbia, UNMIK then facilitated the UN Special Envoy, Marti Ahtisari, to embark on developing a plan for Kosova's statehood, known as the Ahtisari Plan. This plan in 2007 confirmed Kouchner's proposal that remaining within Serbia was no longer possible. As controversial as it is in the eyes of both Kosova Albanians and Kosova Serbs, as the plan does not grant the full wishes of either side; it paved the way for Kosova's independence and its constitution and guarantees special rights to Kosova Serbs by means of decentralised governance. This meant Kosova officially broke ties with Serbia, a historical objective of Kosova Albanians, which has ensured stability and enabled progress for both communities in the new born country.

International diplomatic organisations in Kosova have invested significantly in developing the right type of administration led by the Kosova Government to ensure implementation of democratic governance (King and Mason, 2006). Whether Kosova is under democratic governance is a matter of debate, but it is understood that it wants to be and it tries to establish a similar governing system to the ones utilised by members of the EU. It is being monitored and advised by the European Union Office in Kosova to ensure it maintains its path of achieving its long-term goal, which is to one day become a member of the EU (European Office, 2016). However, the reality is not as straight forward since Kosova is criticised by international organisations for its slow progress in achieving resilient democratic governance in all its political spheres (European Commission, 2016). The views of the interviewees on this matter varied. Strong voices from a number of interviewees such as T.industry.6 and T.industry.10 claimed that Kosova is now democratic, whilst recognising the international organisations as the main reason for this achievement. *"The international organisations have helped sincerely to establish appropriate state institutions in Kosova"* (T.industry.6). T.industry.10 also elucidated that:

> *"the current governance system, […] whether it is perceived better or worse than the socialist one, with all the obstacles it faces, it is trying to develop a democratic state for all. It is being as liberal as possible and very encouraging towards minorities, by providing equal rights and being as liberal as it can be".*

T.industry.6 further supported this view by emphasising that in comparison to the previous socialist system, the current governance approach is more appealing and in

line with EU democratic measures. The European Commission praises the Kosova Government for some progress in institutional reforms and for making preliminary preparations to depoliticise public administration, judicial system and fighting corruption. However, concerns remain high in these areas (European Commission, 2016). International presence in Kosova has not only helped the country institutionally but psychologically as well by helping society feel safe once again and aiding the mindset development of the people to build their own future. Tourism.Association.5 remained encouraged about international presence in Kosova and strongly suggested that:

> *"the positive reality is that we have international presence in Kosova helping us to develop our mentality, our attitude to build our country and our approaches to advancement. The reasons why we could not have done it on our own is because of hundreds of years of occupation, torture, poverty, restricted education and limited human rights have all blocked our advancement. Mental advancement is taking place since the end of the war as a result of internationals helping us to put things into perspective. The new generations do not have hate in their eyes towards other ethnicities because their future is not being impeded by a regime or oppressor like our future was impeded by the Serbian regime".*

Whilst the efforts of international organisations in helping Kosova establish democratic governance were widely acknowledged and appreciated by the interviewees, the same gratitude was not aimed at the Kosova Government. The overall view was that transition is led by autocrats, integrating democratic ideas, just enough to keep the EU on their side. T.industry.1 very adamantly argued that *"this is not a democratic system. We can call this a Post-war Neo-Authoritarian Transitional system".* Most of the interviewees agreed that the system of governance is reasonable but its implementation is abysmal because of doubtful politicians or agents responsible for realising the system. Public.Association.3 argued the framework of the governance system mirrors those of the EU nations however, he blamed the officials in charge by claiming that *"with such individuals running the state: it doesn't matter if the baking tray is perfect, when the dough is bad the pastry won't taste nice".*

Another revelation about the system of governance and the agents in charge was that the country is captured by powerful and unreliable individuals who do not make decisions in the best interests of the nation. Tourism.Association.3 believed that *"most*

of the politicians and state leaders running the country are KLA war generals, some of which are suspected of war crimes. She argued that some of these individuals run the country with the conviction that "*they fought in the war and now they are the only ones who deserve to govern the country".* The interviewees claimed the people of Kosova feel powerless to change anything because *"faces change but their immoral behaviour does not"* (Public.Association.3). This expression depicts the argument that even when a new government comes into power they still behave the same as the previous one. Civil.Servant.12 argued that Kosova's transition is faced with political fragility that the *"predatory political elite"* have created by capturing the state. A former Advisor to the President of Kosova, Public.Association.1 believed that, in practice, Kosova is neither a democratic, nor an autocratic country because the people have lost trust in the system and in the individuals who govern the country.

It was also understood that being ruled by foreign invaders for centuries means Kosova Albanians may have undeveloped experience in diplomacy to govern the country democratically. The reasons being firstly, living under the oppressor, Kosova Albanians did not have the power to govern themselves and secondly, democracy was historically not the norm of the oppressors. Thus, a lack of tradition in democratic governance is one of the major obstacles in post-war transition.

Lack of tradition in democratic governance and diplomacy

Lack of tradition in democratic governance and diplomacy has been the most visible problem of the Kosova Governments in post-war transition, because it has yielded weak political parties. This has left the people restricted to how they can influence change when every government is viewed as either similar or worse than its post-war predecessor. Academic.2 claimed that *"maybe it is the fault of lack of political tradition in diplomacy that has made stability vulnerable".*

Diplomacy is defined by Melissen (2005:5) as *"the art of resolving international difficulties peacefully".* In this thesis, diplomacy generally refers to the art of negotiation and of conducting politics insightfully and in the best interests of society. A lack of tradition in democratic governance and diplomacy has proven to challenge Kosova's political transition and thus further reforms are necessary for political transition to advance. The will of the political leaders is questioned whether they are

honestly interested in conducting change because transparency seems to be a problem in politics, which delays transition. Miller and Martini (2013) acknowledge the challenge in replacing a top-down political system with a new system that seeks transparency. Such a prolonged transition where transparency remains low is damaging Kosova internationally and it is weakening its position against political pressures from the neighbours.

The findings suggest that transition delays are partly the result of undeveloped political culture to run the country. Public.Association.1 put forth the idea that *"transition in Kosova has lasted the longest compared to all the other Eastern European countries, including the former Yugoslavian Republics, because this is the first time we are in a position to govern our country ourselves, so of course it is messy"*. The transition period is unforgiving to undeveloped political culture or political inexperience, particularly when there is a bilateral dialogue taking place determining the future of the country. The current stages of post-war political transition are a defining moment that will determine Kosova's future, because of the ongoing dialogue with Serbia to normalise relations. Baylis (2007) asserts that political inexperience in negotiations can lead to conflict and failure.

The ineffectiveness of the government to govern the country reasonably well throughout this post-war transition has increased the need for international organisations to remain active in Kosova politics. T.industry.3 agrees with Public.Association.1 above and asserted that Kosova needs all the help it can get from international allies *"because we lack experience, expertise, willingness and dedication"*. International organisations are perceived as interventionists, advisors or political coaches to ensure Kosova builds a stabilised future that the whole of the South-East region would benefit from. Even with international presence, lapses of democratic governance are constant barriers to political transition, an issue which raises the question as to what is the cause of this. The under-developed mindset of society is one of the major obstacles to political transition and democratic advancement in post-war Kosova. Yurevich (2013) argues that mindset is an integral factor in determining the path of progress in society and thus an under-developed mindset can mean a fragile

society, prone to instability, resulting in slow political transition and achievement of democratic governance.

Political inexperience and diplomatic unprofessionalism are blamed for keeping Kosova vulnerable to political instability. The political class is blamed for the inability to act according to democratic needs. Baylis (2007) recommends that research is needed on political inexperience in transition economies because it is one of the main causes of the fall of governments. The findings suggest that the source of political inexperience is the lack of tradition or lack of involvement of Kosova Albanian society to govern their own backyard due to historically being under an oppressor. Education of Kosova Albanians has been one of the biggest victims alongside the loss of human life and ethnic cleansing, living under Serbian tyranny for generations. Academic.2 deconstructed the issue of political unawareness and argued that:

> *"our educational system was decomposed by the Serbian regime and the Kosova Albanian society was not encouraged to read. Kosova politics suffer dearly now because of unawareness. When education suffers ignorance prevails and when ignorance is given space it creates a dead-end road. Reformed education will take years to advance because we just do not have the expertise to do that quickly enough. As a result, politics and the governance of Kosova will continue to suffer, hence international expertise is so important to us."*

The mindset of ignorance developed by restricted education in the 1990s and worsened by war traumas has diminished the willingness of the political leaders to honourably improve the way the country is being governed. Thus, T.industry.3 claimed that *"Kosova's governance is sort of democratic but only on paper, not in practice, because we lack experience, expertise, willingness and a dedicated mindset to make positive changes".*

The findings suggest that all research interviewees, including government officials are aware of the issue of inexperience and lack of expertise in politics and all of them acknowledge that this is one of the main reasons why political transition is slow. Civil.Servant.3 was one of many who explained why transition is taking too long. "*The reason why political reforms are slow is because we are still learning by doing, so procedures are often revised several times due to their initial decision-making not being the best"* (Civil.Servant.3)*.* Whilst MP.1 vouched that:

"Kosova is a democratic country" [she recognises that it has been independent] *for only five years"* [and therefore], *it is expected that its democracy is not developed. It means the judiciary system is not strong enough yet to block political interference, which occurs from unprofessional politicians with influence".*

Public.Association.1 believed that political unprofessionalism influences the governance of the state because of *"society's tolerance and its unawareness of what happens in our country and how to intervene".* Public.Association.4 quoted the French philosopher Joseph Maistre with disappointment that the people of Kosova are not involved enough by saying *"every nation has the government it deserves".* It has been established that this is due to political immaturity following restricted education and oppression pre-war. Public.Association.1 maintained that *"as a nation we are immature in terms of politics because of demolished education under the long Serbian occupation of Kosova, which did not give us the opportunity to grow".* T.industry.1 agreed that *"lack of tradition and limited opportunities to be involved in the past system has diminished our belief that our contribution can change anything. The regime coerced us to develop this mindset of inferiority".*

Weak politics in Kosova leaves people with little choice in selecting a better political group to influence change, even when they are aware that inexperience and unprofessionalism is damaging state governance. The Kosova Government remains lenient because opposition is too weak and too dispersed to challenge it. Thus, a consensus is developed based on the interviewees' assessments that the government is ineffective because no one is strong enough to keep them on their toes. Civil.Servant.3 suggested that the reason for weak political parties is because **"Kosova was never governed by a multi-party system and it never had democracy before".**

Kosova is a new democracy, vulnerable to political instability, hence why international guidance is necessary, by way of advice or ultimatums, depending on the situation. Ndikumana (2015) argues that transition after war is unbearable without the aid of international community because of high risk of reoccurring conflicts. Therefore, the Kosova Government requires that international organisations such as EULEX and the EU Office remain in Kosova for the time being. However, political transition will be slow and difficult if the state does not strengthen the rule of law and authority, does

not shield the justice system from politics and allows political unprofessionalism and illegitimacy to influence state governance. Stewart and Brown (2009) believe that achieving such milestones is a fundamental to transition progress. These are some of many demands of the EU for Kosova to meet to progress with transition and improve the journey of achieving EU membership in the future. The agreement among the interviewees about most of the EU demands was illustrated by Civil.Servant.5:

> *"they are compulsory but they are not punishments for Kosova, rather they are drivers to develop our society and our nation. We are not ready to be accepted into Europe yet, because we have not achieved most of these requirements. Kosova's road to Europe is also the journey to complete transition and this is the journey that will construct Kosova into a legitimate European nation"*

International forces acting in post-war Kosova

According to some of the interviewees outside of the government, international forces in Kosova are the main authority, not the Kosova Government, even after independence. They believe that the U.S Embassy together with the embassies of the UK, Germany and France and the EU office hold greater influence. The Kosova Government works closely with such organisations consults them and "*seeks the go-ahead nod before making important decisions*" (Public.Association.3). The interviewees within the government accepted that international forces monitor the government and are very influential but claimed that the government is the only governing body of Kosova.

On the one hand, international influence in Kosova is perceived to be necessary by all interviewees, for example T.industry.1 who adopted the notion that *"our government is not the lone holder of absolute power"*, admits that *"I am glad they are a helping hand to our government because without them I don't know what would have happened, probably we would have had Serbia back here"*. Similarly, Public.Association.3 argued that *"the American Embassy is very influential in Kosova and rightfully so, because they are the reason for a lot of what we have achieved and how far we have come as a new nation"*. Civil.Servant.6 further depicted that *"Kosova does not have a tradition in democratic governance but it is by choice wanting to become democratic, hence why we have many western organisations monitoring the transition processes and guiding us"*.

On the other hand, the approach that international organisations sometimes take to exert their influence in Kosova was described as *"spoon-feeding"* and holding back the development of Kosova's political culture. Public.Association.3 believed international mediation is essential to develop a new democratic system but sometimes *"they are excessive because they delay our development by spoon-feeding us and holding our hand all the time and showing us the road".* While, the Kosova Government was blamed for *"hiding behind the curtain"* (in terms of international presence) even though they should be *"grown-up"* by now and must be judged for what they do (ICS.1). There was a perception that international support has arguably made the Kosova Government lazy in terms of decision making, judgement and deciding how Kosova needs to develop but without them Kosova would be unstable. ICS.1, an International Civil Servant sent by his government to assist the Kosova Government with its transition processes was certainly adamant that *"the internationals should monitor the situation and offer help but they should not impose matters and handle Kosova like an authoritative parent deals with a child using a taught concept of life".* ICS.1 argued that international organisations have the resources that the government needs and this dependency is being exploited, which may not always result in a positive outcome for Kosova:

> **"My opinion is mixed about the international organisations in Kosova such as EULEX and UN overall. The idea is useful but the way they are doing things is wrong. I am not talking about five or ten years ago; I'm talking about now that these international organisations are still interfering too much with things that the Kosova Government should be in charge of. They are here to assist they are not here to run the country anymore. However, some of these organisations act like they are still in charge and the government is just following them. It is like showing a dog a sausage and the dog would start behaving all eager and nice just to get the sausage. In a way, the internationals see themselves as the guy with the sausage and they see the government as the dog wagging its tale and wanting the sausage. This is creating a dependency and a mindset that the Kosova Government doesn't really run the country. To get some funding, the government needs to do things or make decisions that are not necessarily best for the country".**

It was argued that international organisations are not very coordinated but, instead, the Americans ask for something, the EU asks for something else and the IMF for something different and the Kosova Government feels that they need to satisfy each of

them individually. Thus, (MP.2) claimed that *"institutions of Kosova are not governed by internal forces but external forces. This means the embassies and EULEX decide whether a decision made by the institutions is to be approved or not".* The views of the interviewees suggest the government should depart its tendency to always accept whatever is given by its international allies because it is a sign of weakness and an excuse to avoid accountability. Thus, the government should analyse and challenge rather than simply accept international recommendations to find the best solution for Kosova. This is very important according to ICS.1**,** who argued that **"***usually, the international organisations compete with each other in Kosova. So, it is not the case where all their ships are going in the same direction".*

The role of mindset

Being new to democratic governance, it has been suggested that democracy may have been misunderstood by everyone in Kosova, even by the government. The findings suggest society misconstrued that transition from oppression to democratic governance means the system is now 'laissez faire'. According to Academic.1, even the people in charge at the top thought there are no boundaries, so *"this laissez faire mindset came from the top and it trickled down to the lower level officials and all the way down to the average citizen".* Kornai (2000:36) warns governments of transition countries against the misunderstanding of democratic transition. He argues that *"democracy does not simply enact political freedoms, it guarantees them in practice. The state cannot forcibly obstruct freedom of expression, freedom of the press, or freedom of association".*

Communication was perceived to be vital if democratic governance was going to work. However, communication is a problem in a society where top-down approaches have always been applied. Based on his own experience of working with the Kosova Government (ICS.1) explained that a top-down approach is followed intensively which, leads to questionable decisions made by superiors who do not always appear to have sufficient expertise and knowledge: *"Communication with people in lower positions does not take place as it would show lack of proficiency and ability as well as weakness according to the mindset"* (ICS.1). Public.Association.3 agreed that *"the mindset of communication and collaboration is absent* [because] *we feel it endangers our individual integrity"* (T.industry.10), and this creates the mindset of *"dog-eat-dog"*

(T.industry.11) in society to the point where ICS.1 described that *"if an individual from a higher position seeks help from the guys in a lower position the lower guys will see this as a weakness, and believe they can do a better job if they sat in that chair, hence why the people in higher positions feel they need to be authoritarian"*.

Planning suffers because of limited communication and collaboration to the point where it is perceived that transition processes go about in ad-hoc manner. It is believed that it is easy for a post-war society to go about transition without a clear plan, especially when the government and politics are not so advanced. One of the main problems that create lack of planning is a short-term mindset. None of the post-war governments so far in Kosova have planned beyond the years of their governance period. Civil.Servant.1 stated that governments *"leave their positions with no legacies, no agenda, and no plans. They take everything away, so the new government has nothing to work with. Therefore, the objectives are always short-term"*. This is one of the reasons why the national politics are believed to be in state of crisis, which is also damaging Kosova's position in the negotiations with Serbia to normalise bilateral relations. Baliqi (2013) argues that political clashes between the ruling parties and the opposition parties postpone progress of the dialogue.

Unsettled bilateral relations

The dialogue between the governments of Kosova and Serbia, which began in March 2011, was initiated by the EU to normalise bilateral relations between the two countries (Economides and Ker-Lindsay, 2015). The dialogue was introduced to resolve tension between the two communities in Kosova as well as between the two countries and consequently, improve stability in Southeast Europe. According to Bieber (2015) 28 agreements have been achieved in the dialogue talks since 2011, some of which were outstanding since 1999. The interviewees stressed the importance of EU in the dialogue and claimed that *"any achievement would have been unthinkable without EU mediation"* (Civil.Servant.12). This quote demonstrates a lack of faith society may have in its government due to its inexperience in diplomacy and due to popular perceptions that personal benefits of the government officials involved in negotiations may influence a disturbing outcome for Kosova in the future.

It was argued that no one knows when the talks are expected to finish because of different standpoints of the two sides on many issues. As much as the need to negotiate is recognised, the need for finalising decisions seems greater, because as long as these negotiations continue, Kosova will remain in limbo. The country is not being able to look towards future and progress as long as these negotiations linger on. T.industry.1 argued that:

> *"Kosova will remain in a coma, until these negotiations are settled, because the whole country is caught up in this net and cannot plan towards future since we don't know how the decision-making will influence our lives. Transition cannot progress because everything is pending and there is a big question-mark around everything, which does not reduce scepticism about Kosova internationally and locally".*

Whilst, the interviewees expressed the need for the negotiations to be completed *"so everyone can move on with their lives"* (Civil.Servant.7), Bieber (2015) predicts a long-term process and argues that the Kosova-Serbia dialogue was never meant to achieve rapid conclusive results. Instead, the EU intended that the talks would *"gradually build a number of agreements between the two countries that would result in a long-term process in which relations would normalize and both parties could eventually join the EU" (Bieber, 2015: 317).* So far, important agreements have been made, which enables Kosova to utilise its sovereignty at a greater level. For example, the establishment of Integrated Border Management (IBM) between the two countries was agreed, enabling Kosova to control its border with Serbia in the north of the country and establishing the Association of Serb Municipalities and integrating them to the Kosova Government. Serbia lifting its trade embargo on Kosova was also agreed, leading to Kosova joining regional organisations and as a result, signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the EU, an initial step towards EU membership (European Commission, 2016).

Since 2013 however, no major agreement has been made or progress achieved in the implementation of the agreements, and the negotiations have turned 'cold'. Both sides are encouraged by the EU to continue progressing with the dialogue, not because they honestly want to normalise relations but because the more progress which is made with the dialogue the closer they get to becoming EU member states (Szpala, 2016).

Whether agreement occurs in an honest manner to normalise relations or to gain EU membership ICS.1 does not see this as a big problem because one way or another through the dialogue agreements Kosova will be decreasing its biggest historical problems, after all. He argued that:

> *"The north of Mitrovica is a burden for Serbia because they have to fund them but they just want to remain in the media and keep the stakes high to gain the instruments to say to the European Union, okay you give us the road to Europe and we will make peace with Kosova and normalise our relations. That is the deal they want and everybody in the political world understands that. This is very good news for Kosova because it is removing one of the biggest potential dangers you have here."*

However, according to the interviewees, the talks have not resulted in any improvement for either of the two communities on the ground. On the contrary, they have intensified mistrust and rivalry because both communities feel that they are losing more than the other. For example, T.industry.8 felt injustice when

> *"the Serbs are allowed to vote in Kosova with a Serbian passport. As a result, Serbia organizes for people from Serbia to come to Kosova to vote for their Serbian party in Kosova so the Serbs are falsely represented in the parliament. Such has been encouraged by the European Union. The EU does not care whether the representation of Kosova population in the parliament is fair or not. They take measures only to conclude the Kosova problem as soon as possible, and take Kosova out of their daily agenda. As a result, they propose policies that they wouldn't even dream of proposing in their own countries."*

One of the biggest worries of Kosova Albanians is that the dialogue is creating ethnic divisions and impasses similar to those created in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Dayton Agreement 1995[3] as Public.Association.1 argued that:

> *"The dialogue is degrading Kosova and intensifying tensions and divisions between Kosova Serbs and Kosova Albanians. Instead of achieving resolution*

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[3] The Dayton Agreement 1995 is the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is considered to have obstructed Bosnia and Herzegovina from progressing with its transition and reconciliation, as McMahon and Western (2009:74) state that to prevent any one ethnicity from dominating, Bosnia and Herzegovina has three presidents, *"one Muslim representative, one Croat and one Serb, and each representative can veto legislation that he believes undermines his own group's vital interests. As a result, almost every important issue at the central-government level is deadlocked".*

and integration it is establishing another 'Republica Srpska' in the north, similar to how it is in Bosnia & Herzegovina. This is separating Kosova Serbs from the rest of Kosova using ethnic territorial divisions. This would result in endless disagreements, basically paralysing its governance".

However, according ICS.1 the dialogue will not create another 'Republica Srpska' because the two situations are not the same:

"In Bosnia, there is political division that is also in the constitution. Here you don't have that. You have this de facto division of a small part which is now in the process to be resolved. The Serbs in other parts of Kosova are well integrated. They are in the Kosova Government. They have one of the Deputy Minister positions. Two or three Ministers, they are represented in all state institutions, even to a higher percentage than the percentage of the total population of Serbs in Kosova. It is up to them but Kosova is doing everything it can to integrate them".

The findings suggest that both communities of Kosova Albanians and Kosova Serbs seem to understand that the political elites of both sides are the actual winners of the dialogue and not the people. By negotiating, the EU does not put enough pressure on the political elites for their undemocratic and corruptive practises in their respective countries. The biggest failure of the dialogue from Kosova's perspective is that it has not actually resulted in the Kosova Serb structures integrating with the Kosova authorities but, instead, they have been heavily subordinated to the government in Belgrade (Szpala, 2016). T.industry.9 claimed that, *"the Serbian minority and their structures are being very difficult to deal with because they don't recognise our Kosova authorities and instead they take orders from Belgrade".* One of the initial agreements was that Serbia would not obstruct Kosova's progress internationally but this is not being respected since Serbia continually lobbies against Kosova's independence and its recognition, whilst successfully blocking its UNESCO membership in 2015 (Szpala, 2016).

T.industry.8 argued earlier that the EU is seeking "to conclude the Kosova problem as soon *as possible, and take it out of their daily agenda".* This view is reflected by Szpala (2016) who suggests that the EU has other more urgent matters to deal with now such as the increasing tensions with Russia and the Syrian refugee crises, which means its resources to mediate and encourage the improvement of the Kosovar-Serb relations,

are diminishing. Wider political changes in Europe can be a concern for stability in Kosova and in the region.

Whilst, Kosova's transition needs the bilateral dialogue to normalise relations with Serbia its limited achievement is delaying the progress of transition. Furthermore, on a more internal level transition is found to be deliberately delayed by factors or forces that benefit from a non-transparent situation.

Misuse of power

In Kosova, political actors include the parliament, which is constituted by representatives from all ethnic groups, supported and guided by embassies, such as those from the QUINT-countries and international organisations. There was a strong perception among interviewees that political actors utilise power for personal interests or for the benefit of interest groups. Relating this to Lukes' (1974, 2005) dimensions of power, power is not 'purely' used to make decisions on behalf of the people (first dimension), but used in a non-legitimate way to positively influence one's or a group's personal interests (second dimension). Interviewees perceived that power is illegitimately utilised by diverse political actors and at different levels, and partly with the intention of delaying transition processes in Kosova, since maintaining the status quo might be beneficial for some political actors (this is further evaluated in the following).

The interviewees pointed out that there was a political elite (i.e. the party in power) manipulating their power in order to gain personal wealth through corruptive practices using state resources. Interviewees accused the political elite of recruiting their relatives or associates through nepotism, in order to strengthen their authority, and of manipulating elections, in order to remain in power. Therefore, interviewees strongly perceive 'power as domination', in that the party in power uses its power to dominate and to prevent others from gaining power (see: VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002). Because of unbalanced power, corruption and nepotism were considered to flourish. The government and the public sector were perceived to employ people through nepotism, whilst having little or no qualifications for the positions they occupy (Civil.Servant.11). It was argued that political affiliation has more influence than expertise in helping

individuals to progress in society. Civil.Servant.4 believed that *"this is the misery of a mindset that preserves anti-values".* By *"anti-values"* she intended to refer to values that are harmful to society for example, corruption, nepotism, destructive dominance and a retributive attitude.

These officials who find themselves in high positions by applying *"anti-values"* (Civil.Servant.4) continue to use the same methods for personal gain and to employ others as Civil.Servant.2, one of the government professionals himself, considers that *"the suffocation of democracy comes from officials who have limited knowledge of their roles because they were selected for the job through the channels of nepotism, corruption and other criminalised means".* According to Tourism.Association.5 government positions are mostly given to those individuals who are known in society as *"political militants". "Political militants"* were described by the interviewees as individuals who have helped their party leaders to win national or local elections, and in return, they are awarded with a position to run a department within a municipality or ministry, even if they have no knowledge of the field they lead.

Nepotism was found to be a major problem across the public sector, because procedures and policies, that are in place to avoid nepotism, are overlooked or manipulated by the people in charge, since there are no proper monitoring measures to oversee the process. According to T.industry.1 there are two different types of nepotism, both discriminative:

> *"one where people are employed because of their connections with the government or with the 'right' political party. The other is when people are deliberately blocked because they have ties with or belong to the 'wrong' political party".*

It has also been highlighted that government parties have key members, who stay with the party, not because of the ideology of the party, but because of their personal interests. T.industry.1 claimed:

> *"the party needs to feed them, pay them well because their motivation comes only from power and money. In order to pay them the party manipulates the finances of various sectors of the economy and thus they step into the state budget. There are a lot of government people who have their own businesses and what is worse is that they provide state tenders to their own businesses".*

Corruption and nepotism were perceived as the most serious problems that stifle democracy and political transition in Kosova. This is also supported by Transparency International in their latest Corruption Perceptions Index Report (2016) where Kosova is ranked 95th least corrupt nation out of 175 countries.

Since there is a strong perception of 'power over', interviewees believed that Kosova will not move on towards democratic governance, but will remain in its status quo. Interviewees argued that keeping the 'status quo' also benefits other political actors, such as international organisations in Kosova. ICS.1 was convinced that:

> *"monetary organisations for example prefer for Kosova to remain underdeveloped so the government seeks further funding and loans. International diplomats and other personnel working for EULEX don't want to lose their jobs because they have a very good life here. They live in luxury houses and are treated like pashas* [lords] *by the people. They get a very decent salary and on top of that they receive additional bonuses because Kosova is still considered a dangerous country by their employers. This is why they always describe Kosova as a conflict zone in their annual reports, mainly because their salaries very much depend on the category of the countries in which they work. If it would be considered as a country where everything is more or less OK, and the place not considered as dangerous then their salaries would have been considerably lower. That's why it is in their personal interest to describe the situation in Kosova as very bad, very dangerous with full of problems. They don't really want to work towards the fast development of Kosova where in the end they would be considered surplus to requirement. Instead, they want to be considered important in order for the EU to prolong their contracts for another five or ten years, if possible. This is a very nice and decent paid job in a decently safe environment. To be honest, foreigners abroad would say Kosova is dangerous and not safe but I haven't heard any foreigner here saying that Kosova is not safe or is a dangerous place. In a way they are all laughing that Kosova is perceived dangerous from outside. Foreigners can afford a lifestyle in Kosova that they would probably not be able to afford in their home countries. So, all these guys have an interest for the EULEX mission to continue for as long as possible".*

A government official (Civil.Servant.2) himself claimed that EULEX is in Kosova to deal with high ranking court cases, because they know the suspected political individuals are powerful and can manipulate the Kosova judiciary. He argued that EULEX is being very inefficient since their mission began in 2006, and that was unclear as to what or how much EULEX does to fulfil their objectives. MP.1 explained that *"EULEX will remain in Kosova for many years to come because the judiciary system is not functioning fairly.*

The judges continue to treat court cases based on political affiliations or they are blackmailed or bribed". It was found that, whilst Kosova is perceived to suffer from high corruption involving the political elite, EULEX's main objective is to prosecute high corruption cases, but was not able to hold anyone accountable and prove any serious corruption cases. Civil.Servant.2 pointed out that:

> "EULEX [...] haven't really dealt with many serious cases since their arrival in 2006, apart from two, which EULEX lost both. No cases have been brought to light regarding current affairs of higher ranking political officials and their perceived corruptive wealth that EULEX is supposedly investigating".

Whilst, it was believed that EULEX is highly needed in Kosova to help the justice system to *"get rid of the bad apples"* (T.industry.6), most of the participants emphasised that the problem is not the legal system, but the people within the legal system and the political elite controlling it. It was also noted that not only the Kosova Government should be blamed for corruption, but also the international organisations in Kosova. ICS.1 claimed that:

> "We accuse the Kosova Government of corruption but unfortunately they are not the only ones. The European Union is not free from corruption either. I was working in Kosova five years ago and there was a European Union Office of Procurement and all their tenders went surprisingly to one or two companies from a certain country where the head of procurement was from. They won all the procurement projects in Kosova. These companies probably shared the profit with the head of procurement office".

Interviewees argued that the illegitimate use of power by various political parties and at different levels has diverse origins. Firstly, it was assumed that misuse of power has its roots in society, in that people have the mindset to participate in corruptive affairs. As such, it was considered a nationwide problem that is established 'bottom-up' since people with this mindset will enter political positions through nepotism, which feeds the current political elite with the same attitude. If misuse of power has its origins in people's mindset, it is unlikely that change will occur in the near future.

Secondly, the 'vacuum of the rule of law' in the post-war transitional era was identified as a key factor contributing to misuse of power. Interviewees described that political leaders mostly worked the fields before the war, got involved in the Kosova Liberation Army during the war and held some high positions. After the war, they created a

political party, captured important positions, and weakened political competition through various means including assassinations and they have become untouchable since. T.industry.3 narrated:

> *"Most of the politicians were poor or had modest lives until after the war. Within 15 years most of them have established their dynasties, and own the biggest businesses in Kosova. Do you think they did this with their wages, which do not exceed one thousand Euros a month? No, they did this by abusing the public money and by taking advantage of their key positions in running the state".*

It was discussed by the interviewees that, after the war, poverty met with sudden power and wealth, and thus, created a 'black hole of greed' in the eyes of the beneficiaries, who want to 'consume' everything in their grasp - resulting in high level of misuse of power.

Tourism.Association.2 called this *"from rags to riches through corruption".* Civil.Servant.2 underlined the immorality of corruption and quoted the Bible that *"during crucifixion Christ said, 'Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing'. In our case, they know what they are doing but their* hunger and greed to have it all blinds them". T.industry.1 claimed:

> *"those are the people who wore 'opinga" [cow skin shoes traditionally worn by poor people] "and all of a sudden they have signatory power for a tender worth 10 million Euros. Do you want to go back to your village and wear 'opinga' when your party loses elections or do you want to take advantage of your position while you're in power and ensure you will always be wealthy?"*

All of this is carried out by 'being above the justice system' and/or by or corrupting people within the justice system. There was a strong perception amongst the interviewees that, the ruling elite have made themselves exempt from justice and rule of law. Accordingly, political power at the highest level is used to increase illegitimate wealth, avoid prosecution and strengthen dominance. The only way to combat this injustice is by strengthening the absolute rule of law for everyone, including those at the top. However, many of the participants claimed that the rule of law cannot be enforced as long as the politicians who have captured the system would not allow this change. Therefore, the problem is further intensified since the political leaders, who are responsible for implementing legislations and rules, are corrupt. It was argued that

political actors benefit from the status quo, and therefore, intentionally delay the implementation of the rule of law, in order to have 'space' to carry on with their 'mischievous' activities. An interviewee (T.industry.4) described that *"a wolf likes fog because it can strike without being noticed and some people do not want to get out of this vicious circle, which is costing us".*

Interviewees reported that corruption and nepotism might have existed before the war; however, Yugoslavia had a reputable system, where the rule of law did not have as much vacuum as it is perceived currently. It was stated that the system was different in terms of advancement from the new system that Kosova and its international allies are trying to establish in this current time of transition, where there are many loose ends in the system and accountability at the highest level is low. Tourism.Association.5 agreed that *"we inherited this mindset from the communist period but it was on a smaller scale then, a grey zone corruption".* Accordingly, this interviewee considered misuse of power as a trait of society; however, only the 'vacuum of rule of law' in the post-war transitional period provided the opportunity for people to utilise their 'power over'.

In the period of 1989-1999 Kosova was dominated by the Serbian oppression and it was difficult for the interviewees to recapture many scenarios of misuse of power that were similar to now. This is because the whole country was in chaos from 1989-1999. Kosova Albanians were excluded from any public activities, to know what was happening. Also, the dire conditions in Kosova had surpassed the stages of misuse of power. The human rights were neglected and abused by the whole regime. Thus, misuse of power and abuse of rights were utilised commonly by the government of Serbia against Kosova Albanians.

Many of the interviewees agreed and shared similar views, when recollecting their memories, that corruption and bribery was imposed on the people by the Serbian regime, especially in the period 1989-1999. It happened after Kosova Albanians were sacked from their public-sector jobs and were replaced by Kosova Serbs. From that point on, every time Kosova Albanians needed some official documentation from a council office, such as birth certificate or marriage certificate the Serb officials would first ask for 100 Deutschmarks, sometimes more, depending on the job, before

releasing the documents. On other occasions, they would ask for the client to buy breakfast for the whole office, or bring some soft drinks and *bombonjere* (boxes of chocolates). After a while, Kosova Albanians developed this obliged mindset that they would not go to a municipality office without some cash to buy whatever the officials desired on the day. As T.industry.6 revealed that *"even with payments we were made to feel lucky when they accepted our request for a document. Because of being treated comparable to a third-class citizen, our mind was beaten into a cage and we felt like slaves"*. In contrast to the previous view, that corruptive behaviour is a trait of society, this interviewee pointed out that people learned in the previous system that goals can only be achieved by using manipulation.

Another interviewee (Civil.Servant.7) supported the idea that people were forced to 'play the game'. Civil.Servant.7 referred to a phrase by an Albanian writer, Migjeni (1911-1938), that in 1934, he once described people of two kinds; *"suffering Socrates or a satisfied big".* In simple terms, it means principled and poor or ignorant and rich. *"Suffering Socrates"* in this context indicates that some people in Kosova stand against the 'wicked' and criticise the wrong, but suffer throughout, because they stand against a 'powerful force'. A *"satisfied big"* indicates that other people 'play along' and join the 'wicked force' as long as they share some of that power and wealth. This is, because the people feel helpless to try and change or obstruct such practices at the top that hinder their everyday lives. The only way not to be a victim is by partaking, for example, finding a connection within a public institution to be employed through nepotism. People's lack of confidence to fight corruption at institutional level, has turned them against the system and thus everyone tries to avoid paying taxes because they believe the money will only benefit the corrupt elite. It was also argued that *"Kosova's weak and hesitant society* [is the cause of the] polluted governance, because it accepts how it is being governed" (Public.Association.1).

Overall, there were strong perceptions among the interviewees that Kosova's political elite has 'power over' society, in that power is utilised not only for legitimate purposes, but mainly illegitimately in order to increase personal wealth. Accordingly, it was articulated that people feel powerless against the political elite, which results in illegitimate behaviour amongst individuals. On the one hand, this supports the view

that power is directed from 'the powerful' to the 'powerless'; on the other hand, people feel powerless, however, they respond towards the dominance (by applying illegitimate tactics e.g. not paying taxes) in order to encourage change. Thus, power is not a one-way street, but created by agents who respond and influence, which supports Giddens' (1992) view of the duality of power structures. Whilst political power is externally challenged, although fairly weak, it is argued that power structures will remain. Through nepotism, individuals with similar mindset will get into political positions - thus, strengthening structural power, which is difficult to break - particularly, only through weak resistance.

Interviewees considered different origins of the illegitimate behaviour of the 'powerful' elite: some interviewees believed that it is a trait of the mindset, which (always) existed; however, only in the current conditions of the 'vacuum of rule of law', corruption and nepotism could flourish; other interviewees made the communist systems and the dire post-war conditions in Kosova responsible for the high level of corruption. Therefore, the origins remain uncertain.

What remains certain is that this illegitimate behaviour has a negative impact on Kosova's political transition, since political actors seem to have interest in maintaining the status quo for their own benefits. Accordingly, Kosova's political transition is weak - mainly, because the people responsible for promoting its political transition do not have an interest in doing so.

5.2.3. Economic transition in post-war Kosova

State-owned economic structure and its conditions in pre-war Kosova

In Socialist Yugoslavia, Kosova was part of the wider plans for economic development and Kosova's trade was oriented towards the other Yugoslavian regions. However, the state was less enthusiastic about investing in Kosova compared with the other regions. Kosova was not a republic within Yugoslavia. It was only a province of the Serbian Republic of Yugoslavia. As a result, Serbia internally governed Kosova, often without the involvement of the Yugoslavian central institutions. Serbia's governance obstructed the economic development of Kosova. Kosova depended on state funding

but this was cut by Belgrade and in return Kosova Albanians became reliant on the grey economy or on family remittance from abroad (Amnesty International, 1998).

When Kosova was a province of Serbia, its political disorder always had a negative effect on its economic conditions. Kosova remained economically deprived from the establishment of Yugoslavia post-World War 2 until the mid-1970s. The 1950s and 1960s brought Alexander Rankovic to power as the Interior Minister of Serbia and, with him, came difficult circumstances for Kosova Albanians in particular. Rankovic policed Kosova with an iron fist and prevented any economic development. This increased poverty amongst the Kosova Albanian people as his approach segregated them from participating in economic spheres. His objective was to impoverish the economic living conditions of Kosova Albanians as part of an ethnic cleansing tactic intended to facilitate a wider Serbian goal of 'Greater Serbianism' (Bliss and Stein, 1999). Tito's dismissal of Rankovic in the late 1960s and the enforcement of the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution provided some economic stability in Kosova. The 1974 Yugoslav Constitution officially established the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova in Serbia, within Yugoslavia and guaranteed equal rights. The system of governance was socialism and the state owned all the enterprises and corporations. The Socialist governance of Yugoslavia was a particular system of the east, but not the same as the Soviet system. There was less state control and with the constitution of 1974 the economic sector was co-operatively governed by the workforce (Bellamy, 2000). T.industry.4 explained that *"the state made some large investments in Kosova in the 1970s and 1980s and Kosova Albanians became involved in the economic spheres again and we were treated equally to other ethnicities".* Many of the interviewees stated that the rise of Milosevic in the late 1980s and the abolishment of the constitution of 1974 were perceived or considered to have brought back similar challenging economic circumstances as in the 1950s and 1960s. For example, Kosova Albanians were dismissed from public sector employment and banned from any state involvement between 1989 and 1999. It is understood that Serbia subordinated and integrated Kosova's economic structures to Belgrade, whilst independent private sector activities of Kosova Albanians (such as trade) were born out of necessity but remained in a disorganised state and operated illegally in the grey economy. Traders were regularly

hunted by the police force and their products confiscated. T.industry.6, who worked in the public sector until 1989, argued that:

> *"poverty and difficult economic conditions amongst the Albanians was the very essence of Serbia's objective to achieve its historic goal of ethnic cleansing but this was spoiled by the large Kosova Albanian diaspora, which kept Kosova from total economic collapse".*

Civil.Servant.5, an official in the current government contended that the Kosova Albanian diaspora was created by Serbia's strategy of ethnic cleansing. However, he elaborated that "*the larger the Diaspora population developed the more achievable the Kosova Albanian cause for freedom became". This was argued to be because of its* financial support, which helped to establish a parallel education system for Kosova Albanians amongst other resistance schemes, including the Kosova Liberation Army.

Economic structures in Kosova and its conditions in post-war transition

The economic structures that were destroyed in the 1990s are yet to take an appropriate form in Kosova's post-war transition. The findings indicate that the post-war transitional economic structures in Kosova are moving from state-command to a mixed open market neoliberalism. Both neoliberalism and command economies have fundamental problems if exclusively applied. Therefore, a mixed market economy, where there is still some government intervention is the most common economic system in the world (Tziamalis and Lagos, 2016). Kosova is also transitioning to a mixed market economy but its journey is slow and challenging. Through observation and data collection it was found that its current system is a weak mixed market economy because privatisation of large state assets is obstructed by various forces. The difference between the mixed market economy in Kosova and the one discussed by Tziamalis and Lagos (2016) is crucial because the former is in transition and has not reached its desired level of mix market system. This is due to complexities caused by internal political unsteadiness, and ineffective governance and external political obstruction from Serbia. This is delaying economic transition and development. Therefore, the mixed market economy currently in Kosova is arguably an unfortunate blend of free-market and command economies.

The government has taken a non-interventionist approach to the economy, while, conducting the privatisation of numerous state assets. Therefore, the economic transition has progressed to a degree because privatisation is in the process, but the functioning and the development of the economy has been very slow, so far. The economy remains weak, with 30% of the total population being unemployed and 30% living in poverty. This is above the average (20%) for Southeast European non-EU countries (NDS, 2016). Civil.Servant.2 admits that the conditions of the Kosova economy *"can only be described with negative indicators"* because the economy in post-war transition has not experienced any significant improvement. Tourism.Association.5 and T.industry.6 also reported that they are convinced that all transition processes are hampered by unattractive economic conditions in the country. Nellis (1999) argue that transitional states experience economic decline because state intervention in the economy falls and the private sector is underdeveloped to stabilise the economy, independently.

As aggrieved as most of the participants are with the disheartening situation surrounding the economy, most of them agree that transitioning to a neo-liberal approach is more desirable than the previous economic system under socialism. For example, T.industry.1 claimed that the development of *"the private sector is improving products and services because of competition something, which did not exist in socialism".* However, T.industry.4 declared that as much as the private sector is doing to expand and as a result, strengthen the economy, the government's negligent approach in economic planning has left the economy *"with no particular focus or indication for development".* This is echoed by Gatzweiler and Hagedorn (2003) who claim that economic transition in most Eastern European countries has been rushed from being institutionally dominated in the previous system to institutionally abandoned in the new developing system.

Another interviewee, Civil.Servant.2, a public sector economist argued that the government's approach to step back from intervening in the economy after being totally involved and interventionist in the previous system is *"not a justifiable transition approach, because it has created disorder in the sector and people are confused as to what the government's duties are in relation to the economy".* Earlier

research from Aghion and Blanchard (1993) and Dewatripont and Roland (1996) argued that rapid economic transition can create disruption as it does not provide enough time for new and credible institutions and industries to replace the 'hand' of the government. In the eyes of the people, it is unclear whether the government's detached approach is because it is trying to transition the economy to an open market system or whether it is a result of its inefficiency. Therefore, it creates confusion as to who is actually responsible to intervene in the economy. Academic.1 believes *"the people are confused about the role of the post-war government, because no one intervenes. They still expect the current government, just like in socialism, to be the key investor and the key employer"*, something that is not the case in a neoliberal economy. This is echoed by MP.1, who suggests that:

> *"neither the government nor the people know how involved the government should be in the economy, because we are all learning by doing. The government has not organised any public education to inform the people about the difference of the past and the current systems and its responsibilities in the current economic system".*

Public.Association.2 argues that post-war Kosova Governments do not educate the people on the current economic system and about their lack of intervention because during election campaigns *"every political party insincerely conveys that if they win the elections they will employ hundreds of thousands of people, something that is never achieved but the people still hope that one day it might be true".*

Lack of clarity in the government's role in strategic planning

It may be suggested that government responsibilities are largely misunderstood by everyone in society, including the government officials, due to the uncertainty and misunderstanding of the new economic system that the government is aiming to establish. It was found that the government has not established the appropriate economic infrastructure that would enable fruitful evolvement of the economy. Academic.2 inferred that *"maybe, it is the fault of political inexperience and unprofessionalism in diplomacy that has made the economy very vulnerable".* Carvalho *et al* (2016) argue that newly independent states undergoing transition from a socialist system have limited experience of independence and sovereignty, which dampens economic performance. Several interviewees, Civil Servants and MPs (Civil.Servant.3,

Civil.Servant.4 and MP.1) agreed with Carvalho *et al* (2016) by claiming that the Kosova Government is *"learning by doing".* The viewpoint of Academic.1 is interesting. He reflected that such incapacity increases unproductive bureaucracy and potential investors are detracted from doing business in Kosova. The extent of the government's unawareness and inflexibility on whether and how to intervene in the economy has, for several years absorbed the national budget mainly for the construction of roads and highways. According to Public.Association.1, such behaviour by the government has taken the other sectors *"hostage"* because they need urgent attention such as healthcare. Those sectors have only been provided with minimum financial support, and keep them from total collapse. According to all of the interviewees, post-war governments' inattentive approaches to the economy in Kosova have for nearly a decade and a half left the country without an official strategy for national economic development. It is worth noting that in the first quarter of 2016 Kosova published its National Development Strategy (NDS) 2016-2021 that aims to address the *"priority of all priorities",* which is economic development. The priorities here align with concerns expressed by the interviewees in this research.

The findings suggest that the economic approach is more of an ad-hoc nature and lacks official strategic planning. Economic legislations are in place but these were not perceived to be implemented sufficiently. Public.Association.1 argued that a lack of strategic planning and semi-implementation of laws has weakened the economic arena in Kosova and pushed the economic conditions to yesteryears where *"most economic transactions are made with commodities, swapping goods or services with other goods or services because of limited cash flow in the country".* In similar vein Journalist.1 claimed that there are no development prospects because the government does not know what needs to be done. He recalled that even in the Socialist Yugoslavia, *"Kosova never had meaningful politics or good strategies for economic development or any type of development"* and he believed that this trend has continued in post-war transition.

It is interpreted that the state is non-interventionist not only in economic activities but also in economic planning because of poor strategic planning for national development. This is arguably the most unsound example of a non-interventionist approach taken by

a government because the country's objectives and priorities in relation to national resources, individual sectors and national needs have not been addressed in the first decade and a half of economic transition. Cojocaro *et al* (2016) argues that transition in a post-socialist country is challenging because of the need to develop a whole new financial system. They claim that the economic system in the past was mainly an accounting organisation for implementing economic plans without the financial schemes in place to ensure financial allowance was utilised well. Tourism.Association.4, pointed out that the government defends its negligent behaviour by claiming that *"in a liberalised market the government is no longer responsible to interfere in the economy, the market forms itself and dictates the economic lifecycle"*. The policies and legislations are not sufficiently applied in Kosova's economic transition, which means dishonest application of liberalism is taking place. T.industry.3, a business owner himself claimed that:

> *"Market players manipulate the system with illicit manoeuvres as a result of state's non-interventionist approach. The mindset of the people and more so the mindset of the government officials, is that in liberalism everything is unrestrained but this rampage is creating economic anarchy".*

Aghion *et al* (2011) argue that people in low trust countries demand higher government intervention in economic development, because of dishonest entrepreneurs. This research discovered that such an extreme approach of non-interventionism by the Kosova Government has given opportunity for the increase of organised crime and corruption. T.industry.2 claimed that with current economic conditions people

> *"have become too powerful and are even able to manage the government in the way it suits them. They [...] influence the highest ranking government officials and are able to overcome every possible rule of law. This is what is happening in Kosova to a degree. This is because the government does not know what rules to enforce or is not able to implement its rules effectively. When trade inspectors visit businesses and find them on the wrong side of the law they get bribed and they pretend like everything was fine".*

The findings suggest that the mindset in business society is by and large to conduct business transactions informally in order to avoid paying taxes as T.industry.7 owner of a travel agency explained that:

"Most businesses do not release receipts or invoices. Some charge extra 20% when you require an invoice. They tell you openly that they do not give invoices to avoid paying taxes. Nobody monitors them and there aren't any real inspection programmes to track them down, even though such illegal activities are everywhere and so easy to find. This is one of the main reasons why the state budget is very small. Yet, hypocritically, the business society always criticise the government for being corrupt".

Aghion *et al* (2011) argue that such negative beliefs regarding the performance of the business society is due to the beliefs that the economy is too unregulated in capitalism. They assert that people in developing countries feel that unregulated economy enables unfair benefits to the business society. Tella and MacCulloch (2009) similarly argue that despite being the most responsive to economic growth, free-market economy is not accepted so freely in developing countries. Such conclusions were not found in this research. On the contrary, all interviewees were positive about the free-market approach to develop the economy. However, they have limited confidence in the government's non-interventionist approach to the economy because they claimed it allows businesses to avoid paying taxes through informal activities and as a result harm the country. T.industry.3 believed this outcome originates from *"lack of fear due to lack of punishment"*.

It was also considered that the business society is strongly linked to government and parliament officials, with the largest business enterprises in Kosova being owned by them. This raised doubts amongst the interviewees as to whether the state officials honestly desire the implementation of absolute rule of law and to monitor the business sector. Furthermore, Civil.Servant.2 argued that *"given the fact that currently the companies that dominate the Kosova market are mostly those related to politics, indicates that a form of monopoly is created, which does not generate any positive outcome in society".* For example, the biggest trade importers are also members of the Kosova Parliament. ICS.1 claimed that:

"A lot of arable land is not put to use and that has something to do with politics. If you are an importer of products from agriculture sector and you are also a government official you are not interested in having local competition, so you take it hostage. When we had the privatisation of land here a lot of these traders bought land and they don't do anything with it".

Most state officials or their interest groups that own businesses in Kosova are focused in the trade sector. This resembles the current economic orientation of the country as there are more imports than exports. According to the new Kosova National Development Strategy (KNDS) 2016-2021, the average ratio of export to import in Southeast Europe - (non-EU member states) is above 46%, whereas in Kosova the export to import ratio is 12%, which means, that 88% of Kosova's market depends on imports. One interviewee, Civil.Servant.2 regarded that *"we are continuously failing to protect and support local productions, at the time when Kosova is being flooded by foreign imports. This fact indicates that Kosova is mainly exporting cash, while production remains cramped"*. These views illustrate a lack of confidence in state institutions and the justice system in Kosova. They indicate that impartiality of state officials in the Kosova economy is low. Government impartiality means *"to be unmoved by certain sorts of considerations - such as special relationships and personal preferences"* (Cupit, 2000:16) Impartiality is the stark opposite of government officials acting to maximise their self-interests at the expense of public-interests (Tomini, 2012). Rothstein and Teorell (2015) argue that the quality of government is measured by the impartiality in the exercise of its governance. Such impartiality in governance means *"when implementing laws and policies, government officials shall not take anything about the citizen or case into consideration that is not beforehand stipulated in the policy or the law"* (Rothstein and Teorell, 2008: 170).

It was found that better economic policies and stronger rule of law were identified as being able to encourage privatisation of state assets and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), because it would show that the state is serious and wants to genuinely establish an appropriate environment to complete economic transition. However, the extent to which this is happening was put into question by most of the private sector and public association interviewees as well as some of those working for the government.

Mismanagement off state-asset privatisation and limited FDI

It was found that privatisation of state assets was activated at the beginning of the post-war period by UNMIK's administration as part of the state building programme in Kosova and then the Kosova Government took responsibility after the independence in 2008 (Knudsen, 2013). Its timing, approach and outcome are not considered to have

been very favourable since the beginning because the privatised assets were sold at discounted prices with limited contractual conditions and marred by corruption allegations (Valentino, 2008). As a result, privatisation has not been seen to have benefited the economy or reduced unemployment by any significance since 1999 (UNKT, 2010). Tourism.Association.4 remarked that the

"management of state assets has gone in two very extreme ways; assets have either been privatised to alienation so new owners can do whatever they want with it without any accountability, or state assets have been neglected, diminished and continue to remain state owned in run down conditions".

There was consensus amongst the interviewees that UNMIK did not help the economy by privatising Kosova assets before its independence. One example here by Civil.Servant.9 is the sentiment that:

"the state assets that were sold before independence have not only gone for cheap but most of them do not function to their capacity, because UNMIK's privatising contracts were very weak. This damaged the economy because Kosova's assets were not valued highly enough, as the country was unstable and it didn't have a status".

It can be acknowledged that the privatisation of Kosova assets while under international administration has not been a success, because it has not resulted in any significant economic development (UNKT, 2010). Whilst, Knudsen (2013), Medjad (2004) and Perrit (2005) criticise UNMIK's approach and lack of achievement, they also elaborate the complexities relating to ownership issues that affected the privatisation of all Kosova assets, because of ownership ambiguity and arrangements stemming from former Yugoslavia. Such difficulties were further distressed when Serbia conducted several dubious privatisations of Kosova assets (Uvalic, 2001). Overall, Knudsen (2013) argues that rather than planning for a privatisation model and discussing whether there should have been privatisation at all at that point, international actors decided privatisation was unconditional. She argues that privatisation was supposed to be a technical process to 'ignite' economic development instead it was transformed into a political process. Lastly, she claims that the international factor spent time, energy and significant resources in establishing a legal

infrastructure for the protection of international officials involved in privatisation processes against any eventual lawsuits.

The negative perception of the interviewees are validated by BSKP, (2010) with regards to the outcome of privatisation, which states that unsuccessful privatisation has unemployed 75,000 people, without any social assurances, who were previously employed by socially owned enterprises. However, the interviewees fail to consider the obstacles involved in the privatisation processes concerning asset ownership, which made UNMIK's task to successfully privatise Kosova assets almost impossible. At the same time, the interviewees emphasise that five years after Kosova's independence, privatisation processes, approaches and outcomes under the management of the Kosova Government have not improved. These views have been echoed by the European Commission Kosova Report (2016:38) as it states that:

> *"overall, very limited progress was achieved in the privatisation and liquidation of socially-owned enterprises and in the restructuring of publicly-owned enterprises. […] The unresolved status of property rights and lengthy legal proceedings in dealing with financial claims on privatised assets hinder the privatisation process".*

The economy remains weak and unemployment is high. Assets are either sold cheaply as previously done by UNMIK or cannot be sold at all because of limited credible interest. Privatisation has not attracted an adequate number of serious investors because of Kosova's current political obstacles and weak image internationally, even after independence. The U.S. Department of State (2016:3) released Kosova's Investment Climate Status and identified that *"political instability coupled with corruption -- practiced and perceived -- unreliable energy supply, a large informal economy estimated at 35% of GDP, and a lack of contract enforcement have created significant barriers to foreign investment".*

It is understood that Kosova's image remains weak internationally due to limited positive promotion globally and weak political status, which slows down economic transition. This is due to the war, continual entangling with Serbia and an inability to swiftly end Serbia's influence in Kosova. Civil.Servant.10, a state official at the investment agency, argued that, because of ongoing political struggles, *"premium investors are not attracted: thus, we can only sell state assets to second and third tier*

investors for as much as they can afford". Tourism.Association.4 maintained that Kosova does not have a competitive economy because *"assets were partitioned when sold and thus, they lost their credibility and the capacity to compete in the international market and thus export is very scarce".* Tourism.Association.3 believes that the weak rule of law in Kosova discourages large investors *"because they say they are afraid to come here as it is financially risky".*

Some assets are not privatised even after their devaluation, due to limited serious investors. ICS.1 recalls that *"recently, the Kosova Government was in the process of privatising one of the largest state assets and the investor company that was perceived the strongest and won the bid still could not afford it".* It is understood that this is just one example of bad privatisation experience that has contributed to the negative perception of the interviewees towards the outcome of privatisation. There were other similar cases that continue to hamper economic transition and development in Kosova.

The Kosova Government is under pressure from international monetary organisations to continue privatising state assets even under such circumstances. ICS.1 contended that *"several projects, such as the motorway that are meant to be supported by the World Bank and the IMF are put on hold until the Kosova Telecom is privatised".* Hence, the issues are linked and therefore, the Kosova Government needs to continue privatising assets cheaply to find loans for infrastructure projects. Tourism.Association.3 argued that *"this is like telling a poor family they can only borrow money to live on after they sold their house. So, I think the big pressure they are putting on the government is not helpful; on the contrary it is causing harm".* It was further claimed that such international organisations *"do not intentionally do things to cause harm but there is a certain organisational protocol and criteria they follow, which is not always helpful to poor countries"* (ICS.1).

It is understood that due to the poor privatisation experience, Kosova has missed an opportunity to maintain its competitiveness with the neighbouring countries. However, opportunities for investment are manifold since privatisation is still a long way to completion but political barriers are limiting investor interest. Kosova opened its doors to privatisation more intensively after the independence in 2008 but this did not result

in greater privatisation because global recession became another factor to slow down foreign investment. Civil.Servant.8 another agent at the investment agency of Kosova, explained that:

> *"foreign investors tell us that they want to invest in Kosova while it's still a jungle here. Companies are expected to invest in Kosova because it is a merging market and with high economic potential due to its high percentage of available workforce. Slow investment is also believed to be the outcome of the 2008 recession that continued for several years, hitting hard the south-east Europe such as Greece but also Italy".*

An increase of FDI has been witnessed in recent years since Kosova is no longer viewed a high security risk environment. ICS.1 considered that more companies have begun to view Kosova as a possible investment destination because of comparable low-costs involved. He claimed that:

> *"investors have no problem to find staff that speak foreign languages here, it is a very young country with a young population, the political situation is becoming a lot clearer and it doesn't seem to be risky to foreign investors anymore as it was considered a few years ago".*

However, semi-implementation of rule of law and weak image internationally due to a lack of promotion campaign further obstruct privatisation processes (U.S State Department, 2016). Public.Association.1 stated that, *"the rule of law is selective when it comes to the rich and the powerful politicians and other individuals who have full access to the government".* On top of that, the government does not guarantee sufficient support and incentives to FDI, the way the neighbouring countries do and thus Kosova's economy lacks competitive strength in this challenging transition period. There is evidence to show that, a high level of unproductive bureaucracy worsened by an individualist mindset amongst government officials involved in the privatisation processes has increased loopholes for bribery that investors are confronted with. Such negative phenomena may be argued to threaten political, economic and social stability.

There was agreement amongst all interviewees that high bureaucratic procedures discourage investors. They are discontent with exhausting bureaucratic procedures

involved in doing business in Kosova, and this is hampering economic transition. T.industry.4 explained that:

> *"People need to provide kilos of documents to open a business. This sort of bureaucracy is very close to the socialist one. A foreign hotel investor told me if he knew how difficult it would be to sort out all the paper work he would never have invested".*

The World Bank Ranking report on Ease of Doing Business (2017) ranks Kosova 60 out of 190 economies, third highest in the Balkans, only lower than Greece on 61 and Bosnia and Herzegovina on 81. The findings suggest that unwarranted bureaucracy is a problem of mindset created during the oppression period and supported by the lethargic rule of law, which is seriously discouraging investors and the economic transition. Public officials currently tend to behave similar to how officials did in the previous regime - domineering and with little interest in doing their job efficiently. Civil.Servant.1 believed *"this mindset is no different to the one in the communism, as no one monitors public officials or holds them accountable".* Excessive bureaucracy is detrimental to economic transition. Such impacts are worsened when coupled with corruption.

Academic.2 conferred that *"the insensitive approach of privatisation resulted in fast enrichment of the elite, whilst leaving the majority in storm and at the mercy of time".* He further claimed that such actions have led to *"social anxiety, confusion and emigration".* It is accepted that there may only be a small number of corrupt individuals within the government and state institutions but nonetheless this factor is obstructing Kosova's development and damaging the national image internationally. Public.Association.3 argued that *"regardless of whether corrupt officials are low in numbers, they remain one of the biggest problems to Kosova's development. As a result, most government officials, who are not the problem, are irrelevant, because they have not helped to stop it".*

All of the interviewees, including the international officials, claimed that corruption in privatisation began with UNMIK. Civil.Servant.9, suggests that *"UNMIK's privatisation resulted in some high financial benefits for the officials there".* Such claims raise further questions concerning the argument that Knudsen (2013) made about UNMIK's efforts

to shield its officials from any eventual lawsuits. ICS.1 argued that *"the Kosova Government learnt the trade of corruption from international officials working for UNMIK".* As a result, Civil.Servant.10 declared that relevant officials involved in privatisation *"would half the price of an asset and in return they would get a certain percentage of the actions after its privatisation".* There is no significant certainty that privatisation processes have improved in recent years because of the *"absence of relevant legislations and weak rule of law, have empowered government officials to personally benefit from fast conclusions of privatisations or to obstruct investment when investors were not willing to be bribed" (*Civil.Servant.10) This is identified as a phenomenon that has obstructed post-war economic transition and development. This is echoed by Bjorvatn and Søreide (2005) as they raise concerns about the lack of positive effects which privatisation in transition economies provides to the local economy.

Civil.Servant.3 admitted that *"something is not going well in relation to foreign investors because of stories that government officials demand percentage cuts to help the investors with bureaucratic procedures".* Such arguments about transition economies have been made by previous researchers such as Stiglitz (2002:58) who claims that *"perhaps the most serious concern with privatization, as it has so often been practiced, is corruption.* The evidence also indicates that excessive bureaucracy is used by local and state officials as a bargaining tool to negotiate bribery. According to Civil.Servant.2, *"We should not be surprised by limited FDI considering how impactful the existence of corruption, high burden of bureaucracy and organised crime is".* It is argued that corruption and *"pen and paper crime"* are strong in transitional settings but *"these observable facts are even more visible in small countries like Kosova"* due to high poverty and unemployment (Civil.Servant.2). It is understood that foreign investors do not trust the authorities in Kosova enough, hence low investment. The crimes will go unpunished because the perpetrators that misused economic authorisations for personal gain before 20th June 2013 have all been exempt from any prosecution by the Kosova Law on Amnesty (Kosova Law on Amnesty, 2013).

Unsettled bilateral relations

It was found that not all state assets have been privatised yet because of unresolved political discrepancies with Serbia regarding the ownership of some of Kosova's state assets. This has led to limited FDI interest and thus, restricting economic transition and the application of open market economy. This issue indicates the extent of the damage, which bilateral political stalemate has caused to the economic transition in Kosova. MP.1 expressed a sense of grief that is felt amongst Kosova Albanians regarding the impasse situation surrounding state assets and the political fight for their ownership between Kosova and Serbia. She pointed out that:

> *"the Kosova Government finds itself in a headlock because during the war Serbia took possession of the documentations of state assets, and unfairly sold some of them after the war. This is why the dialogue with Serbia is the only option, even though it is damaging Kosova in many respects, because our government has to compromise a lot in other areas in order to negotiate a plan for Serbia to give back the documents to Kosova and to try to solve the problem of ownership, a problem that has crippled economic transition".*

Some of the interviewees remained positive that the talks will have a beneficial result for Kosova in the long-run. T.industry.6 acknowledges that *"the dialogue is very exhausting but we hope it will normalise relations in most aspects and thus may encourage the UN to change its political stance on Kosova"*. This would help Kosova's economic participation globally. However, the UN's position on Kosova may not change in the foreseeable future because of Russia's and China's veto power to block its membership. It may be observed that Kosova suffers by Serbia's direct and indirect influence through its powerful allies, as it is the case with the UN's position, which arguably obstructs Kosova's economic transition.

Another indirect example of how Serbia obstructs Kosova's economic transition and its development is by influencing other neighbouring countries such as Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina to follow Serbia in not allowing Kosova's exports to pass through their territories (Tourism.Association.4). This is despite, Kosova being a member of Central and Eastern European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA). One of the reasons for this is that after independence in 2008, the Kosova Government changed its export stamps from 'UNMIK Kosova' to 'Republic of Kosova', which was met with trade embargos, not only by Serbia but by Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. In

reciprocation, Kosova raised a semi-trade embargo, only allowing in certain truck sizes from Serbia. This action led to a bilateral agreement between Kosova and Serbia to allow Kosova's export into Serbia but only with goods that are stamped 'Kosova Customs' rather than 'Republic of Kosova' (European Union Press Statement, 2011; Kodrazi and Heller, 2015).

The role of mindset

Most issues and challenges facing Kosova currently, including economic transition were explained by most of the interviewees from a specific mindset approach. It was reported that Kosova's economic transition suffers from *"intergenerational mindset"* (MP.2), which has been suppressed for hundreds of years, to the point where mindset is considered *"confined, enslaved and trapped in the oppressed survival mode"* (T.industry.1). Its capacity has been damaged or was never enabled to develop and to function with anything other than *"short-term visions"* (Tourism.Association.2). The mindset in society is considered to be that of a *"hungry recipient"* (Public.Association.3) because its needs were never met. It operates largely based on survival instincts, a phenomenon borne out of repression, which now in freedom, has given rise to corruption. Such a mindset poses threats to economic development in this transitional and new neo-liberal nation as it struggles to compete in an open-market system. Filatotchev *et al* (2003) also argued that Russian managers did not have a fitting mindset to cope with open-market demands due to a communist nurture. Kondylis (2010) envisages significant connection between mental health issues and economic issues in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Whilst limited knowledge was found in the literature of transition economies with regards to the influence of mindset in economic transition, this topic needs discussion.

The findings suggest that mindset in post-war transitional Kosova is underdeveloped, suffers from war trauma and is determined by survival instincts, which affects economic development. ICS.1 reflected that *"people are still waking up to the post-war reality. They still do not have a very developed business orientated mindset"*. Similarly, Tourism.Association.3 acknowledged that:

> *"people still have an occupied mindset like it was during the Serbian occupation, meaning they just do things for today and tomorrow but they don't think about*

the days after. Of course, economic development is slow because they don't think long-term. This is because they never could think long-term prior to liberation because they were under occupation. The regime was in total control of Kosova. People just wanted to survive under the occupation. Everything was about survival. Even the last fourteen years after liberation people struggle to meet their survival needs because of devastating economy, high unemployment and extreme poverty. Therefore, they can't change their mindset as fast. It is difficult for a mindset to progress so fast if it was formed during the long period of occupation. Generally, the mindset amongst officials now is to try and benefit as much as you can, as fast as you can because all will be gone tomorrow, this mindset gives birth to corruption".

Nelson (2006) discusses the psychological effects of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and found that post-war psychosocial problems such as unemployment, poverty and family disorder add to post-war traumatic anxieties in society. Such findings complement the work in this thesis. However, as Nelson (2006) only focuses on the effects of war and not on the impacts of pre-war oppression, it does not address long-term mindset issues such as problems deriving from a subjugated mindset because of long-term oppression, which can also influence economic transition.

Public.Association.3 agreed with the views of Tourism.Association.3 regarding corruption that, *"the mindset within the government here unfortunately is to steal the state while they can".* The understanding amongst the interviewees is that people have not come to terms yet that the country is their responsibility now and they need to be part of its future development. This will take time. Civil.Servant.2 suspected that *"Kosova will probably need two generations before the mindset of people is freed from the dictatorial agony and evolves with the demands of reality".*

5.2.4. Social transition in post-war Kosova

Pre-war social conditions under Socialist Yugoslavia

The tensions of the 1990s and the Kosova War 1998-1999 have harmed Kosova's social development. It is documented that Kosova had relatively good social conditions in the time of Tito (Rusinow, 1991). This was partly because until 1989 a lot of people were working, little division amongst ethnicities existed and Tito's Socialist motto of collective 'brotherhood and unity' was in effect. However, longstanding tensions between Serbia as the most politically dominant republic of Yugoslavia and Kosova

Albanians as the least politically dominant ethnic group were never so far away. Similar to Runisow (1991) the findings suggest that Kosova enjoyed reasonably healthy social conditions from 1974-1989 as it was protected by the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution. However, ICS.1 believed that changed,

> *"when Serbs started their nationalist propaganda against minorities. The tensions and the war not only did it cost a lot of lives but it distorted everything. There's nothing left from previous structures and Kosova had to start from scratch".*

Similar views were echoed by IDA.1 who argued that whilst an apartheid system was alive in Europe and used against Kosova Albanians it failed to grasp the attention of the world for a nearly a decade. He claimed that *"the war and the decade of oppression before the war created implications that continue to remain a problem to date. It was a very difficult decade. It was a decade of isolation. It was a decade of apartheid and of international negligence".* Williams (2000) also argues that for ten years Milosevic's regime was allowed by international forces to apply an apartheid system on Kosova Albanians. Similar claims were made by Grifith (2002), Riedlmayer (1999), Rupnik (2000), Troebst (1998) and Kostovicova (2005).

Social conditions in post-war Kosova

The findings suggest that compared with how damaged Kosova was immediately after the war it is undergoing fast social transition, although significant obstacles remain a threat to social stability. Freedom and a form of democracy have helped people to become more aware of world affairs and aspire to live the European way. ICS.1 and T.industry.10 were particularly positive in their views regarding Kosova's social progress. They both believed that Kosova is making faster social progress than countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina or Albania in terms of society reaching EU aspirations. However, most of the interviewees reflect on social challenges that have become serious issues to transition and overall stability in Kosova. This is supported by Sisk and Jarstad's (2008: Foreword) arguing that:

> *"Attempts to introduce democracy in the wake of civil war face a critical problem: how can war-torn societies move toward peace and democracy when*

competitive politics and hard-fought elections exacerbate social and political conflict?"

The interviewees particularly expressed concerns about the freedom of speech, weaknesses in the education system, mindset issues, and other serious social problems such as post-war trauma, ethnic division, identity crisis, and fundamentalism. Some of these social dilemmas can disrupt any society - let alone a new fragile country, such as Kosova that is undergoing post-war transition. In the following section, these issues are examined with reference to relevant literature.

Freedom of speech and limited opportunities

Democratic social transition is strongly linked for Kosovars to *"freedom of speech"*, because this basic human right was lacking throughout the oppressive period. However, Kosova society is yet to enjoy freedom of speech sufficiently according to T.industry.8, because Kosova is yet to accomplish realistic democracy. The interviewee argued that *"this is not democracy, this is democracy on paper".* Thus, freedom of speech appears to be a pre-condition for transition to democracy as the same interviewee highlighted the following quote that: *"democracy is to feel in every aspect of life that you are free to think the way you want, express your freedom of speech whereas, in Kosova these aspects are a little restricted"*. Mirkin (2013) in a United Nations development report concerning the Arab countries affected by the Arab Spring revolutions argues that establishing a new democracy after a dictatorial regime failure is a slow process, where achieving freedom of speech is paramount to successful transition. However, this report stops short of analysing the obstacles in achieving freedom of speech, which this thesis aims to identify. These limitations are emphasised by the interviewees, for example, Journalist.2 who argued that people, especially the youth, compared to the past are more informed about the world affairs due to the *"power of social media"*; however, *"freedom of speech and the limitation of opportunities are a problem"* compared to how people in the West enjoy them. The interviewees' perspective was that the ruling elite restrict freedom of speech to a degree by influencing the national media and limiting the power of public associations.

Post-war social transition has delivered serious problems for Kosova youth, which is estimated to be the largest in Europe (UNDP, 2016), because of limited opportunities

to prosper. According to UNDP (2016), the unemployment rate amongst the youth (15-24) is 61%. An interviewee (T.industry.9) argued that currently, Kosova youth cannot meet *"professional demands"*, mainly because most are considered *"unskilled"*, and thus, *"unvalued"* by employers. Civil.Servant.1 argues that the private sector is not yet developed adequately to invest in staff development and training, and *"the public sector is completely negligent of youth development".* Nepotism has become a growing problem because of limited opportunities. Recruitment 'based on nepotism' is found to be an action stemming from two factors; recruiters either receive bribery to recruit certain people or they do this to show support to a member of their family or close network. Agency of Statistics (KAS) Labour Force Survey (LFS) data from 2014 confirm that over 95% of Kosovars seek employment through family, relatives, friends or trade unions, and only 50.6% of the total population seeking employment apply directly. Considering high unemployment and the *"unvalued"* reputation of the youth by employers (T.industry.9), it is no surprise that 81% of people in Kosova believe that the best way of getting employment in the public institutions is through family links, political connections and bribery (UNDP, 2015).

Journalist.2 not only blamed the ruling elite for creating these limitations, but also the people's unwillingness to fight for change. However, considering Judt's (2010:692) argument that under communism a society without individual and collective will is established, it is not surprising, that people lack initiative – simply, because they do not know what it means to fight for their rights. The interviewee (Journalist.2) added that:

> *"this challenge* [limited freedom of speech and limited opportunities] *facing the people of Kosova, is interlinked with obstacles that the few at the top impose on people through their decision-making. This is enabled by society as people underutilise the significance of standing up".*

With Giddens' 'Structuration Theory' (1984) in mind, this argument suggests that agency (society) can influence change but their unwillingness to proactively demand change gives more power to the structure (the ruling elite) to exert unequal control over society and thus, create excessive dependency of agency on structure.

Lack of initiative has been identified to be a major obstacle for social transition. An interviewee (T.industry.8) argued that *"own initiative will develop this country and this*

is what we lack. No one would take their own initiative to do something if they don't feel that they have to do it". Interviewees argued, that this is because people have lost their hunger to fight as they are tired from the past experiences and deprived from the current circumstances in Kosova: *"people are very tired from a long devastating regime of the past and they are tired by the grim fourteen years after the war caused by all this corruption and political injustice and they have very little energy left to demand change"* (Academic.2). ICS.1 asserted *"maybe this is because there are so many problems in Kosova, people have developed this ability to just let go of things, let things be and say let's have a break. Let's sit and have a coffee, let's talk about life and relax a little, hopefully things will improve tomorrow".* Tourism.Association.2 described this this to be a *"coffee-mindset",* which means a lethargic mindset towards life improvement and argued that:

> *"the attitude of people is a coffee mindset towards doing something worthwhile and people are a bit lazy. The way people live here it is not success orientated but more on a day to day basis, people just want to make sure they can get by today. This cannot be said about everyone but this attitude is very common".*

Tourism.Association.4 considered this to be a 'post-war mindset' by stating that

> *"after the war, people started getting used to subventions provided by international organisations and those grant opportunities have paralysed us because now that they [international organisation] have stopped the funding, people can't find other means of same value and thus have little motivation to initiate opportunities for themselves".*

Therefore, alongside Judt's (2010) argument, it is contented that other characteristics of mindset play a role in people's lethargic behaviour. Nonetheless, Civil.Servant.4 was confident that *"opportunities will rise, nepotism will be reduced and the mindset will advance once Kosova starts to attract more FDI and to benefit from its state privatisations".* Similarly, Civil.Servant.5 believed with more FDI Kosova will be *"better connected to the world and this will advance people's mindset".* However, limited opportunities are not being challenged adequately due to low quality and unreformed education, which is unable to significantly meet the current professional demands.

Problems in Education

The findings suggest that as a result of limited opportunities, a large part of the Kosova youth perceive university as the only hopeful pathway of finding employment. Public universities were considered by the interviewees to be unequipped to accommodate a high volume of students, with insufficient personnel and facilities. However, universities continue to accept *"20-30% more students than they can handle, under pressure from the government in order to reduce the waves of youth wandering the streets and to hide unemployment figures"* (Tourism.Association.4).

The government views higher education as a viable temporary option for youth to engage in, in order *"to reduce the potential of any social instability"* (Civil.Servant.1). It can be argued that, whilst this approach by the government may temporarily put on hold social problems, their eventual resurfacing will cause more social tension. This is, because the problems are not being addressed with long-term solutions. This warning is strongly supported by Kreso (2008), who evaluated the devastating impacts of the destruction and manipulation of the educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instead of providing opportunities for development, education there was exploited to increase divisions in society – mainly, impacting on the Youth. Furthermore, this illustrates (again) how the government is committed to short-term behaviour for as long as they are in power and do not pledge resources and efforts to long-term solutions. Journalist.2 recognised that *"with overwhelming increase in quantity of students, quality has dropped worryingly and thus, graduates remain unemployed and unintegrated and thus, a high number of them want to emigrate in the West"*. Emigration of youth was highlighted as one of the social instabilities caused by a hopeless education system. The education system has also created economic and family problems. Civil.Servant.9 explained that, an increase in graduates has created a deficit in the market, which causes family disorder:

> *"The universities provide more graduates than demanded by the market, and while graduates are in masses their quality is scarce. The oversupply of weak graduates resulted in pathetic salaries. The reduction of salaries has lowered the credibility of employees, which has exposed them to mistreatment. The mistreatment of employees has affected their performance and created dissatisfaction in their families and across society. The only hope is for education to improve quality to the point where universities provide credible and quality human resources. It is not a coincident to say everything starts and ends with education".*

Various studies find a significant relationship between low income levels and low job satisfaction, which results in low employee performance (e.g. Bakan and Buyukbese, 2013; Garcia-Bernal *et al*, 2005; Ward and Sloane, 2000). In an earlier study, Doughlah and Roycraft (1967) pointed out that offering qualitative educational programs is crucial for raising knowledge and skills and enabling higher salary levels and satisfaction. In the context of post-war transitional countries, Castillo and Phelps (2017:1) emphasise that *"what these countries need are more employment opportunities and higher salaries in the private sector for these workers".* Nonetheless, in Kosova such qualitative programs are limited, and thus, restrict the opportunities for people.

Limited opportunities are also the result of absent vocational education in Kosova, which would complement the needs of the private sector. Tourism.Association.4 agreed that students have *"no other opportunities to develop their potential, and for this reason they turn to universities".* It was found that because of missing vocational studies there are major gaps in knowledge and skills as ICS.1 specified that

> *"based on a study I read at the German Embassy that says particularly in mathematics there is a big gap or weakness in Kosova. So, I think the government needs to invest a lot in vocational training and not focus everything on universities […]. Maybe create special schools and practised based colleges where they address certain sectors such as IT, mathematics, but also to prepare people to work in various trades. They need to develop such education with teachers and trainers from abroad that know the industry and can teach the youth exactly what is needed and provide the correct career advice and the curriculum should be based on the needs of the business in that field. It would create an atmosphere that is attractive for foreign investors because they would know that Kosova does not only have low taxes and young people but institutions that develop young professionals. It would be especially beneficial if Kosova can develop an IT Academy because it has big potential in this sector due to its young population".*

Diverse academic studies (Kluve, 2010; Sianesi, 2004) and World Bank sponsored reports (Betcherman *et al*, 2004) and European Commission (2014) inform that active labour market programs (ALMPs) have been widely used in European countries to improve vocational skills. Such government-led programmes were developed in Europe to tackle youth unemployment after they were initiated by Scandinavian countries, which are now being widely applied in developing and transition countries

(Kuddo, 2009). Such programmes involve public employment services to help the unemployed improve job searching abilities, training schemes to increase employability skills and employment subsidies to develop work experience and help the unemployed to become more employable (Bonoli, 2010).

While ICS.1's idea to tackle limited opportunities could benefit the youth, this approach is not being pursued by the Kosova Government. Instead, the high demand of people to go to university is being exploited by private universities in this post-war transition. As Tourism.Association.4 asserted:

> *"private university fees are four times higher than the fees at public university because they know people feel desperate to have a degree. Their facilities are better but their standards are poorer and as long as students pay their fees in full, everyone graduates, in the end.*

It was suggested that problems of education are not only the creation of post-war transition but they originate from the period of oppression when there was an imposed educational vacuum for Kosova Albanians. It was found that the educational vacuum in the 1990s has highly impacted on the post-war transition due to inadequate knowledge. The majority of participants expressed that Kosova has so far failed transition, particularly due to the impaired education. Path dependency would suggest that Kosova's transition is dependent on the education struggles of the 1990s. For T.industry.6, this meant transition is currently slow, because *"Kosova misses ten years of professionalism".* Similarly, Academic.2 argued that *"Kosova has missed the first train of transition because of last ten years of educational vacuum under Serbia. After the war, we tried to get on the first train but with an empty brain, and we failed".*

ICS.1 remained positive that *"Kosova has a young population. It has a very motivated population, bright people who speak foreign languages and are up to date with the affairs of the world".* However, he also recognised the problems that *"the country still suffers very much from late effects of the war and the time before where there was no regular system of education in Kosova".* It was argued that neither the state nor international organisations supervising post-war transition in Kosova addressed the educational vacuum of the 1990s. Academic.2 recalls that:

"A lot of parents stopped their daughters from going to school because of the abuse and violence the Serbian police would perpetrate. After the war, no one took into consideration of trying to catch up or make up for the lost years in education. No one thought after the war to try and integrate those people affected by the educational vacuum of the 1990s into vocational schools to develop their professional skills in areas they may be interested in. As a result of not doing this, the wheel of history has run over them, and has left them unnoticed on the crossroads of transition with no career and no future".

Systemic barriers to education have been applied in other countries, towards inferior groups of people by previous regimes such as the apartheid regime in South Africa (Chisholm, 2004). Fiske and Ladd (2004) discuss how the apartheid regime in South Africa governed the education system based on racial lines. They (ibid.) argue that the regime funded schools for white students multiple times more than those for African schools. The government spending on education facilities and schooling 'gear' such as textbooks was ten times higher for white students than for black students (ibid.). Similarly, in the case of Kosova, education barriers were used by the Serbian regime to diminish education of Kosova Albanians - as this research identified. Nonetheless, this research found a significant difference, in that state spending for education of Kosova Albanian students was not only non-existent but the regime forcibly closed their schools down in the 1990s. The parallel education system was then established in poor conditions clandestinely and was funded by the then Kosova Albanian government in exile. Therefore, it can be argued that Kosova faces even greater obstacles to overcome the education vacuum of the past.

The education vacuum under Serbia was followed by a weak post-war education system. Referring to T.industry.6's expression above that *"Kosova misses ten years of professionalism",* it was found that lack of professionalism is a major setback in Kosova's post-war education system. According to Tourism.Association.6, the education system remains the *"most deprived"* of all and in need of *"urgent revival"*. These views have been confirmed by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2015 Report on Kosova secondary education (PISA, 2016). In its first time of participating in such an international education test, Kosova ranked the third lowest amongst 72 participating countries, in 2016. It also lagged behind its regional neighbours in science, maths and reading. On the other hand, Singapore, which only became an independent multi-ethnic country in 1965 and similar to Kosova, was one

of the poorest in its region, with illiterate and unskilled workforce, scored first in the PISA ranking 2015. This is the result of persistent focus over decades by the governments of Singapore to improve education as a way of developing the country (Coughlan, 2016). Such results emphasise the importance of long-term and persistent objectives by governments, in contrast to the short-term and self-interest approach of the Kosova Government that mainly results in corruption and nepotism. Tourism.Association.6 evaluated that *"due to lack of professionalism in education and lack of morality in life, students learn how to cheat their way through education from early on".* Further, he qualified that people do not study to learn but to somehow achieve some qualifications and then *"cheat their way to employment through nepotism and then bury their head in a public sector job where no one monitors them, or worse abuse their position with corruption".* This argument suggests that *"the non-honourable people have climbed to the top by pushing with their elbows"* (Civil.Servant.7).

The findings suggest that people perceive higher education 'simply' as a means to receive a 'certificate on paper' - without gaining essential knowledge and developing one's mind. In this way, higher education is not valued by society as the core backbone to advance people's minds and knowledge, but rather misused by the state to hide social flaws (e.g. high unemployment) and as a stepping-stone by individuals with a 'network' to push their way through to higher positions, where they can misuse their power. This further indicates that negative traits such as nepotism and corruption are embedded in the mindset of society, rather than just within the government.

Referring to the interrelationship between structure and agency that determines social change, Giddens (1984) argues that individuals (agents) have the power to influence structures and vice-versa. However, in the case of Kosova, the mindset of the agent is the same as the mindset applied in the government structures and this has created a vicious cycle where neither agents nor structures change one another. Therefore, overall positive social change in post-war Kosova is currently minimal. Social change in Kosova is a long-term journey and support from external sources that are unaffected by the mindset that affects agents and structures in Kosova, is crucial. Social change appears to emerge gradually due to pressure and funding from the EU to help reform

government structures. However, as this research established that traits such as nepotism and corruption are problems of mindset embedded in society rather than just a problem within state structures, external support and pressure needs to be widely applied within society to help individuals advance their mindset. When such education is applied both ways, bottom-up and top-down, social change can transpire faster because change would occur from agents and from structures. This is arguably a problem that affects other developing countries and hence why it takes so long for such countries to advance, or worse why some do not.

The role of mindset: oppressed, 'Balkanic', individualist and clannish

The findings indicate that mindset is a product of oppression, war and post-war transition. It was also defined as a 'Balkanic mindset' and 'individualist' in nature.

It was discovered that part of the Kosova Albanian mindset derives from the oppression and the Kosova War 1998-1999. This mindset is distinguished as that of the oppressed, which is submissive and tolerable to inequality. It was found, that the people have always lived under occupation and they developed *"a slave mindset"* so they always treat others better than themselves in order to impress them. As T.industry.8 explained:

> *"We have spent all our lives in the survival stage because we were always under an oppressor and this has forced us to develop a slave mindset whether we like it or not. We always treat others better than ourselves because others have a negative perception of us and so we want to impress them".*

A counter-argument as to why Kosova Albanians tend to treat 'others' with grace is due to their hospitable mindset because 'others' such as "*guests are holy in the Albanian culture"* (Academic.1). This quote refers to a 15th Century Customary Law of Northern Albania and Kosova called 'Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini', which highlights the rules the Albanian culture is based on, such as hospitality and 'besa' (oath and loyalty) and most importantly, family (Cara and Margjeka, 2015). These customs highlighted in this law prevented the assimilation of Albanian culture for five centuries, under foreign domination (McClear, 2001). Whilst, the hospitable mindset of the local people was perceived as common knowledge amongst all of the interviewees and confirmed by the international interviewees working in Kosova (ICS.1 and Tourism.Association.3),

the other mindset characteristics mentioned above gained prominence in most interview discussions.

The findings indicate that although the Kosova Government claims to be democratic, is in fact perceived by the interviewees to be rather autocratic in a democratic framework, because the people allow them to rule this way. In current socio-economic conditions people appear to have lost their hunger to fight and to demand better governance from their leaders. Academic.2 argued that *"the people are tired from a long and a devastating regime and the unbearable war that society had to endure"*. As a result, the social circumstances in the country are deprived from political injustice, high unemployment, combined with nepotism and corruption.

MP.2, quoted what supposedly Adolf Hitler may have said: *"What good fortune for governments that the people do not think"* in reference to the Kosova Government. His comment suggests that the government is perceived to prefer this timid behaviour and lack of thinking in society, which is *"good fortune"* to an authoritarian government but harmful to Kosova's democracy. He claimed *"the government in Kosova is totalitarian. Whether it is the Civil Societies or the Parliament, they are powerless against the government and this has been proven many times"*. Academic.2 pointed out that the people believe their *"deteriorating social and economic situation is a result of inefficient and exploitative government"*. However, he argued that due to *"lack of self-belief and confidence",* which was critically damaged during the oppression, people do not feel the strength to change the situation. He further observed that the government, even *"utilises this weakness"* of society to govern autocratically. MP.2 noted that *"a weak government seeks to keep the people inactive so they are not a threat. With such an approach, the government creates the playground of manipulating the people".* Such a view aims at describing the Kosova Government as *"weak"* in terms of not able to govern appropriately and at the same time, able to maintain power via manipulation and restricting opportunities. This relates to Lukes' (2005) second and third dimensions of power. The former refers to agenda-setting power i.e. the Kosova Government influences which issues will be and will not be possible. In doing so, the government limits the opportunities and/or prevents decisions to be made in order to positively influence the interest of the ruling elite. The

third dimension refers to 'ideological power' that the Kosova Government manipulates people to agree with decisions and accept the way the country is being governed, although it does not necessarily benefit society.

The mindset of Kosova citizens can be described as frightened and traumatised but optimistic with growing confidence. This view is best exemplified by the view of T.industry.1 who asserted:

> *"To describe the mindset of the people, I would say they are frightened, anxious, traumatised and in survival mode, but optimistic. They are optimistic because it cannot get any worse. Plus, they see things slowly changing for the better, they see the support from the international community, but they see more and more the pitfalls of the government so they are getting more self-esteem. The government will not be able to manipulate them as they did until now".*

The arguments from the interviewees indicate that social transition in Kosova is different from what was or is experienced by other European countries that underwent transition because *"the 14 years of transition are the first years of freedom and liberation in the history of* [Kosova] *Albanians. Society is still learning what freedom is about and what it means to govern its own country"* (Public.Association.1). It is understood that Kosova is not only undergoing transition from one system of life to another, but at the same time, it is also learning the basics of the trade of governing its own society. The non-existent experience of democracy in the past is another factor to consider, in relation to Kosova's transition struggle to democracy. Fischer (2001) emphasises that previous democratic experience in some Eastern European transition countries helped their transition to a Western European model of democracy more successfully than others that were applying such a model for the first time in their history.

It is interpreted that post-war transition is difficult and painful but has brought freedom and independence something, which the people have always fought for. As a result, post-war transition is serving the development of mindset from an oppressed to a European mindset. According to Journalist.2,

> *"this is thanks to the work of international organisations, the power of international media and the internet because people in Kosova are now more*

informed about the Western life and other cultures and they want to learn from them".

In view of appreciating the Kosova mindset, ICS.1 explained that there are many aspects of the Kosova mindset that are considered positive among foreigners such as *"family closeness, friendliness, warm hospitality of people when you visit their homes and helpful on the street".* Nonetheless, the mindset is weakened by difficult circumstances, as T.Industry.9 claimed that difficult economic conditions force people to think unethically. Economic development will improve social conditions, but the tendency to use unethical means will neither develop the economy nor advance social change. ICS.1 envisaged that current economic conditions hamper social progress because:

> *"it leads to situations where the young people would believe they can only get a job through nepotism or they can only achieve something if they don't play fairly, so studying for something doesn't make sense anymore. A very bad economic situation always encourages a defunct social behaviour".*

It is argued that political parties take advantage of the dire socio-economic situation to buy their electoral votes. Public.Association.2 narrated that *"I have seen it with my own eyes; a very poor family went to a voting station and on the way out a political militant gave them 50 Euros for voting for his party. Some people have become so dependent they do anything to provide for the family, because there are no jobs".* From another standpoint, MP.1 argued that *"for as long as people continue to support political leaders for the sake of their service during the war then our society is not developing forward. This is a Balkanic mindset, with the tendency to move backwards".* Llargovas and and Chionis (2002) argue that there are a set of common characteristics amongst the Balkan countries such as mentalities, attitudes and values, due to common history and similar problems they face in political, economic and social domains. The mindset of Kosova's society was likened to a *"Balkanic mindset",* because they have been influenced by similar factors for centuries such as the Ottoman Empire and other struggles that are common amongst the Balkan states, such as territorial disputes, controversial histories, weak economy, and problematic governments. Nonetheless, ICS.1, who has worked across the Balkan countries with his government, reflected on a particular difference. Based on his experience, he described the mindset in Kosova as *"problem focused rather than dwelling on why the problem occurred and*

who is to blame", which he suggested is *"different from the other Balkan countries".* In contrast, T.industry.11 argued that people in Kosova have a tendency to *"always point the blaming finger away from ourselves. We always seek to find a deficiency in others when something goes wrong".*

The majority of the interviewees seam to highlight the similarities between the Kosova mindset and those of other Balkan countries. Moreover, ICS.1 referred to his own experience working in other Balkan countries and claimed *"the social mindset in Kosova is very Balkanic",* which he described as *"very family focused and friendly".* He noted that this mindset has *"a very relaxed approach to life, which is quite pleasant to see as a Westerner because we are always rushing".* Civil.Servant.2 found this *"slow mindset"* frustrating and defined it as *"underdeveloped",* and Tourism.Association.4 linked it to a *"shortage of affinity or inner motivation for hard-work".* Tourism.Association.2 further contextualised the traits of such a tranquil mindset by describing it as *"not very success orientated".*

Kosova was viewed by the interviewees as a traditional society with a 'backward mindset', which deters the future orientation. The findings suggest that such a *"folkloric mindset"* has similar traits to those of a Balkanic mindset. According to Civil.Servant.2 and Public.Association.2, Kosova society needs to liberate itself from *"pseudo patriotism"* and *"the traditional, folkloric and the so called patriotic, autochthonous mindset"* and instead focus on *"four Es: Europe, education, economy and environment"* (Civil.Servant.2), if it is to stand a chance of being more like Western Europe. Civil.Servant.2 believed that *"pseudo patriotism"* is being inflated by *"political militants"* who seek to create populism in society of *"you either support the political side that fought in the war or you are a communist"* in order to beat opposition parties. Canovan (1999) defines populism as a movement to 'unite the people' and to revolt against the establishment and the values of the ruling elite. On the contrary, in Kosova, the *"political militants"* of the ruling elite apply populism in order to support their own establishment by pretending to be in Lasch's (1996:106) words *"the authentic voice of democracy".* The issue of populism in this context is strongly linked to power as domination, in that the Kosova Government utilise its power in dominating society by rousing ideological beliefs. Lukes' (2005) dimensions of power

suggest that 'ideological power' makes people agree with decisions being made, for example by governments, although the decisions do not necessarily benefit the individual.

The post-war transitional mindset is affected by individualist behaviour where there is no uniformity of ideas, with little agreement on mutual objectives due to major differences in opinions. This is at least in part, argued to reflect generation clashes caused by different education experiences. According to Public.Association.1, there is a distinction between *"the generations that were educated and cultured in communism, and in the last decade of oppression versus the new generation of transition"*.

It is discussed here that people in Kosova lack empathy for teamwork because they have a propensity to feel superior towards their peers. The findings suggest this is due to an individualist mindset, which T.industry.11 explained above that people avoid holding themselves accountable and instead they seek to find mistakes in others 'when the going gets tough'. With this in mind, it was found that people believe they can do better than others at being in charge of society. This view was supported by Civil.Servant.4, that people have a *"thirst to be commanders and in charge of others"*. Considering that Kosova was historically ruled by oppressors there was only one method of leadership or governance that people were familiar with from their past, which was power over others. Past oppressions brought discrimination and people always demanded equality. However, the mindset of modesty is not developed enough for Kosova to swiftly implement a thorough democracy, despite how much people want it. Camus and Hoven (2001:12) agree that *"democracy is the social and political exercise of modesty"*. Soldatos (2014) further emphasises that modesty minimises injustice, which may only be achieved in democracy. Flanagan (1990) characterises modesty to be against the inflated or underestimated opinions about one's self or others, respectively. However, as Fischer (2001) argued above, Kosova's slow transition to democracy is also down to its inexperience and lack of democratic knowledge from the past.

It was indicated that a clannish mindset or a "We" identity exists in Kosova, which derives from Kosova traditionally being a clan or tribal society (Trnavci, 2008). It was found that *strong family commitment, loyalty to your clan* [in Albanian: 'Fis'] *and the*

mindset of protect your own have intensified nepotism (T.Industry.1). This obstructs political and social progress, because wider acceptance, teamwork and collaboration are limited. This is illustrated by the style of politics that govern the country. There are frequent political impasses delaying transition because of constant disagreement between the Kosova Government and the opposition MPs. Nonetheless, Civil.Servant.10 argued that *"there are no longer tribal problems like they used to exist before and now society is looking ahead towards the EU",* which indicates that the clan customs, which were historically embedded in the Kosova mindset are gradually disappearing in post-war transition. However, an egocentric mindset created from a society based on clans continues to obstruct the style of governance that is meant to be 'with the people and for the people', which democracy promotes, and Kosova aims to achieve.

The findings indicate that the Kosova mindset also has a strong sense of individualism. The issue of individualist mindset and its focus on egocentricity and "I" attitude can be discussed from theoretical perspectives of 'power over' and 'power to/with' to examine how it affects governance. This research argues that an individualist mindset in this context promotes power dominating over others, because (Civil.Servant.4 mentioned above) of the *"thirst to be commanders and in charge of others"*. Kemmelmeier *et al* (2003:14) published research in the 'Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology' with participants from two post-communist countries (Poland and Bulgaria) and *"found evidence for a positive relationship between authoritarianism and vertical individualism (VI), both at the individual level as well as at the societal level"*. Kemmelmeier *et al* (2003) further characterise vertical individualism or VI with the need to feel superior to others.

Referring back to Civil.Servant.4 and the issue of *"thirst",* Gyatso (1992) asserts that such self-centeredness develops craving, which *"in Buddhism, is understood as the […] desire of an individual to be possessive and dominant"* (Lai, 2015:3). This individualist mindset needs to change to a more inclusive perspective, in order to improve collaboration. Only then, will the mindset of those in charge allow the establishment of a type of governance that utilises 'power to/with' the people and reduces 'power over' people.

Arguably, there is interdependence between the "We" (clan) and the "I" (Individualist) mindset in the structure of cultural society in Kosova because clans were traditionally governed or led by a singular individual ("I"), normally the eldest male. This type of traditional structure in Kosova where "I" dominates "We" is called "*Bajraktarism*" [a patriarchal form of organisation] (T.Industry.10). Brahaj (2011) describes 'Bajraktarism' as a late medieval model where the leader has permanent ruling with absolute power over tax collection, decision-making and clan recruitment.

According to Tiessen (1997) the individualist "I" mindset and the collectivist "We" mindset operate in a continuum rather than opposite each other. This connection is raised by mutual trust and commitment to one's special interest group, which this research found is often family orientated. However, the findings also suggest that an individualist mindset in this post-war society is reflected in a lack of sympathy for others. Academic.2 pointed out that it is

> *"paradoxical for a society to have won their freedom by sticking together only to have lost sympathy for each other afterwards, but this is the reality here.* [He explained that under the oppression] *we dealt with inner rage created by lack of freedom, together. Currently, freedom we have but we are challenged by a psychological external resentment because some people have touched the sky and others are rock bottom".*

His comments suggest that during the war everyone was in the same 'boat' and had a mutual drive - to live in freedom. Currently, detachment of society has occurred because not everyone is 'in the same boat' any longer, as some people have highly benefited from a chaotic post-war transition, whilst others' living conditions have degenerated. Thus, there is little mutual drive in society to keep people intact. Following on from Academic.2's view of limited sympathy, it was also argued that due to a long period of oppression, cultural and norms of a civilised society have been somehow restricted and thus people have a tendency to be inconsiderate at times. T.industry.8, agreed with Academic.2 that people have lost the respect for one another they once had, and stated *"I think civility and consideration is limited in Kosova". When was the last time you heard someone saying please, is it possible, thank you or I am very sorry". Your freedom is limited at the time when I push my freedom against yours".* Academic.2's view is best described by Chafee (1919:957) in a 'Harvard Law

Review' article called 'Freedom of Speech in War Time' in a discussion with regards to freedom rights. He argued that freedom creates a deadlock if it is applied without its boundaries:

> *"Each side takes the position of the man who was arrested for swinging his arms and hitting another in the nose, and asked the judge if he did not have a right to swing his arms in a free country.* [The judge replied] *Your right to swing your arms ends just where the other man's nose begin"*

It is understood that Kosova is making lethargic progress towards EU integration because the politics are not fulfilling EU progress demands, which is to fully implement rule of law, reduce corruption in public institutions and depoliticise the justice system. Problems with the rule of law, corruption and political influence of the judiciary are widespread concerns across the Balkan countries, including the ones that are in the EU such as Bulgaria and Romania. European Commission Progress Report for Bulgaria and Romania (2017) show limited progress in both countries in terms of eradicating corruption, political influence in the justice system and the ability to fully implement EU laws. T.industry.3 argued that the Kosova Government introduced EU laws for the people to obey but *"without European wages, […] standards of living, […] pensions, […] insurances and limited inflation".* His comments suggest that it would be difficult to fully implement EU laws in Kosova because social stability and welfare are not the same as in Europe. Civil.Servant.2 on the one hand, sarcastically uttered *"beware Europe, we're coming". I*n a sense, he expressed a view that Kosova is not yet ready to join the EU until further social progress is made. He claimed *"EU Integration should not be seen only from the political and economic perspective but, cultural and spiritual integration".* T.industry.3, on the other hand, argued that Kosova society is certainly ready for EU integration because they are *"patient and very positive people"*, despite difficult circumstances. This view was supported by ICS.1 who described the Kosovar mindset as *"a good mixture of European and Balkanic mindset; European in terms of awareness and communication with the world and Balkanic in terms of tradition, family orientated, hospitable and laid back".* It was argued that people want to learn from Western civilization but there is no prototype from which to learn because of closed borders and *"visa restrictions"*, obstructing the people to experience the outside world (T.industry.2).

Fragile social stability: post-war trauma, ethnic division, identity crisis and fundamentalism

Social stability was found to be fragile because of several factors threatening its progress. This section will discuss how post-war traumas, ethnic division, identity crisis and threats of religious fundamentalism intimidate post-war social stability. Further, it will discuss how this social fragility impacts on tourism governance and its development.

It is understood that post-war social stability is tested by war traumas and how society moves on from what happened during the war. As part of nation-building and EU requirements, Kosova has to enforce the Amnesty International Law, which was approved in 2013. According to ICS.1, *"Kosova is in a tricky social situation because the law can destabilise society"*, especially when it needs to deal with post-war crimes that resulted in human losses, where *"the perpetrators and their victims were both Kosova Albanians".* He referred to the early 2000 when tens of LDK political members were assassinated. According to ICS.1, this was carried out to weaken the LDK party (the largest political party at the time), in order for the PDK (current party in government) to gain political monopoly. These crimes may implicate some KLA veterans, some of whom are now important political figures and perceived as heroes of Kosova because of their service in the war. ICS.1 claimed that some countries refuse to recognise Kosova until such issues are dealt with, which further dampens transition.

The findings indicate that the 'wounds' of the Kosova War 1998-1999 will remain for a long time because people experienced horrific sufferings and abuse during the war. However, post-war traumas are critical challenges for society to deal with, with the hope of leaving the past behind (see: UN, 2014). Still, these post-war traumas have not been dealt with because such discussions are not yet in the open. It was articulated that it will be difficult and heart-breaking when women start talking but relevant institutions are not yet fully established and not very supportive towards them. Nelson (2005) also found limited coordination in professional services that deal with rape victims of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

ICS.1 compared the situation of women in Kosova with women in Germany who experienced abuse during *World War 2* and said *"the elderly women only started*

talking about their terrible World War 2 experience, after seeing what had happened in the Bosnian War". It is difficult for women in Kosova to start talking, especially because according to Tourism.Association.2, *"women carry the heaviest weight to ensure they don't damage their family image".* Loga *et al* (2000) identified that not enough women are reported for post-war mental health problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They state that mental health services mainly deal with male war veterans, despite civilian women having suffered tremendously.

Similarly, ICS.1 claimed there are many rape victims of the Kosova War who are not classified as such because they are not reported to relevant institutions, due to the anxiety of bringing shame to their families. Tourism.Association.2 pointed out, that society *"is all about family image, and this behaviour is emotional, it is not rationalised".* The emotional dynamic is somehow emphasised in this research by the fact that none of the interviewees referred to any post-war traumas during their interviews, but this issue was strongly emphasised by the international interviewees. For example, Tourism.Association.2 narrated that:

> *"we* [the international community] *want Kosova to develop but as internationals we can't expect Kosovars to understand our western developed approaches if we do not understand their mindset and if we don't manage to find a way for them to understand the 'European Way'. We should not forget Kosova experienced war only fourteen years ago and the wounds are not yet healed. It is a trauma that no one talks about, it is not being treated but it is still there. We see the frustration of the young people as there aren't many things for them to do, there aren't many opportunities for them to engage in something worthwhile. It is difficult to explain this situation but you do feel it. I have Kosovar friends who work, are very modern and open minded and then sometimes when we visit some war memorial places or go past Serbian heritage they get drawn back in their past experience. They start to tell me how during the war they didn't have food for several days, were put on trains by the Serbian Military and transported to Macedonia and how they stayed in camps. I feel like it's a Hollywood movie or stories from the Second World War but no, they are stories of my Kosovar friends who experienced such horrors. They tell me we don't even talk about this with our families. No one talks about it but it is there in our mind, it will stay with us forever. It is heavy for them to carry these memories through their lives. This country is struggling from so many challenges. First of all, it is coming out of the war and trying to achieve normality. Second of all, it is the challenge of trying to get the rest of the world to recognise its independence. It has major obligations from Europe that they need to achieve. It has obstructions from neighbouring countries, it wants to grow up, it wants to innovate but gets pulled back from all corners, including*

backward politicians, who create major wealth and profit for themselves but no one knows if they do anything in Kosova's favour. The mindset is very intense, much preoccupied and also very interesting to discover".

It was important to allow the above quote to remain intact because of its coherence in bringing together a number of problems in society as they were viewed by this international interviewee. The quote emphasises the challenge of implementing the *"European Way"* due to inexperience and "*war trauma"*. It references post-war psychological "*frustration"* due to the way Kosova is governed and lack of "*opportunities"*. The difficulties in moving on, as a result of war memories and experience, may serve to prolong ethnic tension. It highlights confusion in society created by inadequate international recognition of Kosova's "*independence"*, which restricts Kosova's access to the world. It portrays a helpless feeling in society created by "*backward politicians"*, corruption and government's inefficiency in achieving EU progress requirements, together with the "*obstructions"* presented by "*neighbouring countries"* against Kosova's development.

Furthermore, on-going ethnic divisions are a threat for stability in Kosova, which has been identified for several post-war countries (O'Loughlin, 2010). It was also understood that ethnic division in Kosova is politically intensified by Serbia, by fuelling a 'siege mindset' within the Serb community in Kosova. This was said to be the case in order for *"Serbia to fulfil its political objectives"* in relation to Kosova (Tourism.Association.4). BarguésPedreny (2016) argues that ethnic division is fuelled by the way Kosova is governed and the type of transition UNMIK applied, allowing for decentralisation based on internal territorial and ethnic divides, which weakens transition and peace progress. However, it was suggested that not all local Kosova Serbs are happy with the situation. Tourism.Association.2, who, as a neutral person travels to the north of Mitrovica, stated that:

"In the north of Mitrovica, the majority of Serbs living there are fed up with this situation. They just want to live a normal free life and to move freely and so do Kosova Albanians but there are a small number of Serbian extremists who prefer to stay this way, separated rather than together in peace. The majority of Serbs feel part of this country just as much as Kosova Albanians do, they have nothing against it but people are afraid to challenge these extremists because they are strongly supported by the Serbian government".

ICS.1 agreed with Tourism.Association.2's statement that *"If you talk to local Serbian people in the north of Mitrovica they will tell you we are taken hostage by the local Serbian gangsters here".* No Kosova Serb was interviewed for this research, despite the intentions of doing so, due to safety worries of going into Kosova Serb communities as a Kosova Albanian to conduct research. As a non-regular resident of Kosova, unawareness from my part about the safety and the vibe and the absence of any contacts with anyone from the Kosova Serb communities meant this research would be limited in this respect. However, having lived in that society, I consider it to be difficult for any Kosova Serb to tell their Kosova Albanian fellow nationals that *"we are taken hostage by local Serbian gangsters"* (ICS.1). This is as doubtful as a Kosova Albanian would ever tell something similar to a Kosova Serb. Therefore, such research conducted directly by myself would have risked having unauthentic inflated or underestimated perceptions. Furthermore, ICS.1 claimed that restricted accessibility in the north of Mitrovica is also to do with criminal activities. Organised crime thrives in areas with limited rule of law. Both, Kosova Albanian and Kosova Serb criminals transport *"goods from Serbia to north of Kosova without customs, and then smuggle them to the rest of Kosova without paying any taxes".*

It was found that ethnic division is higher in post-war Kosova than it was before the war, because then, it was the government of Serbia versus the Kosova Albanian people. Currently, the division is being powered by ethnic thinking, which causes psychosocial dysfunction in the two communities of Kosova Serbs and Kosova Albanians (Pedreny, 2016). This was emphasised by MP.2, who expressed discomfort that such ethnic division created by politics is fragmenting Kosova into two ethnic units. He stated that:

> *"Kosova is in a difficult and unsatisfied social situation. Kosova is going towards a devastating separation into two social entities where on one side we have the Kosova Serbs and on the other side we have the multi ethnic communities, including Kosova Albanians".*

Civil.Servant.5 blamed the Kosova-Serbia dialogue for this separation because the dialogue *"was meant to bring reciprocity amongst Kosova people, but instead [...] it is alienating Kosova Serbs from the rest of multi-cultural Kosova".*

However, it was also discussed that Kosova is a multi-ethnic society and it is not difficult to feel integrated as long as people want to be integrated. Tourism.Association.2, for example explained that *"people of different communities and ethnicities live in Kosova and they live well with each other. They live in same areas, work in same companies, and go to the same coffee shops and bars. Nobody cares who you are and what you represent".*

It is understood that the better the conditions of the minorities and the more the minorities are integrated the stronger stability becomes and Kosova progresses towards the EU (Civil.Servant.10). However, according to T.industry.1 it is very difficult for the government to improve the livelihood of Kosova Serbs when *"they refuse to recognise anything of independent Kosova".* He was hopeful that the social situation will improve in the future but warned that, it can only happen as long as *"we* [Kosova Albanians] *[…] never treat them* [Kosova Serbs] *the way they treated us before. If we ever do to them what they did to us, we will end up like they did, losing everything".*

Psychologically, it is interpreted that ethnic division and a 'siege mindset' is established, when there is insecurity amongst people and a fear of losing what they have. This defensive mechanism is arguably created by identity crisis amongst Kosova Serbs, because they may feel they will lose their *'Serbianisation'*[4], if they recognise Kosova institutions led by Kosova Albanians or if they become more integrated in a society also dominated by Kosova Albanian majority. In fact, research confirms that a sense of ethnic awareness was perceptible as a result of the conflicts in Former Yugoslavia (Sekulic *et al*, 2006). O'Loughlin, (2010:29) points out that *in "postwar BiH [Bosnia and Herzegovina], civic identity is strongly aligned with ethnicity".*

Furthermore, Kettley (2003) found, in the case of Romania's ethnic issue involving its Hungarian minority in the region of Transylvania, that ethnic division and tensions are a result of deep rooted security fears on both sides, which are often driven by mistrust bilateral relations between Hungary and Romania. Since this is similar to Kosova, the

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[4] The term *'Serbianisation'* in this case means the spread of Serbian values, politics and authority.

society is confronted with a difficult task. However, to ensure stronger social stability, they must find ways to make Kosova Serbs feel wanted and needed to develop the future of Kosova as a multi-ethnic nation. To reduce ethnic boundaries and social distance between people, a sense of inter-ethnic friendship needs to be established (O'Loughlin, 2010). ICS.1 noted that special treatment of Kosova Serbs is necessary because it is *"like a medicine to them to make them feel safer and better about Kosova".* However, in light of the literature emphasising trust and contact between both groups need to be established, it can be questioned whether the 'special treatment' will lead to resolving ethnic divisions. The on-going hostility is strongly perceptible, which makes it difficult to encourage forgiveness and reconciliation.

Identity crisis is also an issue amongst Kosova Albanians, which is another ulterior phenomenon that can threaten social stability due to the insecurity it creates. People will rebel if they feel insecure or threatened about losing the purpose of what they stand for. This is why some people want to see the unification of Kosova and Albania. This view was supported by T.industry.10 who stated that some Kosova Albanians *"feel nationally closer to Albanian national symbols than to the new symbols of Kosova, where there is little identification in them".* This quote refers to Kosova's secular governance by officially omitting ethnic Albanian symbols in order to ensure minorities do not feel excluded from national representation. This is further reinforced by Tourism.Association.4 who argued that *"Albanian national symbols kept Kosova Albanians united and spirited during the oppression and some feel that the new Kosova symbols do not represent their identity".*

The urge in some people to unify Kosova with Albania is also due to the anxiety that Serbia may invade Kosova again, in the future because they feel Kosova is vulnerable, on its own. T.industry.9 expressed concern that *"considering Serbia's continued political obstruction of Kosova's progress in post-war period some people feel Serbia may try to invade Kosova again if an opportunity is given to them".* Considering these feelings, it is not surprising that exchange between both ethnic groups has not been established. However, if trust and contact are not encouraged, it will be unlikely that ethnic divisions will be reduced in the near future, and with that, it will be unlikely that social stability will be achieved. The interviewees emphasise the need for international

allies to remain in Kosova for the years to come or until Kosova feels prepared enough to protect its borders. However, it is in the back of people's minds that international allies may no longer have the resources to protect Kosova, if some sort of instabilities were to happen in the region or on a global scale. T.industry.4 metaphorically explained that Kosova would then be in a vulnerable situation *"like a tangled sheep in front of a free wolf"*.

It is understood that the identity crisis is not only the result of current political affairs, but has been created by a blurred history surrounding different nationalities in the Balkans. Arguably, it is particularly this historic confusion that causes identity crisis, which has continually kept the Balkans unstable. In fact, much research on Former Yugoslavia confirms that ethnic divisions are *"historic, reinforced by conflict and will remain for the foreseeable future"* (O'Loughlin, 2010:29). An interviewee (Tourism.Association.3) argued that *"every nation in the Balkans has its own version of history, which is very different from the rest and that is where disagreements and conflicts occur"*. This is expanded by Tourism.Association.2, who pointed out that *"the Balkan wars occurred because of the need for identity. It is the same in Kosova. Identity crises have destroyed the country more than the war itself"*. Due to different versions of history, people can feel unsatisfied with what they are taught. As a result, they seek their own truth about the history of the region by talking to international people working in Kosova. ICS.1 supported the view that *"people in Kosova are always curious to know what the international people think of Kosova and its people, because international people are perceived here to be neutral and fair with history"*. This has something to do with the type of education that was delivered during the oppression (as discussed in the political section) when bias learning was provided to keep the spirit of the people high. It was identified that due to the misperception of history by all nationalities, people feel perplexed and a little lost. Tourism.Association.2 argued that people want to hear the opinion of internationals *"because they don't know what their history really is, who they are exactly, what they believe in and what they belong to"*.

It was found that the identity crisis may have created chauvinism in the Balkans but the latter was not found to be a problem amongst Kosova Albanians. According to ICS.1, narrating his personal experience working across the Balkans:

"you can sense chauvinism in most Balkan countries". I expected the same from Kosova Albanians, even more so, especially towards the Serbs because of the historic inequalities against them and their suffering during the war. But, I find their attitude surprisingly very positive and according to my experience the Balkan's chauvinism is completely missing in Kosova Albanian society".

ICS.1 explained that most people feel exhausted by the political obstacles Serbia creates for Kosova but they also understand that, it is on a political level, and they see no reason to feel hatred towards the Kosova Serb community. His understanding was that *"most people see it just like, yes, we had this conflict and the war, many people died but now we need to move on. We live freely in Kosova now, it is ok that Serbs live here as well and when they want to integrate themselves they are welcome to".* He felt that this positive mindset of the people would help Kosova's social stability and believed *"this is good news from the Balkans"* because *"in the Balkans it is very common to feel negative attitude towards one another"* (ICS.1).

It has been construed that strong religious beliefs have taken a leap in Kosova. They have challenged the new country with traces of religious fundamentalism, which could become a dangerous problem if not treated as such. It is understood that with such high unemployment some people can become a problem to society (MP.2). According to some interviewees fundamentalism finds its way to certain people *"who believe God favours them more than others"* (Academic.1). Historically, Kosova did not have issues with religions or extreme religious views but this issue is being imported by foreign associations that went to Kosova after the war in the name of humanitarian aid and to exploit the vulnerability of Kosova's socio-economic situation by offering regular payments to people to follow extreme religious practices. MP.2 argued that Kosova does not have religious studies in schools and thus the youth are vulnerable to being persuaded by others. It was mentioned that such movements are supported by outside forces with the mission *"to radicalise the youth so the West would turn its back on Kosova"* (T.industry.3). It was also believed that fundamentalism is a temporary wave as it does not correlate with the way of life and history in Kosova (Academic.2 and Public.Association.3).

EU Aspirations

Kosova's future was predicted by the interviewees to be in the EU in some 20 years' time. However, it was also forecast that Kosova will experience some sort of civil rockiness beforehand, because *"society needs to liberate itself from all the post-war rage and cynicism"* (Academic.1). Such "*rage*" created by all the political, economic and social injustices, some of which have been discussed in this thesis, must dissipate before society can be soothed and ready to move forward.

It was also discussed that by the time Kosova may be ready to join the European Union, the union itself would have undergone much needed reforms in order to fend off the rise of nationalism in the continent. ICS.1 contended that the EU's structure will change in the form of an 'onion', where it would have a *"core layer of countries, intermediate layer and an outer layer".* This predicted form of the EU's future structural system has resemblance to Wallerstein's World System Theory (2004), which divides the world into core, semi-periphery and periphery. It was explained that depending on the situation of each country and their contribution to the union they can move from the *"outer layers"* to the *"intermediate layers"* and *"core layers"*, and vice-versa. ICS.1 stated that to start off with, *"Kosova may be able to be in the third layer with an opportunity to get closer to the second layer in the future, depending on its development".* Joining the EU would be the end of Kosova's post-war transition, as we know it today.

5.3. Implications of post-war transition for tourism

5.3.1. Introduction

This section discusses the implications of the war itself and political, economic and social conditions in post-war transitional Kosova for tourism, which relates to the second objective of this study. Hence, this section picks up the issues of the previous section, namely, governance structures, priorities on the political and economic agenda, strategic planning, financial resources (FDI & privatisation), bilateral relations, education, mindset and social stability. At first, however, perceptions of interviewees on the role of tourism under Socialist Yugoslavia are highlighted. This is crucial in order to develop understanding of their perceptions of the state of tourism development in post-war transitional Kosova. Secondly, the implications of the war itself on Kosova's image are evaluated, and links to on-going unsettled bilateral relations are drawn.

Thereupon, the implications of the above-mentioned issues on tourism are discussed. Finally, a summary of this section is provided.

5.3.2. Pre-war role of tourism

In Socialist Yugoslavia, tourism was a priority for the state to aid its image restoration following on from World War 2 and was utilised as a tool for economic development. The potential of tourism for image-building and economic development has been widely emphasised in the literature (Chapter 2). The former Yugoslavia itself was a popular tourism destination in the 1960s-1980s, but its tourism industry was mainly focused on the coastline, with Croatia, Slovenia and Montenegro being the principal beneficiaries. Although the governance of tourism followed the socialist system, it was highly influenced by Tito's Western approach, for example, in terms of training and legislation. An interviewee T.Industry.4 pointed out that human resource development initially took place in Austrian, Swiss and Bavarian hospitality colleges, before establishing similar schools and colleges for hospitality education within Yugoslavia.

In Kosova, however, tourism was not applied as a tool for economic development as another interviewee (T.Industry.5) pointed out that Kosova was *"largely overlooked"*, in that little investment took place and education was left behind in Kosova. Nonetheless, some more affluent people were free to study in the other republics. Another interviewee T.Industry.9 recalled that *"Yugoslavia's tourism industry mainly focused on sea, sun and sand offers, and the rest of the country was not really developed for tourism"*. Although Kosova was overlooked with respect to tourism, the state developed the Brezovica Ski Resort in the 1970s, several health spas and a hotel was opened in the main cities of Kosova such as the Grand Hotel Prishtina (Civil.Servant.5). Furthermore, interviewees reported that Yugoslavian state-owned tour operators used Kosova as a transit destination to visit Orthodox religious sites on the way to or from other regions of Yugoslavia (T.Industry.4). Interviewees (T.Industry.1, Civil.Servant.2; IDA.1 and T.Industry.5) agreed that tourism activities (i.e. such tours) were *"organised and functional"*; however, managed in a way that *"minimum contact occurred between the tourists and the common persons and brought very little financial benefits to Kosova"* (T.Industry.4). Accordingly, tourism in Kosova under Yugoslavia was not a primary economic sector. Employment was also

not a significant beneficiary of tourism, although people worked in the several state hotels, the ski resort and health spas. Nonetheless, *"Serbs and Montenegrins mainly occupied those positions"* (T.Industry.4). Limited development of human resources in Kosovar tourism impacts on the current conditions, which is explored under 'social implications' in the next section.

In summary, the tourism industry in the Former Yugoslavia was perceived by the interviewees as well-established despite limited benefits to Kosova. This was emphasised by T.Industry.9 arguing that *"when people claim everything was better during Tito's time, including tourism, it is only because of their nostalgia for law and order and for when the state organised everything"*. Tourism development in Kosova, however, was largely seen as 'left behind'.

5.3.3. Role of tourism in post-war transitional Kosova

Political implications

Political instabilities have a strong effect on tourism, and in particular, combined with war, they obstruct tourism for as long as it is present and for a long time afterwards since not only the country's image, but also its political, economic and social systems and basic infrastructures are damaged. In the case of Kosova, it is observable that tourism development and its governance are strongly affected by the Kosova War 1998-1999 and its aftermath. In particular, Kosova's image has suffered immensely as Academic.2 stated:

> *"Kosova was almost hermetically isolated from Serbia's politics in order not to be heard of by international people. Its politics wanted to hide Kosova and the existence of its Albanian population internationally until ethnic cleansing was quietly accomplished. This has had negative impact on tourism image as people do not think of tourism when they think of Kosova. The only thing they may remember is the war but nothing before it."*

It is undeniable, that the war had long-lasting negative impacts of the country's image, which is widely supported in the literature (e.g. Hall, 1994; Upadhayaya, 2013). Wahlisch and Xharra (2011) recognise the importance of reversing war torn images to places of potential. However, for Kosova to reposition its negative image to one of a young vibrant nation is a colossal challenge. Saatchi and Saatchi, a global advertising

agency conducted a survey in 2008 about the image of Kosova internationally and found two important factors. One, Kosova is not widely known internationally, and two, it had negative connotations such as war, poverty, corruption and instability (Wahlisch and Xharra, 2010).

Developing tourism in Kosova is furthermore challenged by the fact that Kosova was never sincerely utilised as a tourism destination; quite the opposite, it was kept away from international exposure, as Academic.1 enunciated that *"Kosova was kept so hidden behind the Yugoslavian propaganda that it took a tragedy for its people to be heard of".* This was further supported by T.Industry.9 by arguing that:

> *"The Serbian regime always conducted ethnic cleansing on Kosova Albanians that's why we were always resisting. The tensions of 1968, 1981, and the Serbian systemic aggression from 1989, continuous protests and demonstrations throughout the 1990s, climaxed by the Kosova War 1998-1999 were endeavours for a change and freedom from the Serbian regime. For these reasons Kosova was always a target of negative stories and unpopular perceptions hence, limited tourism existence from that period.*

Therefore, tourism in post-war transitional Kosova cannot rely on rebuilding a pre-existent destination image; however, it needs to abolish the image of a war-torn country and develop a coherent image of a tourist destination. While the literature widely discusses the effects of war or conflict on tourism, research that explores tourism development in a country without prior tourism experience could not be identified.

This research discovered that the on-going diplomatic disputes with Serbia have a negative impact on tourism development in Kosova, since the disputes portray political instability, which discourages potential tourists from travelling (e.g. Amer and Thao, 2005, 2007; Li 2014; Li and Amer, 2012). The completion of the dialogue will potentially have a positive effect on tourism, because Kosova may no longer be viewed as a potentially unstable region. Currently, tourism development has been barricaded due to the Kosova-Serbia relations. Tourism.Association.4 assessed that *"such lingering obstacles and continuous political disagreements create a tense atmosphere for us and our stability, which results in negative outcome for tourism development".*

The interviewees were confident in their beliefs that the dialogue between Kosova and Serbia will improve and be reached to enable the two countries to move on from the past towards a mutual future (in the EU). There was a feeling that tourism development would benefit greatly from the completion of the dialogue, because the state may focus more resources to enhance tourism governance. However, interviewees were aware that the current reality remains disheartened because:

> *"Serbia is still the source of instability in the Balkans and this is particularly a major problem for Kosova. They have the mechanism to destabilise Kosova at their will. As a result, all our political resources and capital, which is not a lot, need focusing on fighting to prevent anything volatile from happening in our country. This means tourism is not even considered by the state, at the moment (Tourism.Association.4)*

In the post-war transition, political opposition from neighbours uses propaganda to promote false stories about Kosova to weaken its image internationally, impacting on its tourism potential. T.Industry.1 explained that *"this is a political competition between Kosova's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Serbia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The former tries to restore what the latter destroys, and tourism is hampered in this battle".* In the literature, it was identified that tourism is exploited for political purposes - either to destabilise countries for example through issuing travel warnings against going to a particular country and putting trade embargoes, or to establish nationalism and pride within a country (Oulette, 2016; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). As mentioned in the literature review (Chapter 2), the case of North Korea's image can be considered similar to Kosova, in a way that external negative propaganda, mainly from Serbia is diminishing Kosova's tourism potential. However, unlike North Korea, a dictatorship country that has managed to establish its own image makeover through tourism, despite international negative propaganda, Kosova is failing to do the same. This goes back to Ellul's (1973:282) argument that *"who fails to make propaganda will be defeated immediately".* Furthermore, Kosova's tourism image may be aided by the fact that it is becoming a democracy. Therefore, Kosova is in a good position to build a 'favourable' image in order to attract potential tourists.

Current conditions in the country are poor due to the long-period of oppression and the Kosova War 1998-1999. Tourism.Association.4 explained that *"the oppression and the war damaged every factor of our society, be it politics, economy, culture,*

education, multi-ethnicity and trust. Basically, nearly everything the country needs for tourism development". T.Industry.6 further described that the past regime had also damaged tourism through the destruction of heritage belonging to Kosova Albanian identity because *"it was Serbia's primary objective to extinguish anything to do with Albanian history in Kosova".* As a result, *"everything started from zero after the war"* (Civil.Servant.6).

Two major obstacles for tourism development are establishing governance structures in general, and more particular for tourism, combined with negative perceptions towards the government's leadership. An interviewee, however, pointed out that the government does *"have other more critical fields where they need to focus their attention and tourism has become a casualty of such conditions"* (Civil.Servant.13). Although tourism is widely applied as a tool for development, Ionnides and Apostolopoulos (1999) identified that there is often lack of awareness of its potential values and benefits in the context of post-war transitional countries. This results in not prioritising tourism development, and thus, not providing resources (e.g. Alluri, 2009; Reid, 2003).

Economic implications

Tourism development in Kosova faces the challenge of difficult economic conditions in general, and of not being viewed as a primary economic sector. T.Industry.6 remarked that **"Tourism has been held captive as a result of the overall lacking of development orientations"**. The results indicate that this is partly due to other essential sectors being in similar difficult conditions as Civil.Servant.5 explained that *"after the war Kosova was left very badly destroyed. Therefore, many other important sectors remain in great need of support, hence tourism is not prioritised"* - which links back to the arguments by Alluri (2009), Ionnides and Apostolopoulos (1999), and Reid (2003). Lack of priority of tourism development at the highest level has resulted in the state tourism office not being supported with adequate financial resources and expertise to plan tourism development and establish its essential infrastructure. T.Industry.2 argued that:

> *"The tourism sectors, including gastronomy* [tour operators and travel agencies, restaurants, hotels, bars and nightclubs] *have one of the third highest numbers*

of employees in Kosova. This shows that tourism should be at least in the top four of most important sectors in the country but the government neglect these trends. Currently, the central tourism department has an annual budget of 30 thousand Euros and incompetent personnel, and these factors have left the whole tourism sector with no official strategic plan".

Lack of economic strategic planning and government inexperience how to act has led to the spending of most of the national budget on road infrastructure, for several years, whilst under-using resources to enhance other areas such as healthcare and educational reforms. Such balance of public spending would benefit tourism governance in the future with adequate expertise. Investment on road infrastructure is made without establishing other infrastructures that would improve inbound tourism from the neighbouring countries. Instead, it may be argued that it has aided outbound tourism as more Kosovars go on holiday to Albania and Montenegro and has equally aided imports of foreign products. Civil.Servant.2 remarked how *"the investment on road infrastructure mainly benefits tourism in Albania and increases imports to Kosova".* These two factors that have benefited from the national budget over the last eight years are the biggest cash exports out of Kosova, and all because of lack of planning in ensuring this national investment brings benefits to the country. Tourism.Association.5 said *"it would be a waste of time drafting reports and strategies that sit in the government drawers because the government will not enforce them".*

The non-interventionist approach or the inability of the government to execute its policies and legislations has resulted in the absence of or limited FDI in tourism, because the government does not provide adequate tourism-related national statistics. Tourism remains 'in the dark' with little accurate figures of its significance such as tourist numbers, contribution to GDP and total employment. T.Industry.2 expressed distress with the situation relating to the absence of national tourism statistics and asked *"With what basis can we attract international investors if we don't have such basic statistics to rely upon? A physician said once, I could hold the earth on the palm of my hand if there was a surface I could stand on.* This view argues that it is difficult to attract FDI in the tourism sector in Kosova, because of limited statistics that can prove the tourism prospective.

Bad experience in privatising state assets has created a negative image of Kosova amongst FDI, including potential tourism investors. ICS.1 stated that *"Privatisation struggle is affecting tourism development negatively because it creates bad press. This has created a negative image among potential investors to a point where it has become very difficult to improve it"*. On a positive note, Kosova is benefiting from its European Common Aviation Agreement (ECAA), which has made the country a little more appealing and as a result privatised its national airport. This has improved the service as T.Industry.1 maintained that *"a success story is the privatisation of the airport and since its privatisation there is a new airport being built which will replace the old one and will meet the needs of its travellers better"*. Kosova is a member of ECAA, which is an agreement with all European countries that has deregulated the travel trade industry into a single market in aviation services and made them more competitive. The obstacle to this agreement is that it was signed by UNMIK prior to Kosova's independence. Thus, the ECAA only recognises Kosova under its UN Resolution 1244 and *"not as a sovereign state, which dampens its image"* (Civil.Servant.2).

The unhealthy bilateral relations with Serbia obstruct overall economic transition in more than one way. One example is how Serbia fuels Kosova Serbs to obstruct the privatisation of state assets located in the same areas they live – as interviewees reported. According to ICS.1, the Brezovica Ski Resort suffers from such a fate, and thus, is in total rundown condition. The government of Kosova has not managed to privatise it yet, despite interest from large ski resort companies from France, America and Canada, because of political obstruction. Consequently, the Brezovica Ski Resort has become complex, politicised and unattractive to investors as the Kosova Serbs dispute the idea of privatising the site, because *"they claim the resort is their property and hold it hostage in dismal condition"* (ICS.1). This is despite the point that its modernisation *"is in their favour because their locality would be regenerated and there would be promised employment"* (T.Industry.1). The dispute of ownership and the difficulties created by the locals in Brezovica are believed to be fuelled by Serbia's politics towards Kosova. Civil.Servant.5 argued that *"neither the Kosova Government nor the Kosova Serbs benefit from this economic impasse. It only suits Serbia to exploit Kosova Serbs in damaging economic development in Kosova"*.

Tourism investment could contribute positively to increased political stability as it can create an intra-dependent community by relaxing internal ethnic boundaries and isolation (Causevic, 2010). It was argued that, if the state invests in the regions populated by Kosova Serbs, *"they would resist at first but would not just ignore employment opportunities created there and that may become their bread and butter"* (T.Industry.1). Thus, their negative perception of Kosova may be softened, because currently Kosova Serbs feel closer to Serbia than to Kosova.

Social implications

Developing tourism is obstructed by slow post-war social transition, due to problems in Higher Education and an 'oppressed mindset'. Problems in higher education since pre-war obstruct the growth and the advancement of the mind and thus, impacts on the adequacy of human resources in charge of tourism governance. The findings suggest that under Former Socialist Yugoslavia, not many Kosovars were involved in tourism. Therefore, lack of know-how and inexperience in tourism governance are current obstacles for further development (T.Industry.4). Having had very limited involvement in tourism governance processes in Socialist Yugoslavia, Kosova society has inadequate foundation from the past to govern tourism development. Thus, this research argues that tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova is both path creation and path dependence. One the one hand, current human knowledge and skills are mainly being developed from 'birth' with no history of the past and therefore, a phenomenon or a product of path creation. On the other hand, the very fact that little knowledge and skills derive from the former Yugoslavian era in Kosova, makes it more difficult to establish tourism expertise in post-war transition, therefore its process formation is path dependent. This is in line with Bramwell and Meyer's (2007:767) argument that *"past decisions influence those of today".*

Another example that demonstrates that the novelty of post-war tourism represents path creation is the limited tourism infrastructure in the past and its destruction during the Kosova War 1998-1999; so, post-war tourism development is deviating from former structures into new pathways. However, its emergence is disadvantaged by the past decisions not to develop tourism infrastructure, considerably, and by its

destruction during the Kosova War 1998-1999, suggesting path dependency. Consequently, tourism development in post-war transitional Kosova is a mixture of path dependence and path creation; its process formation is the former and its end result is the latter.

The findings indicate that society suffers from an oppressed mindset (path dependence) due to the long-term occupation of the country (T.Industry.1). Due the existence of this mindset, people lack confidence in taking the initiative, which would contribute to tourism development. Furthermore, elements of post-war transitional mindset (path creation) such as limited uniformity of ideas hinder the establishment of networks and collaboration in tourism (Public.Association.1). This has resulted in the fragmentation of tourism activities and their governance.

The 'Balkanic mindset' is linked to relaxed behaviour, underdeveloped and "*folkloric*" attitude, (Civil.Servant.2), family- and friend-focused (ICS.1), *"with a shortage of affinity or inner motivation for hard-work"* (Civil.Servant.2). This mindset is perceived by interviewees as "*interesting to discover" (Tourism.Association.2)*, especially by the international interviewees, but it is also perceived to hamper tourism growth and management and thus results in inefficient tourism governance. The post-war transitional mindset was also found to be very individualistic and hostile due to limited trust. It was found that people with an individualist mindset have limited trust in others but have strong beliefs that they can always do better than others and thus, find it difficult to sympathise or appreciate the efforts of other people (Academic.2). Individualist mindset, when joined with limited uniformity of ideas explained above, can disrupt joint efforts to establish good tourism governance. Such an individualist mindset can be combatted with an improved dedication towards tourism development and its governance, which would serve as a model in society that achievements are greater when working together. Lordkipanidze *et al* (2005) argue that limited collaboration in tourism planning and development leads to disintegration and lack of common identity. Dedeurwaerdere (2004) argues that collaboration is the foundation of any governance framework and its networks because of its indispensable power to aid decision-making and strategy planning and adapting to global changes (Tang and Tang, 2006).

Fragile social stability is a threat that would confine the governance of tourism and its development. It was found that Kosova's struggle with several unkind social fragilities such as 'post-war trauma', 'ethnic division', 'identity crisis' and lately, like the rest of the world, it is endangered by the spread of 'religious fundamentalism'. A post-traumatic mindset in society keeps people pre-occupied and intense and these features limit self-belief that people can influence something in the country, a behaviour which also impacts the establishment of tourism necessities.

The findings suggest ethnic division was viewed by the interviewees as a long-term issue, which will need time, genuine efforts from everyone and willingness to compromise and abundance of resources to unite society (ICS.1). Currently, ethnic division is restricting the spread of tourism activities because tour operators belonging to Kosova Albanians are not freely welcomed to do guided tours around heritage sites located in the communities of Kosova Serbs (T.Industry.9). The general feeling amongst the participants is that ethnic tension will be calmed in due time because people will want to turn to normality and improve harmony in their lives, rather than continue to be used as a political tool (Tourism.Association.3). This current social obstacle endangers future stability, if not solved. It threatens territory divides, which could escalate tensions and risks pulling the country backwards into another war. Such situation would destroy any efforts made in post-war transition in terms of establishing and encouraging the governance of tourism development.

Identity crisis is another problem for tourism governance because it impacts on destination image creation and nation branding. Confusion surrounding historic truths enforced by opposing versions of history told in a mythical fashion and bias education has emphasised identity crisis and ethnic division amongst the cultures in Kosova. Identity crisis hampers the governance of tourism development as it has resulted in contestation of heritage and disagreements in the interpretation of the history and background of heritage sites. However, it is believed that if and when ethnic differences reach compromise and are embraced into the multi-cultural brand, then tourism in Kosova would be attractive internationally because of combined rich cultures, traditions, and ways of life and people that brace this land (ICS.1). Wong *et al* (2011) argue that an agreement on the objectives of tourism between different

ethnicities can strengthen their unity and mutual identity. If tourism development in Kosova is approached from the standpoint of multi-ethnicity then it can build a strong case to attract international and national support because it has the power to establish better relations between different communities, develop collaboration, reduce division, calm ethnic boundaries (Causevic, 2010) and establish a mutual identity with multi-cultural dimensions.

The spread of international religious fundamentalism has touched Kosova's vulnerable society. This has added another heavy negative weight in its already difficult journey of post-war transition to become a democratic society. This negative phenomenon as any other phenomenon that threatens stability, safety and security in the country will damage its 'young' tourism development and the image of Kosova as a new multi-cultural tourist destination. This is a borderless problem as Bizina and Gray (2014) argue that youth fundamentalism is spiralling into one of the most critical international threats in the modern age. Such a major problem facing a 'fragile' country such as Kosova can be another reason for tourism governance to be pushed back in the minds of the government, investors and tourists. However, the positive nature of Kosova people is demonstrated by the views of the interviewees who believe that the spread of religious fundamentalism is a temporary 'wave' because it does not conform to the overall way of life, tradition and the history of Kosova. However, Bizina and Gray (2014:72) argue that even Western countries such as Canada and Britain have become 'nests' for growing fundamentalist mindset among vulnerable youth that are *"socially isolated, disenchanted young men* […] [and in] *search for identity, acceptance and purpose".* Nonetheless, it is strongly believed that the future of Kosova lies with and in the European Union because of international efforts to normalise the new country and the Balkans in general. This is something that would strongly support tourism development and increase the need for improved tourism governance. However, the rise of religious fundamentalism in the world has arguably given rise to right wing politics in contemporary Europe. This has possibly restricted sympathy of Western people towards foreign cultures and other non-Western nations. If such beliefs and viewpoints influence the governance of EU in the future it may further lessen the prospect of Kosova joining this 'European family' and its tourism development.

Moufakkir (2015) calls for new research on the impacts of contemporary religious extremism and anti-immigration with regards to tourism.

5.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined and discussed the results of this research with regards to post-war transition and its implication on tourism. Firstly, political, economic and social conditions in post-war transitional Kosova were identified and evaluated against the literature. In doing so, objective 1 of this study, which is *'To examine post-war political, economic and social transition',* was addressed. Understanding Kosova's political, economic and social post-war transition is crucial for developing knowledge of tourism governance in this context, which has been emphasised in the literature (e.g. Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010; Zhao and Timothy, 2015; Hall, 1994). Thereupon, political, economic and social conditions were related to tourism governance by discussing general implications of these for, which represents objective 2 of this study *('To determine the implication of political, economic and social post-war transition for tourism governance')*.

Politically, Kosova seeks to transition from Socialist Yugoslavia and Serbian oppression to democratic governance, with the support of the UN, the EU and the USA. Kosova's political conditions changed over the years. It experienced oppression and war in the 1990s, before being liberated by NATO in 1999. After the war, UNMIK administered Kosova and established a new democratic governance framework (Scheye, 2008), which was part of international mission of nation-building of Kosova. Whilst, UNMIK was perceived not to have fully achieved its objectives, nonetheless, was a key factor in helping Kosova with its transition and nation-building (Tansey, 2009). This led to the establishment of the Kosova Government and state institutions that declared Kosova independent in 2008.

It was found that post-war political transition in Kosova is challenged by several substantial barriers and problems that may take a long time to reduce. A lack of tradition and experience in diplomacy and state-building was found to have led to international organisations continuing their mission of monitoring Kosova's progress. Problems with regards to a lack of tradition, culture and unprofessionalism were linked

with issues of mindset, relating to the past and present circumstances. Unsettled bilateral relations and the Kosova-Serbia dialogue were strongly discussed in the findings. It was found that relations with Serbia determine future stability, not only in Kosova but in the Southeast Europe. Misuse of power and corruption at institutional level were found to be significant problems facing Kosova and its post-war transition.

The Kosova Government continues its transition responsibilities, and has achieved some reforms and decentralisation but is heavily criticised for high politicisation and corruption and for interfering with the justice system (European Commission, 2016). Overall, the interviewees argued that Kosova is governed by autocrats and their implementation of a democratic system is abysmal. Some interviewees (e.g. Tourism.Association.3, Civil.Servant.12) went as far as claiming that the country is captured by *"predatory political elite"* who do not make decisions in the best interest of society, because their main priority is self-prosperity. It was also found that Kosova's limited political progress is influenced by the past when it was ruled by foreign invaders and thus, Kosova Albanians may have undeveloped diplomatic experience to govern the country democratically.

Lack of tradition in diplomacy resulting in weak political parties was found to be the most visible problem in Kosova's political transition, which justifies the need to have international organisations monitoring the developments and advising the Kosova Government. Lack of tradition and culture, and political unprofessionalism was linked to mindset, which Yurevich (2013) argues is an integral factor, in determining the path of progress. Thus an undeveloped mindset, resulting from restricted education in the 1990s was argued to have created a fragile political stability in post-war transition. This has left society with little choice to influence change due to weak political parties as alternatives to the current government.

International influence through guidance, support and expertise was greatly appreciated by all interviewees. However, some of them suspected the internationals are 'spoon-feeding' the Kosova Government, which creates unaccountability in the government and an opportunity to 'hide' *"behind the curtain"*, in terms of international presence (ICS.1). Nonetheless, the EU's support of Kosova was highly valued by the interviewees, particularly its mediation in the Kosova-Serbia dialogue for normalising

relations. Civil.Servant.12 claimed that *"any achievement would have been unthinkable without EU mediation"*. This quote demonstrates a lack of faith society may have in its government due to its inexperience in diplomacy and due to popular perceptions that personal benefits of the government officials involved in negotiations may influence a disturbing outcome for Kosova in the future. It is also to do with their scepticism about Serbia's true intentions about normalising its relations with Kosova. This finding relates to the authority aspect of the transition continuum discussed by Steward and Brown (2009) in the literature review. In that, the Kosova Government has demonstrated limited authority because of its inexperience in diplomacy, inadequate implementation of rule of law and corruption claims. These weaknesses have resulted in society's lack of faith in its government. The dialogue with Serbia was perceived as difficult but necessary and the only option for a potential long-lasting peace and stability in the region.

The findings suggested that the political elite utilise their power for personal interests or for the benefits of interest groups through nepotism and different means of corruption. The two were found to be the most serious problems that stifle democracy and political transition in Kosova. Problems of institutional corruption in Kosova were confirmed in the International Index Report on Corruption (2016). This finding was related to Lukes' (1974, 2005) dimensions of power, in that power is not 'purely' used to make decisions on behalf of the people (first dimension), but used in a non-legitimate way to positively influence one's or a group's personal interests (second dimension). Interviewees perceived that power is illegitimately utilised by diverse political actors and at different levels, and partly with the intention of delaying transition processes in Kosova, since maintaining the status quo might be beneficial for some political actors. The trait of misusing power through corruption and bribery was argued to be an *"inherited mindset"* (Tourism.Association.5) from the oppression when Kosova Albanians were *"treated like third class citizens, our mind was beaten into a cage and we felt like slaves"* (T.Industry.6). Thus, Kosova Albanians developed a mindset under oppression that nothing could be achieved without rewarding institutional officials, which continues to be a problem in post-war transition, because such behaviour is almost perceived 'normal' and necessary.

Economically, Kosova seeks transition from Socialist Yugoslavian state-plan and self-governed system to a neoliberal and an open-market by pursuing privatisation and in search of foreign direct investment. Kosova's economic conditions have been deprived from 1990s-present. After the war, UNMIK pursued privatisation of Kosova assets but faced major challenges with regards to ownership complications (Scheye, 2008) Since the independence in 2008, the Kosova Government have followed suit by trying to privatise state assets but with little success due resistance from the Kosova Serb minority and limited interest from FDI, due to its unattractive image.

Economic transition is proving difficult due to political complexity and challenges that the new country faces, such as ineffective governance and political obstruction from Serbia. Such obstacles will obstruct economic development in the near future. Being confronted with political and economic difficulties combined with limited promotion tarnishes Kosova's image internationally, which can limit FDI. It was found that as part of Yugoslavia, Kosova remained economically-deprived, and the political tensions in the 1950s-1960s, further damaged the economy and the living standards for the majority in Kosova. The 1970s saw the enforcement of the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974, which improved the economy with some large investments made across Kosova. This prosperity came to an end in 1989 when Serbia abolished Kosova's constitutional rights, devastated the economy and led to the Kosova War 1998-1999.

A lack of clarity in the government's role in strategic planning was found to have occurred as a result of inexperience and know-how in applying itself in an open-market economic system, which has led to inefficient implementation of rule of law in the economy. This has led to weak and bureaucratic economic institutions and operating with an ad-hoc approach, which were perceived to have detracted foreign investors. Such disordered conditions have created vacuum for mismanagement of transition processes, resulting in limited investment in the country. It was found that mismanagement of state assets and suspicious privatisation processes have led to discounted sales of assets and corruption accusations since UNMIK's era to present day (Valentino, 2008). Privatisation has not resulted in economic improvement, with high unemployment and high poverty rates not experiencing any significant changes since the 1990s. It was found that the Kosova Government is finding it difficult to

privatise state assets, due to unsettled bilateral relations and discrepancies with Serbia over the ownership of assets. This has led to limited FDI interest and thus, restricting economic transition and the application of open market economy.

It was argued by the interviewees that struggles of economic transition are also the outcome of an *"intergenerational mindset"* that was damaged or was not allowed to develop for hundreds of years and thus, it is not strongly oriented towards economic development. It remains *"trapped in the* […] *survival mode"* due to long-term oppression (T.industry.1), underdeveloped and suffers from war trauma. As a result, it learnt to only function with "*short-term visions"* (Tourism.Association.2), which limits planning and strategic thinking. Such a mindset requires time and effort to develop a sense of planning, which currently creates ineffective economic governance and delays development in post-war transition.

Socially, transition in post-war Kosova was perceived to be 'fast' considering how damaged social conditions were after the war. Nonetheless, interviewees pointed out that Kosova's post-war social transition continued to be faced with significant obstacles. The interviewees particularly expressed concerns about the freedom of speech, mindset issues, and weaknesses in the education system, and other serious social problems such as post-war trauma, ethnic division, identity crisis, and fundamentalism. Social transition was strongly linked for interviewees to *"freedom of speech"*; whilst, however, it was felt *"these aspects are a little restricted"* (T.industry.8). Similarly, it is emphasised in the literature that achieving freedom of speech is paramount for successful transition (e.g. Mirkin, 2013). Interviewees agreed that initiative from the Kosovar society is required for social transition; however, it was found that people rarely take initiative, because they appear to be tired as one interviewee (Academic.2) emphasised *"they have very little energy left to demand change"* - in particular, the Kosova's Youth were found to suffer from lack of initiative as a result of on-going issues (e.g. low level of education and employment, combined with politicisation). Interviewees perceived that the government has no intention to change the society's lethargy, as one interviewee pointed out *"a weak government seeks to keep the people inactive so they are not a threat. With such an approach, the government creates the playground of manipulating the people".* Relating this to Lukes'

(2005) dimensions of power, it was indicated that the government makes use of third dimension, in order to manipulate people to agree with the government's decisions and to believe in the 'good purpose' of decisions.

Judt (2010) highlights, that lack of initiative is a quite common characteristic for societies that experienced communism, since communism did not allow establishing individual or collective will. Therefore, lack of initiative might also provide indication for a 'Balkanic mindset', which was supported by interviewees and also by the literature. For example, Llargovas and Chionis (2002) identified a common set of characteristics amongst Balkan countries due to a common history and similar political, economic and social conditions. The 'Balkanic mindset' was described as "*very family focused and friendly*", which was related by interviewees towards the politicisation of processes, for example, nepotism. Furthermore, strong individualism, in a sense that personal benefits are prioritised, was mentioned as a characteristic of the mindset; whilst, at the same time, "We" identity was found to be existent, which derives from Kosova traditionally being a clan or tribal society, which is in agreement with the literature (e.g. Kemmelmeier *et al*; 2003; Thiessen, 1997; Trnavci, 2008). Both, the "I"- and the "We"-mindset, obstruct social transition in Kosova, in that the "I" discourages collaborative working and the "We" by putting 'family first' encourages nepotism.

To advance social transition, qualitative education, combined with adequate employment opportunities and salaries, is crucial (e.g. Castillo and Phelps, 2017); however, it was found that such qualitative educational programs are limited, and thus, restrict people's opportunities. Furthermore, the results indicate the government's negligence in advancing education, since the government was perceived to be committed to short-term behaviour instead of encouraging and implementing long-term solutions that would have the potential to strengthen Kosova's economic and social stability. An interesting finding was that problems in education not only result from post-war conditions, but strongly relate to the period of oppression, when an 'educational vacuum' existed for Kosova Albanians. An interviewee (Academic.2) argued that "*Kosova has missed the first train of transition because of last ten years of educational vacuum under Serbia. After the war, we tried to get on the first train but*

with an empty brain, and we failed", which indicates the importance of education in order to advance social transition.

Social stability was found to be fragile and is threatened by the war-trauma, ethnic divisions, identity crisis and religious fundamentalism. Post-war traumas are critical challenges for society to deal with, with the hope of leaving the past behind (see: UN, 2014). The findings indicate that the 'wounds' of the Kosova War will remain for a long time, because people experienced horrific sufferings and abuse during the war. Alongside suffering from the 'wounds' of the past, on-going ethnic divisions destabilise Kosova's society, which was identified for several post-war countries (O'Loughlin, 2010). It was argued by interviewees that ethnic division in Kosova is politically intensified by Serbia, by fuelling a 'siege mindset' within the Serb community in Kosova. It is, in general, perceived to be a result of insecurity amongst people, driven by mistrust, and a fear of losing their identity. Additionally, ethnic divisions were perceived to be the outcome of the past, reinforced by conflict, which is supported by O'Loughlin (2010). Social stability is, furthermore, endangered by religious fundamentalism, which was indicated to grow due to the weak political and economic conditions. While it becomes a wide-spread issue; interviewees, however, believed that it is contemporary and will resolve since it is neither part of history nor life, but due to fragile conditions in Kosova.

Section 5.3 on the implications of post-war transition for tourism has firstly outlined the role of tourism in Kosova under Socialist Yugoslavia, before focusing on the role of tourism in post-war transition.

It was discussed that tourism in Socialist Yugoslavia was a priority for the state as a tool for economic development but in Kosova it was not applied for economic or social purposes. Tourism development was almost non-existent in Kosova then. The limited tourism activities then were mainly for Serbia to promote its religious roots in Kosova in order to serve its political objectives.

Political implications for the role of tourism in post-war transitional Kosova highlighted that tourism governance and development are strongly affected by the pre-war oppression, the Kosova War 1998-1999 and its aftermath. Particularly, the image of

Kosova has been severely damaged as a result of the past experiences. It was discussed that the on-going diplomatic disputes with Serbia have a negative impact on the priority of tourism governance and development because such on-going unstable bilateral relations portray political instability in Kosova, which discourages international travellers (Amer and Jianwei, 2014).

The discussion of the findings also recognised confidence amongst the interviewees that the bilateral dialogue between Kosova and Serbia will be concluded with satisfaction, where both countries can move forward with their EU ambitions. This would pave way for tourism development and better governance.

It was established that tourism development is faced with difficult economic circumstances in Kosova. Furthermore, it is not perceived by the government to be a tool for economic development, simply because it is not in their primary plans. This was found to be partly due to other essential sectors being in similar difficult conditions. However, it was also found that despite scarcity in other essential sectors government's lack of strategic planning and inexperience has resulted in public resources being over utilised in certain areas such as road infrastructure, whilst underutilised in others such as healthcare and educational reforms. A better balance of public spending would benefit tourism governance in the future with adequate resources and expertise.

The non-interventionist approach by the government in tourism planning and its inability to efficiently execute its policies and legislations have been criticised for discouraging FDI. Complex privatisation experience has also led to unappealing images of Kosova being presented to potential FDI actors. Also, Serbia's influence on Kosova's Serb population has further restricted FDI in Serb populated localities, which deepens unemployment and poverty in Kosova.

Social implications emphasised how the role of tourism in post-war Kosova is restricted by slow social transition and fragile social stability. Such a situation is influenced by several factors from the past such as education problems under oppression and the challenge of having an oppressed mindset, combined with post-war trauma, which is an aftermath of the Kosova War 1998-1999. Slow social transition and fragile social

stability was discussed in depth and found that it is highly impacted by an individualist mindset, resulting in lack of collaboration, which affects tourism governance. Ethnic division was raised as a concern, which can threaten Kosova's territorial boundaries and future tourism development. Identity crisis deriving from biased education in the past and overall, Kosova's political, economic and social difficulties can intimidate political and social stability in the future, further dampening the confidence of tourism development. Religious fundamentalism was also a point of discussion, which is currently not as overwhelming as ethnic division, for example, but carries the threat of causing severe disorder and instability, further staining Kosova's tourism image and its development prospects.

Chapter 6. Tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova

6.1. Introduction

This section discusses the results of tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova. As outlined in both the introduction to the thesis and the literature review, this study is based on Bevir's (2013:1) definition of governance. Accordingly, tourism governance is understood as the processes of governing by one or more stakeholders through different approaches in a tourism context. Hall's (1994) model highlights the importance of institutional arrangements, power relations and values as key pillars for tourism governance. Furthermore, Adijya *et al* (2015) point out the important role of coordination and collaboration in tourism governance. Due to the significance of these pillars, this research seeks to examine how tourism governance is constituted by institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations in the specific context of post-war transition. In the following sections the results for these three pillars of tourism governance are presented and discussed in relation to the literature.

6.2. Tourism institutional arrangement

Tourism institutional arrangements under Socialist Yugoslavia and Serbia (prior to 1989)

Tourism industry in Socialist Yugoslavia was planned by the central Government, supported by the European Commission and UNDP and was managed by tourism social enterprises and state tourism associations (Choy, 1991). Tourism social enterprises were micro-managed by the workforce under their own management. At a regional level, each republic had a government secretariat, under the umbrella of central institutions that monitored and supported tourism social enterprises such as tour operators and hotels that were responsible for implementing the tourism offer. Kosova was part of such state and social institutions formally, but in practice its tourism was highly overlooked due to Serbia's internal politics towards Kosova. T.Industry.5 claimed that *"tourism was developed and managed by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavian enterprises. But, Kosova was overlooked due to the Serbian nationalism and chauvinism in a way that very little tourism investment was made in Kosova".* T.Industry.11 argued that even when tourists were visiting Kosova, *"the Serbian politics played a massive role when deciding what should be visited and what should not be visited in Kosova".* This view is in line with earlier comments (Civil.Servant.2; T.Industry.1; T.industry.4; IDA.1 and T.Industry.5) that tourism in Kosova was mainly focused around Orthodox religious sites and minimum contact occurred between international tourists and the locals, particularly Kosova Albanians.

Even though each republic managed its own tourism industry, their income was accumulated by the central government in Belgrade, and then dispersed as deemed necessary across Yugoslavia. It was argued that the centralist approach was not favoured by Croatians, who felt they contributed the most to the country from tourism, but it was Belgrade, capital of Serbia, that benefited the most, in terms of using the money accrued from tourism for wider economic development. T.Industry.8 who worked in the Yugoslav tourism industry claimed that Croatians used to say *"Hrvatski turizam gradi Beograd"* [Google translation from Croatian language to English meaning *"Croatian tourism builds Belgrade"*]. T.Industry.8 repeated that such a proverb resembled the one Kosova Serbs used to say about Trepca Mines in Kosova: *"Trepča radi Beograd se gradi"* [Google translation from Serbian language to English, meaning *"Trepca works Belgrade builds"*]. Schmitt (2008:251) and Archer *et al* (2016:113) utilise the same phrase (*"Trepča radi Beograd se gradi")* to capture a popular sentiment and portray social inequalities at the time in Kosova.

Yugoslavia's tourism industry is understood to have lacked competition and innovative 'cutting edge' developments, with T.Industry.4 criticising its tranquil approach, by stating that its *"relevant tourism bodies were happy to receive one tenth of their potential. Its organisation and services were dated and never refreshed"*. Similarly, lack of innovation was also identified by Zhao and Timothy (2015) in relation to China; whilst, they (ibid.) mainly relate this to the hierarchical structure of tourism governance. The findings indicate that, despite its Western model in the tourism industry (Sallnow, 1985), competition was not a strong attribute of the socialist system of Yugoslavia, which is arguably the very reason, why the tourism industry was perceived to have stagnated in its later stages. Civil.Servant.5 recalled that some mild competition did exist amongst tour operators of different republics but this *"was limited because tourism income was all put in the same central box"*, in the end. Competition is found to have been even less visible in the hotel sector and this resulted in stagnation and poor quality throughout. T.Industry.8, recalled telling a group of international tourists in the 1980s *"you will be impressed with the country but if you are here to experience Yugoslavian accommodation you will leave unhappy. This is because the workforce then was not urged to improve the standards"*. Sallnow (1985) took notice of Yugoslavia's outdated hotel sector, which strongly resembled Eastern models such as those in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, despite the rest of its tourism industry signifying a Western model.

The tourism industry was a social structure, where operators received wages and the state accumulated the profits, thus being competitive and making money was not a high incentive for the workforce, which contributed to its decline. Even though tourism income was meant to benefit the workforce ultimately by going back into the communities, large parts of that income were used to pay Yugoslavia's increasing foreign debts (Sallnow, 1985). This was confirmed by Weston from The Times (1984:27) when he reported that *"50% of* [Yugoslavia's] *industry's assets are covered by debts"*. Debt payments and vigorous demands by the IMF to apply austerity meant the standards of living dropped significantly *(Pick, 1984).* Also, the tourism industry was congested with excessive employees in order to reduce unemployment as were other industries, so efficiency was low. T.Industry.4 recalled that *"they used to employ*

three persons for one position. They would then get in each other's way and work was not being done effectively".

The findings indicate that in addition to debts and limited modernisation in the tourism industry, the Communist league of Yugoslavia's megalomaniac 'power-hungry' mindset, hindered the tourism offer. The need of the communist state to demonstrate strength resulted in funds being used for the development of grand monuments across Yugoslavia (Figure 22), with little use, which later became 'deserted monsters'. T.Industry.4 argued that:

> *"the nation was keener to invest their financial resources on grand projects that were too big and complex for Yugoslavian capacity to cope with, which never materialised. This was the Communist megalomania and delusion of having exaggerated status due to the system's obsession with power".*

Such a domineering mindset to demonstrate power is understood to be common amongst authoritarian regimes, including former Socialist Yugoslavia. That said, Yugoslavia under the rule of Tito, was not viewed the same as the more extreme communist or strict authoritarian regimes such as North Korea.

Figure 22. The Revolution in Podgarić, Croatia

Source: Niebyl (2016)

For other examples of such abandoned monuments in Yugoslavia follow Niebyl's (2016) link in the Reference List.

As a result of the ten years of oppression, in which Kosova became a 'no-go-zone', all institutions were damaged: since basic requisite institutions such as education were targeted by the regime, it was not possible to think about tourism and keep tourism institutions running. During the period of oppression in Kosova, the whole of Yugoslavia was being governed by a destructive government, led by Milosevic where Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were engulfed in their wars. Thus, Yugoslavia's tourism industry collapsed since peace, security and safety of a region are essential prerequisites for tourists to visit a destination (e.g. Hall, 1994, Upadhayaya, 2013). The words of T.Industry.4 resembled the views of many interviewees who expressed that *"there is nothing to say about the period of 1989-1999 in terms of tourism because these were the darkest years in Kosova's modern history […] with a complete deterioration of economic structures"*.

During the oppression period, political tensions in Kosova rose and were intensified by curfew, closing down of Kosova Albanian schools, dismissing Kosova Albanian workforce from the public sector and prosecuting Kosova Albanian politicians. Denying the rights to proper education and political representation of Kosova Albanians initiated the end of the oppressive regime in Kosova. Similarly, Ghandi and Przewoski (2007) argue that those authoritarian regimes, that permitted some jurisdiction and approval to the opposition representatives, managed to prolong their tenures longer than the regimes that did not. In Kosova, the repressive measures resulted in frequent demonstrations by Kosova Albanians calling for human rights, which Serbia viewed as extremist movements and responded with *"tear-gas, water canon tanks and police forces beating the demonstrators"* (Civil.Servant.12). Moreover, T.Industry.6 stated that "this became the norm in the oppression period" and further stressed that:

> *"classic oppression of Kosova started taking place from 1989, where all institutions were abolished, including the ones related to tourism. Kosova Albanians were dismissed from their jobs […] including people who were working in tourism and hospitality structures. After a decisive detachment took place to remove Kosova Albanians from all political, economic and social structures […] dark structures started controlling Kosova, in order to put fear and intimidation on us. Such threatening structures included Arkan's paramilitary group called 'Black Tigers', which began showcasing their strength through marches and trainings in the open. During the oppressive period, Black*

Tigers occupied the Grand Hotel in Prishtina, where at the main entrance they put a notice with the words 'no Albanians, dogs or Croats".

These views indicate how extreme the situation became in Kosova, after the regime abolished the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution of Kosova that had ensured equality and peace for over a decade, by replacing it with classic apartheid that led to the Kosova War 1998-1999. This resulted in 8000,000 civilians ethnically cleansed and around 10 thousand lost their lives (Peterson, 2011). It was, particularly, the media images of this war that diminished Kosova's attractiveness internationally and its future tourism potential.

Oppression came to an end after the Kosova War 1998-1999, but the conflict severely damaged tourism potential in Kosova, because of the wide-ranging destructions of structures and resources. Tourism was also damaged 'psychologically' as the war injured the mindset of the people by creating war-traumas and pushed Kosova and its society *"decades back"* (Civil.Servant.12). The war created a negative perception of Kosova, internationally to the extent that *"every time internationals refer to Kosova, they can only remember the war, [...] thus the infancy of our tourism development has been wounded, already"* (Civil.Servant.12).

Post-war institutional arrangements 2000-2013

Inferior tourism institutional arrangement

The importance of effective institutional arrangement has been emphasised in the literature (e.g. Lapeyre, 2011); however, the findings suggest that Kosova's tourism institutional arrangement is perceived to be unproductive, especially in comparison to the neighbouring countries. This was primarily believed to be a consequence of the government's lack of focus in tourism in the post-war transition period (i.e. 2000-2013). Tourism development may involve various separate institutions, creating excessive bureaucracy, which may decelerate governing processes and therefore decreasing efficiency. This is confirmed by Causevic and Lynch (2011) arguing that complex government structure in Bosnia-Herzegovina impedes the development of tourism, because there are many conflicting institutions involved in economic decision-making processes. Similarly, the findings of this study show a complex structure of tourism governance, involving diverse government institutions (Figure 23).

Figure 23 aims to demonstrate the complex tourism institutional arrangements at central government level, with four different ministries having tourism as one of their official duties. According to the interviewees, even though the four ministries are of the same standing, the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI) is the most recognised institution in terms of tourism importance. This is due to its formal responsibilities for drafting and implementing tourism policies and legislations and for its overall responsibilities of tourism as a sector. However, Public.Association.3 claimed that the division "*is responsible to draft policy plans and laws in relation to tourism but its plans are not approved and its laws are not implemented*". Within the MTI, as seen in the figure above, tourism is only ranked as a division, which was recently downgraded from a departmental level. As stated by the interviewees, the other two tourism responsibilities of the Division of Tourism; 'tourism infrastructure' and tourism

Figure 23. Government institutions involved in tourism

	Ministry of Trade & Industry	Ministry of Culture, Heritage & Sport	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Development		Ministry of Environment & Spatial Planning
Department	Industry		Forestry	Rural development	
Division	Tourism				
Responsibilities & tasks	Tourism policy and planning	Heritage tourism	Supervision of eco-tourism	Development of rural tourism	Development of sustainable Tourism
	Tourism legislation			Promotion of rural tourism	Promotion of sustainable Tourism
	Tourism infrastructure				
	Tourism product development				

'product development' remain questions for the future as they are not addressed currently by the Division.

Additionally, the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport is also important to tourism development due to its responsibilities in preserving and promoting culture and heritage in Kosova as illustrated in its recent National Strategy for Cultural Heritage, 2016-2026 (Jerliu, 2016). However, it has been argued that their focus is on sport, and thus, largely overlooking its responsibilities in preserving and restoring Kosova's heritage. The Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning is responsible for the protection of biodiversity and the promotion of nature based tourism (Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, 2011). Owing to this ministry, Kosova currently has two national parks since the post-war transition began. However, T.industry.2 argued that the work to establish the national parks was not commensurable *"because the issue was heavily politicised and now they are sort of half national parks"*.

Under the responsibilities of the Forestry Department within the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Development (MAFRD), 'supervising ecotourism' is listed as one of their duties. 'Development and promotion of rural tourism' is listed under the administrative instruction of the Rural Department of MAFRD (Administrative Instruction, MAFRD NO.02, 2016). Two different departments with similar tourism responsibilities may result in confusion and responsibility overlapping, which may result in increased bureaucracy and therefore, inefficiency.

Despite having four ministries with tourism-related responsibilities as illustrated above, all interviewees criticise the lack of institutional integration and cooperation in tourism governance. They emphasise that this is, because tourism is not a priority for the government and the institutional framework is only formally. This is similar to how it was under former Yugoslavia where the interviewees argued that Kosova was part of the Yugoslavian tourism institutional arrangement in theory, but very little was done in practice. Furthermore, the government has downsized the highest level of national tourism body from a ministerial department into a small division. As a department, tourism was nationally governed by two divisions: Tourism and Hospitality. Since its partition, the Division of Hospitality has been extinguished and the Division of Tourism was made part of the Department of Industry within the MTI.

This alteration was disapproved by all of the interviewees who claimed that *"tourism importance is plummeting at a crucial time in Kosova's transition when it should be*

encouraged and advanced by everyone involved" (T.Industry.5). T.Industry.2's disappointment resembled all of those interviewed when he argued that "*we wanted the Department of Tourism to be something more and they made it something less".* T.Industry.2's statement referred to what all of the interviewees have emphasised, that the Department of Tourism was not sufficient in terms of the authority it possessed, which is even less now as a Division. Thus, in the opinion of all interviewees, a more proactive National Tourism Organisation and a Ministry of Tourism were required, if tourism is to be better organised and equipped with sufficient authority. The findings also indicate that as long as the government reduces the credibility of tourism there was a strong belief amongst the interviewees that, "*it* [the government] *is missing out on cultivating a positive image for Kosova and improving benevolence in this troubled society"* (Civil.Servant.3).

Downsizing the department into a division is due to various reasons according to the interviewees from the private sector, associations and international development agencies. This was, for example, due to "*mismanagement of tourism officials"* (Tourism.Association.5), "*lack of achievements by the former tourism department"* (T.Industry.2) and "*limited interest of its officials to draft a credible tourism development strategy"* (IDA.1). Tourism.Association.5 further argued that the governance of tourism development cannot be successful unless the government takes tourism seriously and holds its officials accountable for their unprofessional conduct. He claims that "*a game without red cards and penalties becomes a battlefield".*

However, some of the interviewees from the public sector emphasised that they "*do not know why the department was diminished. They* [the government] *did not explain why they made the changes but this is a total mistake"* (Civil.Servant.13)*.* However, Civil.Servant.3 argued that "*bad management at the former Department of Tourism was a major factor why tourism responsibilities were not met and why the ministry decided to diminish the department".* He contended that "*unhealthy competition"* amongst the management individuals played a major part in the failures of the department. Furthermore, Civil.Servant.3 believed that the leaders of the department disprove of each other's professional values "out of resentment" and continued that:

> *"the biggest illness in our society is that people do not feel happy for one another when they do well and are successful […]. This is why half of the members of the former Tourism Department did not talk to each other. They disliked each other. This is a chronic illness".*

Tourism institutional arrangement at local level is part of the municipality administration. According to the interviewees, municipalities have the authority to decide whether and how they include tourism duties within their institutional arrangement. Civil.Servant.5, an official at one of the above ministries, illustrated the institutional arrangement of the local government tourism organisation. He explained that at the local level:

> *"some municipalities have an authorised tourism segment or division within their Department of Economy. Some other municipalities do not have a defined division or assigned individuals who only deal with tourism responsibilities. Their tourism responsibilities are managed by general admin officials working within the Department of Economy. Whether a municipality has a defined tourism segment or not is completely up to them to decide, [this is due to decentralisation] as they see it suitable based on budgetary capacity and the tourism resources within their region".*

The findings also show that both central and local government institutions are formally responsible for tourism development but little evidence exists to suggest that it is the case in practice. The municipalities of Peja and Prizren have taken their tourism duties more seriously than others but municipalities are generally not self-sufficient. Thus, as mentioned by Public.Association.3, they are heavily reliant on central government funding. Zhao and Timothy (2015) recognise that local governments in young tourist destinations depend on funding from central institutions, because their tourism efforts do not immediately result in economic growth.

In the absence of credible state tourism representative bodies, *"tourism associations have had positive impact. They almost play the role of the highest tourism structures in the country"* (T.Industry.9). However, associations in Kosova as organisational bodies are not very stable due to several reasons, the most apparent being limited funding, which reduces the commitment of personnel because of inadequate salaries. Differences of opinions between the founders of tourism associations restrict their continuity. According to Lai (2015:3), this is, because of *the desire of […] individual*[s] *to be possessive and dominant"*. Such mental barriers emphasise a strong presence of

individualist mindset and the medieval model of *"Bajraktarism"*, where 'everyone wants to be a leader' (T.Industry.10). Such obstacles have resulted in several tourism associations closing their operations after a short while but they still exist 'on paper'. The reason for this sustained existence is because their original founders find it difficult to accept the reality. This is also *"so they can still apply for […] funding […] when opportunity arises"* (Tourism.Association.1) based on individuals claiming group level applications.

Ad-hoc tourism development and inadequate institutional leadership

It was found that, as a result of limited tourism advantage from the past, post-war tourism governance and development are akin to starting from scratch, which is not based on strategic planning but rather on "*ad-hoc*" behaviour (Civil.Servant.5). This type of tourism development is dependent on irregular patterns by individuals or small project groups, in fragmented approaches. Qin *et al* (2011) argue that the fragmentation of early tourism development can cause inter-organisational conflicts. Hence, Bramwell and Alletorp (2001) discuss the importance of government involvement in balancing the industry objectives and monitoring the path of tourism development. Looking at the institutional arrangement at government level in Kosova, none of the four ministries with tourism responsibilities have taken the lead in tourism.

T.Industry.6 blamed the Kosova Agency of Statistics for not providing any tourism figures to aid the industry's governance. He argued that *"it is absurd of us to expect meaningful policies and co-ordinated tourism governance when the state is not able to provide genuine tourism statistics to evaluate the concrete overall situation"*. This is associated with post-war issues where institutions of nation-building were set-up from the year 2000 onwards, and they continue to struggle in reaching satisfactory levels of functionality.

The interviewee responses strongly suggest that tourism development is mainly attended by individual efforts and is actioned through small projects, only made available through donor funding, usually provided by international development agencies. It was argued by all interviewees that tourism development in post-war transition is unplanned and unstructured, and Public.Association.1 concurred that the

effort to develop *"tourism is sporadic"* in Kosova. This view was supported by Tourism.Association.2 who stated that based on some preliminary research her association conducted, "*tourism in Kosova is mainly focused by uncoordinated private initiatives, mainly by Kosova Albanian Diaspora and with the support of international agencies but without government support*". This is despite having four ministries, which recognise tourism as one of their duties. However, T.Industry.6 agreed with Tourism.Association.2 that *"tourism responsibilities at the central institutions are scattered […] uncoordinated […] downgraded and ignored".*

There was a divide in views amongst the interviewees between talking about the immediate and the future sustainability of tourism. Some of the interviewees criticise this fragmented approach due to the challenges it creates for the planning of tourism in the future (Public.Association.1, T.Industry.3, T.Industry.4). Other interviewees such as T.Industry.9, T.Industry.10 and Tourism.Association.1 praised such individual efforts at the time when *"the government is not enthusiastically involved"*. Tourism.Association.1 continued that, *"we would not be talking about tourism now without individual efforts and small projects funded by international agencies".*

The findings indicate that not enough people are aware of the tourism potential in Kosova and there is scarce expertise to plan its development. T.Industry.9 stated that *"unawareness of people about the potential of tourism is one of the biggest challenges to its development"*. T.Industry.2 compared tourism in Kosova with the general state of democracy in the country and argued that "*just like with our approach to democratic governance, tourism is attended by "trial and error" and "learn by doing" approaches because of unclear vision and limited expertise in tourism".* However, T.Industry.2 was optimistic that *"similar to Kosova's democracy, tourism is in a better condition than it was at the start of the post-war transition".* This view coincided with T.Industry.9's argument who claimed that *"in comparison to the year 2000, tourism is in a more favourable position now, as is the rest of Kosova".*

Even though most of the interviewees agree that tourism may be in a better state overall compared to previous years, they are unsatisfied with the lack of government attention to tourism. Tourism.Association.2 argues that, "*tourism development has not improved near-enough, considering that 13 years of post-war transition have gone by,*

with little tourism development to show for it". Most of the interviewees disapproved the government's decision to leave the national tourism division with limited financial resources and weak political power, which are essential factors for tourism governance. As such, T.Industry.4 argued that *"the government has left the fate of tourism at the mercy of individual efforts, where it is mainly ad-hoc and without any analysis or plans".* Most of the interviewees believe tourism institutional arrangements at both central and local levels need major reforms because at the moment they do not operate under the same recognised umbrella. As mentioned above, four ministries have some tourism duties. However, the majority of the interviewees argue that all four ministries treat their tourism duties as secondary. Equally important is their un-coordination and overlapping duties, resulting in overall negligence regarding the fulfilment of their tourism tasks. Tourism.Association.1, the Head of an association explained that:

> *"there is little or no coordination between the tourism bodies at the central level, because they belong to different ministries and on their own they are powerless. The officials in charge of tourism tasks have other primary duties and tourism is their secondary role, which they rarely and unwillingly pay attention to".*

Tourism.Association.4 contended the way that state institutions have been arranged has created *"co-ordination stalemate"* in tourism governance. Civil.Servant.5, also believed that the tourism institutional arrangement is currently ineffective by arguing that:

> *"In my opinion, all tourism functions, divisions, departments, segments should be under the umbrella of one ministry and merge as a strong department and not scattered between three or four different ministries and remain unnoticeable. [...] All these tourism cells located in several ministries should merge and become one hard tissue. Collaboration would be [...] easier to achieve and results would be much better. At the moment, when a tourism event is [...] organised by [...] [one of the four ministries their officials] need to contact all the other [three] ministries individually to inform them and to discuss with them how they could be involved in the event. Sometimes, they would agree to take part but not get involved in the organising of the event because they would say the event is not organised by their ministry.*

This quote highlights excessive institutional bureaucracy that complicates the coordination of tourism bodies. Pooling tourism institutional resources together would benefit tourism governance with improved coordination and plans. Such

rearrangements would strengthen 'the voice' and the power of tourism as an economic sector. This may be due to its post-war transition status, which has been recognised to be the case in Causevic and Lynch's (2013) study of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This may also be a regional problem, as Sotiropoulos (2004) argues that South European bureaucracies are excessive and fragmented, resulting in disproportionate policies and legislations.

Obstacles for the development of tourism institutional arrangements

The interview responses suggest that the governance of tourism at the central level is unstable due to frequent change of government and management personnel, incompetent workforce and limited funding. As discussed in the literature (see: 2.3 Implications of post-war transition on the role of tourism) Issa and Altinay (2006) and Ladki and Bertramini (2002) identified frequent government change to be a major challenge for tourism development in post-war transition. Civil.Servant.14 argued that the head of tourism department/division is often replaced by means of nepotism, every time a new government comes into power. She explained that *"all of them are brought through nepotism and political influence, not based on their professional values, merits or expertise in management or tourism"*. Civil.Servant.3 also agreed that it is inevitable the government's involvement in tourism is inadequate due to *"lack of appropriate human resources because of nepotism,* [combined with] *limited funds and low wages"* or other incentives.

The findings also indicate that the fragmented governance of tourism development is a major obstruction in understanding what is being done, and which structures are responsible. As a result of this division in the governance of tourism development, there was a solid perception by the interviewees that there is either unproductive overlapping or absolute negligence of tourism responsibilities by relevant stakeholders. All of the interviewees identified that this is due to a lack of co-operation and communication. Similarly to the aforementioned views of Civil.Servant.5, [in section: 'Ad-hoc tourism development'] IDA.1 observed that *"Communication among the four ministries with tourism responsibilities*: [The Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Culture and Sport, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Spatial

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Planning] *is very marginal, very superficial. It occurs when they invite each other to an event, […], which happens very infrequently, but never to achieve something together".*

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there is limited institutional involvement in tourism governance in Kosova, which according to Bramwell and Alletorp (2001), Jenkins and Henry (1982) and Zhao and Timothy (2015) can intensify industry conflicts, excessive costs and limited benefits due to lack of leadership guidance. The interviewees argued that lack of government involvement contributes to the unstructured and unplanned approach to the governance of tourism development. On the one hand, Civil.Servant.3, acknowledged that *"the biggest obstacle to tourism development is lack of support from the state. If tourism received some government support then […] such non-researched development would not have taken place".* On the other hand, Civil.Servant.10 claimed that *"it is not the state's support that is lacking but the funds and certain elements are lacking to promote tourism and to attract tourists to Kosova".* T.Industry.6 emphasized that the lack of support and funding from the state is due to the "*government's low perception of tourism*. He also argued that "*institutional perception of tourism*, the perception of *society and local media are based on limited tourism consciousness".* This view indicates that overall, tourism is a new phenomenon to Kosova society and people must first learn about its importance before their perception changes. Tourism has the potential to improve political, economic and social conditions. It has the prospect to reposition the negative image of Kosova internationally, increase opportunities for employment and foreign exchange, and to reduce ethnic tension via inter-ethnic collaboration.

The findings indicate that it is not only the state structures, but also the private sector that is perceived to be undersized and unstructured in relation to tourism development in Kosova. Drahokoupil and Myant (2015) found that an undersized private sector was a common issue in post-socialist transition countries due to its limited existence in the past. The interviewees explained the factors that have led to the unstructured private sector with regards to tourism in Kosova. Civil.Servant.3, as well as criticising the limited government attention to tourism, argued that tourism businesses from the private sector are *"not organised and they are not united".* He explained that tourism

businesses do not meet with each other to discuss their mutual worries or dissatisfactions with the laws or policies. Civil.Servant.13 illustrated that:

> *"some tourism […] companies are not happy with the new tourism law but they do not draft formal complaints to specify what they are not happy with, […]and how they would like it to change. Instead, they complain verbally. They ask for meetings and when the meetings are held only a small number of them turn up, they attend without any prior knowledge of the legislation because they don't read it. They attend such meetings as individual businesses so they are not of the same opinion, and they don't manage to create a concrete argument".*

It was further indicated that the governance of tourism is fragmented due to the private sector's unstructured approach to tourism development. Tourism.Association.6 claimed that "*there is a lack of collective initiatives to attract tourists apart from those tourists who 'get lost and stumble into Kosova'* ". He believed there is only one tour operator that exclusively focuses on inbound tourism, whereas the rest are mainly focused on outbound tourism. Tourism.Association.6 continued that this is because:

> *"there is more profit with relatively lower investment in outbound tourism. So, they only treat inbound tourism as a hobby". […] relevant stakeholders see it [inbound tourism] as an orphan phenomenon because not many businesses focus their resources on this sector as it doesn't bring quick profit to them".*

It was found that the disorganisation of tourism businesses is due to the lack of influence of tourism associations, to unify the private sector. It was argued by several interviewees that the associations are not valued highly by the government or the businesses. T.Industry.6 explained that *"the government does not support them* [tourism associations] *financially or otherwise, and without their support they remain powerless"*. Therefore, with limited government support, tourism businesses do not value their associations either and thus, do not commit to their membership fees, regularly. According to a large number of interviewees, this is because they have limited influence to change anything noteworthy. Tourism.Association.6 argues that the government's support or the support of the businesses is *"irregular and unreliable, that it would be a suicide for associations to depend on them"*. Such a delicate situation facing tourism associations has shifted their focus to becoming the implementing bodies of projects funded by international development agencies (IDA). The findings suggest that associations consider IDA support as more reliable than the support of the government and the business sector. Tourism.Association.6 argued that

this approach puts tourism associations at the *"crossroads"*, which further dampens the relationship between tourism associations and their business members. This is because tourism associations need to meet the objectives of IDAs' rather than look after *"the needs of their business members"*. Furthermore, Tourism.Association.6 argued that currently:

> *"this is why business members are even less dedicated and connected to associations and don't regularly pay their membership fees because associations have to follow international agencies' objectives in order to survive. That's why associations have so many passive members* [members who do not pay fees regularly] *and very few active ones"* [members who pay their fees regularly].

Thus, limited influence of the associations is one of the reasons that the tourism sector remains disintegrated and its businesses operate individually. However, incompetent or lack of organisation and guidance by the state has been emphasised by the interviewees, as a more critical factor that hinders the governance of tourism development. There is a belief that the government's inactive tourism policies and legislation *"have hand-cuffed the private sector"* (Tourism.Association.5) because of the lack of market research guidance about the type of tourism destination that Kosova can become. As discussed earlier in this section (See: inferior tourism institutional arrangement) this lack of leadership is further heightened by the government's decision to downsize the tourism department into a division as mentioned before.

On a wider note, it was argued by all interviewees that it is not in the current interests of the government to drive tourism development because of limited funds. T.Industry.2 also pointed out that the EU requires the government to conduct institutional reforms to lower their costs, *"so it wasn't difficult to disband the tourism department after its lack of achievements"*. Limited transparency and a lack of co-ordination amongst tourism bodies at different government levels have also been emphasised as an obstacle to the governance of tourism development. It was found that this is due to the institutional arrangements of tourism bodies at local level not being under the same ministries as the central tourism bodies. Therefore, unsuitable tourism institutional arrangements have further diminished the efforts for tourism development. T.Industry.2 explained that:

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"the central level tourism is under the Ministry of Trade and Industry whereas, at local government level tourism responsibilities have been given to the department of economy. The Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Trade and Industry have different policies and priorities of development. The department of economy at local level implements policies that are in line with the policies of Ministry of Economy and thus tourism responsibilities are neglected and tourism as a sector remains orphaned. This means, the passage of tourism policies from central to local level and vice-versa are handicapped, because there is no transparent links between the levels. We appreciate that decentralisation allows local governments to establish their own policies to a large extend but the policies developed at central level also have major influence in the way municipalities are governed".

As well as questionable tourism institutional arrangements, several interviewees identified the human resources within those institutions as a considerable weakness. They argued that impotent tourism personnel contribute to a lack of guidance, absence of market research and limited initiatives from the government. It was also found that the private sector has similar problems. Thus, unskilled human resources have left the governance of tourism development to 'chance', which is the opposite of the planned approach in the former Yugoslavia. According to Civil.Servant.6, tourism leaders at the central level *"do not know how to coordinate their staff. They do not delegate tasks or require anything from them.* Similar arguments have recurred several times from other interviewees such as Civil.Servant.3 who argued that *"institutional tourism officials are not competent because the recruitment approach within state institutions […] is not appropriate".*

The issue of tourism partner credibility affects the contribution of IDAs. There are not enough tourism organisations that are willing or capable of developing project proposals, bidding for projects, coordinating work or cooperating with other stakeholders to implement a tourism development project. IDA.2 argued that government tourism officials are incapable of fulfilling their duties. He explained that:

"we held meetings with government officials […] and told them that we have a set amount of funding to put towards tourism development. So, here's the money, here are the ideas and the focus points where we would be willing to provide funding for, but we need you to write the proposals and apply for funding. Their response was zero. They weren't even able to write one proposal. This is how funding slipped away in various occasions".

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IDAs need to show that their presence in Kosova is worthwhile and that they are creating a positive impact in society. However, IDA.1, argued that IDAs contribution in tourism is restricted by the lack of policies in place, limited government involvement in tourism and inept government personnel. IDA.1 revealed that

> *"International Development Agencies would like to show to their HQs that their projects* [are in line with] *the state's tourism strategy but the strategy is not approved so they cannot do that. They would need to show that the project was in collaboration with key government stakeholders but the top level tourism body is often not involved".*

These views indicate that government tourism stakeholders are missing the opportunity of learning from IDAs and being supported by them by passively allowing international resources to slip away. This is due to limited 'absorptive capacity' within the Division of Tourism, but also amongst other tourism stakeholders as a whole. Absorptive capacity is defined as *"the ability to acquire, assimilate, transform and exploit external knowledge for competitive advantage"* (Thomas and Wood, 2015: 84). As a result of this, IDAs can only deal with smaller relevant stakeholders and where projects and funds available are also smaller. IDA.1 informed that *"having noticed the reality that very little was being done by the central level tourism institutions,* [IDAs] *have turned towards local governments, tourism associations and business community". In other words,* IDAs can only deal with smaller relevant stakeholders, where projects and funds available are also smaller.

As a defence mechanism, some government officials claimed that their limited involvement is due to *"limited financial resources"* (Civil.Servant.5). They argued that the government has other more important priorities to deal with such as *"healthcare, education, high unemployment and weak economy"* (Civil.Servant.13), thus investing financial resources in tourism is not a priority. However, this justification that inefficient government funding restricts the involvement of the tourism officials is disputed by IDA.1 and IDA.2. They argued that the government tourism officials can get involved in tourism projects without the government's finances because IDAs fund them nevertheless. However, tourism officials use this alleged reason to excuse them from any workload.

This can be further scrutinised with the argument that Kosova is new to the idea of proactively attracting international funds because such opportunities only became available as a result of post-war transition. This is another argument that supports the claim that the governance of tourism development in Kosova is following a path-creation approach, with no previous experience in attracting international funding. However, limited education under the oppression during socialist times, which was found not to have improved in post-war transition, contributes to insufficient levels of knowledge and expertise. This limitation affects the progress of post-war transition. Therefore, whilst the governance of tourism development can be described in terms of path creation it is being obstructed by path-dependency.

Progress in tourism and the help of international agency aid

The interviewees hoped that Kosova's open market economy provides the tourism sector with the opportunity to be more competitive than the former Yugoslavian system because *"the system is now result-orientated"* (T.Industry.8). All interviewees perceived that the current open market economy in Kosova is better than the centralised system of the past, because of increased competition the current system provides, which, they felt, will improve the tourism sector, once investments grow. However, Drahokoupil and Myant (2015) found that competition would be difficult to achieve in a business environment that only started emerging in post-socialist transition. Despite the private sector with regards to tourism being undersized and unstructured, the interviewees remained positive about its progress, especially in the hotel sector because of choice diversity in comparison to the pre-war period. Civil.Servant.5 argued that competition continually improves the quality of products and services in tourism and *"quality enhancement provides choice diversity"*. T.Industry.4 stated:

> *"you can see how much the competition in the private sector has improved the quality and choice of hotels in Prishtina* [in post-war transition], *compared to the lack of quality and choice there was in the capital under the Socialist Yugoslavia".*

The findings indicate that international agencies have been the most important contributors to Kosova's tourism sector. This is based on interviewee statements claiming that international agencies play an essential role in raising awareness and

developing tourism. For instance, T.Industry.6 acknowledged that *"international development agencies are the most influential drivers of tourism promotion and development". The most active ones are GIZ, […], USAID […], Care International […], UNDP, European Commission and European Council"*.

It can be argued that raising awareness about tourism is the first obstacle that international agencies are faced with, when they try to help Kosova with tourism development. They raise awareness about the benefits of tourism, so that people sincerely commit to tourism projects in the long-term. T.Industry.2 asserts that people would not have been as optimistic about tourism in Kosova without the input of international agencies. He claimed that "t*hey* [international development agencies] *were the ones who slowly started to put the idea of tourism in people's minds, what tourism is and what it means to have tourism. A lot of people didn't care and didn't know what it meant, they still don't"*.

The most recognisable tourism project established by international agencies is the cross-border hiking trail, called 'Peaks of the Balkans' between Kosova - Albania and Montenegro (T.Industry.2). This tourism project, the first of its kind in the history of Kosova, was initiated and financially supported by the German Development Cooperation (GIZ) (Peaks of the Balkans, 2013). GIZ supported, trained and financed local and national tourism organisations of the three countries to work together and to create the trail. It also financed and trained local villagers to provide bed and breakfast facilities, in order to fulfil this self-sustained tourism product. 'Peaks of the Balkans' has been awarded the respected 'Tourism of Tomorrow Award 2013' by World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC). This achievement has been highly praised by WTTC *(2013)*, which on its website states that:

> *"Following conflict and civil war, representatives from the countries of Albania, Kosova and Montenegro united to create the Peaks of the Balkans transnational hiking trail, with the goal of opening both minds and borders. The initiative provides a framework for recovery, in an area once driven by conflict, by preserving the natural, cultural and spiritual heritage of the region as well as restoring mutual trust, collaboration, safety and economic opportunities".*

At the WTTC 'Tourism for Tomorrow Awards' ceremony, the former President of the United States, Bill Clinton praised this cross-border tourism achievement and said

"peace works better than war and one of the best manifestations is travel and tourism" (GIZ, 2014: 3). This view is reinforced by the GIZ representative in Albania that *"only a few years ago, the border between Montenegro and Kosova was hermetically sealed and there were even some gunfire exchanges. But today,* [thanks to international development agencies], *hikers are crossing the border and are helping us to develop the region together"* (GIZ, 2014: 1). Similarly, the GIZ representative in Kosova considered that *"if I had predicted 25 years ago that Albanian, Montenegrin and Kosovar police officers* [border police] *would one day be cooperating with each other, I would probably have been arrested and sentenced to 25 years in prison or declared insane"* (GIZ, 2014: 4). T.Industry.2 suggested that *"such achievement* ['Peaks of the Balkans'] *would have never happened if* it *was primarily left to the efforts of the government".* Civil.Servant.13 admitted that *"to tell you the truth, tourism* [in Kosova] [...] *is not a disaster but this is not because of the government's efforts but more due to the individual initiatives as well as foreign donor initiatives".*

The findings suggest that international aid for tourism has been important but could be even more substantial, if Kosova had the competent human resources to attract international funds. T.Industry.2 was incensed by the fact that international projects worth millions of Euros have been withdrawn from Kosova, *"simply because they could not find suitable local organisations to run the projects".* T.Industry.6 argued that when international agencies decide to fund a project in Kosova, they often need to *"hire an international consultant for five days, and pay them a devil and a half* [local expression for too much money], *more than an annual's wage in Kosova".* This view suggests that local experts in Kosova are not perceived credible by international development agencies because they are not given enough opportunities to contribute, so a great deal of money is spent on international consultants.

6.3. Collaboration

Collaboration in Kosova under Socialist Yugoslavia

Bramwell and Lane (2000) state that tourism is like an assembly process where diverse stakeholders are needed in collaboration and establish joint decision-making to achieve tourism development. The interviewees concurred that collaboration was

more regular in Kosova under Socialist Yugoslavia than in the period of post-war transition because the actors operated under the same authority, the public sector. Some interviewees who felt able to comment from experience on the conditions of collaboration in the Socialist Yugoslavia stated that *"collaboration was […] obligatory"* (Civil.Servant.5). Since tourism governance was part of one system, under the same political umbrella. According to the interviewees, information sharing and joint work was enforced by the system. T.Industry.4 claimed that:

> *"State bodies or agencies were elected by the party, which was the Communist League of Yugoslavia. [Thus, collaboration was at least to some extent enforced where,] every official in charge of a division, department or a secretariat was responsible to share their reports with other relevant divisions and departments. Therefore, collaboration amongst state institutions was more widespread than now. The harmony and communication was at a higher level, even though it may have been artificial but the important thing is that it worked".*

According to Mises (1970), the term 'Socialism' means cooperation of people, where the leader gives directions and the subordinates follow. This type of association where one leader or one group of leaders gives orders and the rest have to follow suit is a hierarchical model of governance, best related to communism or socialism. This mandatory top-down approach described by Mises (1970) and the comments of Civil.Servant.5, *"collaboration was […] obligatory"* indicate similar message. They both explain that orders were mandatory, which is a different approach to democratic collaboration that is based on individual interests. The views of T.Industry.4 above may reveal an ideological level of nostalgia for law and order and for an organised system, considering that the current system in post-war transition may lack those. Stewart (1993:23) argues that *"nostalgia—like any form of narrative—is always ideological: the past it seeks never existed except as narrative"*. Spivak (1997) puts forth that nostalgia develops when presence is imperfect. Similarly, Palmberger (2008) whilst discussing nostalgia in the former Yugoslavia in the case of Croatia describes two nostalgic types; nostalgia as a direct criticism of the current situation and nostalgia for a better future. Velikonja (2009) further found in the case of Slovenia, that despite favourable nostalgia for the past, participants strongly rejected the idea of return to the past.

The interviewees argued that collaboration worked well in the former Yugoslavia, because the objectives of the civic officials 'orbited' around the party and the institutions they worked for. So, having a common, shared objective was a key. T.Industry.6 claimed that *"in the past, people were institutionalised to a large extend and their interests and objectives revolved around committees, political party, council groups. Whilst, political party goals are still important now, individual, and family or clan orientated goals are also the motivation".* Whether collaboration was superficial or whether it really existed as well as the interviewees portrayed it, most of them believed that the mandatory approach to collaboration where collective goals were followed by all worked better than the optional approach in post-war transition. This is because there is market competition now that does not always encourage collaboration at an early stage of its development. Thus, goals have become individualised. Therefore, collaboration in open-market environments is closely connected to individual economic benefits (Spicer *et al*, 2000).

Collaboration in post-war transitional Kosova

The findings have determined that collaboration in the governance of tourism development in post-war transition is limited, because of the challenge of connecting the public sector, the private sector and associations, to work together. Such challenges are reinforced by the approach of non-compulsory collaboration in the governance of tourism development, which was perceived to be an obstacle in achieving tourism goals. Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011) in the case of post-socialist Bulgaria found mistrust to be a factor that limits collaboration between the public and private sectors and civil society, which in turn restricts long-term tourism development.

The interviewees argued that consistent teamwork or joint working alliances do not exist in the governance of tourism development in this post-war transition. T.Industry.2 claimed that *"the term collaboration is unjustifiable to define the interaction of relevant tourism stakeholders"* in Kosova and thus he preferred to refer to such interaction merely as *"communication"*. It was found that whether such interaction only triggers communication between tourism stakeholders, or achieves collaboration, it only takes place 'sporadically' and mainly on isolated projects. There

are no long-term initiatives devoted to create a common identity of tourism: *"we are working in tourism in ad-hoc basis, without the relevant stakeholders being coordinated* (Tourism.Association.4). However, Civil.Servant.5 explained that some level of *"collaboration exists when we* [the government] *or they* [the private sector, associations or IDAs] *organise a tourism event,* […] and *we invite each other"*. Though, T.Industry.2 was less optimistic about the level of collaboration and argued that:

> *"the only time I've witnessed collaboration is when the MTI undertakes the responsibility to organise Kosova's participation at international tourism fairs, which is not very often. They invite the business sector to take part and to discuss how things should be done at the fair and what material to promote".*

T.Industry.2 further argued that the MTI rarely organises any tourism debates or discussions for tourism development and that such seminars are mostly organised by IDAs. This view emphasised the lack of leadership shown by the MTI, as discussed in the previous section (see: Post-war institutional arrangements). The lack of leadership of the MTI discussed above was reemphasised by IDA.1, who was equally disappointed about the level of collaboration in tourism governance or the level of efforts made by the government. He adamantly argued that:

> *"collaboration is not satisfactory. There are only isolated projects. I believe, the Ministry of Trade and Industry has no idea which international development agency is able to support which sector of tourism. It is a sin for the highest national level institution not to know who's doing what in tourism. It would be a success for them to at least have some knowledge of what is being done by other stakeholders. They have no interest in being involved in anything and are not willing to take on the role of a coordinator on the absence of a national tourism organisation".*

IDA.1's comments underlined that the central tourism body is neither regularly involved in communication nor in collaboration with other stakeholders. As a result, he argued that the central Division of Tourism does not demonstrate the leadership of the highest tourism authority in Kosova. Hatipoglu *et al*, (2016) found in the case of Thrace region in Turkey that limited institutional structures and leadership hinder private sector stakeholders' collaboration in the planning process. This research found that the private sector, the government and the tourism associations are perceived to support each other 'morally', but according to Tourism.Association.4, none of the sectors "*take*

any initiative to turn their moral support into concrete collaboration. He further argued that such support does not encourage investment. T.Industry.6 stated that moral support is more of a claim than reality. He argued that *"we claim to do more than we actually do. We say we support each other or work together but that is more of a conversational factor than a fact"*. ICS.1 argued that this lenient approach towards collaboration is problematic for IDAs or foreign direct investors when they work with people in Kosova. He informed that:

> *"this idea of cooperating is not institutionalised. When there is cooperation, it is as a result of good will or good relations amongst the people involved. Foreign investors from countries where there is a culture of cooperation find it difficult to understand [how limited collaboration is in Kosova]".*

As collaboration is not formally established, most of the interviewees, have flagged the argument that a leadership organisation is absent. As IDA.1 argued above the Division of Tourism has failed to demonstrate the power of the highest tourism authority in the country. According to the interviewees, this is due to its hesitance to coordinate with other tourism stakeholders and its inability to enforce a tourism plan that would guide collaboration of relevant stakeholders. The literature points out the importance of having a leader organisation that guides collaboration of diverse stakeholders in tourism governance, due to the industry's fragmented nature (Bramwell, 2011; Ruhanen, 2013; Zhao and Timothy, 2015). T.Industry.11 explained how the Division of Tourism has recently demonstrated its leadership deficiency and lack of positive relations with tourism businesses or tourism associations. She claimed that:

> *"when the relevant ministry [MTI] drafted the tourism legislation they invited all relevant stakeholders for the first meeting, so the names of all stakeholders officially appeared on the documents. Afterwards, the civil servants involved carried out the work on their own, without the presence of other stakeholders. […] In the end, they presented the legislation publically, and when they received criticism [for not collaborating], they disagreed and showed the list of all stakeholders who took part. They blamed the stakeholders for not being proactive and for not attending anymore meetings even though, they made no further invitations. The businesses and their association did not know when and where the meetings were taking place".*

Lack of collaboration is not only a factor deriving from the government but a cross-sector difficulty. T.Industry.1 informed that:

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> *"there is an urgent need to improve […] the tourism dialogue". […] The industry is not organised, it is very fragmented. We have one active association in tourism, but it is more focused on developing projects financed by international development agencies […] rather than bringing the industry together. The government on the other side is not really interested to collaborate and does not really know what goes on with tourism".*

It was argued that tourism stakeholders operate individually, on their own isolated projects and they are either not interested in knowing what others do or they are not informed. Tourism.Association.2 asserts that without communication *"the tourism businesses do not realise that they all have the same problems and face the same challenges".* T.Industry.3 understood that *"we* [all tourism stakeholders] *are not a community, and this is why our voice is not a force. Our FM Tourism Frequency does not exist".*

However, the majority of the interviewees were supportive of collaboration and were convinced that it would improve if Kosova had a national tourism organisation (NTO). It was anticipated that an NTO would act as a leader of tourism in Kosova. The interviewees believed an NTO would co-ordinate information and projects between relevant stakeholders and *"stimulate stakeholders to work together"* (T.Industry.4). T.Industry.6 argued that a leader NTO is not only needed to stimulate stakeholders but also to provide an appropriate collaboration framework. He asserted that Kosova needs

> *"a leader organisation, which can instil how stakeholders create and manage projects together and how business to business [B2B] can maintain partnership relations, because such interactions are new to society. Such organisation would need to help stakeholders improve their mindset that working together […] is beneficial".*

The findings indicate that one of the reasons why the current national tourism body, the Division of Tourism, is not perceived as a leader of tourism (as discussed in the previous section) is due to its inability to enforce and enact a national tourism plan. It was found that limited collaboration in the governance of tourism development is an outcome of the absence of a tourism vision and plan. A tourism strategic plan is a key to strengthen the influence of tourism in establishing links between local cultures and environment (Buzarovski, 2001). A well-considered national tourism plan can also help

to reduce ethnic divides that have been found to be so apparent in post-war Kosova. Without a tourism plan, tourism stakeholders are unaware of what the government's future plans would be. Thus, stakeholders are discouraged to collaborate. IDA.1 argued that *"if stakeholders could refer to a strategy as a guide, to follow a certain path, then they would realise their mutual interests, and would identify potential partners to collaborate with"*. Civil.Servant.3 acknowledged the importance of a national tourism plan in establishing a clear view of what tourism could be in the future. However, he was sceptic that it would improve the co-ordination between tourism-related stakeholders, particularly the private sector and associations. Civil.Servant.3 questioned:

> *"When over 60% of [tourism stakeholders] have not made any plans to determine their own vision and have not conducted any market research prior to their investment, how would you expect them to care what the legislation incorporates, whether the strategy of tourism is approved or not or whether collaboration is needed?"*

Despite the absence of collaboration supported by the public sector, numerous interviewees acknowledged that the hotel sector has begun communicating and co-ordinating their operations more efficiently, which could inspire other tourism businesses to do the same. This progress was credited to the efforts of Kosova Alternative Tourism Association (KATA), which remains the most active tourism association in Kosova. T.Industry.9 explained that *"six months ago, hotel owners in Prishtina did not speak to each other but with the persistence of the* [tourism association] *now they meet regularly and have started to get on well with each other"*. However, such optimism was not found amongst tour operators and travel agencies. Their focus is currently outbound tourism, but they are perceived to be the future of inbound tourism as well. Quite the opposite, it was argued that their goal is the failure of their competitors more so than their own success. Tourism.Association.1 explained that:

> *"The relations of travel agencies are very tense. They do not communicate and they do not organise meetings. The only thing they want to do is force each other into bankruptcy. During high season they operate in losses with rock-bottom prices, only to drive each other out of business. This is survival of the wicked"*.

This reflects a perception that fighting for a share of inbound tourism might be more difficult due to a limited market (based on Kosova's destination image). Overall, the findings indicate that the absence of *"priority alignment"* (T.Industry.6), collaboration, and lack of tourism policy and plans have ensured that the governance of tourism development is inadequate in Kosova. Moreover, the absence of togetherness in the governance of tourism development has limited the opportunity to establish a coherent tourism identity (Tourism.Association.4). Similarly, Lordkipanidze *et al* (2005) argue that limited collaboration in tourism planning and development leads to disintegration and lack of common identity.

The issue of limited collaboration in tourism was not related to ethnic divides that were found earlier in the study, as most of the tourism players in Kosova are Kosova Albanians. Limited collaboration was predominantly referred to a lack of culture of collaboration in Kosova (ICS.1). While ethnic divides do not directly affect collaboration in tourism governance, ethnic divides significantly influence the interpretation and presentation of heritage, and therefore, impacting Kosova's tourism product. T.Industry.9 emphasised that, whilst local Kosova Albanian tour guides are welcome inside some Serb Orthodox religious sites, such as the Decani Monastery, they are not welcome inside other Serb Orthodox religious sites such as the Peja Patriarchate. He claimed that the Patriarchate has become *"a political spine of the Serbian government to convey their objectives towards Kosova".* Politicisation of religious sites that could instead be used mutually for spiritual and tourism purposes have further strengthened ethnic divides in Kosova. Collins-Kreiner (2008) argues that:

> *"politicisation of religion can be associated with competing discourses over a homeland, where emotional attachment to the land by competing groups transforms the land itself into a sacred place […], when the landscapes of its adherents are invested with myth-for example, as promised lands".*

Such ethnic discrimination demonstrates the tension and division between the Kosova Serbs and Kosova Albanians. The tension and divide can only be reduced if the Kosova-Serbia dialogue reaches an agreement to open religious doors to all citizens. Reaching agreement might also positively influence collaboration between the different ethnicities.

Limited collaboration incentives

The findings suggest that one of the most apparent reasons for the lack of collaboration is limited visible incentives involved such as cost-effective solutions by pooling of resources and eliminating stakeholder conflicts (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). It was argued that stakeholders are not able to visualise the benefits of working together, without a leader in tourism and a tourism plan to illuminate the outcomes of collaborative governance. As a result, collaboration may only occur in isolated instances, when there are forthright benefits, often financial, such as funding from IDAs. T.Industry.4 stated that collaboration is often rewarded, but such benefits can only be achieved after a certain stage. He claimed that, because the benefits of collaborative efforts are not short-term *"stakeholders do not have the patience or the long-term vision to collaborate"*. Ladkin and Bertramini (2002) also found that short-term vision deters collaboration. The interviewees noted that, in order to reduce some of the collaboration barriers presented by short-term vision, the government needs to provide short-term benefits in the form of funding for collaborative development projects, which would encourage stakeholders to establish partnerships. Ladkin and Bertrami (2002:75) state some of the most common barriers to collaboration, which are:

> *"lack of expertise and training of tourism planning authorities, political traditions that favour centralisation of authority, lack of funding, lack of interest or commitment by stakeholders, competition for the same resources,[and] lack of long-term or strategic planning".*

Although, they (ibid) claim that not all may be present at any one destination at any one time, this research has found all of them to hinder tourism collaboration in Kosova.

Despite existing literature highlighting that institutional problems, such as corruption, hinder tourism development (Alipour and Kilic, 2004; Hall, 2004; Sergeyev and Moscardini, 2006), especially in transition countries (Mussari and Cepiku, 2007); this research specifically found individual interests of institutional officials to be a significant barrier to collaboration in tourism. This was not directly addressed in previous studies. Civil.Servant.14 argued that individuals within the government have a tendency to collaborate with anyone *"when there are personal benefits,* [often financial], *but would ignore the opportunity to collaborate when there are no personal*

incentives". ICS.1 believed that collaboration in the private sector will improve, because the sector is normally "result-driven". However, he also argued that:

> *"lack of collaboration is a bigger problem in the public sector, because it does not offer many incentives to officials who collaborate".* The salaries at the Division of Tourism are not very attractive but [...] they do have a permanent contract [...]. So, those tourism officials [...] may not see a reason to create new ideas or collaborate in projects because they will not be able to advance any further or receive any bonuses. [...]. As a result, they are lethargic".

Civil.Servant.14 stated that such a negative climate in tourism governance is a result of *"lack of professionalism due to bad leadership of the government".* However, ICS.1 and T.Industry.8 were optimistic that the new European Union scheme to train and educate young Kosovar professionals in Europe and employ them in the government will bring a European mindset to the public sector that acknowledges the importance of collaborative efforts. This can help people to view collaboration as a necessity in order to move towards effective tourism governance and successful tourism development rather than voluntarism. Achieving awareness on collaboration in the public sector may have a positive impact on cross-sector collaboration.

Limited culture of collaboration in society

Borzel and Buzogany (2010) suggest that socialist political and administrative traditions opposed cross-sector cooperation in post-socialist transition countries. They (ibid) argue that this is, because for a long period of time the political system was hierarchical and now public administration is resistant in compromising its authority to establish cooperation with other sectors. Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011:207) found a persistence of *"old mentalities"* restricting collaboration. Achieving collaboration has also been identified in this research as a challenge, because there is no significant culture of collaboration in society. Limited culture of collaboration hinders post-war transition and ultimately effective tourism governance and successful tourism development. Limited culture was attributed to the legacy of communist centralised system (Hall, 2004) and historical oppressions. The latter meant Kosova Albanians were largely excluded from official structures and the system of nation-building. T.Industry.1 argued that lack of collaboration in Kosova is a legacy of the Communist system and more so of the oppressive measures of the 1990s, because *"the regime was dictatorial,*

we [Kosova Albanians] *were dismissed from all institutional structures, we were persecuted for forming our own structures to govern our lives, so we were an unorganised society for a very long time".*

The only example of collaboration from the past that was recalled as momentous by the interviewees was when Kosova Albanians established resistance and parallel structures in the 1990s, which led to the liberation of Kosova from Serbia. However, this was organised secretly and in isolation. Therefore, it did not involve a lot of collaboration and information sharing to avoid persecution (Civil.Servant.12). Academic.1 continued:

> *"we were never able to trust one another to express our views collectively, and work in groups, because we always had betrayers in society, who informed the regime, and that is how the authorities tracked down the resistance. Individually* [or in small family groups]*, we built our thoughts, acted upon them and kept them secret. But, that is why we always struggled, because unless you aim to achieve something collectively you will never succeed. This is how the individualist* [and clannish] *mindset was established and remains strong amongst us".*

T.Industry.1 claimed that limited collaboration is

> *"due to lack of tradition and awareness of how a democratic system works. The government, the industry, and the civil society do not communicate properly with each other. This is an overall problem in society, not only in tourism governance. Other factors that obstruct collaboration are fear and lack of trust, wrong intentions, wicked thoughts and ideas on how to beat competition, and no confidence in state institutions for support or in a positive outcome from collaboration".*

Academic.1's views on lack of information sharing and deficiency in collaboration were strongly linked to mistrust, which has strengthened the individualist mindset in society. Beaumont and Dredge (2010) also found information sharing to be a crucial component in cross-sector collaboration and discovered that information sharing was advanced across three different local governance networks. However, this was not the situation in the case of Kosova. Nonetheless, the interviewees remained optimistic that the presence of international allies in Kosova is persuading this individualist society that success is better achieved together. Civil.Servant.5 stated that people are learning that *"if we want to survive as society and as a market economy we need to apply the*

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Western methods of teamwork". Despite the limited culture of collaboration and a lack of tradition of democracy, optimism was high amongst the majority of the interviewees that such issues will improve in the future. The reason for this optimism in gloomy times is due to the aspiration of the people to learn from Western qualities and apply them to Kosova. Hence, a strong positive perception was sensed about the presence of Western allies in Kosova, in addition to safety benefits. This is because of the belief, that only the attributes of the Western cultural and sociological hemisphere would be able to develop this society.

Limited information sharing and individualist mindset caused by a lack of trust

The findings indicate that due to a history of isolation and oppression, there is strong unwillingness amongst the tourism stakeholders to share information. Information is perceived as 'power', and sharing information is perceived by the tourism stakeholders as losing that power or advantages in this individualist society. ICS.1 argued that as someone who is not from this particular society he is able to view 'limited information sharing' as more of a problem than the natives of this environment. This is reflected by the fact that lack of information sharing was not identified by all interviewees as a negative factor that obstructs collaboration in tourism governance. However, most of the interviewees identified that the fragmentation of tourism governance is largely due to a lack of communication between tourism stakeholders, but they mainly attributed this to the absence of a collaborative framework and leadership problems. However, Sigala (2007) argues that information sharing is a result of mutual trust between stakeholders. Whilst limited trust was one of the factors found to restrict information sharing, the findings provide several other dynamics related to mindset and culture that deeply influence limited information sharing. ICS.1 argued that:

> *"I can clearly feel there is a kind of unwillingness amongst tourism people to cooperate together or to even exchange information. Information seems to be viewed as insurance for people's career or security of their future. Thus, information is not shared, they don't see information as something to be used but as personal property and when I share it I only share it with my special friends. This is a problem in general. […]. This is somehow a cultural factor I think. Information is viewed as a scarce resource and the belief is that when I have information I am important. If I share my information it would be like showing my deck of cards to my opponents in poker".*

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This extract provides several avenues as a basis of limited information sharing amongst tourism stakeholders. It highlights a lack trust as a problem, which creates a self-protective mindset where information is perceived as *"insurance".* It refers to information as *"personal property"*, which signifies an individualist mindset and he identified this problem as a *"cultural factor"* that can be associated with a 'clannish mindset' (i.e. *"special friends"*). According to ICS.1's view above, the *"tourism people"* in Kosova also view information as a *"scarce resource",* which portrays *"survival instincts"* (T.Inudstry.1) and the mindset of a *"hungry recipient"* (Public.Association.3), affected by *"war traumas"* and the oppression where their needs were never satisfied (Tourism.Association.2). The belief: *"I have information I am important"* (ICS.1) emphasises the "I" attitude in *"Bajraktarism"* [patriarchism] (T.Industry.10). This means people develop a *"thirst"* to feel superior to others (Civil.Servant.4), which shows vertical individualism (Kemmelmeier *et al*, 2003), and the need to be perceived by others for being 'one step ahead of the flock'.

The findings suggest that not sharing information is an effect of an individualist mindset that most of the interviewees identified as a pattern in society and not only in tourism. It was argued that this is, because from an early age, through generations, people were taught the same old message: "*Besnik bëju, kujt mos i zë besë" ("Be faithful, do not trust anyone"*) (Civil.Servant.7). This is an old Albanian message *from the Lek*ë Dukagjini Customary Law of the 15th century that fundamentally advises people not to harm anyone and not let anyone harm you but the only way to be safe is by not sharing your secrets (information) to others. This message portrays fear of trusting others as a result of living under foreign occupation for centuries where people did not know who was faithful and who was not. The fear of trust through centuries created a traumatic society that, at best may take several decades to disappear, and this will restrict tourism governance and collaboration among stakeholders in the foreseeable future. This message was relevant until after the Kosova War 1998-1999 because of the Serbian regime pursuing the Kosova Albanian resistance. The message itself is somehow contradictory because being faithful remains in some way purposeless if no-one believes you and no-one trusts another. Arguably, this entrenched advice gave life to the individualist mindset in Kosova (see: section 4.2.4 Social transition - the role of mindset), which is why people find it difficult to

collaborate. Hence, collaboration in tourism governance is very limited.

Nielsen (2011) asserts that trust reduces conflict and creates goodwill that safeguards relationships, which in turn strengthens stakeholder commitment to collaboration. Czernek and Czakon (2016:381) in the case of Poland, argue that building trust between two or more tourism stakeholders is a complex process that requires appropriate mechanisms and commitment. They (ibid) suggest that merely encouraging diverse stakeholders to collaborate may not be enough to convince them but when external factors using appropriate mechanisms can persuade them to enter *"coopetitive"* relations their commitment and trust may be higher. The terms coopetitive or coopetition in Czernek and Czakon (2016) are used to describe competitive collaboration. This type of collaboration where stakeholders create value, even if both parties may follow their divergent or competing individual goals (Dyer *et al*, 2008) may be a suitable approach to implement with tourism stakeholders in Kosova.

It was found that a deficient education system of the past has also significantly contributed to the behaviour of limited information sharing amongst tourism stakeholders. From early school days children had to compete individually but not to create competitive groups. For example, Civil.Servant.7 stated that:

> *"we were never taught group-works, we were always told to complete a task or present something as individuals, and this created negative competition in the class. When we struggled on our own, we were not allowed to ask peers for help, so we cheated in exams and stole the ideas of others. This is why officials today* […] *when they have an idea in mind they do not want to share it with others but instead they present the idea or the project to the manager as an individual to prove that it was all their individual efforts. That is why we always claim that 'I did it' rather than 'we are doing it'. Fortunately, in post-war Kosova schools are applying more group work methods".*

This explanation emphasises the level of individualism that exists in society, which is argued by all interviewees to be the case in tourism governance. T.Industry.2 believed the lack of collaboration combined with the mindset of *"individualism that we are known for, is bringing a lot of financial restrictions and difficulties for us tourism stakeholders, because it does not allow us to think about the next steps".* T.Industry.10 argued that the lack of collaboration is a mindset problem because

> *"all of us like to be leaders ourselves. People are afraid of collaboration due to the fear of losing Bajraktarism,* [patriarchism]. *Collaboration is a chain of similar rings and you need many rings to create a chain. If one always stays inside their ring without trying to link to another ring the chain will never be formed".*

The findings suggest that collaboration in tourism governance is not developed due to the individualist mindset of the relevant tourism stakeholders and a lack of trust between them. T.Industry.10 argued that *"people would rather fail trying on their own, than try succeeding with others".* Civil.Servant.2 claimed that this is due to *"a dose of mistrust and improbability that has been carried from the past, combined with people's instinct for domination, which brings the whole partnership or collaboration into an issue of spasm".* He continued that in such an individualist society, *"one person is worth a lot, two people are worth nothing".* According to T.Industry.1, this is related to

> *"the wrong self-esteem of superiority, we seek superiority. As individuals, we always want to be the first,* [bajraktarism] *even if we do not deserve it, so we can proudly say, history started with me. We always want to be right, and we cannot cope with criticism. Even if it is constructive criticism, we strongly believe it is envious criticism and this self-centred behaviour developed our defensive mindset, where we cannot work together".*

It was found that such false self-esteem, which is based on limited awareness for self and others, limits collaborative progress (T.Industry.2) because stakeholders *"repeatedly seek personal interests at the expense of the group"* (T.Industry.5). Hence, *"any group-work between two or more people becomes untrustworthy",* on the one hand *"due to limited reliance, honesty and caring",* and on the other hand due to high *"self-interests"* (T.Industry.5).

The findings suggest that collaboration is based on trust and trust can only be built when there is genuine care, honesty, fairness, *besa* (oath and loyalty) and reliance. The findings support 'stakeholder theory' (Puyvelde *et al*, 2012), where fairness is a vital and valued factor in the relationship between different stakeholders due to diverse values, power differences and the complications of functioning in a complex society (e.g. Bosse *et al*, 2009; Harrison *et al*, 2010). By establishing the values above (care, honesty, fairness, *besa* and reliance) stakeholders would support mutual decision-making. In tourism governance, care would mean stakeholders need to be sympathetic

with each other. By caring, they begin working towards satisfying others' needs. This approach would help them to meet their own needs. Donaldson and Preston (1995) assert that care is an instrumental principle in stakeholder theory. It was found that, with care, honesty increases amongst the people involved in tourism collaboration. Ansell and Gash (2008) argue that honesty is a vital factor in developing trust amongst stakeholders in collaboration. With increased honesty people can start to rely on each other more. According to Pesqueux and Damak-Ayadi (2005:7) *"certain" results can be obtained if "certain" behaviours are adopted*. This means, in stakeholder theory reliance between the stakeholders involved is crucial to achieving the expected success. When there is reliance between stakeholders they would trust one another to act with fairness. In stakeholder theory, fairness is considered a criterion for bargaining. According to Bridoux and Stoelhorst (2014) bargaining is the most important aspect in collaboration. Ferreira (2013) further argues that stakeholders expect collaborative bargaining to contribute towards their economic, social and environmental problems affecting them. Therefore, bargaining in stakeholder theory is important and can be achieved when stakeholders *"agree upon a set of possible outcomes prior to determining which outcome will be received by which party"* (Donaldson and Preston, 1995:80). For example, as Rawls (1971, cited in Donaldson and Preston, 1995: 80) described it *"as one person cuts the cake, another takes the first slice".* Besa ensures reliance, which is essential in forming the chain of collaboration, expressed earlier by T.Industry.10. Under *besa*, the collaborative commitment would be stronger because the importance of keeping the oath and the word of honour is a purpose beyond one-self, similarly to the Hippocratic Oath. This value is not considered in stakeholder theory but would provide meaningful addition to the theory itself due to the social significance it possesses in the Albanian culture that can also become a professional virtue in tourism collaboration.

To achieve trust in collaboration through *besa*, Tourism.Association.2 believed the mindset of the tourism stakeholders need to be rearranged to approach *"work with principles and logic, because at the moment they work with emotions".* Based on her experience of living in Kosova as an expatriate, Tourism.Association.2 defined Kosova as *"a very emotional society".* She argued that the mindset in society, which is also a mindset that influences tourism governance, is driven by retribution rather than

success. Tourism.Association.2 metaphorically described the mindset as *"you damaged my company I am going to destroy yours. You stole my chicken I am going to steal your cow. People seek revenge more than a viable future. This is because pride and family image drives people forward"*. ICS.1 argued that such an emotional and non-collaborative mindset is related to Balkanic characteristics and said *"I have seen the same behaviour in the other neighbouring countries"*

When asked if and when collaboration will improve in the future, T.Industry.1 articulated his point with an anecdote:

"Obama, Putin and Thaqi [Kosova PM] go to visit God.

Putin asks: *"God, when will Russia achieve same civilisation as America"?*

God answers: *"in 150 years".*

Putin starts crying: *"I won't live that long to see it".*

Obama asks: *"God, when will we see civilisation on another planet"?*

God answers: **"***in 250 years".*

Obama starts crying: **"***I won't live that long to see it".*

Thaqi asks: *"God, when will Albanians learn to work together"?*

God starts crying: **"***I won't live that long to see it".*

6.4. Power relations

As outlined in this thesis, power relations are a key pillar of tourism governance. This section discusses power relations amongst actors in tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova. At first, however, perceptions of power relations in tourism under former Yugoslavia are highlighted, before a closer look at power structures in post-war transitional Kosova is taken in order to find out how these influence tourism governance. Theories on power, as discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2) are applied to evaluate power in post-war transitional Kosova. Furthermore, linkages to relevant to key literature / studies are drawn in order to point similarities and differences. A summary of tourism stakeholders and their power, and for illegitimate practices/ politicisation, is provided.

Power relations under Socialist Yugoslavia

Recent research (Zhao and Timothy, 2015) on red tourism development in China draws attention to the hierarchical structure of tourism governance, which mirrors China's approach to governance, in general. In line with the hierarchical structure, the central government has the power over tourism development, in that policies are decided and implemented top-down (ibid.). In former Socialist Yugoslavia, the importance of tourism as a key foreign exchange earner was highly acknowledged, and thus, relevant governance structures were established with the central government taking the key responsibility for tourism development (T.Industry.6). In Kosova, relevant state tourism structures existed as branches of National Yugoslavian structures; however, according to the interviewees, they did not have had the same importance to the former Socialist Province of Kosova, as those in the other parts of Yugoslavia did. These views are not surprising, considering that the interviewees argued that tourism development was very limited in Kosova under Socialist Yugoslavia as a result of the Serbian regime intentionally seeking to leave Kosova deprived and isolated. Thus, the interviewees described, on the one hand, the dominance of the regime, and on the other, the powerlessness of Kosova - which supports the previous findings related to power in section 4.2.2 Political transition in post-war Kosova.

Zhao and Timothy (2015) evaluate that due to China's hierarchical structure, local governments lack power to implement tourism policies and regulations. Similarly, Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010) identify a strongly centralized and top-down public administration, in which the central government controls local government activities, in the case of Thailand. Analysing the findings of this study in the light of recent research, it can also be argued that the lack of power of Kosovar branches in tourism governance in former Socialist Yugoslavia, reflect the hierarchical system, instead of originating from deeper societal issues.

Power relations in post-war transitional Kosova

Power of tourism stakeholders

Political-economic transition towards decentralisation, privatisation and regulation

requires gradual transfer of power combined with capacity-building (Zhao and Timothy, 2015). However, Krutwaysho and Bramwell's (2010:680) study emphasises that, in fact, post-war transitional tourism governance structures might strongly reflect the "*legacy of past periods"*. Analysing the comments of the interviewees, the 'legacy of the past' can be found at different levels: first of all, current tourism governance structures do mirror the state of governance structures in pre-war Kosova - thus, limiting the power of tourism stakeholders to influence policies and regulations. This is supported by the interviewees' perception that support, for example, in terms of financial and human resources, from the (central) government is very little. The government tourism officials argued that the Division of Tourism only receives enough funding to cover administrative costs, for example, salaries, and as a result of such small funds the Division of Tourism cannot be more influential in tourism issues. Furthermore, the Division of Tourism perceived that the central government authorities have control over decision-making and agenda-setting, in a way that they not only decide, but have the central power to put 'tourism development' on the agenda or not, which relates to Lukes' (1974, 2005) first and second dimension. This perception of the dominance of the central government mirrors the 'legacy of the past', and points out, that political transition in terms of tourism governance is in its early stages. Similarly, Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010) identify that the central government controls tourism development in a transitional context; however, the impacts of the central government's control are different in both cases. Since the Kosova's government does not acknowledge the potential of tourism, and therefore, does not pay attention to establishing efficient tourism governance, tourism development does not take place at a larger scale.

Whilst the interviewees from the Division of Tourism mainly relate their lack of power to lack of economic resources, the interviewees, representing the private sector, tourism associations and IDAs, believed that limited influence of the Tourism Division is due to their inadequate experience and incompetence to be more involved and influential in tourism affairs. Thus, it appears that the interviewees mainly associated lack of political power, resulting from limited qualifications, with the Division's inability to act and push tourism development. The interviewees saw confirmation in their perceptions by arguing that the Division failed to produce a genuine national tourism

plan. A draft was disapproved by the parliament since it was criticised for having strong resemblance with a national tourism plan that belonged to a neighbouring seaside country (T.Industry.11).

According to Laws *et al* (2011), the private sector can be expected to have significant input in the tourism decision making and policy making in capitalist free-market economy. Whilst, on the other hand, Adiyia *et al* (2015:126) warn that a powerful private sector combined with weak institutional arrangements in the public sectors may result in a constant *"field of tension"* without advancing tourism development in the country. In this study, however, the private sector is small and fragmented, and not in a powerful position to have considerable input in the governance of tourism development. Therefore, in the case of Kosova, a 'field of tension' resulting from power imbalances between the private and public sector could not be identified. Nonetheless, tension amongst both sectors exists, but rather due to the perception of the private sector that the public sector is not able to execute its power sufficiently - as it was outlined earlier. The public sector, on the other hand, blamed the private sector for being passive, disjointed and unstructured, since the Division of Tourism does not receive any requests or unified engagement from the private sector to support tourism initiatives.

The interviewees from the private sector presented themselves as being powerless, with various reasons contributing to this perception. Firstly, the long lasting oppression and the war in the late 1990s had the effect that tourism resources are to a large extent destroyed, so that external investment is needed to rebuild these. However, FDI is very limited, and therefore, constraining the development of tourism businesses. For example, the interviewees highlighted that there are no apparent local tour operators with established international relations to attract international tourists to Kosova. While the accommodation sector is relatively advanced in the capital Prishtina, it is less so in other regions of Kosova (T.Industry.1). Furthermore, the number of beds remains low overall, which is an issue to tourism development, including the absence of any particular accommodation business with enough beds to accommodate large groups of 100+ guests (T.Industry.2). Thus, the feeling of powerlessness of the private sector might strongly be linked with a lack of financial resources, which is similar to the public

sector's perception of being powerless. Bramwell and Meyer's (2007) study on power and policymaking in tourism development on the island of Ruegen in Former East Germany shows that, because local stakeholders had limited economic resources in the transition period, external actors with economic strength intervened in tourism governance on the island and influenced policy-making towards their interests. Thus, it can be argued that power is to a great extent linked to economic strength, which is supported by this study.

Tourism associations, which are a few in number, exist; however, a few of them only by name. So, the number of active tourism associations is actually smaller. The Kosova Alternative Tourism Association (KATA) was perceived by a large number of the interviewees as the most active and influential on the ground, when supported, mainly financially, by other forces, such as IDAs or sometimes the relevant ministries. Thus, the strong perception of the interviewees that power equates economic strength is again evident. The interviewees emphasised that tourism associations remain weak without financial backing, especially by IDAs. Since IDAs have financial strength, they were considered the most influential structures contributing to the governance of tourism development in Kosova. Whilst financial strength was a dominant factor, the interviewees also put emphasis on the IDAs' expertise and willpower to genuinely contribute to tourism development by empowering relevant local tourism stakeholders in their projects (T.Industry.6). Additionally, Tourism.Association.1 mentioned that IDAs have strong political influence, and are, therefore, taken seriously by all stakeholders, including the government. IDAs were acknowledged as the pioneers of tourism development and its governance in post-war transitional Kosova, because of their proactive approach, since the early 2000.

The overall perceptions of power of tourism stakeholders amongst the interviewees can be summarised as follows:

- The central government is dominant, and therefore, has power over tourism development;
- The public sector, represented by the Division of Tourism, has limited power in terms of financial resources; further, the private sector assigns low political power to the Division of Tourism due to limited knowledge and expertise;

- The private sector and associations have limited power with power being mainly equated with economic strength;

- International Development Agencies (IDA) are considered powerful, mainly because they hold economic strength.

Thus, it can be argued that the current power constellations amongst tourism stakeholders strongly reflect the past with the central government playing the dominant role, whilst other stakeholders were perceived as less powerful.

Illegitimate use of power: politicisation

Reflecting on power relations in the political arena in post-war transitional Kosova, it was evaluated that the political elite utilises its power not only for legitimate purposes, but to a large extent illegitimately in order to increase personal wealth. This was also found with regard to tourism governance, in that politicisation of processes in public affairs through applying unethical methods and approaches in order to serve the political goals of a certain unit such as the political elite, were acknowledged by the interviewees. Thus, there is a strong perception of Lukes' (1974, 2005) second dimension of power, in terms of decision-making and agenda-setting, resulting in a limit of choices for others in order to pursue personal interests.

For example, interviewees pointed out that recruitment in public institutions lacks transparency and the panels deny fairness and equal opportunities to candidates, who have no political connections. This issue was perceived by all the interviewees, as a standard model in staffing processes in the public sector. Such insight amongst the interviewees has led to their perception, that people are employed in the public sector based on their affiliation with 'the right political party', regardless of their merits. Public.Association.1 argued that approximately, 70% of ministerial officials across the state institutions have been employed through the channels of nepotism. The majority of the interviewees argued that the Division of Tourism is not staffed with appropriate personnel in order to effectively run the politics of tourism development, because of high nepotism in the public sector. Tourism.Association.5 stated that "*nepotism is an unbroken chain from central to the local level government and the tourism division is affected by it, because it resulted in incompetent cadres*". Civil.Servant.13 pointed out

that:

> *"no criteria are used to recruit tourism directors* […] *they just need to know the right people". […] The interviews are only formal to satisfy the procedures but actually, the 'right person' is selected before the interviews begin. […] The ones who are not members of the party in power are considered unemployable. This is similar to how the former Yugoslavian system restricted people who were not members of the Communist Party".*

The Director's role at the former Department of Tourism was considered a relatively important position, with sufficient influence and authority to make a difference. However, Civil.Servant.3, an MTI official, argued that such positions are not filled with competent individuals, who could utilise such position to better the governance of tourism development. Instead, he claimed *"the director's role is always given to political militants, not to fulfil their duties but to serve their party interests. As a result, bad management has destroyed the former Department of Tourism and its policies".* Public.Association.3, another government official, provided similar views by indicating that some government officials, including those responsible for tourism governance, live of the state as opportunists, without giving much in return. He argued that:

> *"the ministry is overloaded with parasites, who were brought to occupy the position and take a wage, not because of what they know but who they know. Because of such individuals, sometimes the ministry makes tourism decisions without going through the Division of Tourism because going through them is pointless".*

T.Industry.9 criticised the motives of officials that are appointed through nepotism, because they lack personal or professional connection with their positions. Similar issues of politicisation as discussed in this section are identified by Yasarata *et al*'s (2010) study related to the implementation of sustainable tourism development in North Cyprus. They (2010:352) place emphasis on an interviewee's comment stating that *"This country is governed by the philosophy of the job for the man, not the man for the job"* - which to a large extent mirror the perceptions of interviewees in this study. Similarly, Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011) outlines that, in Bulgaria, tourism governance is dominated by nepotism, which impacts negatively on the sector's progress.

Politicisation has become a norm and an attractive approach for people to find employment in the public sector, to avoid the pressures of the private sector, which

was viewed by all participants of exploiting the workers. This was claimed, because the employee syndicates are not powerful enough to protect employees, due to inadequate political support they receive from the state (T.Industry.8). As a result, the majority of people seeking work view the public sector as a safe haven, *"where individual and institutional accountability is absent" (Civil.Servant.2)*. He argued that people, looking for work in the public sector, realise that they can only enter the sector through nepotistic lobbying or by bribing key individuals. Civil.Servant.2 maintained that *"it is impossible to talk about tourism problems without mentioning the politicisation that surrounds the central tourism body and its officials due to their negative results, so far"*. T.Industry.10 agreed that the Department of Tourism, which was reduced into the Division of Tourism, operates on *"politicisation criteria and never based on meritocracy"*. Instead, it was argued that such positions may be given as favours to family members or political contacts in order to receive an easy-earned salary because it is away from the spotlight. Public.Association.3 explained that, *"there are some people with influence, who wanted to help their uncles with a comfortable, low profile job where there are no questions and no answers needed due to the peripheral position of tourism with the government agenda"*.

While the majority of interviewees pointed a very negative light on public sector stakeholders, some interviewees argued that the limited progress in tourism development is not only a result of the lack of expertise and knowledge, but wider issues. For example, Civil.Servant.4, believed there are sufficient quality human resources within the ministry, where tourism is based, but the directors are not encouraging and they do not allow lower officials to flourish. Tourism.Association.4 also argued that the tourism officials lack the willingness to do any work because their salaries are very low. T.Industry.9 continued that:

> *"some tourism officials at the ministry are my friends and I know what they think and what they do. They spend their working hours going in and out of the ministry, playing online solitaire or on social media, visiting colleagues in other offices and drinking coffee in the canteen. Their principal mindset is only to get involved in some projects when there are personal benefits, otherwise they won't move off their chair to help tourism development, because they really do not care, they only get paid around 300 or 400 Euros a month"*.

It is believed amongst several the interviewees that the tourism positions at central

level are not occupied by competent individuals, because it is a peripheral sector, with little or no support by the state. T.Industry.9 was convinced that politicisation does not only exist in recruitment, but also in the arrangements of government institutions. He argued that the former Department of Tourism itself was established *"only to tick the box, not because the government wanted to be responsible for its governance, but because it was in the structural portfolio set by UNMIK when the government was established".*

Yasarata *et al* (2010:356) concluded that politicisation of the public sector weakens the progress of tourism development since

> *"elected politicians (who are fundamentally concerned with remaining in power) are interested in capturing favoured status in the distribution of resources in society. In order to do so they consciously seek to provide benefits to a range of interests they believe will help them retain office. They systematically favour certain interests over others – and they maximise their returns from the allocation of public expenditure, goods and services as away of attracting and rewarding supporters. In short, elected politicians (as well as appointed officials) seek to use public resources to stay in power, where the resources of the state become an instrument for survival."*

This finding by Yasarata *et al* (2010) resonates with the findings of this study and their impact on tourism governance. While prioritisation of personal interests was identified as the main reason for politicisation processes by Yasarata *et al* (2010), this research sought to 'dig deeper'. It appears that there is a link between the high level of nepotism and cultural values, more specifically the importance of family relations and traditions, in Kosova. The findings suggest that it is the 'natural mindset' to ask family members, who have political influence, for help. This mindset of 'looking after your own, first' regardless of their merits influenced the former Department of Tourism, seeing that nepotism was argued to be *"one of the main factors that has hampered tourism governance"* (Civil.Servant.5). Similarly, Yasarata *et al* (2010) argue that politicisation is a main reason for tourism policy and planning not being implemented. In this study, it was found that people feel obliged to help their family members, otherwise they lose face. It was considered that this was always the norm to overcome problems, in the past. Tourism.Association.3 believed that under the oppression family support was the only reliable source and *"this is how people supported each other".*

ICS.1 supported Tourism.Association.3's rationale and explained that

> *"if someone was fined or sent to prison by the Serbian police for political reasons* [...] *the whole extended family got involved and gave whatever money needed to bribe the police to free their relative. In Germany or in other Western countries it is nice to have a family or friends but there are rules, there is a system we trust, that is fair and equal to all.* [...] *In Kosova, the system was apartheid, so life needed to be organised in a way where family ties were central. This is because, there were situations where you could only resolve a problem if you had friends' or family's support. This was particularly the case in the 1990s when the system was openly against the Kosova Albanians. Such a mindset to rely on family support still exists but now we are in a process where this is changing step by step. However, the whole way of thinking will not disappear overnight".*

Overall, this study shows that illegitimate practices and politicisation are prevailing Kosova's public sector, which leaves a harmful impact on tourism governance. This seems to be a recurring finding for tourism governance and development in a transitional context (e.g. Stoyanova-Boshkova, 2011; Yasarata *et al*, 2010). Nonetheless, it has been frequently ignored as a main reason for failure for successful tourism policy implementation (Yasarata *et al*, 2010). There is an indication that politicisation processes reflect 'the legacies of the past'; however, at the same time, current conditions also leave an impact. Therefore, this might need further in-depth analysis. This study indicates that cultural values of the Kosovar society strongly influence politicisation, in a way that family relations and tradition are of utmost importance, and therefore, family members are employed through practices of nepotism, instead of people 'who are right for the job'. Stoyanova-Boshkova (2010:138) concludes that:

> *"The implications were that tourism was not being developed and operated in, what the study participants defined as, „a free-market economy", but in a transition economy dominated by political interests, predilections and practices of nepotism".*

Stoyanova-Boshkova's (2010:138) conclusion is equally relevant for tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova. Referring to Lukes' (1974, 2005) dimensions, there is a strong perception of interviewees towards the second dimension, resulting, for example, from lack of transparency of processes. Interviewees showed great scepticism towards the power of actors in the public sector, which might strongly represent their feelings from the pre-war period, which

influences the present.

Without making reference to theories of power, Yasarata *et al* (2010) identify illegitimate use of power, politicisation, as a key reason for failure of (sustainable) tourism policy implementation in North Cyprus. They (2010:352) place emphasis on an interviewee's comment stating that "This country is governed by the philosophy of the job for the man, not the man for the job". Similarly, Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011) outlines that, in Bulgaria, tourism governance is dominated by nepotism, which impacts negatively on the sector's progress.

6.5. Chapter summary

This chapter discussed how tourism governance in post-war transitional Kosova is constituted. It presented and discussed the results in terms of the key pillars guided by the conceptual framework namely institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations. This chapter related to objective 3 of this study, which seeks *'To assess tourism governance by examining its institutional arrangements, how key stakeholders consider and respond to collaboration and power relations'*. Results for achieving the fourth objective of this study *'To analyse how mindset influences tourism governance in post-war transition'* were integrated throughout this chapter, since it emerged as a dominant issue.

This focus is also in line with Hall's (1994) model, which centres institutional arrangements, collaboration, power relations and values as key pillars of tourism governance. Guided by the conceptual framework, this chapter examined how tourism governance is constituted by institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations in the specific context of post-war transition. It examined the role of mindset in each of the pillars of tourism governance. Pre-war and post-war transition was taken into consideration when discussing the findings.

In former Socialist Yugoslavia, tourism institutions were well-established comprising state institutions and social enterprises. Kosova was formally part of these institutional arrangements; however, in fact, the Kosovar institutions were not active and did not produce major output, since they did not receive sufficient support from central

institutions. This is mirrored in today's tourism institutional arrangements in China, in that the central government controls tourism development, without transferring power and resources to local institutions (Zhao and Timothy, 2015). However, in the case of Kosova, interviewees had the strong perception, that support for tourism development was intentionally not provided, in order to leave Kosova in the background, since other regions were more developed.

Post-1989 to 1999, during the ten years of oppression, tourism institutional functionalities in Kosova were neglected. During this period, Kosova became a 'no-go zone' until the end of the Kosova War in 1999. The war caused wide-ranging destruction of structures and resources of tourism and diminished the country's image internationally – thus, severely impacting on Kosova's attractiveness and future tourism potential since a favourable image is a key factor for the tourist's decision-making (e.g. Hall, 1994; Upadhayaya, 2013).

Post-war tourism institutional arrangements are perceived to be unproductive, especially in comparison to the neighbouring countries. This was primarily believed to be a consequence of the government's lack of focus in tourism in the post-war transition period (i.e. 2000-2013). It was found that tourism institutional arrangements are based in various central institutions, creating excessive bureaucracy, and complex governance, which may decelerate governing processes and therefore decrease efficiency. This has also been supported in the literature, for example, by Causevic and Lynch (2011) in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. With tourism not playing a key role on the central government's agenda, the importance of tourism institutions was downgraded from a ministerial department to a division. Yasarata *et al* (2010:351) also found that *"the position of tourism in the bureaucratic structure of the TRNC* [Turkish Republic of North Cyprus] *political system has shifted in relation to the relative priorities of the government"*. As a result of the weak and complex institutional arrangements, tourism development takes place without structure and long-term vision, which could be provided by a leader institution. Although institutions are established, they are ineffective in practice, which resembles the situation of tourism institutional arrangements in Kosova in the Former Yugoslavia. Several authors (e.g. Bramwell and Alletorp, 2001) claim that in the beginning stages of tourism

development, leadership by the government is crucial, but which is perceived to be absent in Kosova. Similarly, the private sector establishments in Kosova are weak and fragmented, which has been associated with the past, since historically the private sector was very limited. Drahokoupil and Myant (2015), for example, claim that an undersized private sector was a common issue in post-socialist transition countries. In post-war transitional Kosova, international development agencies (IDAs) are perceived to be the driving force for tourism development, since they have political influence, provide knowledge and financial resources.

Collaboration in former Yugoslavia and Kosova was perceived to be top-down, where the superiors gave orders and the subordinates implemented them. It was perceived that collaboration in the past was efficient, since it was obligatory. In contrast, in post-war transitional Kosova, collaboration is limited, since it is not engrained in institutional policies and processes. Limited collaboration was argued to be a consequence of not having a leader institution and strategic policy in place that guides and coordinates diverse stakeholders. Both issues are identified in the literature as crucial to effective tourism governance and successful tourism development (e.g. Bramwell, 2011; Bramwell and Alletorp, 2001; Buzarovski, 2001; Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002; Ruhanen, 2013; Zhao and Timothy, 2015). Wider obstacles for collaboration in Kosova involve lack of expertise, lack of funding, lack of interest and commitment by stakeholders, which have also been identified by the literature, although it is noted, that they might not all be evident in one destination (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2007). It was found that limited collaboration between tourism stakeholders is a result of limited culture of collaboration in society, in general, which results in fragmented tourism development. This issue was attributed to the legacy of the communist centralised system (Hall, 2004) and historical oppressions, which meant Kosova Albanians, were excluded from official institutions and the system of nation-building. Furthermore, the lack of collaboration in tourism was strongly linked to mistrust in sharing information with one another, which confirmed the individualist mindset in society. This finding is supported by the literature, for example, by Beaumont and Dredge (2009) and Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011). It was noted that having international organisations in Kosova will eventually influence this individualist mindset in society that post-war transition and tourism development is better achieved collectively.

Power relations in tourism governance in Former Yugoslavia were strongly associated with 'the powerful' against 'the powerless', especially in the ten years of oppression, in which the Serbian regime controlled activities in Kosova. This was strongly reflected by the power of institutions, with the government being dominant and Kosovar institutions having no influence or eliminated all-together after the regime abolished the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution of Kosova. It was found that power relations in post-war transitional Kosova mirror the past, which was also indicated by Krutwaysho and Bramwell's (2010) study. A key issue for the 'powerless' of institutions (e.g. Division of Tourism) was attributed towards the lack of economic strength combined with the lack of political influence, resulting from limited expertise. A strong perception of illegitimate practices and politicisation of processes and outcome was identified, representing Lukes' (1974, 2005) second dimension. As such power is utilised for decision-making and agenda-setting for personal benefits. This has been indicated by previous studies, whilst reference to theories of power is not made (e.g. Stoyanova-Boshkova, 2011; Yasarata *et al*, 2010). Yasarata *et al* (2010) argue that politicisation might even be the main reason for the failure of implementing tourism successfully; however, they also point out that research has remained largely quiet about this issue. It is indicated that politicisation processes reflect 'the legacies of the past'; however, at the same time, current conditions also leave an impact – thus, requiring further in-depth analysis. While other studies do not pay further attention to the reasons of politicisation, it was found in this study that cultural values, more specifically the importance of family and tradition, play a crucial role.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a conclusion to this study on 'Tourism governance in post-war transition – the case of Kosova'. The over-riding purpose of this research was to examine tourism governance in the context of post-war transition, using the case of Kosova. To do that, it became a prerequisite to first analyse the conditions of post-war transition by focusing on political, economic and social dimensions. Determining the overarching post-war transition enabled the study to discuss its implications for tourism and tourism governance. This cemented an understanding of how the wider context shapes tourism governance, instead of, only considering the latter in isolation. Firstly, the structure of the thesis is reviewed by summarising the key points highlighted in each chapter in order to provide a full picture to the reader. In order to remind the reader of the main aim and objectives of this study, these are recaptured briefly, before providing a review for each objective, including a summary of the limitations of the literature and key findings of this study. Based on this, a comprehensive conclusion with regards to the overall aim of this research is drawn. Thereupon, the study's contribution to knowledge is outlined and, linked to this, the researcher reflects upon his conceptual thinking presented in Chapter 1.5. and offers a revised theoretical framework – based on the empirical evidence from the research. The chapter closes by critically reflecting on and appraising the limitations of the research, prior to identifying opportunities for further research.

7.2. Structure of the thesis

The thesis was organised into five chapters. This section summarises the key points of each chapter to remind the reader of the salient discussion points. The introduction chapter acquainted the reader with the research focus: post-war transition, tourism governance and the role of mindset. It began by outlining the significance of tourism and its importance to post-war transition. It presented the research problem followed by the research questions and the overall aim and objectives. Some key points about tourism in transition and the challenges of post-war conditions to tourism led to the importance of tourism governance and, in turn, to the mindset issues shaping tourism

governance. This introduction highlighted key areas of this research by introducing the gaps in knowledge concerning post-war transition and its implications for tourism governance. It underlined how this thesis went about examining tourism governance by investigating institutional arrangements, collaboration, power and politicisation, whilst exploring the role of mindset in determining the causes for concern.

Chapter two presented the research context, providing an overview of Kosova as the research location, before providing a brief history about how the country went through different political stages in the former Yugoslavia before the war 1998-1999. It also provided a brief summary of its post-war political, economic and social situations before drawing the attention to the conditions of its tourism sector.

Chapter three reviewed relevant literature and academic theories to understand the existing knowledge and gaps relating to this research study. Firstly, it presented literature on transition and emphasised how post-war conditions influence the processes of transition. It reviewed transition literature from political, economic and social viewpoints to understand developments and constraints. The chapter also gave consideration to how mindset can influence the journey of post-war transition. Secondly, it reviewed the literature on 'governance' to understand its complexities and what it means for this research. Stakeholder theory was employed to theorise the concept of collaboration in governance The issue of governance was then reviewed with a tourism lens, using tourism literature, before focusing its attention on specific 'pillars' of governance particularly, institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations, including the influence of mindset.

Chapter four outlined the methodology of this research. First of all, it outlined the interpretivist philosophical underpinnings of the research, before evaluating the qualitative methodological approach and its non-probability sampling technique. This included a presentation of the interviewees' characteristics and the sector they are involved in. The section on data collection evaluated semi-structured interviews as the main research method, whilst drawing on some experiences that involved the researcher's observation and participation in public-private-voluntary meetings. The data analysis section discussed the strategy and the processes of analysing raw data by

means of thematic analysis, using Robson's (2011) five-steps to data analysis. This chapter also outlined the ethical steps that have been taken to ensure anonymity of interviewee responses, before providing a reflexive account of myself as the researcher and my connection with the social world that I researched. The measures that were taken to minimise personal bias were explained whilst acknowledging the fact that my cognitive mosaic is unique from others and that this research may provide a different outcome if another researcher was to conduct the same study.

Chapter five contended with the results and a discussion of the findings with regards to post-war transition and its implications for tourism. Firstly, it examined post-war transition through political, economic and social perspectives, before highlighting their implications for tourism governance. The role of mindset was examined in all of the three dimensions discussed. The influence of mindset on post-war transition and its effects on tourism governance were also analysed. It discussed the opportunities and the obstacles of transitioning from a former socialist system to democratic governance, in line with a European approach. The findings with regards to post-war struggles were emphasised in the discussion, to reinforce the analysis on the conditions of Kosova's transition. The arguments were supported throughout, by the interviewees' quotes, and embedded within the pertinent literature. This chapter contributed to refining the initial conceptual framework of tourism governance in post-war transition.

Chapter six examines tourism governance in the context of post-war transition. The discussion analysed, in turn, the key pillars of tourism governance from the initial conceptual framework. It began with a discussion of the findings concerning institutional arrangements and collaboration, followed by power relations, whilst referring to the role of mindset identified earlier in the chapter and its influence on tourism governance. To construct the arguments, the examination of the data was supported by direct and indirect quotes from the interviewees, together with literature and relevant academic theories such as 'stakeholder theory'.

Chapter seven provides the conclusion to the thesis and the outcomes of the research by reviewing the key findings and presenting a revised theoretical framework, based on the research findings and discussion. Thereby, it highlights the key research

contributions to academic knowledge and relevant beneficiaries including, relevant tourism stakeholders, the Kosova government and society. It is acknowledged that the contribution of the thesis may also benefit associates in other post-war transition societies. To end, this chapter also highlights the limitations of the research and considers the opportunities for further research.

7.3. Review of aim and objectives

In the introduction to this thesis, the research aim and objectives were presented, whilst the context of how both were developed was explained (see: Chapter 1. Introduction). The overall aim of this research was to examine tourism governance in post-war transition using four pillars: institutional arrangements; collaboration; power relations; and mindset. To achieve this aim, the following four objectives were defined:

1. To examine post-war political, economic and social transition;
2. To determine the implications of political, economic and social post-war transition for tourism governance;
3. To assess tourism governance by examining its institutional arrangements, how key stakeholders consider and respond to collaboration and power relations;
4. To analyse how mindset influences tourism governance in post-war transition.

In the following sections, limitations of the literature are highlighted, key findings from this study are discussed, and a conclusion is provided in relation to each research objective.

Objective 1: To examine post-war political, economic and social transition

Transition is described as *"the process or period of changing from one state or condition to another"* (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010:1), whereas in the development literature, it is often referred to the political shift from a Socialist centralised system to democratic decentralised governance and an economic shift from state planning to open market and capitalism (Hall, 2006; Ikenberry, 2005). Transition has become one of the most testing challenges for societies – which are intensified when the 'era of transition' starts with 'the ending of a war' since post-war societies are extremely

vulnerable (Armstrong and Chura-beaver, 2010; UN, 2014). Turley and Luke (2001:1) define transition as the *"social, political and economic transformation from a command system characterised by state ownership, collective action and central planning to a market system characterised by decentralised decision-making arrangements and private sector market transactions"* – thus, emphasising social transition alongside political and economic transition. The debates of political economic transition have been the most prominent of all in the literature of transition (Elkomy *et al*, 2016; McGrattan, 2012), while social dimensions have been widely neglected despite their crucial importance (Miller and Martini, 2013; Sisk and Jarstadt, 2008).

Replacing an old political 'communist' system, where answerability to society was low, with a new democratic one, that requires transparency and healthy relations, is associated with difficulties (Miller and Martini, 2013). Bache and Flinders (2004) emphasise that, in particular, accountability is challenged in a transitional political system. Post-war political transition was described by Steward and Brown (2009) as a complex continuum of milestones and obstacles, with authority, legitimacy and public service capacity at the forefront of this continuum. Furthermore, Nay (2014) and the OECD (2014) warned that post-war transition countries whose governments do not achieve sufficient authority, legitimacy and capacity remain prone to political fragility and economic and social instability. Ndikumana (2015) argues that post-war transition is unmanageable without the support of international community in safety and security, civic administrations and with financial aid. The presence international community was argued to be imperative, because it reduces the risks of reoccurring conflicts (ibid). Yurevich (2013) argues that mindset is an integral factor in determining the path of progress in society and thus an underdeveloped mindset can mean a fragile society, prone to instability, resulting in slow political transition and achievement of democratic governance.

Politically, post-war Kosova seeks to transition from Socialist Yugoslavia and Serbian oppression to democratic governance, supported by the presence of international community in Kosova, which according to Ndikumana (2015) is crucial for transitioning. The achievement of the civic part of the international state-building mission in Kosova

was found to have received mixed emotions both locally and internationally. Claims of intentional delays, excessive bureaucracy and corruption in privatisation processes were some of the critiques levied at officials of the 'UN Mission in Kosova' (UNMIK). Despite these perceptions among interviewees, the literature pointed out that UNMIK was a key factor in helping Kosova with its transition and state-building (Tansey, 2009). The findings indicated that Kosova is challenged by several barriers and problems that may take a long time to overcome.

A lack of tradition and experience in diplomacy and state-building was found to have affected the government's ability to enforce and implement laws and policies effectively. This has resulted in society losing trust in government's authority, and, according to Steward and Brown (2009) authority is one of the milestones needed for stability in post-war transition. A strong perception was found amongst the interviewees that the ruling elite prioritise self-interests to create wealth and power through illegitimate processes such as corruption and nepotism, at the expense of society's needs. This has led to limited support from society towards the state, with frequent demonstrations protesting against this *"predatory"* establishment (Civil.Servant.12). This is further emphasised by the criticism of international organisations such as the EU towards the Kosova Government for failing to fight institutional corruption and nepotism in the public sector (European Commission, 2016). This finding suggests the government achieved limited legitimacy in its governance, the second of the three milestones in Steward and Brown's (2009) complex continuum of post-war transition. The government has demonstrated public service incapacity to utilise state resources appropriately to improve employment situation and provide other basic benefits to society. This was found to be a result of limited tradition and experience in running the state. Furthermore, institutional corruptions, even to the point where officials discourage FDI, with bribery claims, have led to the perception that, the ruling elite have captured the state (e.g. Tourism.Association.3, Civil.Servant.12). Public service capacity is the third milestone in the post-war complex continuum provided by Steward and Brown (2009), which the Kosova Government has not achieved satisfactorily. The findings point out that mindset plays a crucial role for the transition process, which is supported by Yurevich (2013). Alongside internal challenges, unsettled bilateral relations with Serbia were

found to have barricaded Kosova internationally and slowed its transition significantly. This impact was considered to be a major barrier to the point where interviewees expressed grief that Kosova will remain unsettled and *"in a comma"* (T.Industry.1) as long as these relations are not improved.

Therefore, political transition in Kosova remains fragile since the three key milestones by Steward and Brown (2009) are not achieved. Political transition has been slow due to lack of tradition in democratic governance and ineffective implementation of rule of law resulting in illegitimate processes and politicisation, which is further impacted on by an 'underdeveloped' mindset, and unsettled bilateral relations. On the other hand, it is argued that Kosova has achieved significant progress, supported by the international community, despite all challenges.

Economic transition was argued in the literature to be a steep task due to the difficulties in replacing a well-founded system, despite its flaws, with a new system, that the government and society are not familiar with (Swain, 2011). The legacy of communism and socialism in the Eastern part of Europe is affiliated with the absence of a market of value and competitiveness. Overvaluation or undervaluation of state assets and state-owned enterprises were characterised by inefficiency, mass production and failed improvement in technology and innovation (Swain, 2011). Mandelbaum (1993: 6) branded this as *"selling assets with no value to people with no money"*. Literature acknowledges that the conditions before transition influence the processes and the success of transition (Turley and Luke, 2011). Such differences, may also partly explain why nations need to take different approaches to economic transition. The differences in the approach to economic transition are normally related to the way and the pace of privatising state-assets, mainly from gradual to mass privatisation approaches (Havrylyshyn, 2007; Svejnar, 2002). Transition is complex since it requires reforms of the economic system, alongside reforms of the political system (Dana, 2002). On the one hand, Cojocaru *et al* (2016) argues that most European countries have made substantial progress in reforming their financial markets and institutions. Sokol (2001) believes that the Central European countries have progressed with their economic transition more than the Eastern European

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countries, because historically they shared the same religion and alphabet and enjoyed similar educational systems with Western Europe so could adapt more and were able to attract higher investments from Western Europe. Nonetheless, Drahokoupil and Myant (2015) argue that as a result of limited existence of private sector in socialism, none of the European transition countries have fully developed their business environment to compete in an advanced market economy.

The study acknowledges the importance of economic transition and examined economic dilemmas that have a significant effect on Kosova's overall transition. In line with the literature, it was found that Kosova seeks to transition its economy from Socialist state-controlled to an open-market neoliberalism in search of FDI. It was found that international state-building of Kosova, led by UNMIK, pursued privatisation of state assets in the early stages of transition, but faced major challenges with regards to ownership complications (Scheye, 2008). Similar obstacles continue to delay economic transition, with resistance from the Kosova Serb minority and limited interest from FDI, due to Kosova's unattractive image. Overall, economic transition is proving difficult due to political complexity and challenges that the new country faces, such as ineffective governance and political obstruction from Serbia. It was found that inexperience in state-building has given rise to weak and bureaucratic economic institutions that operate without strategic planning, using an ad-hoc approach. This unplanned approach was found to detract investment and nurture corruption in privatisation processes. As a result of such practices, privatisation has not progressed and rates of unemployment and poverty continue to be very high. The findings show that Kosova's economic transition suffers from a *mindset* that did not develop due to restrictions in education and thus, it is not strongly oriented towards economic development. Thereby, it remains underdeveloped, *"trapped in the* […] *survival mode"* due to long-term oppression (T.industry.1). As a result, the mindset learnt to only function with *"short-term visions"* (Tourism.Association.2), which limits planning and strategic thinking. Such a mindset requires time and effort to develop a sense of planning, which currently creates ineffective economic governance and delays development in post-war transition.

In conclusion, economic transition in Kosova remains fragile since economic development is faced with several critical obstacles. Economic transition has been slow partly due to unsuccessful privatisation, which led to increased unemployment. Unsuccessful privatisation is caused by unattractive image because of the war, asset ownership complications, the politics of Serbia towards Kosova and the resistance Kosova Serb minority. Ineffective application of the rule of law and inexperience in state-building has given rise to weak and bureaucratic economic institutions that operate without strategic planning. This has resulted in illegitimate processes such as corruption, which have detracted investment. Slow economic transition is further influenced by an 'underdeveloped' mindset that functions with short-term visions and with limited planning.

During transition, a country is faced with various social dilemmas that need to be tackled, since they are strongly linked to political and economic progress (Castillo and Phelps, 2017). Nonetheless, limited attention is paid towards social transition – requiring society to psychologically deal with past experiences, learn about 'the unknown' and adapt to 'the new'. Unsurprisingly, society is confronted with a trauma and identity crises resulting from the war, which are further intensified by on-going ethnic divisions (O'Loughlin, 2010). In the post-war period, stabilisation is a key in order for individuals and communities to overcome their war-traumas by using means of dealing with the violent past (UN, 2014). Furthermore, Hewstone *et al* (2006) and Noor *et al* (2008) observe that developing in-group identity through contact between ethnic groups is crucial for forgiveness and reconciliation, while this might be deeply challenged if identity is strongly aligned with ethnicity (O'Loughlin, 2010). Learning about 'the unknown' involves learning about democracy and human rights ('freedom of speech'), which describes a huge challenge when moving from an authoritarian regime to democracy (Judt, 2010; Sapiezynska, 2017). Thus, education plays a key role for social transition (Kreso, 2008). However, weaknesses of the educational system not only endanger social stability, but leave their mark on the country's economic development (Castillo and Phelps, 2017).

This study acknowledged the importance of social transition, and analysed social dilemmas, which were found to strongly impact on Kosova's overall transition. In line

with the literature, the findings show that in Kosova society war-trauma is endemic, in particular, because of on-going ethnic divisions between Kosova Albanians and Kosova Serbs. It appears that instead of treating war-traumas, for example, through enabling contact and exchange, the divisions between the ethnic groups are intensified. The education system was found to be weak, so that learning about 'the unknown', as a pre-requisite for adapting to 'the new' is not encouraged. Similar to ethnic divisions in Kosova, problems in education not only result from post-war conditions, but relate to the period of oppression, when an 'educational vacuum' existed for Kosova Albanians. It was found that the 'Balkanic mindset' prevents social transition, in that the individualistic mindset or the "I" mindset discourages a sense of community and working together, whereas the 'We'-mindset puts family first and thus opens the door for nepotism. As a result, nepotistic practices have become commonly accepted, in that people don't react strongly to them, but 'play the game'. The government was perceived to benefit from this lethargy, because it provides the *"playground of manipulating the people",* which linked to Lukes' (2005) third dimension of power. Concluding the findings relating to social transition, it is argued that social issues weigh strongly for a country's post-war transition. Thus, they need to be dealt with more prominently, since they not only constrain society from moving on psychologically, but hinder political and economic progress, which might negatively influence the whole transition process – as shown in the case of Kosova.

Addressing objective one of this study, political, economic and social transition have been examined, in the case of post-war Kosova, with key issues that obstruct and also progress transitional processes being discussed. Overall, political, economic and social transition is perceived to be weak. However, considering the enormous challenges Kosova faces, its level of progress is arguably reasonable and understandable.

Objective 2: To determine the implications of political, economic and social post-war transition for tourism governance

The war itself and the political, economic and social conditions in a post-war transitional context have wide-ranging implications for tourism and tourism governance (Hall, 1994; Winter, 2008). Much research has focussed on destination image, with a favourable image being crucial for tourists both choosing and visiting a

destination (Ferreira Lopes, 2011; Hall, 1994; Upadhayaya, 2013). In this context, portraying and marketing a country as stable and safe is a basis for a favourable image (Causevic and Lynch, 2013). It has been noted that *"governments are known to manipulate tourism for political purposes",* for example, through marking a country as unsafe through travel warning or negative propaganda (Oulette, 2016:431). Furthermore, challenges related to tourism in a post-war transitional context have been explored, such as limited awareness of tourism as an economic sector (Ionnides and Apostolopoulos, 1999) resulting in weak implementation of governance structures and policies (Altinay and Bowen, 2006; Yasarata *et al*, 2010), and lack of know-how and accountability (Issa and Altinay, 2006; Ladki and Bertramini, 2002) resulting in politicisation of processes (Shamsul-Haque, 2007; Stoyanova-Bozhkova, 2011). Social conditions, for example, identity crises, ethnic divisions and weak educational systems have been evaluated in the context of destination image, in that, identity-building (Arnaud, 2016) and adequate education (Alifragkis and Athanassio, 2013) are crucial for image development, whilst ethnic divisions may negatively influence a country's stability (Causevic, 2010). Thus, only limited research had previously evaluated social dilemmas in a wider context.

Tourism development in post-war transitional Kosova was found to have been severely damaged by the long period of oppression and the Kosova War 1998-1999. It was found that the oppression and the war have had negative effects on Kosova's institutions, economy, society, heritage, education, multi-ethnicity and trust - factors that are essential for enabling tourism development. Developing tourism in Kosova is challenged by a lack of tradition, history and experience in this field, because in the past, it was never sincerely considered as a place to develop tourism; quite the opposite, it was kept away, together with its Albanian majority, from international exposure by the regime. Therefore, tourism governance and tourism development cannot rely on rebuilding a prior knowledge and experience, because such a mindset was not developed historically. Hence, a lack of institutional awareness of tourism potential in the context of post-war transition is high and government support is limited. Furthermore, illegitimacy in state institutions such as corruption has also affected state tourism bodies personal interests and desires are also the focus. Limited government resources in tourism governance and tourism development were

viewed by interviewees as upsetting, because of the lack of other sources available, due to a weak private sector and limited FDI in tourism.

In line with the literature in the field of regional relations (e.g. Amer and Thao, 2005, 2007; Li 2014; Li and Amer, 2012), this research discovered that the on-going diplomatic disputes with Serbia have had a negative impact on tourism development in Kosova, since the disputes portray political instability in that it discourages potential tourists from travelling. The interviewees were confident in their beliefs that the dialogue between Kosova and Serbia will improve to enable the two countries to move on from the past towards a mutual future (in the EU). There was a feeling that tourism development would benefit greatly from the completion of the dialogue, because the state may focus more resources to enhance tourism governance. However, the current unsettled bilateral relations were viewed as a disturbing factor against future stability, which means that tourism development and committing resources to tourism governance remain at the back-pages of the government's priority list, until tense diplomatic relations with Serbia are softened. It was found that unsettled bilateral relations have resulted in negative propaganda campaigns where false stories about Kosova are persistently promoted to weaken its image internationally, impacting on its tourism potential.

This research acknowledged the importance of economic conditions for tourism development and tourism governance, and informed about economic conditions in post-war transitional Kosova. Post-war Kosova continues to suffer from the effects of past oppression and war, with psychological and physical damages obstructing tourism governance and tourism development. It was noted that a lack of tourism development results from restricted mindset in the government to develop the economy, due to restricted education and a lack of tradition and experience in state-building in the past. Consequently, Kosova's economic transition is limited by an underdeveloped mindset within the government that functions with short-term visions. The outcome of it is ineffective government achievement, because of lack of strategic planning, which limits tourism governance and tourism development. A lack of strategic planning has contributed to the rise of illegitimate practices within the public sector, which has also affected institutional tourism bodies as they have been

perceived to prioritise personal interests at the expense of tourism governance and tourism development.

Kosova continues to have a difficult experience in privatising state assets and this is damaging its image as an investible nation, which also undermines FDI in tourism sectors. Difficulties in privatisation are influenced by the unsettled bilateral relations with Serbia. The Serbian Government fuels the resistance of the Kosova Serb minority against privatisation of Kosova assets. These problems have blocked the privatisation of major assets such as the Brezovica Ski Resort. They have also caused the under-valuation of assets that were privatised or sold, which did not result in any wider economic benefits, with unemployment and poverty continuing to be the main socio-economic problems in Kosova.

This study acknowledged the importance of social conditions for tourism development and tourism governance, and sheds light on social conditions in post-war transitional Kosova. Social dilemmas such as war-trauma, identity crises and ethnic divisions, as well as a weak education system and issues revolving around the society's mindset were found to have a strong impact on Kosova's overall transition, in that social, political and economic progress are delayed. War-trauma, identity crises and ethnic divisions increase social instability in Kosova, and negatively impact on the pre-requisites for tourist visitation (e.g. Hall, 1994; Upadhayaya, 2013; Winter, 2008). Kosova's weak education system, currently and in the past, was also found to have wide ranging effects on tourism governance, in that unqualified personnel with limited know-how and expertise are responsible for tourism development, which ultimately leads to weak implementation of structures and policies; this was also reported by Altinay and Bowen (2006) and Yasarata *et al* (2010). This findings supports Bramwell and Meyer's (2007:767) estimation that *"past decisions influence those of today"* - therefore, there is a strong emphasis on path dependency. The 'Balkanic' mindset, in being a continuum of 'I' and 'We', disrupts efforts of good tourism governance, for example, through discouraging working together and applying nepotistic practices; this finding is key for this study and points out that studying mindset is crucial when evaluating tourism governance. This study argues that if mindset is not considered, as

it is the case for most studies of tourism governance so far, a significant element that determines governance is ignored.

In addressing objective two of this study, the political, economic and social implications for tourism governance have been examined and found to be significant. Such implications were found to damage the role and the contribution of tourism in post-war transitional stability and reconciliation in Kosova.

Objective 3: To assess tourism governance by examining its institutional arrangements, how key stakeholders consider and respond to collaboration and power relations

This assessed tourism governance in Kosova by examining the pillars of institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations in relation to the extant literature. Institutional arrangements are an important pillar (Bramwell and Lane, 2011, Hall, 1994) and are widely discussed in the research literature (Bianchi 2009; Wilson *et al*, 2008). For example, Lapeyre (2011) described the importance of institutions in the context of tourism development, arguing that it is through institutions that standards of tourism can be set up and economic development can be supported. Bianchi (2009) argued that there are dominant state institutional actors that create an environment to exercise power. Thus, if these institutions do not recognize tourism as a tool for economic progress, the development of tourism will remain stagnant. Yasarata *et al* (2010:351) also found that tourism institutions are normally arranged in relation to the government's priorities. Thereby, if tourism is not a priority in the government's agenda its institutions are likewise arranged with such unimportance. On the one hand, Lapeyre (2011) argued that institutions can reduce opportunism, uncertainty and process-constraints as they can co-ordinate and normalize relations between stakeholders. On the other hand, Causevic and Lynch (2013) argued that complex government structures can impede the development of tourism, because of conflicting institutions involved in economic decision-making processes. Thus, Bramwell and Lane's (2011) idea of appropriate institutions is highly relevant in the context of post-war transitional countries, as 'old' institutions or 'old approaches' need to adapt to the global and neo-liberal environment within changing surroundings, otherwise the mismatch they create can delay progress. In a post-war environment, government

involvement is crucial since tourism development is in its early stages requiring leadership for stakeholders in a highly-fragmented industry (Qin *et al*, 2011). Bramwell and Alletorp (2001) describe that the government is responsible for balancing the industry objectives and monitoring the path of tourism development. If this is not the case, it is likely that conflict will occur resulting in excessive costs and limited benefits (Bramwell and Alletorp, 2001; Qin *et al*, 2011; Zhao and Timothy, 2015).

Institutional arrangements in former Socialist Yugoslavia were well-established, comprising state institutions and social enterprises. Kosova was formally part of these institutional arrangements; however, in fact, the Kosovar institutions were not active and did not produce major output, since they did not receive sufficient support from central institutions. During the ten years of oppression (1989-1999), tourism institutional functionalities were neglected, in Kosova. The war caused wide-ranging destructions of structures and resources of tourism, and diminished the country's image internationally – thus, severely impacting on Kosova's attractiveness and future tourism potential. Post-war tourism institutional arrangements were perceived to be unproductive, especially in comparison to the neighbouring countries. This was primarily believed to be a consequence of the government's lack of focus in tourism in the post-war transition period (i.e. 2000-2013). It was found that tourism institutional arrangements are based in various central institutions, creating excessive bureaucracy, and complex governance, which may decelerate governing processes and therefore decrease efficiency. With tourism not occupying a prominent position on the central government's agenda, the importance of tourism institutions was down-graded from a ministerial department to a division. As a result of the weak and complex institutional arrangements, tourism development takes place without organisation or long-term vision that could be provided by a leader institution. Although institutions are established, they are ineffective in practice, which resembles the situation of tourism institutional arrangements in Kosova in the Former Yugoslavia. It was found that unproductive tourism institutions in Kosova result from absence of government leadership. Similarly, the private sector establishments in Kosova were found to be weak and fragmented resulting from the historical under-development of this sector and the lack of development in the post-war period. Owing to ineffective tourism institutional arrangements, international development agencies (IDAs) were found to

be the driving force behind tourism development in post-war transition, since they have political influence, expertise and financial resources. Political influence in this case means that the Kosova Government responds to IDA demands more positively than to other local stakeholders.

In the literature, collaboration was argued to have positive impacts on the effectiveness of tourism governance as stakeholders may improve their understanding by sharing their knowledge and they may, thus, avoid potential conflicts (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999). Imperial (2005) argued that collaboration can enhance performance, reduce long-term costs, and can be applied as an implementation strategy to avoid distortion in the processes of governance. Hall (2008) contended that collaboration is an important means to the collective good of tourism stakeholders and therefore, is a model of joint decision-making. Puyvelde *et al* (2012) claimed that one way to examine collaboration is through 'stakeholder theory' as it can be applied to understanding human engagement in the processes of governance. Bridoux *et al* (2011) asserted that stakeholders have heterogeneous motives to cooperate and those motives shape their collective behaviours in value creation. Therefore, stakeholder theory can be used to measure and understand the motives of collaboration among different stakeholders. Aas *et al* (2005), Bramwell (2011), Ruhanen (2013), Zhao and Timothy (2015) argued that for collaboration to work in a fragmented environment like Kosova, collaborative initiation needs to occur from the government, with a clear direction to keep stakeholders committed and it requires a leader organisation.

It was recognised that collaboration will suffer, if there is a history of conflict, of divisions and of mistrust between stakeholders. Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011), for example, found mistrust to be a factor that limits collaboration between the public and private sectors and civil society, which in turn restricts long-term tourism development. Problems of disrespect and pessimistic attitudes in particular need to be challenged in order to achieve collective gains (Ansell and Gash, 2008). Lack of trust, was also found by Causevic and Lynch (2013), to be a critical problem that can obstruct collaboration between tourism stakeholders of diverse national entities. Roberts (2002) claimed that external support, by consultants and development organisations, is needed to improve collaboration, in settings where trust is an issue. Ansell and Gash

(2008) emphasise the integration of public, private and non-profit stakeholders in tourism governance by establishing procedures to achieve common goals.

Collaboration in the Former Yugoslavia and in Kosova was perceived to have been top-down, where the superiors gave orders and the subordinates implemented them. It was perceived that collaboration in the past was efficient, since it was obligatory. In contrast, in post-war transitional Kosova, collaboration is limited since it is not engrained in institutional policies and processes. Limited collaboration was argued to be a consequence of not having a leader institution and strategic policies in place that guides and coordinates diverse stakeholders. Both issues were identified in the literature to be crucial for effective tourism governance and successful tourism development (e.g. Bramwell, 2011; Bramwell and Alletorp, 2001; Buzarovski, 2001; Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002; Ruhanen, 2013; Zhao and Timothy, 2015). Wider obstacles for collaboration in Kosova involve the shortage of expertise and funding, and limited interest and commitment by stakeholders, which were also identified in the literature, although it was noted, that they might not all be evident in one destination (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2007). The limited culture of collaboration in Kosova society has been found to affect collaboration between tourism stakeholders, which results in fragmented tourism development. This issue was attributed to the legacy of a communist centralised system (Hall, 2004) and historical oppressions, which meant that Kosova Albanians were excluded from official institutions and the system of nation-building. Furthermore, the lack of collaboration in tourism was strongly linked to mistrust in sharing information with one another which, confirmed the individualist mindset in society. This finding was supported by the literature, for example, by Beaumont and Dredge (2009) and Stoyanova-Bozhkova (2011). It was noted that having international organisations in Kosova will eventually influence this individualist mindset in society and gain acceptance that post-war transition and tourism development is better achieved collectively.

Power relations play an important role in tourism governance, while, in particular, power imbalances in the processes and outcomes have been identified in the literature related to policy and planning in tourism. The imbalance of power results from various factors, for example, politically support or lack of support through institutional

arrangements (e.g. Adiiya, 2015; Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010; Zhao and Timothy, 2015) or from economic strength (e.g. Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). In a transitional context, studies indicate that power relations in tourism governance might reflect the past (e.g. Bramwell and Meyer, 2007) and might be strongly equipped with illegitimate purposes (e.g. Stoyanova-Bozskova, 2011, Yasarata *et al*, 2010). Yasarata *et al* (2010) emphasise that politicisation of processes might be the main reason for unsuccessful tourism development; although research has generally remained silent about these practices. Overall, research on power relations in tourism has been criticised for insufficiently conceptualising power, for example through making use of Lukes (1974, 2005) three dimensions of power (Church and Coles, 2007). These dimensions of power are also often referred to as: open, overt and latent power. 'Open power' is seen as political power, in the way governments make decisions legitimately, on behalf of the constituents they represent. The second dimension refers to agenda-setting power, i.e. a person can influence which issues will be and will not be discussed. In doing so, a person with agenda-setting power can limit the choices and/ or prevent decisions to be made in order to positively influence one's personal interests. The third dimension refers to 'ideological power' that sways people to agree with government decisions, although the decisions do not necessarily benefit them.

Power relations in tourism governance in Former Yugoslavia were strongly associated with 'the powerful' against 'the powerless', especially in the ten years of oppression, in which the Serbian regime controlled any activities in Kosova. This was strongly reflected by the power of institutions, with the government being dominant and Kosovar institutions having no influence or being eliminated all-together after the regime abolished the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution of Kosova. It was found that power relations in post-war transitional Kosova mirror the past, which was also indicated by Krutwaysho and Bramwell's (2010) study. A key issue for the 'powerlessness' of institutions (e.g. Division of Tourism) was attributed towards lack of economic strength combined with lack of political influence, resulting from limited expertise. A strong perception of illegitimate practices and politicisation of processes and outcome was identified, representing Lukes (1974, 2005) second dimension. As such power is utilised for decision-making and agenda-setting for personal benefits. This has been indicated by further studies, whilst reference to theories of power is not made (e.g.

Stoyanova-Boshkova, 2011; Yasarata *et al*, 2010). Yasarata *et al* (2010) argue that politicisation might even be the main reason for the failure of implementing tourism successfully; however, they also point out, as previously stated, that research has remained largely quiet about this issue. It is indicated that politicisation processes reflect 'the legacies of the past'; however, at the same time, current conditions also leave an impact – thus, requiring further in-depth analysis. While previous studies have neglected the antecedents of politicisation, it was found in this study that cultural values, more specifically the importance of family and tradition, play a crucial role.

Addressing objective three of this study, tourism governance was assessed by examining institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations in the case of post-war Kosova. Overall, it was found that:

- institutional arrangements are weak, which mirrors how tourism is acknowledged by the government;
- collaboration is limited, which is the result of the industry not being 'arranged' combined with a lack of the relevant 'collaborative mindset';
- power relations are imbalanced, indicating the dominance of the central government and the inferiority of tourism institutions, combined with the politicisation of processes.

In conclusion, due to the limited and imbalanced establishment of the three pillars, tourism governance is perceived to be fragile, challenging significant progress in the post-war environment. Thus, the conditions of tourism governance largely reflect the overall conditions of transition in post-war Kosova.

Objective 4: To analyse how mindset influences tourism governance in post-war transition

Many countries have undergone or are currently in the process of transition by applying different approaches, with differing outcomes and diverse experiences (Carvalho *et al*, 2016). Changing from one system to another requires a change of society's mindset – which is, particularly, challenging because transition processes involve moving from 'the known to the unknown' (Swain, 2011). Since people are the

drivers of change, advancing mindset is crucial for a nation's political and economic transition; in the absence of mindset changes, it is unlikely that a transition process will be successful (Acha and Balazs, 1999). Despite the importance of 'mindset', it has received relatively little research attention – in particular, in research related to tourism governance and tourism governance in post-war transition (Hall, 2008; Stoyanova-Bozhkova, 2011). Krutwaysho and Bramwell's (2010) study indicates that people's mindset impacts on tourism policy implementation, however, they do not specifically refer to how mindset influences tourism governance. Stoyanova-Bozhkova's (2011) research considers 'mentalities' in tourism development in transition; however, it does not provide an in-depth evaluation of the factors that have formed and influenced mindset. This study has addressed this gap in the literature by analysing mindset and how it influences tourism governance. Since results relating to the society's mindset were discussed specifically for each objective, a more general conclusion is provided.

Addressing the fourth objective of this study, the mindset of society was described using various terms such as 'under-developed', 'inferior' and Balkanic' including the characteristics of 'individualism' and 'family-orientation', 'laisses faire' and 'coffee-mentality' – which were, on the one hand, references to the legacy of the past, and on the other, mirroring current political, economic and social conditions. Overall, it was found that society's mindset obstructs political, economic and social transition – for example, through a strong individualist and family-oriented mindset, it was indicated that personal and family benefits are prioritised, which opens the way for illegitimate approaches. A 'family focus' was related to the 'Balkanic mindset', which has historical roots, whilst individualism was largely associated with current conditions. Alongside influencing political, economic and social post-war transition in Kosova, the mindset was found to strongly influence tourism governance. For example, an 'under-developed' mindset was related to 'short-term vision', which obstructs the establishment of institutional arrangements to effectively develop tourism. Furthermore, individualism was perceived to hinder collaborative efforts in tourism governance, although these are essential for developing tourism at this stage. This research emphasises that assessing the role of mindset in tourism governance is crucial and argues that further studies should take the issue of mindset into account.

*Aim: To examine tourism governance in post-war transition*

The overall aim of this study *'To examine tourism governance in post-war transition'* was achieved by addressing and completing the four research objectives. The research encompassed a comprehensive investigation of tourism governance in post-war transition, in that, firstly, political, economic and social dimensions of post-war transition were examined (objective 1). These are external, but have significant implications for tourism and tourism governance (objective 2). Factors external to tourism with significant implications were found to derive from the political dimension *(e.g. lack of tradition in diplomacy and democratic governance, the role of mindset in political transition, unsettled bilateral relations, misuse of power and politicisation).* They also derived from the economic dimension *(e.g. lack of strategic planning and mismanagement of state-assets, unsettled bilateral relations and the role of mindset in economic transition).* Finally, they were also underpinned by the social dimension *(e.g. limited opportunities, problems in education, the role of mindset in social transition and fragile social stability).* Tourism governance was assessed by examining institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations (objective 3) and it was found that tourism governance is weak, which mirrors the overall processes of transition in post-war Kosova. 'Mindset' played a crucial role in this study, in that it is inextricably bound with all dimensions and aspects of the country's transition, and particularly, with tourism governance.

7.4. Contribution to knowledge and theoretical framework

The findings of the study contribute to the literature in tourism governance and tourism governance in post-war transition, particularly, through integrating the mindset perspective into assessing tourism governance in post-war transition. It was pointed out that to date research on both, tourism in post-war transition and the influence of mindset on tourism governance, is limited (Novelli *et al*, 2012; Stoyanova-Bozhkova, 2011). To mirror the empirical findings relating to the importance of mindset' in tourism governance, the study's original conceptual framework presented in Chapter One has been amended and re-presented (Figure 24). Instead of considering 'mindset' as one aspect of tourism governance, it was found that the issue

of mindset is integral to all pillars of tourism governance. Thus, it is argued that studies should pay stronger attention towards 'mindset' in terms of establishing institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations in tourism governance. Figure 24 presents a revised proposed theoretical framework, conceived post empirical data collection and analysis.

Figure 24.Revised theoretical framework
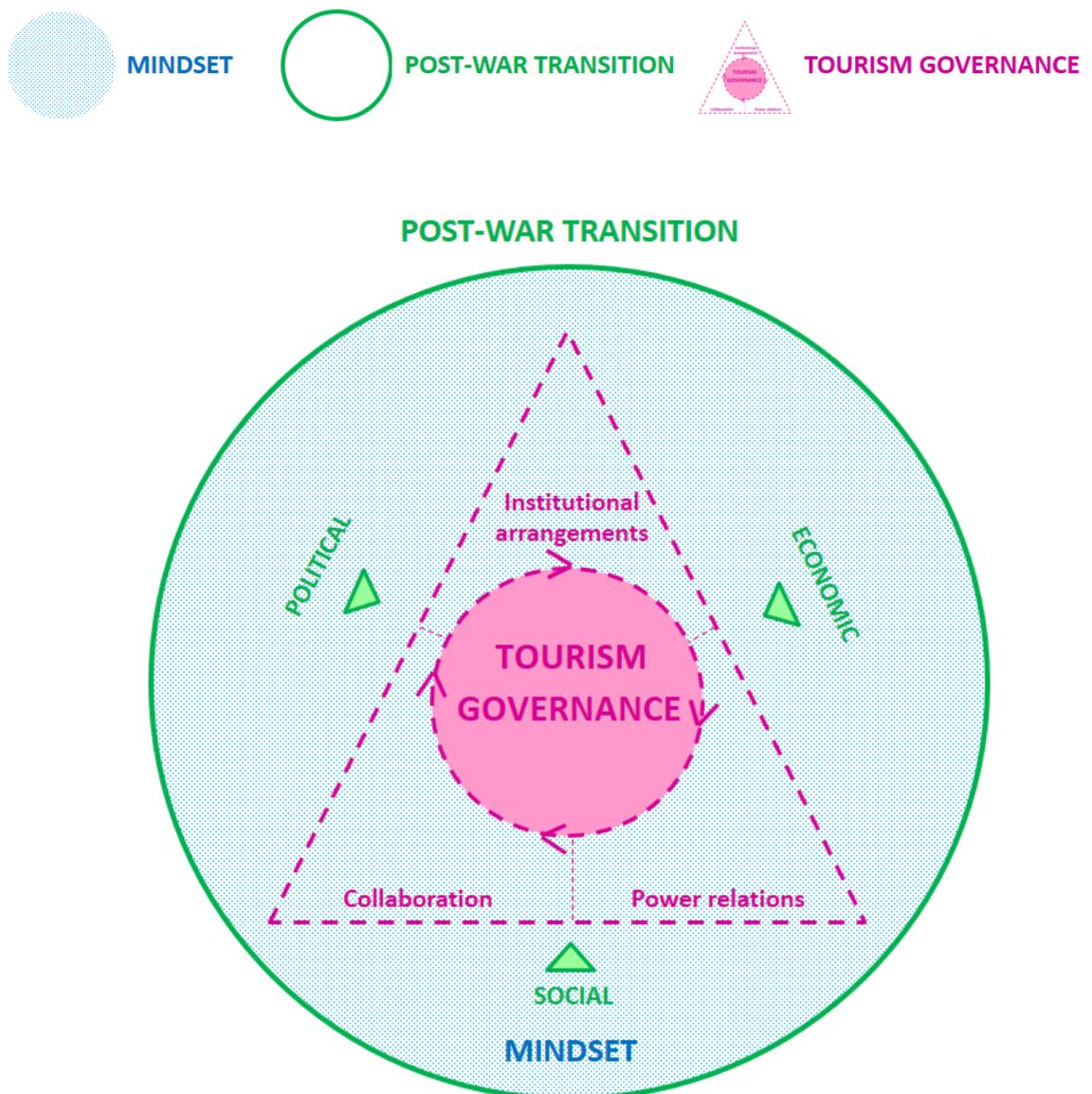
The revised theoretical framework is established as follows:

- the green circle represents the content of 'post-war transition' and integrates the three dimensions: political, economic and social;

- these three dimensions of post-war transition influence 'tourism governance' and the key pillars of institutional arrangements, collaboration and power relations (emphasised in the 'pink section')
- the role of mindset is represented by 'blue' background, which influences post-war transition and tourism governance

Furthermore, the literature review showed the role of politicisation in tourism governance has received relatively limited attention, although it has enormous implications for tourism governance (Yasarata *et al*, 2010). This research discovered that illegitimate processes are widely applied in tourism governance in post-war transition, indicating that the impact of these is much stronger than previously considered. It would be interesting to explore these processes in other countries with different situations.

The findings relating to the wider context of this research have identified important implications for policy-makers, researchers, and practitioners concerned with issues in post-war and/ or in transitional countries. In particular, the key issue in the social dimension which has impacted significantly on both post-war transition and tourism governance and development, is education i.e. its disruption and continuing weaknesses. This is an important finding given that knowledge on social transition challenges remains limited in the literature compared with that of political and economic issues.

7.5. Critical reflections, limitations and opportunities for further research

Reflecting on interviewees' comments, the language used to describe political, economic and social conditions, and tourism governance is very powerful. The naturally occurring language (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) used by the interviewees to express their meanings, such as *"dark structures"* to signify disruptive paramilitary groups and unjust measures, was consistently ardent and spectacular across a number of interviews. This communication brings additional richness to the findings and has created a storytelling atmosphere to the discussion. Such powerful discourse found in the interviewees' expressions was frequent when discussing issues with regards to politics, recent history of Kosova, social and national concerns, and matters of mindset

(Van Dijk, 2009 and Wodak, 2014). Thus, it would be interesting to analyse the discourse in more-depth in order to add another perspective to the research findings, which will be done after the completion of this doctorate.

While the study has addressed a gap in knowledge about tourism governance in post-war transition, a few limitations should be noted. Data was collected in one destination - Kosova, where tourism development in both the past and the present is relatively insignificant compared with neighbouring states. Therefore, data on tourism governance was based on the early stages of tourism existence in Kosova. Other perspectives on tourism governance may have been discovered had this research been conducted in another setting where tourism is a more significant part of the destination's history and its present reality. However, this arguably represents a strength of the study in that the research on tourism governance was conducted in a post-war destination undergoing transition, where the influence of the dimensions and identified issues on both society and tourism governance were able to be assessed ab initio. Nevertheless, the research represents a cross-sectional study, albeit with an historical perspective; therefore, revisiting Kosova in future to examine tourism governance and development from a longitudinal perspective would provide a further contribution to knowledge relating to the industry's negotiation of the constraints identified in this study.

Another limitation of this research is that no Kosova Serb citizen was interviewed, despite the intentions of doing so, due to safety worries of going into Kosova Serb communities as a Kosova Albanian to conduct the research. As a non-regular resident of Kosova, my opportunities to interview prospective Serb participants were limited by both the absence of any contacts in the Kosova Serb communities and the attendant risks associated with this field work. Including Kosova Serbs as interviewees of this research may have provided another view of the situations discussed in this thesis, based on their realities. However, having lived in that society, I consider it to be difficult for any Kosova Serb to tell their Kosova Albanian fellow nationals that *"we are taken hostage by local Serbian gangsters"* (ICS.1). This is as difficult as it would be for a Kosova Albanian to ever confess something similar to a Kosova Serb. Therefore, such research conducted directly by myself would have risked having unauthentically

inflated or under-estimated perceptions. This point should be taken into consideration by future researcher, interested in conducting similar research in Kosova, or in other places where social conditions are challenging.

The data collected for this research were mainly from interviewing people on an individual basis. Therefore, the interviewees expressed their views from their standpoint, about their opposite sectors, possibly without ample awareness or consideration of the situation 'on the other side'. The findings of this research may have been more rounded and balanced if a focus group was organised after preliminary analysis of the interview data. This would have been organised with some of the main interviewees from different sectors. Some of the main interview findings would have been presented to the focus group anonymously, enabling the group to further comment on the concerns presented. This approach may have enabled the interviewees to better understand each other's situation, and may have led to improved communication between them. However, this additional research was beyond the scope of this thesis, and restricted by time, but will be considered for future research on tourism governance in Kosova and elsewhere.

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