

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Political Studies

Department of International Relations

Master's Thesis

2024

Bc. Adéla Bártová

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Political Studies

Department of International Relations

**Understanding NATO's Intervention in Non-Member
States: The Case of Operation Kosovo Force**

Master's Thesis

Author of the Thesis: Bc. Adéla Bártová

Study programme: International Relations

Supervisor: Mgr. Jakub Tesař, Ph.D.

Year of the defence: 2024

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on April 30th, 2024

Adéla Bártová

References

BÁRTOVÁ, Adéla. *Understanding NATO's Intervention in Non-Member States: The Case of Operation Kosovo Force*. Praha, 2024. 66 pages. Master's thesis (Mgr). Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Studies, Department of International Relations. Supervisor Mgr. Jakub Tesař, Ph.D.

Length of the Thesis: 108 192 characters

Abstract

The master's thesis deals with the issue of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) out-of-area interventions, specifically focusing on the case of NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999. The alliance's decision to intervene against severe violations of human rights in Kosovo despite the lack of a legal mandate to do so was criticized heavily by the international community. This thesis aims to examine the narratives NATO used to justify its involvement in Kosovo. By adopting a theoretical framework of social constructivism, the research aims to examine the role of two constructivist concepts, collective identity and international norms, in the alliance's decision to intervene. To do so, the thesis adopts a discourse-historical approach (DHA) to critical discourse analysis, as established by Reisigl and Wodak (2009). This approach emphasizes the significance of the social, political, and historical context of discourse practices. By adopting the DHA, the thesis seeks to uncover the discursive strategies employed by the alliance to justify and legitimize the intervention in Kosovo. The research is conceived as a case-specific qualitative analysis, which is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the correlation between changes in the official discourse in NATO and the international norm of human rights. The second part of the analysis addresses the role of NATO's assumed collective identity in the discursive practices of individual member states. Despite the broad academic debate concerning the role of human rights and humanitarianism in NATO's decision to intervene in Kosovo, the thesis contributes to the debate by generating new knowledge about the organization's motivations.

Abstrakt

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá problematikou intervencí Severoatlantické aliance (NATO) mimo její oblast působnosti, s konkrétním zaměřením se na případ intervence NATO v Kosovu v roce 1999. Rozhodnutí aliance zasáhnout proti vážnému porušování lidských práv v Kosovu i přes absenci legálního mandátu bylo značně kritizováno mezinárodní komunitou. Tato práce si klade za cíl zkoumat narativy, které NATO použilo k ospravedlnění svého zapojení se v konfliktu v Kosovu. Vybraným teoretickým konceptem práce je sociální konstruktivismus. S využitím konstruktivistických konceptů kolektivní identity a mezinárodních norem se diplomová práce zaměřuje na výzkum rozhodnutí NATO k intervenci přistoupit. Za tímto účelem práce využívá diskurzivně-historický přístup ke kritické analýze diskurzu tak, jak jej definovali Reisigl a Wodak (2009). Tento přístup zdůrazňuje význam sociálního, politického a historického kontextu pro studium diskurzu. Práce využívá

tento přístup s cílem odkrýt diskurzivní strategie aliance využité k ospravedlnění a legitimizaci intervence v Kosovu. Analytická část práce je rozdělena do dvou částí. První část se zabývá korelací mezi změnami v oficiálním diskurzu NATO a změnami v mezinárodní normě lidských práv. Druhá část analýzy se zabývá rolí kolektivní identity NATO v diskurzu jednotlivých členských států. Ačkoliv je otázka role lidských práv a humanitarismu v rozhodnutí NATO intervenovat v Kosovu v akademické sféře široce diskutována, diplomová práce přidává nové postřehy, které nám mohou pomoci chápat co NATO k intervenci motivovalo.

Keywords

North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Kosovo, Operation Allied Force, Operation Kosovo Force, Collective identity, International norms, Human rights

Klíčová slova

Severoatlantická aliance, Kosovo, Operace Kosovo Force, Operace Spojenecká síla, Kolektivní identita, Mezinárodní normy, Lidská práva

Title

NATO's Intervention in Non-Member States: The Case of Operation Kosovo Force

Název práce

Intervence NATO mimo území členských států: Případ Operace Kosovo Force

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Mgr. Jakub Tesař, Ph.D, for his patience and valuable advice throughout the whole writing process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1 ABBREVIATIONS 1
- 2 INTRODUCTION..... 2
- 3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 5
 - 3.1 NATO’s Role in International Crisis Management 5
 - 3.2 Involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina 7
 - 3.3 Involvement in Kosovo 10
- 4 LITERATURE REVIEW 13
- 5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 16
 - 5.1 Conceptualization of Key Concepts 18
 - 5.1.1 Identity, National Interests, and Collective Identity 18
 - 5.1.2 International Norms..... 20
 - 5.1.3 Norm Evolution..... 22
 - 5.1.4 Humanitarian Intervention 26
 - 5.1.5 Legitimacy and Legality..... 28
- 6 METHODOLOGY 30
 - 6.1 Research Design and Research Questions 30
 - 6.2 Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis 31
 - 6.3 Limitations 32
- 7 ANALYTICAL PART 33
 - 7.1 Case Selection 33
 - 7.2 Documents Selection Criteria..... 33
 - 7.3 Coding System and Data Analysis 36
 - 7.4 Findings and Interpretation 38
 - 7.4.1 First Section of the Analysis – Human Rights in NATO’s Agenda..... 38
 - 7.4.2 Second Section of the Analysis – The Impact of NATO’s Collective Identity on Its Engagement in Kosovo 40
- 8 DISCUSSION 43
- 9 CONCLUSION 45
- 10 LIST OF REFERENCES 47
- 11 LIST OF APPENDICES 53
 - 11.1 Appendix No. 1: List of Analysed Documents 53
 - 11.1.1 NATO 53
 - 11.1.2 France 53
 - 11.1.3 Italy..... 54

11.1.4	The United States	54
11.1.5	The United Kingdom.....	54
11.2	Appendix no. 2: List of Tables	55

1 ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical discourse analysis
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force
DHA	Discourse-historical approach
ESDI	European Security and Defence Identity
EU	European Union
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IFOR	The Implementation Force
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KVM	Kosovo Verification Mission
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UN	United Nations
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

2 INTRODUCTION

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervention in Kosovo in 1999 remains a critical moment in the field of international relations, generating debates on the mutual incompatibility of humanitarian intervention and state sovereignty in contemporary international politics. The crisis, which is connected to the series of conflicts in former Yugoslavia, escalated into a full-blown humanitarian emergency, prompting the alliance to establish a military presence in Kosovo. Despite the lack of legal authority, NATO initiated an eleven-week-long air campaign, Operation Allied Force, to prevent further atrocities against civilians in Kosovo (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013). Consequently, Operation Kosovo Force was established to ensure peace and stability in the area (NATO's Role In Kosovo, 2023). This master's thesis examines the phenomenon of NATO intervention in non-member states through detailed case-specific research on the alliance's involvement in the Kosovo crisis of 1999.

The end of the Cold War caused a profound shift in international political and security relations, which challenged the established role of NATO as a defensive organization based on the principle of collective defense. As a result, the alliance lacked a clearly defined common threat. As individual member states pursued various foreign policy and strategic goals, the issue of potential deadlock threatened the cooperation in the 1990s. The new functional requirements were reflected in NATO's institutional design, promoting institutional flexibility to deepen trust between member states. However, the institutional design adopted by NATO could not determine whether members engaged in cooperative action. The cooperation between member states transpired to be most efficient in cases where common liberal values were violated or threatened. The ideology of the Euro-Atlantic community proved to be a significant variable for members' engagement and cooperation in the post-Cold War period (Acharya & Johnston, 2007).

In post-Cold War international relations, modern conflicts have become gradually more complex, as civil conflicts often have wide implications for the international community (Thakur, 2006). To reflect the changes in the strategic environment, NATO increasingly incorporated crisis management activities into its agenda. The alliance's capabilities in the areas of crisis management and peacekeeping beyond its borders were first tested in the

Yugoslav wars, serving as a key milestone and precedent for post-1999 operations (Frantzen, 2005).

Due to the lack of a legal mandate and inconsistencies in the alliance's humanitarian claims, the intervention in Kosovo remains one of NATO's most debated decisions to this day. To justify its involvement in Kosovo, NATO framed the intervention in humanitarian language, provoking debates regarding extraterritorial human security obligations in the international community (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013) and creating expectations regarding both of the deployed operations. The thesis, therefore, aims to research the discourse through which NATO justified the intervention in Kosovo and to provide additional knowledge about the construction of NATO's intervention discourse to the academic debate.

NATO's engagement in Kosovo was selected for the analysis due to its relevance to the academic field of international relations and the global political implications of NATO's humanitarian intervention. Humanitarian intervention remains a contested concept in international politics largely due to its mutual exclusivity with the fundamental principle of international law, state sovereignty, and the subsequent principle of non-intervention. Moreover, this specific case provides a unique example of an intervention that, despite lacking a formal legal mandate, is still perceived as legitimate. By incorporating Operation Kosovo Force in the analysis, the study seeks to gain knowledge regarding NATO's decision to intervene in a non-member state, but also to stay.

The thesis employs a constructivist theoretical framework because of its emphasis on the social construction of norms and identities. The thesis draws upon two key concepts: collective identity (as defined by Wendt, 1994) and international norms (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). By incorporating both the concepts in the study, the thesis seeks to provide a thorough context of NATO's intervention in Kosovo. To do so, a qualitative case-specific approach to research is adopted. The research questions are interpretative to align with the goals and methods of the thesis.

The thesis, therefore, seeks to answer two research questions:

How did the changes in the international norm of human rights impact the Alliance's decision to intervene in Kosovo?

How did the self-perceived collective identity of NATO affect member states' stance on the Kosovo intervention?

The research adopts the Discourse-Historical Approach to critical discourse analysis, as defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2009). The DHA enables the researcher to analyze discursive practices within social, political, and historical contexts. This approach, therefore, allows for an in-depth examination of NATO's discourse surrounding the intervention in Kosovo.

The first chapter of the thesis aims to establish the historical background of NATO's decision to intervene in Kosovo despite the lack of legal authority to do so. It describes the political and historical context that is crucial for the interpretative part of the analytical section of the paper.

The second chapter outlines the academic debate concerning the alliance's intervention in Kosovo, specifically focusing on literature emphasizing the role of humanitarianism and human rights in NATO's narrative.

In the third chapter, the constructivist theoretical framework is introduced. The chapter establishes key concepts of the thesis: collective identity and international norms. Drawing upon Wendt's (1994) conceptualization, the concept of collective identity is applied to NATO and further discussed in the context of collective identity constitution and distinction as a form of identity construction. Furthermore, the chapter aims to introduce the concept of International norms, as defined by Finnemore and Sikkink (1998). International norms are discussed in relation to norm evolution, human rights, and humanitarian intervention.

The fourth chapter aligns the theoretical framework with a suitable methodology. The thesis adopts a qualitative, case-specific research design. Additionally, the methodology chapter addresses the potential limitations of the research design. In addition to the theoretical framework, this chapter includes a description of the analytical approach of DHA. The coding process is described in detail to ensure the transparency of the analytical process. Findings and their interpretation are discussed.

The final chapter aims to connect the findings of the analytical part of the paper to the research questions. It also integrates the obtained knowledge into the academic debate, as introduced in the literature review.

3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter introduces the historical and political context of NATO's intervention in Kosovo. By doing so, the historical background chapter aims to provide the social context necessary to interpret discursive events through the selected analytical framework of the paper.

Specifically, this chapter focuses on changes in NATO's post-Cold War agenda and its role in the Balkan region prior to the outbreak of the humanitarian crisis in Kosovo.

3.1 NATO's Role in International Crisis Management

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established in 1949 as a Western military alliance to counter the threat posed by The Soviet Union (USSR). The initial purpose of the organization was to provide military resources for collective deterrence and defense of its members against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. After the USSR's dissolution, the alliance's original goals lost their relevancy, and NATO faced a determining challenge regarding its future role in the international system. The organization has persisted and embarked upon a complex transformation process into one of the most prominent promoters of democratic values in post-Cold War global politics (Williams & Neumann, 2000). The new political environment enabled cooperation in the international promotion of human rights and democratic values through crisis management and peacekeeping activities. While NATO's crisis management activities deal with ongoing conflicts, peacekeeping aims to assist in peace agreements implementation and preserve peace (Diez et al., 2011).

The previously overlooked social, economic, and developmental issues gained political recognition in the 1990s (Thakur, 2006), specifically in the context of new strategic challenges of predominantly intra-state ethnic conflicts. These conflicts often resulted in severe civilian casualties and led to immense humanitarian crises. To address these challenges, NATO member states have increasingly engaged in crisis management and peacekeeping activities with only limited prior experience (Frantzen, 2005). The alliance was involved in crisis management activities before the collapse of the USSR; however, concerns over the diversification of NATO's tasks and potential deflection from the focus on collective defense precluded any attempts to formalize an official crisis management policy (Rühle, 1993).

To adapt to the new and diverse security environment, NATO began to modify its organizational structure, strategies, and policies. This development resulted in the

establishment of a variety of security and political initiatives, such as the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) in 1994, European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) in cooperation with the European Union in 1996, and the launch of the Defence Capabilities Initiative in 1999, equipping NATO's forces for crisis management and intervention worldwide (Acharya & Johnston, 2007). Following the obsolescence of its original agenda, NATO adopted a more proactive stance in global affairs. This strategic turn spurred the formation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC or NAC), reinforcing NATO's commitment to conflict management and stability promotion beyond its geographical borders (Rühle, 1993). Since then, crisis management has remained one of NATO's fundamental tasks, consisting of various political and military tools to manage a wide range of international crises. Political authorization is necessary for the planning and employment of crisis management operations, and member states collectively decide whether to engage on a case-to-case basis (Crisis Management, 2022). Since 1995, NATO replaced the UN as Europe's primary military peacekeeping force (Frantzen, 2005).

Crisis management and peacekeeping activities were not historically connected to human rights promotion. Formerly, peace operations focused on assisting states to settle international conflicts peacefully. The internal political situation was not a concern for the international community as long as it did not directly threaten the international order and maintenance of security between states. The peace operations launched after 1990 incorporate a humanitarian aspect by including state-building programs and elements of peace enforcement. After the end of the Cold War, the dissolution of the Soviet Union ended the stalemate of the UNSC, and the UN Security Council consequently gained the ability to take a more active stance in international politics. The international community increasingly perceived peace operations as more desirable due to democratization and the expansion of human rights. As other significant strategic challenges lost relevancy, member states were allowed to commit to crisis management and peace promotion (Williams & Bellamy, 2021).

The international promotion of human rights was not perceived as a central issue in the international community until the 1980s. Humanitarianism gained significance through reinterpretation of humanitarian policy and practice. Historically, the humanitarian agenda was seen as separate from politics and was primarily discussed within NGOs. During the Cold War, political neutrality and the universalist approach of NGOs enabled them to play a significant role in providing international aid in an otherwise politically divided world

(Chandler, 2006). Although human rights are declared universal, a state's obligations in this area are severely limited to its territory, based on the international law principle of state sovereignty. Scholars have challenged the primacy of the territorial approach to human rights protection since the end of the Cold War, as they stress the significance of international human rights obligations of both states and international organizations (Gibney et al., 2021). Additionally, the dominant paradigm of national security, which focused primarily on state sovereignty and territorial integrity, was confronted by the broader concept of human security, reflecting the rise of intrastate ethnonational conflicts and humanitarian emergencies of the 1990s (Thakur, 2006).

It is important to note that in recent years, the international political climate has shifted its focus from promoting the most intense forms of liberal peacekeeping. The new concept of the peacekeeping approach is called stabilization and is aimed at helping states impose their authority without necessarily transforming the government to be more democratic. As said by Williams and Bellamy (2021), this shift is caused by a combination of several political factors, including the intense criticism of liberal peacebuilding activities, international financial crises, and the pressure on expenditure reduction in the area of foreign policy.

3.2 Involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The first instance of the organization's military involvement outside of the North Atlantic region was in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995 (Acharya & Johnston, 2007). The Yugoslav wars comprised a series of violent conflicts that occurred in the Balkan region throughout the 1990s and resulted in the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia faced severe economic challenges in the late 1970s. The global economic recession and the ending of its global lending in 1979 forced the government to implement new austerity measures. The combination of political uncertainty caused by Tito's death in 1980 and increasing unemployment and inflation rates affected Yugoslavia's overall stability, questioning its future as a multinational state (Fierke, 2007). In elections held in 1990, the communist parties lost power in four out of the six Yugoslav republics, except Serbia and Montenegro, where the nationalist politician and the leader of the Socialist Party of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, retained power. The election results further enhanced nationalistic and separatist movements in the remaining parts of Yugoslavia. Slovenia was the first republic to declare its independence based on the results of a referendum held in December 1990. Shortly after, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia voted for their independence. In 1992, the UN

Security Council passed Resolution 777 and officially confirmed that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia dissolved, implying that Croatia and Slovenia became independent states. The newly formed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia consisted of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo. Bosnia and Kosovo were denied independence due to their historical and political significance for Serbia. These political developments escalated into a series of open civil wars in the years 1992 to 1995 between the central power authorities and the individual states who sought independence. The international community was aware of the imminent threat of a humanitarian crisis in the Balkan region. However, during the early stages of the conflict, the war in Yugoslavia was perceived as an internal affair. The abrupt escalation of violence caused concerns in the international community over severe breaches of human rights and an imminent humanitarian disaster in the region. Specifically, the political representatives of the European Union (EU) had serious concerns over the security and political developments in the Balkans because of the close geographical proximity of the conflict. The EU was, however, not capable of effective conflict management and peace promotion in the region (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013).

The involved parties requested the UN to consider deploying a peacekeeping operation. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was established in 1991 with a clear mandate and authorization from the UNSC (Fetherston et al., 1994). The UN-led operation had a complicated position in the conflict, as it was initially mandated to monitor a ceasefire between Croatia and Serbia and to enable political leaders to agree upon a lasting peace settlement. During the negotiations, a humanitarian catastrophe emerged in neighbouring Bosnia, where Bosnian Serbs engaged in ethnic cleansing, resulting in approximately 250,000 deaths and 1.5 million refugees. Despite the massive refugee flows and the humanitarian crisis occurring in Bosnia, the international response was insufficient. Additionally, UNPROFOR lacked the mandate and resources to ensure the flow of humanitarian aid in the country, as Bosnian Serbs often prevented the necessary logistics for transporting and delivering humanitarian aid. The Security Council managed to expand UNPROFOR's mandate further, but the UN's inability to stop the ethnic cleansing and violence was increasingly criticized in Western media. In 1993, UNPROFOR was tasked to create 'safe areas' in larger Bosnian towns besieged by Bosnian Serb forces. The operation was authorized to deter attacks on civilians. Yet, the Security Council suggested assigning 7,600 additional troops despite needing 34,000. The success of establishing the safe areas was therefore up to the consent of the parties, specifically Bosnian Serbs. In 1995, the Bosnian Serbs decided to invade safe

areas, causing more than 7500 civilian deaths in the city of Srebrenica. The Srebrenica massacre encouraged the international community to reevaluate its approach towards Bosnia. Consequently, Operation Deliberate Force was established by NATO on 30 August 1995 to provide additional support to the Muslim and Croat armies on the ground. The air campaign operation ended the war within four months (Williams & Bellamy, 2021). As a result of long and complicated negotiations, The Dayton Peace Agreement was formally signed on 14 December 1995. It was overseen and consolidated by the UN, the IMF, NATO, the EU, and OSCE. The agreement imposed a general ceasefire in the Balkan region, and its implementation included close monitoring of Bosnia, Croatia, and FRY. To attain an agreement, Kosovo was excluded from the negotiations' agenda despite the already growing tensions between Kosovar Albanians and the Serb minority (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013).

The complicated and seemingly 'unsolvable' conflict in former Yugoslavia challenged the established crisis management tools previously used to resolve short-term issues. The crisis required frequent communication and coordination between NATO and the UN, as NATO was able to offer the assets and expertise necessary for averting the humanitarian crisis. However, its mandate was severely limited due to its dependency on the UN, which was initially hesitant to cooperate (Rühle, 1993).

Between the years 1995 to 1999, NATO continued a crisis management mission IFOR in Bosnia, where over 60 000 troops were deployed under its control to enforce the separation of conflicting parties and provide conditions under which the Dayton Peace Agreement could be fulfilled (Siani-Davies, 2003). The reports of the UN's failure in Bosnia identified severe issues with the organization and conduction of peace operations, recognizing a crucial difference between the operation's mandate and goals and the available resources (Williams & Bellamy, 2021). NATO's involvement in Bosnia was criticized heavily, as it lacked common rules and mutual understanding of humanitarian intervention among the member states. NATO representatives also expressed dissatisfaction concerning the complicated relationship with the UN, which, according to former Secretary General Willy Claes, negatively impacted the alliance's ability to prevent the massacre in Srebrenica (Harsch, 2015).

To ensure that the events of the war in Bosnia would not repeat, NATO members initiated a new security system during the NATO summits of 1995 and 1996. The new reforms included a clear definition of NATO missions and a common approach to potential future crises and humanitarian tragedies regardless of whether a member's national security is threatened or

affected by changing normative influences in international politics (Abe, 2019). These changes in approach to crisis management and peace operations were tested during the conflict in Kosovo.

3.3 Involvement in Kosovo

Historically, Kosovo is a cradle of the medieval Serb kingdom and is perceived as pivotal in establishing Serbian national identity. Nevertheless, Kosovo is also significant for developing Albanian nationalism and history, establishing it as a historically contested territory. The ethnic composition of Kosovo varied throughout the 20th century, with approximately 10 % Serbian Minority and a 90 % Albanian Kosovar majority living on its territory right before the outbreak of violence in 1999 (Latawski & Smith, 2003). The resurgence of Serb nationalism and Milosevic's rise to power aggravated pressure on the Albanian population and induced initially non-violent protests against the Serbian-led government. During the 1990s, the separatist militia Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) emerged as an armed section of Albanian resistance seeking independence from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Despite the growing support for KLA in Kosovo and the increasing number of violent clashes between the militia and FRY forces, the approaching crisis in Kosovo initially did not gain as much political attention in Western security organizations as conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia. In 1998, the surge of violence caused the displacement of approximately 250,000 Kosovar Albanians, urging the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to pass Resolution 1198, demanding a cease-fire and withdrawal of the majority of the FRY forces. The imminence of another humanitarian crisis pressed NATO to increase political pressure on FRY and the Milosevic government. The alliance used military pressure and threatened airstrikes to ensure Milosevic's compliance with the UN Resolution (Latawski & Smith, 2003). In October 1998, due to the increasing political and military pressure, an agreement was reached between Milosevic and Holbrooke, an American diplomat and a leading architect of the Dayton Peace Agreement, according to which FRY committed itself to start negotiations with Kosovar Albanians, allowing the establishment of the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM), and withdrawing a part of the FRY forces from Kosovo territory (Siani-Davies, 2003). The negotiations at Rambouillet Castle in February 1999 aimed at finalizing an agreement between Yugoslavia and Kosovar Albanians settlement were unsuccessful (Wille, 2019).

The UN Security Council was unable to reach an agreement on its next step in Kosovo despite the rapid escalation of violence and the threat of another humanitarian crisis in the region.

NATO representatives openly argued that the situation requires them to intervene without regard to an absence of consensus on the issue in the UNSC. Without explicit approval, the alliance commenced an eleven-week air campaign, Operation Allied Force, against the FRY, intending to prevent more repression and violence against civilians in the region. This was a defining moment for the organization since it independently acted for broader humanitarian reasons and not because of a direct threat to a member. The operation successfully resulted in a forced withdrawal of the FRY forces from Kosovo (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013). However, employing military power on the Milosevic regime remains one of the most controversial decisions in post-Cold War international politics. The international community severely criticized the alliance's involvement in Kosovo. During Operation Allied Force, NATO aerial attacks included dual-use targets such as infrastructure, communications, or power-generating facilities, directly affecting the Serbian population (Lake, 2009).

The intervention in Kosovo represented a dilemma between the normative power of human rights and the basic principles of international politics, state sovereignty, and non-intervention. Supporters of NATO's actions in Kosovo often stress that it was the only way to stop the imminent humanitarian catastrophe since all diplomatic possibilities were exhausted at this point. Others criticize the alliance's decision to intervene due to the absence of an explicit mandate of a UNSC Resolution (Head, 2012), making NATO's decision to intervene illegal, as utilizing military force against the Milosevic regime legally required authorization from the Security Council. The resolution intended to confer NATO with a legal mandate for military action was, however, vetoed by Moscow (Valki, 2000).

The peace-support operation Kosovo Force (KFOR) was established after the Alliance's air campaign against the Milosevic regime ended. KFOR's original goals were "to deter renewed hostilities, establish a secure environment and ensure public safety and order, demilitarise the Kosovo Liberation Army, support the international humanitarian effort and coordinate with the international civil presence (NATO's Role In Kosovo, 2023)." The legal base for establishing the operation was the UNSC Resolution 1244. The operation was, therefore, legally regulated unilaterally, without negotiations to politically isolate FRY. During the first years of administration, KFOR faced challenges connected to the volatility of the security situation in Kosovo (Istrefi, 2017). Operation KFOR was one of the first instances of NATO's involvement in warfare outside its borders (Acharya & Johnston, 2007).

The case of NATO's engagement in Kosovo provides a unique research opportunity, representing a turning point in the organization's crisis management policy. This thesis argues that the decision-making process that led to the establishment of both Operation Allied Force and Operation Kosovo Force was significantly influenced by context-specific changes in international norms and NATO's post-Cold War collective identity. NATO's engagement in Kosovo embodied the complexities of humanitarian intervention.

4 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review aims to get a comprehensive view of the academic debate on NATO's crisis management and its engagement in the Kosovo crisis of 1999. Furthermore, it seeks to identify potential research gaps relevant to the selected topic. The specific pieces of academic literature were chosen because of their close relevance to the research problem.

As the Cold War ended, NATO's initial primary function became irrelevant, and many observers expected NATO's diminishment. The alliance, however, became the leading security organization in the Euro-Atlantic region. NATO's transformation in the post-Cold War era is seen as a direct result of eliminating the common threat of the Soviet Union (Ruhle, 1993; Williams & Neumann, 2000). The new role in the international system adopted by NATO resulted from the security and political changes focused on crisis management and worldwide peace support. However, crisis management was not an entirely new concept for the organization. In the context of the rivalry of the great powers during the Cold War, some member states aligned their 'out-of-area' foreign policies informally, and consequently, NATO indirectly engaged in crisis management (Ruhle, 1993).

The crisis management policy was only officially formalized due to political changes at the turn of the 1990s due to concerns over losing focus on the Soviet threat during the Cold War era (Ruhle, 1993). During the post-Cold War era, crisis management increasingly gained relevancy as a part of NATO's agenda in international politics. The alliance's ability to engage in crisis management activities was tested during the crisis in Bosnia in 1995 (Mulaj, 2011).

The significance of NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999 as a turning point for its approach to crisis management is agreed upon in the academic literature (Rynning, 2019; Auerswald, 2004; Huysmans, 2002; Ong, 2003 et al.). The alliance's Strategic Concept of 1999, which was impacted by the Kosovo crisis, affirmed NATO's commitment to crisis management and signified a further shift towards a broader perspective of security inclusive of human security and development (Rynning, 2019).

The alliance's political representatives stressed the importance of human rights as a decisive factor in NATO's decision-making process regarding the Kosovo crisis. Therefore, international relations scholars widely discuss the significance of the organization's effort to consolidate its position as a 'humanitarian power' and retain its credibility in its decision-making process (Huysmans, 2002; Kay, 2004; Rynning, 2019; Ong, 2003). Huysmans (2002)

emphasizes the significance of political motives and intentions behind NATO's decision to intervene in Kosovo. According to this perception of the intervention, the alliance's focus on democratic values and respect for human rights was intended to help NATO obtain political authority in both the international community and the Balkan region. The author uses the concept of discourse to argue that the organization's political reputation depended on its ability to protect human rights because it justified its involvement in the crisis based on humanitarianism. NATO's political relevance is additionally portrayed as a crucial aspect of its decision-making by Sean Kay (2004). Similarly to Huysmans, Kay acknowledges the importance of normative agenda in NATO's decision-making but stresses that the risk of potentially losing credibility after its post-Cold War transformation was the primary motive for the organization. Kay recognizes the significance of the relationship between institutional activity and norms (as defined by constructivism scholars) but suggests that this approach has clear limits, as interest-maximizing states remain the primary actors in the international arena. Accordingly, Rynning (2019) indicates that the national interests of the individual member states limited NATO's political ambitions in humanitarianism. In contrast to Kay's and Rynning's research, the thesis adopts a fully constructivist theoretical framework and concepts.

The connection between changes in NATO's discursive practices and its approach to humanitarian intervention is examined by Kushi (2023) and Alkopher (2016). Kushi presents a content analysis revealing the connection between changing Western perception of the conflict in Kosovo and humanitarian military intervention. Kushi's article does not contradict the significance of geopolitical interests or humanitarianism but additionally examines shifting conflict perceptions as an 'activator' of NATO's response. According to the author, the archival evidence and media content analysis show the narrative shift of the Kosovo crisis from an intra-state conflict to a case of ethnic cleansing, enabling the Alliance to react accordingly. Compared to Kushi's research, the thesis suggests incorporating narratives of selected member states into the analysis to gain additional knowledge regarding the impact of NATO's discourse practices on individual allies.

The constitutive impact of normative changes is further demonstrated by Alkopher (2016), who analyses the discourse practices of NATO Secretaries General on humanitarian intervention since the Kosovo crisis. Auerswald (2004) presents an integrated decision model based on four established causes of foreign policy behavior: collective action, balance of

threat, public opinion, and government institutional structure. This model is used to gain a generalizable knowledge of military interventions of choice. Auerswald's approach is based on the theory of collective action. As such, the author emphasizes the importance of 'collective good,' which includes non-monetary elements such as respect for human rights. However, in comparison to the thesis, the author does not regard democratic values as a basis for NATO's collective identity but mainly as an interest shared among individual actors.

The thesis builds upon the presented academic literature, which emphasizes the importance of human rights and humanitarian aspects in NATO's decision-making regarding the intervention in Kosovo. The presented paper aims to provide further context and possibly a new perspective to the academic debate by incorporating the two constructivist concepts into the analysis - collective identity and international norms. Researching NATO's decision to intervene in connection to its collective identity enables the thesis to examine how NATO constitutes the perceived FRY/Serbian identity in difference to its values and interests. By incorporating texts from individual member states into the analysis, the thesis seeks to examine the connection between the assumed collective identity of NATO allies and the alliance's official discourse.

Additionally, the thesis examines NATO's discourse concerning the deployment of both Operation Allied Force and Operation Kosovo Force to investigate not only why NATO intervened but also why it stayed. To do so, the thesis adopts a Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The DHA emphasizes the significance of social and historical context for CDA. The presented research, therefore, connects empirical historical data and social and normative changes in the analytical part.

5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis, social constructivism. This theoretical framework was chosen because of its emphasis on the construction of meaning, socially constructed norms, and identities. Furthermore, the chapter explicates the key concepts of the thesis, collective identity, and international norms, as defined by social constructivism scholars. The two concepts are then connected to the specific case of NATO's intervention in Kosovo. It is explained how NATO's assumed collective identity enables the alliance to make complicated decisions despite the existence of varying national interests of individual member states. The concept of international norms is debated in the context of the changing norm of human rights, humanitarian intervention, and its legitimacy.

Emmanuel Adler (1997) defines social constructivism as “the view that the manner in which the material world shapes and is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretations of the material world (p. 322).” The constructivist approach emphasizes the importance of intersubjective knowledge and its epistemological and methodological implications for reality. Constructivist scholars challenge the ontological and epistemological foundations of classical theories of realism and liberalism (Adler, 1997) and suggest that the existence of our world is not an objective phenomenon and cannot be fully understood just through empirical observation. Constructivism is not inherently a theory of international relations but is open-ended and applicable to different social settings. The constructivist theory gained further recognition in the field of international relations with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, as mainstream theoretical approaches did not provide sufficient insights into systematic change (Fierke, 2007).

According to Wendt (1994), there are several core claims made by social constructivists about the international system. The central units of analysis of international politics are states. Social structures have a severe impact on state identity and interests. Social structures are defined by three elements – shared knowledge, material resources, and practice. The nature of relationships between specific actors is co-constituted by shared knowledge, understandings, and expectations. In contrast to the primal focus on the materiality of other theoretical approaches, constructivism focuses on sociality based on intersubjectivity and shared meanings. Social structures also include material resources; their meaning for human action is, however, perceived as acquired through these social structures (Wendt, 1995). Social

constructs are not a product of an individual thought but are formed by social and cultural values, as well as existing norms and assumptions. Similarly, social phenomena (such as states or international institutions) are impacted by historical, cultural, and political circumstances inferencing from human interactions in the social world (Fierke, 2007). Jurgen Habermas elaborated on the idea of analyzing the linguistic structure of social action in his concept of communicative action. Through “communicative action, a speaker reaches a mutual understanding with another about something in the world (Fultner, 2014, p. 55).” The aim of communication is not only to exchange information but also to establish or maintain relationships with others (Fultner, 2014).

Accordingly, all communicative action exists in a social and cultural context. The specific way actors use language to communicate and argue their positions is referred to as discourse. By researching discourse practices, we are able to examine how different actors explicitly formulate, explain, or defend their ideological beliefs. Teun A. van Dijk (2009) defines discourse as a specific communicative event that includes several social actors in a specific setting and context. Discourse is, therefore, not strictly distinctive from its environment. The concept of “context” is described as “a subjective definition of relevant social environments of text and talk (van Dijk, 2009, p. 118).” In this exclusive sense, context is perceived as “external” to the actual discourse. It represents the situational environment in which the discourse exists – place, time, political actions, or participant identities and roles. The thesis does not discuss the otherwise complicated relationship between context and discourse. Discourse context impacts the speaker's grammatical choices and the audience's presumed knowledge state (Tannen et al., 2015). However, it is necessary to acknowledge that the changes in language and social changes can be triggered mutually (Wodak, 1989).

The study of discourse is heavily influenced by parallel developments of social and humanities sciences in the 1960s and 1970s, including anthropology, sociology, linguistics, cognitive and social psychology, and the study of communication. Contemporary research encompasses the study of language use, verbal interaction, conversation, texts, multimodal messages, and communicative events (van Dijk, 2011). Examining discourse allows researchers to explore specific patterns of speech and texts and their significance and consequences for broader society. Discourse analysis, therefore, includes analysis on two levels – the analysis of linguistic structures and social structures and processes (Chiluwa,

2021). Examining specific discourse practices enables the researcher to explore how language and social processes mutually co-constitute each other in international politics.

5.1 Conceptualization of Key Concepts

The thesis works with two constructivist concepts – the collective identity and international norms. Both of these concepts shape and limit actors' behavior in international politics.

5.1.1 Identity, National Interests, and Collective Identity

To define the concept of collective identity, it is necessary first to introduce the concept of identity. Identity can be defined as “relatively stable, role-specific expectations about self (Wendt, 1992, p. 397).” Identity presumes multiplicity. Each actor has different identities that are connected to different institutional roles. Connolly (1991) argues that identity is always co-constituted to socially recognized differences. Furthermore, identity is crucial for establishing a state's ‘insides’ and ‘outsides’ based on the difference between in-state order or progress and the outside realm of anarchy and war (Fierke, 2007). Identity is therefore defined in indistinctiveness to others, as these differences become socially recognized and essential to its existence (Connolly, 1991). Identity is recreated through specific exchanges, discourses, and interactions among actors. The performative aspect of identity takes form through communicative action. Actors treat each other in accordance with subjective meanings they attribute to each other and objects around them (Wendt, 1992). Actors can hold multiple social identities that are compatible with specific social situations (Risse, 2017).

According to social constructivists, a state's identity significantly impacts the formulation of national interests. The actor's interests are perceived as socially constructed through social interaction and impacted by the distinctive domestic and international environment. Identities limit the range of national interests by establishing limits on what actions are seen as appropriate or inappropriate (Risse et al., 1999). “National interests are social constructions created as meaningful objects of the intersubjective and culturally established meanings with which the world (...) is understood (Weldes, 1996, p. 280).”

Collective identity refers to “positive identification with the welfare of another, such that the other is seen as a cognitive extension of the self (...) (Wendt, 1994, p. 386).” The concept of collective identity is based on the collective definition of interests and values, as they generate feelings of loyalty and community. Collective identities are also reproduced by linguistic, rhetorical, narrative, and argumentative resources (Wodak, 2020).

Members of multilateral organizations that obtain collective identity are more willing to act based on generalized principles of conduct. Shared ideological beliefs provide a basis for collective identity (Dijk, 1998). The thesis assumes that NATO's collective identity is based on a liberal ideology, which stresses the mutual constitution of capitalism, democracy, and security (Jahn, 2007), as well as democratic values. According to Risse (2017), the commitment to values shared among member states shapes their mutual relationships and interactions. This claim is further supported by Acharya and Johnston (2007), who argue that the Western international community, which established the alliance, shares democratic values and a liberal perception of human rights. Additionally, the idea that liberal democracies produce internal and external peace became the core argument for promoting democracy in NATO's post-Cold War agenda (Jahn, 2007).

The concept of collective identity is related to the idea of a security community. Compared to an alliance generally established as a temporary coalition of states to respond to a concrete threat, states in a security community commit to cooperatively facing unspecific dangers (Wendt, 1994). The common liberal and democratic values shared among the allies affect their interaction processes. As said by Risse (2017), decision-makers either directly consult or anticipate the demands of allied countries before reaching conclusions. Norms suffice as collective understandings of appropriate behavior and influence the discourse of justification of arguments. The existence of shared, in this case, liberal and democratic values and interests strengthens the community. Furthermore, the members of a security community like NATO resolve inner disputes without conflicts and share knowledge and confidence, which provides a basis for establishing a self-perceived collective identity based on these shared democratic values. The concepts of collective identity and security community are mutually reinforced. If security community members have a strong sense of shared values, they are more likely to develop a collective identity and vice versa.

In the framework of international institutions, liberal democracies successfully impact each other through norms and common decision-making processes (Risse, 2017). This is significantly important in the case of NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty, which remained unchanged after the end of the Cold War, does not include precise decision-making rules. Decisions are reached via common consent or consensus based on consultations and discussions among political representatives of individual member states. Due to an absence of formal voting procedures, the alliance uses the "silence procedure," meaning that if a single

member “breaks silence” on a decision that the organization made, the decision-making and operations are blocked, giving each member a de facto veto right (Acharya & Johnston, 2007). Therefore, the existence of shared values and interests among member states is crucial for the alliance to prevent organizational deadlock that would negatively affect its crisis management abilities. The features that persisted in both Cold War and post-Cold War NATO can be attributed to the community’s common liberal identity.

As individual identities, collective identities also determine boundaries between “us” and “others” in accordance with perceived dissimilarities in values and interests. In an interaction, both identities are prescribed a behavior appropriate in the context of the specific exchange (Risse, 2017). During the conflict in Yugoslavia, Western observers contributed to enhancing several discourses portraying specific ethnic groups as antagonists. Some observers stressed the impact of ‘ancient hatred’ between different ethnicities living in post-Yugoslav countries, cultivating the narrative that all Balkan states are equally responsible for the escalation of violence. The term ‘Balkanization’ became synonymous with conflicts and division, and the negative connotations connected to the term ‘Balkans’ are emphasized throughout academic literature (Siani-Davies, 2003). Others supported the narrative that Serbs engage in ethnic cleansing and are the aggressors, portraying humanitarian intervention as necessary. These meanings connected to different identities severely impacted their understanding and conclusions about the conflict (Fierke, 2007).

5.1.2 International Norms

The nature of international political relations changed dramatically throughout history as the significance of standard rules, practices, and normative understandings varied systematically. The contemporary political order is characterized by the increasing importance of international and cross-national connections and institutions, which compromise state autonomy and sovereignty in several areas, including security and culture. The language of norms enables actors to justify their actions in international politics (Thakur, 2006).

The significance of ideational and normative issues for political research has been recognized by philosophers and scholars from different theoretical schools throughout history. Following the impacts of the behavioral revolution in international relations research on the discipline, normative and ideational factors were mostly disregarded by scholars during the 1970s. During the 1980s, the importance of concepts like norms, culture, and ideas was re-

established by social constructivists led by Friedrich Kratochwil, Alexander Wendt, and others (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

A norm can be defined as “a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 891).” International norms are based on intersubjective understandings and shape actors’ behavior in the community. International norms also relate to identity formation (Risse et al., 1999). Norms influence actors’ behavior but not necessarily the ideas behind it. Additionally, norms are considered legitimate behavioral claims and are not necessarily enforced but are majorly obeyed nevertheless (Florini, 1996). Norms identify fundamental values of the community that need to be protected (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013), appropriating behavior in the international community.

Several distinctions can be made between different types or categories of norms. The most frequent differentiation divides norms into regulative norms and constitutive norms. Regulative norms order and constrain behavior, whereas constitutive norms establish new actors, interests, or categories of action (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). The concept of international norms is sometimes seen as commutable with the concept of institutions. March and Olsen (1998) define an institution as “a relatively stable collection of practices and rules defining appropriate behavior for specific groups of actors in specific situations.” As Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) said, the term ‘institution’ refers to the same behavioral rules as norms. However, they may differ in aggregation as the norm isolates a single standard of behavior, and the institution refers to interrelated behavioral rules.

Insight into the formation and change of international norms is primarily sought by constructivists who draw on sociological concepts to examine state interests and behavior changes. In contrast to other international relations theories, norms are perceived as essential to seek further understanding of state behavior by social constructivism scholars. According to this approach, international norms do not only shape the perception of their interests and, therefore, their goals but additionally shape the means states are willing to use to meet these goals. “(...) The ability of states to make correct choices of strategy is constrained both by limited rationality and by great uncertainty; the behavioral guidance provided by norms is crucial as a cognitive energy-saver and as a clue to successful strategies (Florini, 1996, p. 366).”

March and Olsen (1989; 1998) describe two approaches to understanding motivators of political action. The logic of expected consequences describes the action as driven by the actor's conscious expectation of personal or collective consequences. Actors are, therefore, perceived as rational and are expected to pursue their interests. Coordination depends on circumstances that may or may not be favorable for collective action (March & Olsen, 1998). In this view, actors may follow international norms to choose an action with the best consequences and to take stances that enable them to obtain their individual interests (March & Olsen, 1989).

Obligatory action is motivated by the logic of appropriateness. This logic emphasizes the normative effect of international norms, which considers both cognitive and ethical dimensions of action, which is seen as inherently rule-based. Each action evokes an identity or role corresponding to the obligations associated with that identity or role in a specific situation. Identities and rules are seen as both constitutive and regulative, influenced by social interaction and experience (March & Olsen, 1998).

Despite the state's capability to pursue specific goals, the normative limits of behavior defined by international norms do confine its options. Furthermore, international norms and the limits of acceptable behavior in a community change over time. Norms involve standards of 'appropriate behavior' among the actors; however, the inappropriateness of different actions can only be recognized based on the general disapproval or stigma it generates in the community. This implies that norms that existed in the past but would be currently considered bad were once perceived as appropriate behavior by a group within the community, with the acknowledgment of others (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

5.1.3 Norm Evolution

Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) describe the process of change and development of norms as international norms evolution. Their approach to the norms' life cycle divides it into three stages: norm emergence, norm cascade, and internalization. Each stage is characterized by specific mechanisms of influence, actors, and motives.

The first stage of norm emergence is characterized by the mechanism of persuasion by norm entrepreneurs. Norm entrepreneurs have solid beliefs and notions regarding the appropriate behavior in the international community, and they seek to convince states to embrace norms that reflect the desired behavior. Norm entrepreneurs stress the importance of problems in the

community by naming, interpreting, and dramatizing the issues. The reinterpretation and renaming of these issues are called ‘framing.’

The second stage commences when tipping or a threshold point is reached, as a crucial part of the international community accepts and adopts the new norm. A specific number of states necessary to achieve a tipping point in norm establishment is not specified. However, certain states can have more significance in norm adoption in specific cases than others. During this stage, norm leaders endeavor to socialize with others to follow the norm. Generally, an emergent norm must become institutionalized in specific international organizations and international rules to reach this stage. As the states desire to enhance international legitimation, the norm “cascades” through the rest of the state. The specific motivation of each state may vary, but both the pressure for conformity and state leaders’ desire to elevate their self-esteem contribute to enabling norm cascades.

As the norms obtain a ‘taken-for-granted’ quality, the third internalization stage transpires. During this stage, norms become widely accepted by actors and are adhered to almost automatically. The international community does not question or perceive behavior consistent with the specific norm as controversial. However, it is necessary to mention that not all emerging international norms finish the third stage of the norm life cycle. Norm entrepreneurs encounter firmly embedded alternative norms and frames that shape different perceptions of what is considered appropriate and in one’s interest as they develop their frameworks. As the norm entrepreneurs make an effort to promote new norms, the existing standards of what is appropriate are still intact. Activists may have to be explicitly inappropriate to contest the prevailing logic of appropriateness. This behavior is believed to be motivated by ideational commitment or empathy, as it can affect the norm entrepreneur negatively (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). The dominant process of this stage is socialization, “the process by which principled ideas held by individuals become norms in the sense of collective understandings about appropriate behavior which then lead to changes in identities, interests, and behavior (Risse et al., 1999, p. 11).”

The norms that gained relevancy in the post-Cold War era reflect the increasing commonality of values among democracies and growing functional interdependence between states. The stronger international reaction to severe human rights violations can adhere to the growing significance of human rights as an international norm (Binder, 2007).

The human rights norm prescribes the appropriate behavior based on a set of universally recognized principles of the treatment and protection of individuals. It also contributes to the identity formation of liberal states (Risse et al., 1999). The protection of human rights and requirements regarding human security has gradually changed the perception of the state sovereignty norm as a non-negotiable in international relations. Individual states are increasingly committing to democratic norms in different policy areas, marking a gradual shift towards a greater focus on human rights and development in the security area. This was later reflected in the adoption of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine by the UN in 2005. The R2P doctrine emphasizes the responsibility of the international community to ensure human security through peacekeeping activities (Hultman et al., 2013). The adoption of the R2P doctrine signifies a change in discourse on humanitarian intervention (Siani-Davies, 2003).

A significant step towards democratic norms, including human rights, was a result of the end of the ideological conflict between the two blocks. The prevalence of democratic governance in the 1990s initiated the establishment of new, international normative structures setting out specific standards of domestic and international behavior of states (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013). Furthermore, the increase in international humanitarian activities is connected to the end of the Cold War, which enabled the resolution of the UNSC stalemate caused by a large number of vetoes (Binder, 2007).

However, the idea of international human rights protection challenges the principled ideas of the international system and is therefore contested in international politics (Risse, 2017). In the prevailing liberal perception, human rights are defined as “rights that apply to all human beings independent of their nationality, ethnicity, religion or other individual characteristics (Diez et al., 2011, p. 89).” The common set of human rights principles was established in 1948 by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which consists of thirty articles defining diverse rights. The core, universally accepted, and institutionalized human rights include the right to life and the freedom from torture and arbitrary arrest and detention (Risse et al., 1999). However, the existence of an international human rights regime did not necessarily imply the international obligation of their protection.

Traditionally, human rights were conceptualized within a state-centric, vertical perspective, emphasizing the state’s obligation to individuals within its territory. Therefore, compliance with humanitarian principles was historically often referred to as ‘state territory’ or ‘state

jurisdiction,' limiting the scope of the state's obligations to its territory. The centrality of a territorial and sovereign state in international relations was established by The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The nation-state order strictly distinguishes between domestic and international political spheres characterized by anarchy and conflict. The Westphalian order has, however, never been static, and the possibility of the emergence of a new, distinctive order is discussed among scholars, specifically in the context of increased interdependence between states (March & Olsen, 1998). After the end of the Cold War, The Westphalian approach to domestic and international politics was challenged by the intensification of ethnonational conflicts and humanitarian crises of the 1990s. These security developments showed that respect for the centrality of sovereign states might eventually lead to humanitarian tragedies (Thakur, 2006). Leaders of NATO member states endorsed the idea of promoting democracy as a basis for foreign policies even throughout the 20th century; however, the open support of democratic ideals was mainly rhetorical, as the critical interest remained to preserve the existing status quo (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013). After the end of the Cold War, the human rights agenda started to increasingly shape actors' behavior in the international setting (Cardenas, 2004).

The changing role of human rights in international politics also directly impacted the field of security. Security, as defined by Janzekovic and Silander (2013), refers to mitigating threats to treasured values. According to the constructivist perspective, security is not an objective condition but is impacted by different social processes, and our perception of security can, therefore, change over time (Fierke, 2007). The evolution of our understanding of the notion of security is reflected in three specific areas: Who, or what, is the referent of security, what are its instruments, and at what cost can it be achieved. Traditionally, security discourse has been dominated by the state-centric approach to security, which is based on the concepts of state sovereignty and state survival. To protect its sovereignty in the anarchic international system, the state depended on its military capabilities. The formerly prevailing concept of national security was, therefore, traditionally centered around monopolizing power over certain territories, resources, and people (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013).

The change in the perception of security after the end of the Cold War reflects the evolution of international norms and the broader perspective on security. The Human Development Report of 1994 established the concept of 'human security' in international politics. 'Human security' was endorsed in distinction to 'national security' and incorporated individuals' physical safety

and ability to obtain their basic needs. This concept corresponds directly to human rights, which, as discussed earlier in the thesis, imply duties and accountability (Gasper, 2005). Since the end of the Cold War, states often act extraterritorially to directly impact the humanitarian situation in another state, specifically during violent conflicts (Gibney et al., 2021).

Democratic states are often perceived as more suitable to safeguard human rights in comparison to other regimes based on the way in which they develop norms. In the institutional dimension, the engagement of citizens is endorsed by political infrastructures and processes to enable different politicians and political parties to compete for citizens' support through free and fair elections. The significance of the citizens' political role is a fundamental similarity throughout democracies. The other dimension is value-based and consists of measures that ensure participation and contestation, specifically political rights and civil liberties. The political power of people, which is specific to democratic regimes, impacts the state's approach to human security issues (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013).

Much like other motivations for political action, there is only indirect evidence for the existence of international norms. Nevertheless, because norms inherently embody a sense of shared moral obligations, they prompt justification for political action among actors, generating a body of communication that can be analyzed (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). The thesis, therefore, aims to examine the discourse of NATO and individual member states' political leaders to obtain knowledge about potential changes in the international norms of human rights and their protection.

5.1.4 Humanitarian Intervention

The gradually changing role of human rights in international political and security relations is reflected in the controversies surrounding humanitarian intervention and, consequently, NATO's involvement in the Kosovo crisis. Humanitarian intervention is a debated and contested concept, encompassing a broad spectrum of military, social, diplomatic, economic, and political activities (Ong, 2003). A consensus about the definition of intervention is absent in the field of International Relations, as some scholars favor an empirical approach, and others tend to stress the importance of international law and the juridical approach. International law perceives intervention as an act against the established norm of state sovereignty (Siani-Davies, 2003), which ensures the territorial boundaries of each state (Latawski & Smith, 2003). The concept of the intervention is, therefore, highly controversial,

as it contradicts two core principles of international society – state sovereignty and non-use of force (Diez et al., 2011).

Based on the idea of the universality of human rights, the common humanity of all people should ensure everyone their fundamental liberties and rights. Human rights are rooted in the idea of democratic progression and are inevitably linked to support for human security (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013). This concept corresponds directly to changes in the perception of human rights, which, as discussed earlier in the thesis, imply the duties and accountability of the international community (Gasper, 2005). As the Cold War ended, the dominant paradigm of national security, which focused primarily on state sovereignty and territorial integrity, was confronted by the broader concept of human security, reflecting the rise of intrastate ethnonational conflicts and humanitarian emergencies of the 1990s (Thakur, 2006). The Westphalian principle of nonintervention was challenged by international organizations that started promoting human rights, economic stability, and international conflict resolution (March & Olsen, 1998). Additionally, according to the post-Westphalian perception of peace operations, relations between states are expected to reflect the ideological aspects of their inner political situation. The state's foreign relations are seen as being affected by the domestic political system and society; illiberal governance may induce conflicts on the international level. The post-Westphalian peace operations focus on not only maintaining the international order but also enforcing peace, security, and political, social, and economic transformation within the state (Thakur, 2006).

The issue of the incompatibility of the idea of humanitarian intervention and state sovereignty became even more complex with the gradual changes in the perception of state sovereignty. The term consists of two parts – internal and external sovereignty. Internal sovereignty equals the state's ability to have political authority over society and its territory. The term external sovereignty refers to an absence of any external authority on the state's territory (Wendt, 1999). To perform effective sovereignty over a certain territory, a state must have the capacity and willingness to carry out government policies and respond to the needs and wants of its citizens (Janzekovic & Silander, 2013). With the accelerating impact of the concept of human security (concerning human rights protection internationally), the phenomenon of 'failed state syndrome' became increasingly relevant in the international community. Failed states are unable or unwilling to perform sovereignty over their territory effectively (Latawski & Smith, 2003). Some scholars stress the extraterritorial human rights obligations of both states and

international organizations (Müller, 2022). According to this approach, If the state cannot secure its citizens' basic human rights, the international community is obligated to intervene with or without the state's consent.

5.1.5 Legitimacy and Legality

Legitimacy affects the international organization's ability to remain relevant as a space where states attempt to coordinate their policies and solve issues. In the context of IOs, legitimacy can be defined as "the beliefs of audiences that an IO's authority is appropriately exercised (Tallberg & Zurn, 2019, p. 583)." The IO's perceived legitimacy is likely to be impacted by the normative standards of the international community. In that sense, legitimacy is affected by international norms that set the standard for appropriate behavior. The key actions connected to the legitimization process are reason-giving, justification, and persuasion. The constructivist approach establishes a connection between legitimacy and linguistic action, emphasizing the importance of the communicative dimension of socially constructed reality (Head, 2012). The role of legitimation in shaping state behavior is academically recognized. Adherence to international norms is critical for both international organizations and individual states. Actors seeking to improve their reputation internationally are expected to embrace new norms more thoroughly (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

In the Balkans, humanitarian intervention was carried out by the international community, not unilaterally. International interventions that aim to defend shared values and principles promoted by the West tend to be perceived as having a granted level of legitimacy. Additionally, behavior appropriate according to the specific international norm is more likely to be perceived as legitimate.

According to The Independent International Commission on Kosovo, NATO's intervention was, therefore, legitimate but illegal in international law, as the UN Charter prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of a sovereign state (Siani-Davies, 2003). However, the differentiation between legality and legitimacy implies the existence of an implicit hierarchy of norms, which undermines the current basis of state order (Thakur, 2006). Additionally, legitimacy in global governance is connected to consistency. The international community is often criticized for its selectivity regarding humanitarian intervention (Binder, 2007), specifically during the 1990s. In 1994, the international community decided not to intervene during the ethnically motivated Rwandan genocide despite having the legal

authority to do so based on the Genocide Convention and Security Council resolutions (Siani-Davies, 2003).

The UN Charter specifically prohibits the ‘threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. Yet, the UNSC recognizes the use of “unilateral military force to protect individuals from egregious breaches of human rights occurring in a third state (O’Meara, 2017, p. 441)” despite the absence of consent from the concerned state. From the perspective of international law, controversies surrounding humanitarian intervention as a foreign policy instrument are therefore rooted in its incompatibility with the concept of state sovereignty. According to O’Meara (2017), the understanding of sovereignty may evolve soon to reflect the increasing global relevance of protecting basic human rights. However, state sovereignty remains one of the basic principles of the international system, causing a discrepancy concerning the role of humanitarian intervention in international politics.

6 METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the research design in detail. The methodology was selected to reflect the chosen theoretical framework and the aim of the research. Specifically, the thesis adopts a Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis as defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2009). The DHA emphasizes the importance of socially constructed reality and researching discursive practices in the analytical process. To do so, this analytical approach uncovers the social, political, and historical context in which discourse is created through language analysis. This chapter, therefore, aims to explain the research design and further define the analytical technique in regard to the specific case and the research problem.

6.1 Research Design and Research Questions

The selected research design seeks to investigate ideational drivers behind NATO's foreign policy actions in Kosovo. To do so, a case-focused qualitative research is conducted. The chosen metatheoretical perspective is interpretivism.

The thesis aims to understand further NATO's decision to intervene during the Kosovo crisis of 1999. The specific research target of the study is to investigate the impact of the concepts of collective identity and international norms, as defined by Wendt (1995) and Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), on the decision-making processes of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization concerning its engagement in conflicts that occur outside of its member states. The research, therefore, aims to elucidate the extent to which these concepts play a determining role in shaping the Alliance's response to a specific conflict – the Kosovo crisis. To do so, the thesis focuses on contextual factors that influenced NATO's engagement in Kosovo and contributes to the debate regarding the role of international norms and collective identity in its decision-making. The main units of the analysis are the political elites of NATO and individual member states.

The thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

How did the changes in the international norm of human rights impact the Alliance's decision to intervene in Kosovo?

The first research question concerns international norms and their assumed significance in NATO's decision-making process. Specifically, it seeks to examine the co-constituted relationship between the international norm of human rights and their protection, as described

above, and the discourse in which political representatives of the alliance justified their decision to intervene in Kosovo.

How did the self-perceived collective identity of NATO affect member states' stance on the Kosovo intervention?

The second research question seeks to investigate how the self-perceived collective identity of NATO allies impacted their perception of NATO's involvement in Kosovo. Additionally, it aims to investigate whether the discourse used by NATO to justify the intervention was reflected in the discourse used by political representatives of the individual states despite their distinctive national interests.

The research questions are interpretative to align with the methodological design. The Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis is chosen as the analytical method to answer the chosen research questions.

6.2 Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) connects the critical aspect of social analysis and language studies. As such, it includes both normative and explanatory critique and focuses on the description and evaluation of existing reality. To do so, CDA examines discourse concerning social elements such as ideologies or social identities (Fairclough, 2013). CDA focuses on discourse dimensions of power abuse and, as such, deals with complex social issues that result in injustice and inequality (van Dijk, 1993).

The interdisciplinary Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) is selected as a methodological approach for the analysis. This analytical approach is used to examine multifaceted phenomena through oral, written, and visual language research, which is seen as a social practice pattern. As such, DHA is a suitable approach for this analysis. The DHA, as defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2009), is commonly used in the field of international relations as a methodology for investigating 'Us' vs 'Them' discourses and national identities. As an approach to CDA, DHA adopts a critical perspective on language and society and allows the researcher to examine power relations and power shifts in international politics. To expose these changes, DHA incorporates a historical aspect and considers discourse transformation in time (Wodak & Boukala, 2015). DHA considers both intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts and social and historical variables related to the specific case of NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999.

The DHA emphasizes the importance of three constitutive concepts – critique, ideology, and power. The approach utilizes a concept of critique that incorporates three aspects – text or discourse-immanent critique, socio-diagnostic critique, and future-related perspective critique. DHA is a three-dimensional approach – it seeks to identify specific contents and topics of discourse, investigate discursive strategies, and additionally analyze linguistic means and realizations (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). This methodology is well-suited for the analysis because it emphasizes the historical and socio-political context in shaping discourse. DHA's focus on language and power dynamics can help uncover the ideological struggles surrounding NATO's intervention in Kosovo. The discourse of political leaders of NATO and individual member states is examined, as the "language only gains power in the hands of the powerful (Wodak, 1989, p. 15)."

6.3 Limitations

The researcher's subjective position is the most apparent limitation of any interpretivist approach. The subjectivity of the analysis affects the selection of the case, data selection, analysis performance, and the critical reflection of the findings. Specifically, normative critique, which is undeniably an important element of any approach to CDA, is severely influenced by the researcher's viewpoint that reflects their own normative beliefs, which are based on other contextual aspects (Herzog, 2016). However, it is necessary to note that the complete impartiality of the researcher in CDA is not attainable (or requested).

The absence of inter-coder reliability in the analytical part of the thesis negatively affects the validity of the research, as it would help to identify nuances in the data and provide additional perspectives on the research problem (Olson et al., 2016). To reflect the potential inconsistencies, it is necessary to be transparent about the analysis process. Therefore, this limitation is reflected in the paper's analytical part by incorporating detailed information about the coding process. To increase the transparency of the analytical process, the coding categories are included in the thesis.

Another limitation of the research is its generalizability. Due to the very limited scope of the data obtained, generalizing the findings of the analysis to other social, historical, and political contexts is very difficult. However, by adopting the case-specific qualitative approach to research, the thesis primarily focuses on gaining a further understanding of the research problem and not necessarily generating transferable knowledge about the phenomenon of NATO's out-of-area operations in general.

7 ANALYTICAL PART

7.1 Case Selection

The thesis studies a case of NATO's 'out-of-area' intervention to obtain additional knowledge regarding its decision to engage in conflicts where no member state is directly threatened. Specifically, the case of NATO's humanitarian intervention in Kosovo in 1999 is chosen for the analysis. This case was selected because of its scholarly, political, and historical relevance to the international relations field.

Politically, NATO's involvement in the crisis solidified a shift in NATO's role in the international system. By deploying the Operation Allied Force and Operation Kosovo Force, the initially strictly defensive organization actively engaged in out-of-area crisis management and peacekeeping activities. Framing the intervention in humanitarian language additionally set a precedent for future interventions led by Western powers (Webber, 2009).

As discussed above, NATO's intervention in Kosovo provides a great research opportunity for examining the mutually exclusive concepts of state sovereignty (and consequently non-intervention) and humanitarian intervention in international relations.

7.2 Documents Selection Criteria

The documents, interviews, and other texts relevant to the analysis were identified based on the following selection criteria. The main criterion was relevance to the research questions and the research problem. The second criterion was the temporal relevance of the texts. To capture potential discursal changes, documents and statements of NATO officials produced since the end of the Cold War to 1999 were chosen for analysis. The documents produced by NATO and statements of NATO's political representatives were chosen to examine the extent to which the international norm of human rights, as described in the previous chapter, affected the alliance's decision to intervene in Kosovo. Texts from a larger time frame are chosen to capture potential changes in the discourse.

Selected texts from member states were produced from late 1998 to 1999 to transcribe whether political leaders' individual stances reflected the organization's official discourse. The texts were selected to reflect both an ally's stance in international settings and domestic politics. This approach aimed to capture potential differences in discourse directed at the international and domestic communities. Different types of texts were chosen to ensure data variety, including official documents, speeches, and interviews with political representatives

of individual countries and NATO. The documents were additionally chosen based on their availability and accessibility. NATO documents were available at NATO's online archive. The other texts were mostly accessible from online archives of the individual member states' official government pages. Some of the interviews were also available in video format on YouTube. The available transcriptions were reviewed and edited.

The analysis is performed in two parts to answer the research questions adequately. The first part deals with the impact of the changing international norm of human rights on the alliance's stance on out-of-area crisis management activities. To do so, data from 10 official NATO documents and press releases are analyzed.

In the second part of the analysis, documents and other textual data from specific member states are researched. These interviews, speeches, and statements were selected for the analysis to confirm or disapprove the assumed impact of NATO's collective identity, as defined in the theoretical part of the thesis, on its decision-making in the case of Kosovo. As a result of the wider political and historical context, each of the chosen member states has distinct national interests and a unique perspective on NATO cooperation. Despite that, the selected member states supported and actively engaged in both the Operation Allied Force and Operation Kosovo Force. The selected member states are the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy. By analyzing the discourse practices of these member states, the thesis seeks to ensure variety in data. Additionally, the US, France, and Italy were chosen because of the potential larger disparity between their national identity and NATO's collective identity.

Three texts were initially intended to be selected from each of the four member states. However, one of the texts from the former Italian PM Massimo D'Alema was not accessible in English and is not included in the analytical part of the thesis. Due to the nature of the selected methodology, translating documents without knowledge of the original language did not seem like a viable option.

The US was selected for the analysis because of its conflicting interests concerning its engagement in NATO. The United States' stance on participation in international crisis management and peacekeeping was perceived as problematic in its domestic politics. During escalating violence in the Balkan region, Washington faced conflicting political pressures (Thakur, 2006). The US approach towards peacekeeping operations is generally highly

ambivalent and changes rapidly (Sorenson & Wood, 2005). Former US President Bill Clinton's speeches and interviews are taken as representative of the US's stance on Kosovo in the analytical part.

The UK was chosen because of its political relevance in NATO and historically altered perception of international crisis management. The British peacekeeping doctrine is significantly impacted by its colonial history and the era of gradual decolonization. In 1997, Prime Minister Tony Blair of the Labour Party declared a new foreign and security policy which provided the basis for British intervention in Kosovo. The escalating conflict in Kosovo provided a test for British peace support operations strategy (Sorenson & Wood, 2005). The UK consistently supported the NATO campaign in Kosovo and pushed the alliance to escalate the air war and use ground troops. This pressure was, however, objected to by other allies, specifically the US (Auerswald, 2004). The United Kingdom, represented by Prime Minister Tony Blair, is an example of an ally expected to support the intervention. The Alliance's decision to intervene did not contradict the UK's national interests. Former Prime Minister Tony Blair's interviews and statements are analyzed to examine London's stance on NATO's operations in Kosovo.

France was chosen for the analysis because of its convoluted relationship with the alliance. As one of the Security Council's permanent members, France actively engages in peacekeeping operations under the United Nation's mandate (Sorenson & Wood, 2005). However, its relationship with NATO is historically complicated. France withdrew from the alliance's integrated military command in 1966 under the presidency of General Charles de Gaulle. After the end of the Cold War, France's practical cooperation with NATO increased. Despite the initial criticisms, France actively participated in Operation Allied Force and became one of the largest contributors to Operation Kosovo Force under the presidency of Francois Chirac (Ghez & Larrabee, 2009). France's complex relations with NATO and its pursuit of independence in international politics may have potentially affected its perception of the alliance's political decisions. The political statements of former president Jacques Chirac are perceived as representative of France's official political stance in the analytical part of the thesis.

Italy was in a different political position than other allied countries due to its geographical proximity to the Balkan peninsula. Therefore, Rome's national interests were inherently directly threatened by the crisis in the Balkans and the potential spill-over effect of the

conflict to other Balkan countries. Further destabilization of the region would negatively affect its economic relations with Southeast Europe. Furthermore, Italian policymakers wanted to avoid massive refugee flows of Albanian Kosovars. However, Italy also faced security issues regarding establishing NATO's air campaign. Due to Italy's geographical position, the air strikes were carried out from its territory. Rome was, therefore, directly affected by potential deterrence failures compared to other member states that participated in Operation Allied Force (Balfour et al., 1999). For the purposes of the analysis, interviews and statements of the former Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema are recognized as representative of Italy's political stance.

Based on the presented selection criteria, a large body of texts was chosen as appropriate for the research. To enhance the generalizability of findings, the documents suitable for the analysis were chosen according to a random sampling strategy. The thesis, therefore, works with 21 documents selected based on the described selection criteria.

7.3 Coding System and Data Analysis

The ATLAS.ti software was used for the coding procedure. To obtain data from the documents, first, each text was converted into a unified form. Some of the interviews chosen for the analysis contained passages that did not relate to the research problem and were, therefore, excluded from the analysis. The texts were then divided into two categories. The first category included texts produced by NATO, and the second category contained documents from individual member states.

Afterward, the documents were added to the ATLAS.ti software. The coding system was created inductively based on qualitative data. Each of the texts was opened and read through. Specific words and phrases related to the thesis's key concepts and/or the research questions were highlighted and collocated as individual codes. The same code was assigned if the exact word or phrase was repeated in any of the documents. In the next phase, individual codes that referred to similar phrases were united under a relevant code name. The codes were then divided into code categories. A separate coding scheme was developed for both parts of the analysis. The coding scheme for the second segment of the analysis was developed with respect to the first coding scheme. The categorized codes were then used as a basis for the analysis.

<i>Name of the Category</i>	<i>Content Description</i>	<i>Examples of Application</i>
FRY, Serbia	This category includes codes that were used to refer to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, or, specifically, the Milosevic government. It also includes character traits that were attributed to Serbs.	Dictatorship; Authoritarian; Ethnically Motivated Violence; Targeting Women and Children; Strategically Planned Violence; Rape; Evil; Serbs Only Accept Force; Serbs Acted First; Serbs Refuse Peace; Barbarism ...
Kosovar Albanians	This category includes codes that refer to Kosovar Albanians/Kosovars/Albanians and their assumed attributes.	Real victims; Understandable Anger; Peaceful struggle; Kosovars seek peace; Courageous; Foresight and wisdom...
Shared Interests and Values of NATO	This category contains the organization's shared values/attributes and interests, as described by NATO officials and/or individual allies.	Democracy; Solidarity; Justice; Equality; Peace; Liberty; Humanity; Responsibility; Equality; Rule of Law; Economic Liberty and Prosperity; Humanity; Unity...
Human Rights and Humanitarianism	'Human Rights and Humanitarianism' is an indirect subcategory of the previous 'Shared Interests and Values of NATO' category. However, it contains a wider variety of codes and was established as separate to enable a more precise interpretation of data based on a greater number of codes.	Human Rights; Human Suffering; Prevention of Human Rights Abuses; Humanitarianism; Human Security; Humanitarian Obligations...
NATO's Bosnia Experience	The 'NATO's Bosnia Experience' category contains codes mentioned in the context of the alliance's involvement in Bosnia prior to the operation in Kosovo.	Collective Failure; Disappointment; Lesson; Unpreparedness; Darkest manifestation of Europe's past; Negative experience...
Operation Allied Force	This category contains codes that refer directly to the Operation Allied Force. Additionally, it encompasses justifications for the operation.	Air campaign; Limited air operation; Opening way for a solution; Diplomacy backed by force; Pressure on Milosevic; NATO as a savior; Responsibility to help; Inaction leads to more violence; Last resort; Humanitarian operation...
Operation Kosovo Force	The 'Operation Kosovo Force' category comprises codes that allude to KFOR's role and goals in Kosovo.	Finishing the job; Building groundwork for a brighter future; Justice and peace; Victory of values; Democratic Kosovo; Multi-ethnic/multi-cultural Kosovo; Stability; Restoring hope...
Balkan Region	This category comprises codes that were used to refer to the entirety of the Balkan region.	Powder keg; Consumed by past; Balkan sparks became fires that burned us all; Nightmare images from Europe's past; Ancient hatred; Small struggling countries; Economic weakness; Political instability; Nationalism; Periphery...

Table 1 Coding Categories and Examples of Application

7.4 Findings and Interpretation

The interpretative section of the paper is partially inspired by Wodak's (1989; 2020) and Doty's (1993) texts. Doty introduces the textual mechanisms of predication, presupposition, and subject positioning. Predication connects specific qualities that constitute the subject. Through presupposition, one subject is established as superior to another. Subject positioning then assigns subjects different degrees of agency and positions them in relation to others, constructing a specific 'reality.'

Throughout the analysis, the codes were consistent with only one subtle deviation in the text 'The President's News Conference with Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy (1999)' where former Italian PM D'Alema emphasized Rome's national interests because of a diplomatic crisis that emerged between the United States and Italy after a US court acquitted an American pilot who caused 20 deaths in the Italian Alps in 1998 (Italian Rage At US Pilot's Acquittal, 1999). This minor inconsistency is not discussed further in the analysis.

7.4.1 First Section of the Analysis – Human Rights in NATO's Agenda

This part of the analysis focuses on the frequency and context in which the codes related to human rights and humanitarianism are used in the ten selected documents. Based on the frequency, the results suggest an increased relevance of human rights in NATO's agenda, corresponding to the assumed changes in the human rights norm. In texts that were produced prior to NATO's involvement in the conflict in Bosnia, human rights are discussed exclusively in the context of the member states. According to the context in which the term human rights (and other related phrases) appeared in the earlier texts, human rights were perceived as one of NATO's common values directly connected to the liberal ideology NATO was established in 1949. However, human rights were only relevant as a distinctive attribute of a democratic state and a liberal value shared among the organization's members. In the early 1990s, the alliance still repeatedly claimed to be a strictly defensive organization. NATO claimed to protect human rights but only in the context of conflicts directly threatening the democratic and liberal values of a member state. The issue of the 'out-of-area' human rights protection became relevant with the Yugoslav wars and, specifically, the international failure in Bosnia in 1995, which is repeatedly referred to as a lesson and disappointment in the texts. As described in the historical background chapter of the thesis, the international community perceived its inability to effectively prevent violations of human rights in Bosnia as a failure (Abe, 2019). NATO's need to preclude another humanitarian catastrophe in the region was,

therefore, at least partially motivated by two interconnected factors – the negative experience of the international community in Bosnia and NATO’s need to maintain its credibility. To remain relevant in post-Cold War international politics, NATO transformed from a defensive organization to one of the most prominent promoters of democratic values in international politics. As such, the credibility of the alliance’s ‘new’ identity was dependent on its ability to protect democratic values and, therefore, prevent human rights abuses.

This is further reflected in the analysis's findings. The documents produced since 1995 indicate the significance of ‘out-of-area’ crisis management activities and the need to protect NATO’s values internationally. This signifies a shift in the perception of human rights protection as an international norm, implying an obligation for their international protection. The establishment of the concept of ‘human security’ in 1994 further supports this claim.

NATO’s justifications for the intervention were framed as primarily humanitarian. According to the analysis, the alliance’s main motivation was to prevent human rights abuses, stop humanitarian catastrophes, and fulfill its humanitarian obligations. Other motivations, such as the conflict's geographical proximity to allied states, were mentioned minimally throughout the texts. By acting appropriately according to the specific norm, the actor’s behavior is more likely to be perceived as legitimate. In the context of this specific case, if framed in a humanitarian language, NATO’s intervention gained a certain level of legitimacy.

Additionally, as Finnemore and Sikkink (1996) said, the actors seeking to improve their reputations are expected to embrace new norms. After the diminishment of the USSR, NATO faced scepticism from both the political and academic spheres concerning its future role in the international system. The alliance’s pursuit of the human rights norm could, therefore, be attributed to its effort to struggle for a reputation of respectability and competence. Huysmans (2002) further supports this claim, emphasizing the political significance of NATO’s humanitarian aid to Kosovar Albanians.

However, by framing Operation Allied Force in a strictly humanitarian language, the alliance created expectations regarding the process and results of the intervention. By deploying the operation as an air campaign, NATO minimized the risk for its troops and increased the risk for civilians on the ground. Furthermore, the alliance repeatedly bombed FRY’s critical infrastructure (Thakur, 2006). In doing so, NATO disrupted the humanitarian narrative that was used to justify the intervention. Furthermore, the humanitarian justification of the intervention is flawed because of its inconsistency with NATO’s approach to other

humanitarian crises of the 1990s. As said by Binder (2007), “if conducted selectively, (...), then the motives behind intervention cannot be truly humanitarian (p.6).”

The changing international human rights protection norm affected NATO’s decision to intervene. Did it also affect its decision to stay and deploy the Operation Kosovo Force? According to NATO officials, KFOR was established in Kosovo to ‘finish the job’ and secure a brighter future for the Kosovars. The establishment of a more permanent presence in the region was crucial for preserving NATO’s humanitarian discourse through which the alliance justified and legitimized its involvement in the crisis.

The analysis concluded that the phrase ‘humanitarian intervention’ was never used in any of the texts—the operation was frequently referred to as an air campaign or a limited air operation. Additionally, NATO repeatedly declared that it was not waging war against Yugoslavia but acting out of absolute necessity, as all diplomatic means failed. Refraining from using the word ‘intervention’ can be attributed to its negative connotation, as the idea of intervention is necessarily connected to violating state sovereignty (Siani-Davies, 2003).

NATO faced several policy dilemmas regarding its intervention in Kosovo. Firstly, if the alliance decided to respect the norm of state sovereignty, it would not be able to limit the impact of the humanitarian catastrophe. Secondly, if NATO waited for the UNSC's consent and did not act in conflict with international law, it would risk policy paralysis caused by either the passivity of the Council or the use of a veto clause (Thakur, 2006). The cost of inaction is stressed throughout all of the texts that directly consider NATO’s role in Kosovo – specifically in the context of NATO’s inability to prevent further atrocities in Bosnia.

7.4.2 Second Section of the Analysis – The Impact of NATO’s Collective Identity on Its Engagement in Kosovo

The second part of the analysis sought to examine the impact of NATO’s collective identity on the discourse used by four member states to explain and/or justify their engagement in the Kosovo crisis.

First, the findings of the first section of the analysis were compared to the codes and coding categories developed in the second part, examining potential differences in the official discourse of NATO and the member states. Common values are referred to similarly by both the individual allies and NATO. In both sections of the analysis, the significance of common democratic values is repeatedly emphasized. There were no significant differences in data

obtained from texts aimed at international and domestic audiences. National interests were discussed mostly in unison with NATO's interests, implying the significance of NATO's collective identity in the discourse practices of individual member states. Despite the varying national interests of the states selected for the analysis, the data suggested no notable deviations from the discourse. Throughout the analyzed texts, all states emphasized the importance of unity, democracy, and humanity as key components of their foreign policies, correspondingly to NATO's official narrative.

The predicates attributed to Serbia/FRY directly opposed the values shared among the member states, establishing Serbia as clearly distinctive to NATO's collective identity. In contrast to NATO's democratic member states, FRY was clearly defined as authoritarian. Similarly, the alliance's humanity was established as the opposite of Serbia's inhumanity and barbarism.

To justify its involvement in the Kosovo crisis, NATO necessarily had to choose a side in the conflict. However, NATO's portrayal of the conflict downplayed the complex nature of the conflict between Serbs and Kosovar Albanians. The analysis showed that Kosovar Albanians were mainly portrayed as victims. Kosovars were characterized as determined, wise, and courageous. Their struggle against the Milosevic regime was described as peaceful, and their anger as understandable. The Serbs were referred to as barbaric, evil, and killing machines. The fact that FRY engaged in systematic ethnic cleansing is undeniable. However, the discourse through which both NATO and individual member states justified the decision to intervene in Kosovo was highly selective. If we use the textual mechanisms introduced by Doty (1993), the alliance engaged in a discourse that attributed Serbs/FRY strictly negative qualities. By attributing opposing characteristics to Serbs and Kosovar Albanians, the alliance established a 'reality' in which the superiority of Kosovar Albanians was taken as factual. Furthermore, the predicates attributed to Kosovar Albanians coincided with the values that constitute NATO's collective identity. As said by Wodak (2021), the "us vs. them attitude implies solidarity with one's own group as well as animosity, or at least clear-cut distinctions from "others" (p. 102)." The member states' solidarity towards Kosovar Albanians was therefore strengthened by emphasizing the similarities between the Kosovar Albanian identity and NATO's collective identity, portraying the violence against Kosovar Albanians as violence against 'our values.'

By producing a discourse that established a clear hierarchy of the ethnic groups living in Kosovo, NATO indirectly legitimized violence committed by Kosovar Albanians during and after the peak of the Kosovo crisis in 1999 (Thakur, 2006), potentially establishing it as 'righteous.'

Additionally, despite claiming that the democratization of Kosovo is the alliance's ultimate goal, the textual data suggest that both the individual allies and NATO officials perceived the Balkan region as distinct from Europe. The existence of 'ancient hatred' among the small and economically and socially struggling countries is emphasized numerous times in the texts. Balkans are described as a powder keg in Europe's periphery.

8 DISCUSSION

This chapter aims to place the analysis findings in a broader context of existing literature and discusses the findings concerning the research questions.

The analytical part of the thesis sought to answer the following research questions:

How did the changes in the international norm of human rights impact the Alliance's decision to intervene in Kosovo?

How did the self-perceived collective identity of NATO affect member states' stance on the Kosovo intervention?

The analysis's findings confirmed the increasing relevance of human rights and humanitarianism in NATO's discourse, reflecting changes in international human rights norms. The shift in the human rights norm emphasized the significance of extraterritorial humanitarian obligations. By framing the intervention in humanitarian language, the alliance at least partially legitimized the operations, as the decision to intervene was appropriate according to the international norm of human rights. However, in doing so, NATO also created expectations regarding the process and goals of the intervention. The alliance was heavily criticized for Operation Allied Force, which, despite the organization's humanitarian claims, negatively affected the lives of Serbian civilians. The decision to initiate the launch of Operation KFOR was, therefore, at least partially motivated by NATO's effort to retain its credibility and the legitimacy of the intervention in the eyes of the international community.

The second section of the analysis aimed to examine the discursive practices of the selected individual member states in the context of NATO's discourse on the Kosovo intervention. The analysis confirmed that the narratives used by individual allies reflected NATO's discourse despite having distinct national interests, proving the connection between NATO's collective identity and the individual states. In this specific case, the collective identity of the allies was constructed in difference to the identity of Serbia/FRY. Furthermore, the discourse used by both NATO and the individual states clearly established a hierarchical relationship between the two ethnic groups in Kosovo. In doing so, NATO was able to justify the intervention as it aimed to protect the organization's liberal values. This justification was sufficient also because it aligned with the liberal ideology of the Western powers.

The findings of the analytical part of the thesis are consistent with the predominant perception of the role of human rights and humanitarianism in NATO's decision to intervene in non-member states. By incorporating a larger time period and wider historical and social context into the analysis, the thesis provides an in-depth picture of the alliance's intervention in Kosovo. In addition to Operation Allied Force, the study includes discourse regarding the operation KFOR, which has not been thoroughly discussed in the academic debate. In doing so, the thesis presents a new perspective into the academic debate. The second section of the analysis, which builds upon the concept of collective identity, creates new insights into the alliance's activities in Kosovo and, therefore, contributes to the existing academic literature.

9 CONCLUSION

The master's thesis dealt with the issue of NATO intervention beyond the organization's borders. Due to its political and academic significance, the thesis specifically focused on the alliance's intervention in the Kosovo crisis of 1999. The aim of the thesis was to examine NATO's discourse concerning the intervention in Kosovo by analyzing the alliance's and individual states' justification narratives.

The thesis included a thorough historical background of the intervention in Kosovo to provide the context necessary to interpret the discursive practices of NATO and the individual allies. To interpret the complexities of NATO's intervention in Kosovo, social constructivism was selected as a theoretical framework.

The study adopted a case-specific, qualitative research design. A discourse-historical approach to CDA was chosen as the analytical technique. The analytical part of the thesis was divided into two sections to answer the research questions adequately. Accordingly, the coding process was performed in two parts. The coding scheme was developed inductively with regard to the research problem and the two defined theoretical concepts.

By incorporating the concept of international norms, the first section aimed to examine the discourse practices of NATO's political representatives regarding international human rights obligations and the crisis in Kosovo. Based on the established selection criteria, ten documents were subjected to analysis in the first section. To capture potential changes in discourse, the chosen texts were produced between the years 1991 and 2000. The analysis confirmed the correlation between changes in the international norm of human rights and NATO's discourse regarding the organization's international human rights obligations. According to the findings of the analysis, NATO's decision to intervene was at least partially influenced by the alliance's effort to retain its credibility in international politics by acting according to the human rights norm.

The second section of the analysis focused on the connection between NATO's discourse and the discourse practices of individual member states by incorporating the constructivist concept of collective identity. From each of the four member states, three texts were selected for the analysis (with the exception of Italy) to reflect the potential dissimilarities in discourse practices caused by varying national interests. The findings of the second part of the analysis confirmed the alignment of narratives of individual allies with NATO's official discourse.

Furthermore, the analysis uncovered that by attributing negative characteristics to Serbia/FRY, NATO established a hierarchical relationship between Serbs and Kosovar Albanians.

The thesis suggests two propositions for further research on NATO's intervention in Kosovo. The paper's analytical section could benefit from incorporating additional data from individual NATO member states. By analyzing documents produced before the Kosovo crisis, the study could research the parallels between changes in NATO's human rights discourse and the discursive practices of its member states, further confirming or disproving the thesis's findings. Structuring the research as a comparative case study could provide deeper insights into the factors that affect NATO's decision to intervene or refrain from intervening in conflicts beyond its borders. Comparing NATO's intervention in Kosovo with a case of humanitarian crisis where the alliance did not interfere could reveal differences in discursive practices between the two cases. Thus, the comparison could offer another perspective on NATO's intervention in non-member states.

In conclusion, the thesis has examined the NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999 through the lens of social constructivism. The thesis aimed to uncover the discursive practices of NATO and individual allies through which the intervention was justified. To do so, the study adopted a discourse-historical approach to critical discourse analysis, which emphasizes the significance of historical, political, and social context in discourse analysis. By incorporating the constructivist concepts of collective identity and international norms, the research aimed to gain a deeper understanding of NATO's decision to intervene in Kosovo despite lacking a legal mandate to do so. The findings of the analysis suggest the significance of the changing norm of human rights in NATO's effort to justify and legitimize its decision to intervene. Furthermore, by attributing Serbia/FRY features that directly opposed the self-perceived collective identity of NATO, the alliance was able to label the crisis as an attack on liberal values. In launching the operation KFOR, NATO was at least partially motivated by retaining its credibility as a protector of democratic values after the failure of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

10 LIST OF REFERENCES

Abe, Y. (2019). *Norm Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention: How Bosnia Changed NATO* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Adler, E. (1997). Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics. *European Journal Of International Relations*, 3(3), 319–363.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066197003003003>

Acharya, A., & Johnston, A. I. (2007). *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

Auerswald, D. P. (2004). Explaining Wars of Choice: An Integrated Decision Model of NATO Policy in Kosovo. *International Studies Quarterly*, 48(3), 631-662.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-8833.2004.00318.x>

Balfour, R., Menotti, R., & de Biase, G. M. (1999). Italy's crisis diplomacy in Kosovo, March-June 1999. *The International Spectator*, 34(3), 67–80.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729908456877>

Binder, M. (2007). *The Selective Enforcement of Human Rights? The International Response to Violent Humanitarian Crises and Gross Violations of Human Rights in the Post-Cold War Era*. <https://bibliothek.wzb.eu/pdf/2007/iv07-307.pdf>

Cardenas, S. (2004). Norm Collision: Explaining the Effects of International Human Rights Pressure on State Behavior. *International Studies Review*, 6(2), 213–232.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1521-9488.2004.00396.x>

Chandler, D. (2006). *From Kosovo to Kabul and Beyond Human Rights and International Intervention (New ed)*. Pluto Press.

Chiluwa, I. (2021). *Discourse and Conflict: Analysing Text and Talk of Conflict, Hate and Peace-Building* (1st ed.). Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-76485-2>

Connolly, W. E. (1991). *Identity, difference: democratic negotiations of political paradox (Expanded edition)*. The University of Minnesota Press.

Crisis Management (2022). North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49192.htm

Diez, T., Bode, I., & Costa, A. F. (2011). *Key concepts in international relations*. SAGE Publications.

Doty, R. L. (1993). Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines. *International Studies Quarterly*, 37(3), 297–230. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600810>

Fairclough, N. (2013). Critical discourse analysis and critical policy studies. *Critical Policy Studies*, 7(2), 177–197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2013.798239>

Fetherston, A. B., Ramsbotham, O., & Woodhouse, T. (1994). UNPROFOR: Some observations from a conflict resolution perspective. *International Peacekeeping*, 1(2), 179–203. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533319408413501>

Fierke, K. M. (2007). *Critical Approaches to International Security*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organizations*, 52(4), 887–917. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081898550789>

Florini, A. (1996). The Evolution of International Norms. *International Studies Quarterly*, 40(3), 363–389. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600716>

Frantzen, H. A. (2005). *NATO and peace support operations, 1991-1999: Policies and doctrines* (1st ed). Frank Cass.

Fultner, B. (2014). *Jurgen Habermas - Key Concepts* (1st ed.). Taylor and Francis.

Gasper, D. (2005). Securing Humanity: Situating 'Human Security' as Concept and Discourse. *Journal Of Human Development*. 6(2), 221–245. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880500120558>

Ghez, J., & Larrabee, F. S. (2009). France and NATO. *Survival*. 51(2), 77–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396330902860819>

Gibney, M., Türkelli, G. E., Krajewski, M., & Vandenhoe, W. (2021). *The Routledge Handbook on Extraterritorial Human Rights Obligations* (1st ed.). Taylor & Francis.

- Harsch, M. F. (2015). *The Power of Dependence: NATO-UN Cooperation in Crisis Management* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198722311.001.0001>
- Head, N. (2012). *Justifying Violence: Communicative Ethics and the Use of Force in Kosovo* (1st ed.). Manchester University Press.
- Herzog, B. (2016). Discourse analysis as immanent critique: Possibilities and limits of normative critique in empirical discourse studies. *Discourse & Society*, 27(3), 278–292.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926516630897>
- Hultman, L., Kathman, J., & Shannon, M. (2013). United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War. *American Journal Of Political Science*, 57(4), 875–891.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12036>
- Huysmans, J. (2002). Shape-shifting NATO: Humanitarian Action and the Kosovo Refugee Crisis. *Review of International Studies*, 38(3), 599–618. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210502005995>
- Istrefi, R. (2017). International Security Presence in Kosovo and its Human Rights Implications. *Croatian International Relations Review*, 23(80), 131–154.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/cirr-2017-0023>
- Italian rage at US pilot's acquittal.* (1999, March 5). The Guardian.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/1999/mar/05/johnhooper.julianborger1>
- Jahn, B. (2007). The Tragedy of Liberal Diplomacy: Democratization, Intervention, Statebuilding. *Journal Of Intervention And Statebuilding*, 1(2), 211–229.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17502970701302847>
- Janzekovic, J., & Silander, D. (2013). *Responsibility to protect and prevent: principles, promises, and practicalities* (1st ed.). Anthem Press.
- Kay, S. (2004). NATO, the Kosovo war, and neoliberal theory. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 25(2), 252–279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1352326042000327370>
- Kushi, S. (2023). JUST ANOTHER CIVIL WAR?: The Influence of Conflict Perception on Western Conflict Management in Kosovo and Beyond. *World Affairs*, 186(2), 284–322. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00438200231154296>

- Lake, D. R. (2009). The Limits of Coercive Airpower: NATO's "Victory" in Kosovo Revisited. *International Security*, 34(1), 83–112. <https://doi.org/10.1162/isec.2009.34.1.83>
- Latawski, P. C., & Smith, M. A. (2003). *The Kosovo crisis and the evolution of a post-Cold War European security* (1st ed.). Manchester University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526137784>
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1989). *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics* (1st ed.). In New York: The Free Press.
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1998). The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders. *International Organization*, 52(4), 943–969. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081898550699>
- Mulaj, K. (2011). Dilemmas of Reacting to Mass Atrocities: Humanitarian Intervention to End Conflict in the Western Balkans. *Democracy and Security*, 7(2), 140–159. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2011.572783>
- Müller, A. (2022). Justifying extraterritorial human rights obligations: An ethical perspective. In *The Routledge Handbook on Extraterritorial Human Rights Obligations: Vol. 1* (1st ed., pp. 53–64). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003090014-6>
- NATO's role in Kosovo*. (2023). North Atlantic Treaty Organization. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_48818.htm
- Olson, J. D., Mcallister, C., Grinnell, L. D., Walters, K. G., & Appunn, F. (2016). Applying constant comparative method with multiple investigators and inter-coder reliability. *Qualitative Report*, 21(1), 26–42. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2016.2447>
- Ong, G. (2003). Credibility over Courage: NATO's Mis-Intervention in Kosovo. *Journal Of Strategic Studies*, 26(1), 73–108. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390308559309>
- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2009). The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). In R. Wodak, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 87-121). Sage.
- Risse, T. (2017). *Domestic Politics and Norm Diffusion in International Relations: Ideas do not float freely* (1st ed). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315623665>
- Risse, T., Ropp, S. C., & Sikkink, K. (1999). *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge University Press.

- Rühle, M. (1993). *Crisis management in NATO. European Security*. 2(4), 491–501.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839308407141>
- Rynning, S. (2019). Kosovo Traumas: How NATO got out of its Depth in Crisis Management Operations. *Comparative Strategy*, 38(5), 439–453. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2019.1653043>
- Siani-Davies, P. (2003). *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Sorenson, D. S., & Wood, P. C. (2005). *The Politics of Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era* (1st ed.). Taylor and Francis.
- Tallberg, J. & Zurn, M. (2019). The Legitimacy and Legitimation of International Organizations: Introduction and Framework. *Review of International Organizations*. 14, 581-606. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-018-9330-7>
- Tannen, D., Hamilton, H. E., & Schiffrin, D. (2015). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (2nd edition). Willey-Blackwell.
- Thakur, R. (2006). *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect*. Cambridge University Press.
- Valki, L. (2000). Kosovo, International Law and Humanitarian Intervention. *Perspectives*, 15, 45–67. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23615887>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249-283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: a multidisciplinary approach*. SAGE Publications.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2009). *Society and discourse: How social contexts influence text and talk*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2011). *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (2nd edition). SAGE Publications.
- Webber, M (2009). The Kosovo War: A Recapitulation. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 144-), 85(3), 447–459. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27695024>

- Weldes, J. (1996). Constructing National Interests. *European Journal of International Relations*, 2(3), 275–318.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391–425. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027764>
- Wendt, A. (1994). Collective Identity Formation and the International State. *The American Political Science Review*. 88(2), 384–396. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2944711>
- Wendt, A. (1995). Constructing International Politics. *International Security*, 20(1), 71–81. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539217>
- Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wille, T. (2019). Representation and agency in diplomacy: how Kosovo came to agree to the Rambouillet accords. *Journal Of International Relations And Development*, 22(4), 808–831. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-017-0120-2>
- Williams, M. C., & Neumann, I. B. (2000). From Alliance to Security Community: NATO, Russia, and the Power of Identity. *Millennium*, 29(2), 357–387. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298000290020801>
- Williams, P., & Bellamy, A. J. (2021). *Understanding Peacekeeping* (3rd edition). Polity Press.
- Wodak, R. (1989). *Language, Power and Ideology Studies in Political Discourse*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Wodak, R. (2020). *The Politics of Fear: The Shameless Normalization of Far-Right Discourse* (2nd edition). SAGE Publications.
- Wodak, R., & Boukala, S. (2015). European identities and the revival of nationalism in the European Union: A discourse historical approach. *Journal Of Language And Politics*, 14(1), 87-109. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.14.1.05wod>

11 LIST OF APPENDICES

11.1 Appendix No. 1: List of Analysed Documents

11.1.1 NATO

Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (1990, July 5-6). North Atlantic Treaty Organization. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_23693.htm

The Alliance's New Strategic Concept. (1991, November 7-8). North Atlantic Treaty Organization. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23847.htm

"A New NATO for a New Era." (1993, October 6). North Atlantic Treaty Organization. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_24171.htm?selectedLocale=en

Statement on Bosnia and Herzegovina. (1995, December 5). North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_24719.htm?selectedLocale=en

Statement to the Press by NATO Secretary General Dr. Javier Solana. (1998, October 27). North Atlantic Treaty Organization. <https://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1998/s981027a.htm>

Press Statement – by Dr. Javier Solana, Secretary General of NATO. (1999, March 23). North Atlantic Treaty Organization. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_27615.htm

Statement on Kosovo. (1999, April 23). North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Alliance's Strategic Concept. (1999, April 24). North Atlantic Treaty Organization. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27433.htm

Speech by NATO Secretary General, Lord Roberston. (1999, November 15). North Atlantic Treaty Organization. <https://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1999/s991115a.htm>

Kosovo: The Real Story – Speech by Rt. Hon. Lora Robertson of Port Ellen Secretary General of NATO. (2000, April 6). <https://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2000/s000406a.htm>

11.1.2 France

Déclaration de M. Jacques Chirac, Président de la République, sur les raisons de la décision d'une action militaire de l'OTAN en Serbie et au Kosovo. (1999, March 24). Élysée.

<https://www.elysee.fr/jacques-chirac/1999/03/24/declaration-de-m-jacques-chirac-president->

[de-la-republique-sur-les-raisons-de-la-decision-dune-action-militaire-de-lotan-en-serbie-et-au-kosovo-berlin-le-24-mars-1999](#)

France: Chirac Addresses Nation on Kosovo Situation. (1999, March 29). AP Newsroom. <https://newsroom.ap.org/editorial-photos-videos/detail?itemid=193d6f9ad9e47857e3e70f8b7b31daef&mediatype=video&source=youtu.be>

Remarks by the President and President Chirac in Joint Press Conference. (1999, June 17). The White House – Office of the Press Secretary. <https://clintonwhitehouse4.archives.gov/textonly/WH/New/html/19990617.html>

11.1.3 Italy

The President's News Conference with Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy. (1999, 5 March). The American Presidency Project. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-prime-minister-massimo-dalema-italy>

Press Conference by NATO Secretary General, Mr Javier Solana, and the Italian Prime Minister, Mr Massimo D'Alema. (1999, May 20). NATO On-line Library. <https://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1999/s990520b.htm>

11.1.4 The United States

Excerpt from press conference released by the White House Office of the Press Secretary. (1999, 19 March). U.S. Department of State Archive. https://1997-2001.state.gov/policy_remarks/1999/990319_clinton_kosovo.html

Clinton addresses nation on Yugoslavia strike. (1999, 24 March). CNN (Cable News Network). <https://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1999/03/25/clinton.transcript/>

President Clinton's Statement on Kosovo. (1999, 28 April). U.S. Department of State Archive. [4/28/99: President Clinton -- Statement on Kosovo](https://1997-2001.state.gov/policy_remarks/1999/990428_clinton_kosovo.html)

11.1.5 The United Kingdom

Tony Blair Kosovo Deal Speech. (1998, 13 October). AP Newsroom. <https://newsroom.ap.org/editorial-photos-videos/detail?itemid=82dcd64e6183c020bec0dca04c5b1da2&mediatype=video&source=youtu.be>

Bound Volume Hansard – Debate on Kosovo. (1999, March 23). UK Parliament.

https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199899/cmhansrd/vo990323/debtext/90323-06.htm#90323-06_spmi0

Press Conference Given by the NATO Secretary General, Mr Javier Solana, and the British Prime Minister, Mr Tony Blair. (1999, 20 April). North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

<https://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1999/s990420a.htm>

11.2 Appendix no. 2: List of Tables

Table 1 Coding Categories and Examples of Application