

KOSOVO INTEGRATION IN EU

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Abstract

Kosovo is a new state which has just been established and has not yet been fully promoted in the international arena. Kosovo drafted a foreign policy strategy which consisted of key objectives such as lobbying for new recognitions and establishing diplomatic relations with the states that had recognized us. The purpose of the research is to measure the opinion of the citizens of Kosovo on the importance of Kosovo's integration into the EU, to measure the challenges, opportunities of Kosovo's citizens after integration, the impact it has on the economic field and to measure the opinion of state officials and experts on integration in EU.

Total of 400 respondents from all over Kosovo, a senior government official and two integration experts participated in the research. The research was conducted through a survey of citizens through the online platform and interviews with officials. We confirm the results of the research that the citizens of Kosovo will not migrate even after Kosovo's integration into the EU, and the integration of Kosovo has a significant positive impact on the development and economic prosperity of businesses. On the other side, it has been found that there are gender differences in terms of their opinion on the impact that EU integration has, and some citizens fear that integration would negatively affect their lives. So we recommend that Kosovo should be integrated into the EU as soon as possible in order to have a genuine economic development and for this the future legislatures should work seriously on this.

1. Introduction

Kosovo is the youngest state in Europe, Kosovo was declared an independent and democratic state on February 17, 2008. Kosovo's independence was declared in full compliance with the plan of Martti Ahtisaari, where according to this plan Kosovo is an independent and multiethnic state which consists of the Albanian majority and other minorities such as the Serb minority, Bosniak, Turk, RAE, etc. The official languages of the Republic of Kosovo are Albanian and Serbian. Immediately after the declaration of independence came the first recognitions of the state of Kosovo by countries which were supporters of the establishment of the Republic of Kosovo. The newly formed state had put the main focus on its promotion in the international sphere trying to secure

as much recognition as possible. In this journey, Kosovo had an opposing party, the Republic of Serbia, which tried to prevent Kosovo from penetrating the international system because it considers it a territorial part of it. Since the declaration of independence until now, a strong diplomatic battle has been taking place between the state of Kosovo and Serbia, where the first party tries to secure as much recognition as possible, while the other party tries to prevent at any cost the internationalization of the state Kosovo.

The state of Kosovo enjoys great support from the above mentioned states. The Republic of Kosovo is a member of over 38 international and regional organizations, among which the most important are the Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the

World Trade Organization, Reconstruction and Development, etc.; while it has failed to join UNESCO and INTERPOL. Kosovo continues to lobby for membership in as many other international organizations as possible, but its primary goal is membership in the UN and other Euro-Atlantic organizations.

2. Literature Review

Foreign policy is an organized activity of the state with which it tries to maximize all values and interests in relation to other states. Foreign policy is drafted by the main policy makers of a country who are: the President, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Diplomatic Missions. Foreign policy should be drafted in accordance with state interests. In order to successfully achieve the main goals in foreign relations, Foreign Policy must formulate the main objectives it aims to achieve (Vukadinovic, 1999). Kosovo has also defined its goals and interests which it aims to achieve in the international system and for this has drafted the framework of objectives which contains the primary foreign policy goals which are defined as priorities to be achieved in international relations and One of the main objectives of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kosovo is membership in the European Union (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).

One of the most important and successful EU policies is Enlargement policy. European policy aims to join the European Organization, all countries that are part of the European continent and aspire to membership in this organization. EU extension policy makes Europe a safer and more stable country, enables us to become stronger and promote our values, and enables us to play our role as a global player on the world stage. Countries willingly integrate into the EU as they value EU membership as a political and economic interest. According to Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union, the EU is founded on the principles of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms, the rule of law and principles which are common to all member states. While Article 44 of the European Union states that any state that respects the principles mentioned in Article 6 can apply to become a member of the European Union, but for states aspiring to membership a long process awaits the fulfillment of the principles of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights, and the rule of law (Dalipi, 2015).

To join the EU, Kosovo must complement the Copenhagen criteria (political, economic and legal criteria) and the additional Madrid criteria and fulfill the obligations arising from the SAA. The political criterion requires the creation of stable institutions, the development of democracy, respect for human and minority rights, the creation of the rule of law, etc (Reka, 2010). To successfully meet the political criteria, the Republic of Kosovo

must focus on the consolidation of the state, the spread of democracy throughout the state and respect for human rights, which includes fundamental freedoms such as: the right to life, the right to life. educated, the right to free expression. Since Kosovo is a multiethnic state, it is necessary to respect the rights of minorities and treat them equally with the Albanian majority. Creating the rule of law is another task for the state of Kosovo, ie creating a rule of law where no one would be above the law, where the same laws would apply to all and where the judiciary is not politically influenced. All obligations arising from the political criterion, Kosovo has them written in the Constitution, but their primary priority should be their implementation in practice.

The Economic Criterion requires meeting the economic standards set by the EU and these standard criteria relate to the free market and the creation of economic capacity to compete with other EU countries (Reka, Holl & Sela, 2010).

To fully meet the economic criteria, Kosovo needs to strengthen the economic sector because Kosovo's economic sector compared to EU member states is quite weak. Market opening and economic cooperation with other countries is necessary, therefore Kosovo should be oriented towards economic cooperation. Kosovo also needs to ensure economic growth which would create sustainable economic stability. Using this economic strategy, Kosovo would be able to successfully meet the economic standards required by the EU.

The Legal Criterion is the ability to implement *acquis communautaire* or harmonize national legislation with that of the EU (Reka, Holl & Sela, 2010).

The State of Kosovo, respectively the relevant authorities in charge of this work should work on the approximation of Kosovo legislation with that of the EU, then all necessary measures should be taken so that the standards of the *acquis communautaire* are part of the legislation of the respective state. Kosovo must approximate all the chapters of the *acquis communautaire* in order to fulfill its obligations deriving from the legal criteria. It is also necessary to train Kosovo lawyers based on EU legislation.

The Stabilization and Association Process (SAP), adopted and put into effect in 1999, is the European Union policy framework for the Western Balkans, within which the process of integration of these countries into the EU until their full membership takes place. Through this process, the EU helps and serves as a guide for each country in the process of their development, so that when they become full members they will be able to implement

European standards, enabling everyone to be able to play his role as a member with full rights and obligations (Qorraj, 2012). On October 27, 2015, the Stabilization and Association Agreement was signed between Kosovo and the EU. This agreement was subsequently ratified by the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo. The signing and ratification of this agreement brought a new chapter for Kosovo, taking the first step towards European integration. The SAA contains 596 pages, the preamble, 144 articles and X titles, which include general principles up to institutional provisions.

The purposes of this agreement are:

1. Support Kosovo's efforts to strengthen democracy and the rule of law,
2. Contribute to political, economic and institutional stability in Kosovo,
3. To support Kosovo for the development of economic and international cooperation,
4. Support Kosovo's efforts to complete the transition to a functioning market economy.
5. To promote regional cooperation in all areas addressed by this Agreement, etc (Ministry of European Integration, 2010).

All obligations deriving from the chapters of the SAA are obligations which must be fulfilled by the State of Kosovo for a certain term given by the European Union for 10 years. Also after signing the SAA, Kosovo can apply for the status of European Union candidate (Osmanaj, 2018). But one of the main challenges that prevents obtaining candidate status is the non-recognition of the state of Kosovo by the 5 EU member states, but Kosovo must start a lobbying process to ensure eventual recognition by the 5 countries of the European Union, and so will avoid any possible obstacles to obtaining Candidate Status (Hoxhaj, 2016).

After the unilateral declaration of independence of the Republic of Kosovo, neighborly relations between Kosovo and Serbia remain tense. The Serbian side is constantly trying to challenge Kosovo's independence by using a counter-campaign to prevent its recognition and integration into international organizations, but if a country does not have good relations with its neighbors, that country can not join the EU. The European Union initiated the start of talks on neighborly relations between Kosovo and Serbia, which would be mediated by the organization itself. The dialogue for the improvement of relations between these two countries started in 2011, while the first agreement was reached on April 19, 2013, which contained 15 points which included the improvement of relations (Osmanaj, 2018). The points that have to do exactly with the membership in the European Union are points 14 and 15.

Point 14. It has been agreed that neither side will block, or encourage others to block the other side's progress on the relevant EU paths.

Item 15. An implementation committee will be set up by both parties, with the facilitation of the EU (Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, 2015).

Although the Kosovo-Serbia dialogue began with EU mediation, this dialogue has contributed neither to the strengthening of statehood from within nor to its consolidation from outside. The Republic of Kosovo continues to have difficulty in controlling and exercising sovereignty throughout its territory. While in the international arena, Kosovo continues to be blocked by Serbia in its efforts to advance in international organizations (Osmani, 2016).

The Association Process is known as the core policy of the European Union, which was adopted in 1999 and reaffirmed in Thessaloniki in 2003, on this occasion the Thessaloniki agenda confirms the European perspective for Kosovo (Qorraj, 2012). In the 2012 feasibility process, the EU finds that the criteria for starting SAA negotiations between Kosovo and the EU have been met. Negotiations for the start of the SAA between Kosovo and the EU opened in 2013 and were described by former Prime Minister Hashim Thaçi as a historic day (Ministry of European Integration, 2010).

The international community as a whole supports Kosovo's transition to a contemporary state. However, it is promising that an important part of the international community supports this state of the country, with the overwhelming majority of the EU, the United States, and some other important players, is a good starting point for Kosovo (Mekaj&Aliaj, 2019).

Kosovo as a young state, without sufficient experience in diplomacy, has constantly encountered difficulties in achieving foreign policy objectives, especially in the primary goal, that of EU membership. On the one hand, from the external factor, especially from the Serbian state, which constantly hinders the aspirations of the state of Kosovo for integration in international organizations, a fact that directly affects the development and economic growth of the country; on the side is the internal factor, the incompetence of our diplomats, sometimes the appointment of positions without meritocracy, which has affected the unproductivity and stagnation in the necessary achievements for our new country.

The external factor that mostly hinders Kosovo on the path to EU integration is Serbia. There are two main problems where we

address Serbia: The first problem is lobbying for non-recognition of those states that have not yet recognized us, and the withdrawal of recognitions from those states that have already recognized the state of Kosovo. The second problem is the lobbying of Serbia against the integration of Kosovo in various international organizations for non-membership, e.g. UNESCO, INTERPOL, while Fifa (which despite Serbia's lobbying has accepted us) etc. The other external factor, which hinders Kosovo's integration into the EU, are the 5 EU member states which have not yet recognized Kosovo's independence. We will briefly mention the causes of non-recognition by these 5 countries: in Spain the issue is its internal problems with Catalonia and Basketball; in Greece, although the official justifications for non-recognition are based on these 3 points, which are: Open opposition to international law; Ill-treatment of minorities, mainly Serbs; Creating an organized crime paradise. In fact the main reason lies in Cyprus' problem with Turkey; Cyprus' attitude towards Kosovo is so sharp that it does not even recognize Kosovo documents. Romania has not recognized Kosovo's independence due to the problem with the Hungarian minority. Slovakia, as one of the countries that has not recognized Kosovo's independence so far, has no indication suggesting a 'change of decision' in this regard. Slovakia has been moderate in its liberal contacts. It has a liaison office in Prishtina (KIPRED, 2013).

The other (internal) factor that is very important in foreign policy are the institutional bearers: the President, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the oversight role has the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo through which all important decisions pass. The foreign policy of the Republic of Kosovo has been characterized by ups and downs. Starting from the cycle of recognitions of the first years of the declaration of independence, until the beginning of a regression which brought not only a stagnation in recognition, but also the withdrawal of recognitions from the states that have recognized us. Also the failure to join international organizations, the failure to meet the criteria for visa liberalization and various diplomatic scandals.

Regarding the future of Kosovo in the EU, given that the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Kosovo are in full compliance with the European spirit and values, we can conclude that the orientation of Kosovo is clear and unchangeable, as far as regarding integration into the European Union (Halili, 2019).

The future of the European Union, after the exit of Great Britain, has created confusion in some other member states. However, given that the EU is composed of powerful countries such as France, Germany, Italy, Spain, etc., we can consider that the EU will have a secure future. Therefore, Kosovo must continue its Euro-Atlantic orientation to be part of this project.

3. Methodology

The research is of quantitative and qualitative type, where through the survey the citizens of the Republic of Kosovo were surveyed regarding their opinion on Kosovo's integration into the EU, while through interviews Government officials and experts in the field of economy in Kosovo were interviewed. The research aims to measure the opinion of citizens on Kosovo's integration into the EU, the criteria and reasons for accession and the opportunities that Kosovo has in Europe, and experts were asked to measure the impact of economic development if Kosovo integrates, the reasons for non-integration. of Kosovo and the opportunities offered for Kosovo if we integrate into the EU. The total sample in the research is 400 respondents, ie citizens of all ages, where through the survey distributed electronically they have expressed their opinion. The questionnaire is composed of the demographic part and the second part which is focused on their opinion on EU integration, the reasons for non-integration, their expectations in economic and cultural terms. The interview included a senior official of the Government of Kosovo, an expert in the field of economics and a lawyer.

The research lasted 2 months, where the questionnaires were first distributed through Google form in various forums on social networks, then the data were collected and coded in Excel and transferred from Excel to SPSS. In SPSS descriptive, comparative analysis and verification of hypotheses, reliability test and their final interpretation were performed. The interviews were distributed through the e-mail address, where the respondents completed them and sent them to us, notifying them of their submission. Data analysis was done through SPSS program (version 25), and interviews through inductive method. To test the hypotheses, parametric tests T-test and Anova one Way were used, which enabled the comparison and validation of research hypotheses. The data are primary data and were conducted directly by us as students through surveys distributed on social networks and interviews with government officials.

3.1. Purpose of the research

The main purpose of the research is to measure the opinion of the citizens of the Republic of Kosovo on the importance of Kosovo's integration into the European Union, to measure their opinion on the desire for integration, the impact that this integration has on Kosovo civic life and culture, and the reasons non-integration so far and expectations after EU integration. In addition to this, the aim is to present the opinion of state officials and experts in this field, which was done through an interview.

3.2. Research question and hypotheses

The main research question is:

1. What is the impact of Kosovo's EU integration regarding the migration of citizens to the EU?

1.1. Is any danger to Kosovo culture after EU integration?

1.2. Would Kosovo's EU integration affect economic development and prosperity?

1.3. Are there gender differences in their opinion in relation to EU integration?

Hypotheses:

H01. Regardless of the level of education, Kosovo's integration into the European Union does not affect the opinion of Kosovo citizens to migrate to EU countries.

H1. Regardless of the level of education, Kosovo's integration into the European Union affects the opinion of Kosovo citizens to migrate to EU countries.

H02. There are significant differences between male and female citizens in terms of their opinion on the impact of Kosovo's EU integration on the lives of citizens and the endangerment of our culture.

H2. There are no significant differences between male and female citizens in terms of their opinion on the impact of Kosovo's EU integration on the lives of citizens and the endangerment of our culture.

H03. Citizens who do not want Kosovo's integration into the European Union fear that this negatively affects the lives of Kosovo citizens, compared to citizens who agree that Kosovo should be integrated into the EU.

H3. Citizens who do not want Kosovo's integration into the European Union are not afraid that this will negatively affect the lives of Kosovo citizens, compared to citizens who agree that Kosovo should be integrated into the EU.

H04. Kosovo's integration into the EU has a positive impact on economic development and prosperity.

H4. Kosovo's EU integration does not have a positive impact on economic development and prosperity.

4. Research Analyze

In this part will be presented the results from the survey conducted with citizens as well as the analysis of interviews with Government officials and experts in the field of integration in Kosovo. Statistical results were obtained through SPSS program, while interviews were analyzed through inductive method.

4.1. Reliability test

The reliability test is realized to verify whether our data meet the statistical requirements. A total of 400 respondents were included in this test.

Table 1. Case Processing Summary

| | | N | % |
|-------|-----------------------|-----|-------|
| Cases | Valid | 400 | 100.0 |
| | Excluded ^a | 0 | 0.0 |
| | Total | 400 | 100.0 |

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Based on the following results we see that the reliability test is 0.626 which is above the permissible level of reliability and therefore we say that our data meet the conditions to proceed with further analysis.

Table 2. Reliability Statistics

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| Common Variance | 0.626 |
| True Variance | 0.060 |
| Error Variance | 0.566 |
| Common Inter-Item Correlation | 0.096 |
| Reliability of Scale | 0.615 |
| Reliability of Scale (Unbiased) | 0.617 |

4.2. Demographic Results

A total of 400 respondents participated in the research, of which 89 belong to the age group 18-25 years or 22.3%, 131 belong to the age group 26-35 years or 32.8%, 77 belong to the age group 36-44 years or 19.3%, 59 belong to the age group 45-54 years or 14.8%, 32 age groups 55-65 years or 8% and 12 other age groups 65+ or 3% of them. Of these males were 229 or 57.3%, 149 females or 37.3% and 22 did not respond to this by choosing not to show or 5.5%. With primary qualification were 16 respondents or 4%, 66 were with secondary education or 16.5%, 158 with bachelor level or 39.5%, with master level 116 or 29%, phd were 20 or 5%, while professional were 17 or 4.3% and without qualification were 7 or 1.8%.

Table 3. Demographic results of the survey

| Age | N | % |
|-----------|-----|-------|
| 18-25 age | 89 | 22.3% |
| 26-35 age | 131 | 32.8% |
| 36-44 age | 77 | 19.3% |
| 45-54 age | 59 | 14.8% |
| 55-65 age | 32 | 8.0% |
| 65+ age | 12 | 3.0% |

| Sex | N | % |
|--|-----|-------|
| Male | 229 | 57.3% |
| Female | 149 | 37.3% |
| I prefer not to tell | 22 | 5.5% |
| Level of education you have completed? | N | % |
| Elementary school | 16 | 4.0% |
| high school | 66 | 16.5% |
| Bachelor | 158 | 39.5% |
| Master | 116 | 29.0% |
| Phd | 20 | 5.0% |
| Professional / craft course | 17 | 4.3% |
| No qualification | 7 | 1.8% |

4.3. Descriptive Results of Citizens' Opinions Regarding Kosovo's Membership in the EU and the Impact of this Integration on the Lives of Citizens and the Sovereignty of Kosovo.

Based on the following results we see that the vast majority of Kosovo citizens who participated in the survey have stated that EU integration is in the interest of Kosovo, where 349 of them said Yes or 87.3%, while 46 others said that this is not in the interest of Kosovo or 11.5% and 1.3% said they do not know. A similar percentage is to the question whether they want Kosovo's integration into the EU, where 86% of them said they wanted, 11.8% did not and 2.3% said they did not know. An interesting debate has arisen in the question of whether Kosovo's integration into the EU affects Kosovo to lose sovereignty, 23.5% say that such a thing will happen, 56.8% say No and 19.8% say they do not know if it will happen or not. According to the opinion of the citizens, Kosovo's integration into the EU will have a positive impact, with 80% saying that there will be positive changes, 10.5% saying that this will happen negatively, 6.5% saying that it will not affect at all and 3% they do not know. Citizens say that with Kosovo's integration into the EU, Kosovo territory will be less vulnerable, where 72.3% say it will be safer, 18.3% say it will not be safe and 9.5% have no knowledge.

Table 4. Results of citizens' opinions regarding Kosovo's membership in the EU

| Do you think it is in Kosovo's interest to join the European Union? | N | % |
|---|-----|-------|
| Yes, it is in the interest of Kosovo | 349 | 87.3% |
| No, it is not in Kosovo's interest | 46 | 11.5% |
| I don't know | 5 | 1.3% |
| Do you want Kosovo to integrate into the European Union? | N | % |
| Yes | 344 | 86.0% |

| No | 47 | 11.8% |
|---|-----|-------|
| I don't know | 9 | 2.3% |
| With the membership in the European Union, does Kosovo lose its sovereignty? | N | % |
| Yes, lose | 94 | 23.5% |
| No, not lose | 227 | 56.8% |
| I don't know | 79 | 19.8% |
| How will Kosovo's EU integration affect the lives of citizens? | N | % |
| Positively | 320 | 80.0% |
| Negatively | 42 | 10.5% |
| Not influence | 26 | 6.5% |
| I don't know | 12 | 3.0% |
| Do you think that Kosovo's territorial integrity will be less vulnerable to EU integration? | N | % |
| Yes, Kosovo will be safer | 289 | 72.3% |
| No, will not be | 73 | 18.3% |
| I don't know | 38 | 9.5% |

4.4. Opinion of Citizens Regarding the Work of the Governments of the Republic of Kosovo and the Time When They Think That Integration Will Take Place.

In the question, how much the governments of the Republic of Kosovo have worked in terms of EU integration, we see that we have a great dissatisfaction on the part of citizens, where 11.5% say they have worked hard, 24% say they have worked moderately, 40.5% say that have worked little, 22.3% have worked at all and 1.8% do not know. Citizens have disappointing expectations regarding Kosovo's integration into the EU, where only 18.8% hope that this will happen in the period 2025-2030, 35.8% in the period 2031-2035, 30.8% hope that this will happen in the period 2036-2040 and 14.8% say they do not know.

Table 5. Citizens opinion on the governments work on EU integration

| How much have the governments of the Republic of Kosovo worked hard enough for EU integration? | N | % |
|--|----|-------|
| A lot | 46 | 11.5% |

| | | |
|--|----------|----------|
| on the average | 96 | 24.0% |
| few | 162 | 40.5% |
| none | 89 | 22.3% |
| I don't know | 7 | 1.8% |
| In which year do you think Kosovo will be integrated into the European Union? | | |
| | N | % |
| In year 2025-2030 | 75 | 18.8% |
| In year 2031-2035 | 143 | 35.8% |
| In year 2036-2040 | 123 | 30.8% |
| I don't know | 59 | 14.8% |

4.5. Citizens' Opinion on the Obstacles That are Affecting Kosovo's Non-Integration Into the EU and the Desire of Citizens To Migrate After Integration and the Agreement with Serbia.

By the opinion of the citizens, the biggest obstacle seen during Kosovo's journey to the EU is the stagnation in the dialogue with Serbia where 38% of respondents expressed, then 20.5% think that it is the non-recognition of Kosovo by 5 EU member states, 16.3% of the non-fulfillment of obligations arising from the Stabilization and Association Agreement, 15% say they lack knowledge, 9.8% as non-fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria and another 0.5%. What can be considered very positive is that citizens will not migrate to the EU even if Kosovo joins the EU, where 42.8% said No, 39.3% Yes, and 18% have no knowledge. According to the opinion of the citizens of Kosovo, what most hinders Kosovo towards the EU is the internal factor where 31.8% are expressed, the external factor (5 EU member states that are reluctant to recognize Kosovo) with 27.8%, external factor (EU and its bureaucracy), 12% external factor (Serbia and Russia) and 11.5% do not know. The final agreement with Serbia is not seen as a problem or important for 69% of the surveyed citizens, 25% think it is important and 6% do not know.

Table 6. Citizens' opinion on the obstacles that are affecting Kosovo's non-integration into the EU and the desire of citizens to migrate after integration and the agreement with Serbia.

| What could be the biggest obstacle in Kosovo's path to European Union membership? | N | % |
|--|----------|----------|
|--|----------|----------|

| | | |
|---|----------|----------|
| Not fulfillment the Copenhagen criteria | 39 | 9.8% |
| Stagnation in the dialogue with Serbia | 152 | 38.0% |
| Not fulfilling the obligations arising from the Stabilization and Association Agreement | 65 | 16.3% |
| Non-recognition of Kosovo by 5 member states of the European Union | 82 | 20.5% |
| I don't know | 60 | 15.0% |
| Other | 2 | 0.5% |
| After Kosovo's membership in the EU, would you migrate to one of the EU countries to live? | | |
| | N | % |
| Yes | 157 | 39.3% |
| No | 171 | 42.8% |
| I don't know | 72 | 18.0% |
| Which factor hinders Kosovo's integration into the European Union the most? | | |
| | N | % |
| Internal factor (governments and other accompanying institutions) | 127 | 31.8% |
| External factor (EU and its bureaucracy) | 68 | 17.0% |
| External factor (5 EU member states reluctant to recognize Kosovo) | 111 | 27.8% |
| External factor (Serbia and Russia) | 48 | 12.0% |
| I don't know | 46 | 11.5% |
| Should a final agreement be reached with Serbia if the exchange of territories would be a condition for Kosovo's membership in the European Union? | | |
| | N | % |
| Yes, it must achieved | 100 | 25.0% |
| No, it must not achieved | 276 | 69.0% |
| I don't know | 24 | 6.0% |

4.6. Citizens' Opinion on the Impact of Integration on Kosovo Businesses and the Standards Used So Far by the EU Towards Kosovo, as well as the Impact of the UK Exit from the EU.

Citizens say that businesses are not ready to compete with businesses in EU countries where 51.5% of them say No, 38% say Yes and 10.5% do not know. Most citizens think that the culture of Kosovo or our citizens would not be endangered even after EU integration where 70.3% say that such a thing will not happen, 20.3% yes and 9.5% do not know. We understand that citizens say that the EU is using double standards or 65.3%, 24.8% say no or 10% do not know. Citizens say that even after the exit of Great Britain from the EU there will be no endangerment of this organization where 55.5% say No, 29.3% say Yes and 15.3% have no knowledge.

Table 7. Citizens' opinion on the impact of integration on Kosovo businesses

| Kosovo businesses | | | |
|--|-----|-------|--|
| Do you think that Kosovo businesses are ready to compete with the businesses of European Union countries? | | | |
| | N | % | |
| Yes, are ready | 152 | 38.0% | |
| No, aren't ready | 206 | 51.5% | |
| I don't know | 42 | 10.5% | |
| Do you think that integration to the EU will risk our culture to become like the culture of other EU countries? | | | |
| | N | % | |
| Yes, it is endangered | 81 | 20.3% | |
| No, it is not endangered | 281 | 70.3% | |
| I don't know | 38 | 9.5% | |
| Do you think that the EU uses double standards for the integration process? | | | |
| | N | % | |
| Yes | 261 | 65.3% | |

Table 8. After Kosovo's membership in the EU, would you migrate to one of the EU countries to live?

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error | 95% Confidence Interval for Mean | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|------|----------------|------------|----------------------------------|-------------|---------|---------|
| | | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | Minimum | Maximum |
| | | | | | Elementary school | 16 | 2.13 | 0.957 |
| High school | 66 | 1.82 | 0.802 | 0.099 | 1.62 | 2.02 | 1 | 3 |
| Bachelor | 158 | 1.80 | 0.727 | 0.058 | 1.69 | 1.92 | 1 | 3 |
| Master | 116 | 1.72 | 0.640 | 0.059 | 1.61 | 1.84 | 1 | 3 |
| Phd | 20 | 1.70 | 0.657 | 0.147 | 1.39 | 2.01 | 1 | 3 |
| Professional / craft course | 17 | 1.88 | 0.857 | 0.208 | 1.44 | 2.32 | 1 | 3 |
| Without qualification | 7 | 1.43 | 0.535 | 0.202 | 0.93 | 1.92 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 400 | 1.79 | 0.727 | 0.036 | 1.72 | 1.86 | 1 | 3 |

Based on the following results we see that free degree $df = 399$, mean square = 5.28, test F of statistical significance = 1.137 and p value = .340 e which is above the level of reliability of 5%, which means that we accept the hypothesis and We say that

| No | 99 | 24.8% |
|--|-----|-------|
| I don't know | 40 | 10.0% |
| After the exit of Great Britain from the EU, is the future of this organization in doubt? | | |
| | N | % |
| Yes | 117 | 29.3% |
| No | 222 | 55.5% |
| I don't know | 61 | 15.3% |

4.7. Verification of Hypothesis

4.7.1. H01. Regardless of The Level of Education, Kosovo's Integration Into the European Union Does Not Affect the Opinion of Kosovo Citizens to Migrate to EU Countries

To confirm the hypothesis that above I used the Anova test where I have compared the differences in the level of education as an independent variable and their opinion if they would migrate after Kosovo's integration into the EU. Based on the following results we can notice very few differences in the average values, which means that this is a positive picture for our citizens that even after integration there will be no migration.

regardless of the level of education, Kosovo's integration into the European Union does not affect the opinion of Kosovo citizens to migrate to EU countries.

Table 9. After Kosovo's membership in the EU, would you migrate to one of the EU countries to live?

| | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|-------|
| Between Groups | 3.600 | 6 | 0.600 | 1.137 | 0.340 |
| Within Groups | 207.337 | 393 | 0.528 | | |
| Total | 210.938 | 399 | | | |

4.7.2. H02. There are Significant Differences Between Male and Female Citizens in Terms of their Opinion on the Impact of Kosovo's Eu Integration on the Lives Of Citizens.

To confirm the above hypothesis, I used the Independent Sample T-test where I compared the gender ratio in relation to their perceptions on the impact of Kosovo's EU integration on the lives

of citizens and whether our culture would be endangered after EU integration. Based on the following results we see that men have a lower level of their perception on the impact of integration in the lives of Kosovo citizens with an average of 1.23 which means that they are more optimistic in this regard, while women have an average slightly more pessimistic about the impact of Kosovo's EU integration on the lives of its citizens.

Table 10. Group Statistics

| | Sex | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|--|--------|-----|------|----------------|-----------------|
| How will Kosovo's EU integration affect the lives of citizens? | Male | 229 | 1.23 | 0.638 | 0.042 |
| | female | 149 | 1.39 | 0.777 | 0.064 |
| Do you think that after EU integration our culture is endangered by the cultures of other peoples of the European Union? | Male | 229 | 1.90 | 0.511 | 0.034 |
| | Female | 149 | 1.93 | 0.559 | 0.046 |

Based on the following results we see that in the first factor that if integration affects the lives of citizens, we see that men express higher optimism than women where test F of statistical significance = 13.355, test t = -2.067, degree of freedom df = 376 and p value = .040 which is within the 5% confidence limit.

Our hypothesis is accepted and we say that there are significant significant differences between male and female citizens in terms of their opinion on the impact of Kosovo's EU integration on the lives of citizens.

Table 11. Independent Samples Test

| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | t-test for Equality of Means | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---|-------|------------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---|--------|
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
| | | | | | | | | | Lower | Upper |
| How will Kosovo's EU integration affect the lives of citizens? | Equal variances assumed | 13.355 | 0.000 | -2.154 | 376 | 0.032 | -0.158 | 0.073 | -0.302 | -0.014 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | -2.067 | 272.148 | 0.040 | -0.158 | 0.076 | -0.308 | -0.007 |
| Do you think that after EU integration our culture is endangered by the cultures of other peoples of the European Union? | Equal variances assumed | 0.333 | 0.564 | 0.555 | 376 | 0.579 | -0.031 | 0.056 | -0.141 | 0.079 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 0.545 | 295.956 | 0.586 | -0.031 | 0.057 | -0.143 | 0.081 |

4.7.3. H03. Citizens Who Do Not Want Kosovo's Integration into the European Union Fear That This Negatively Affects the Lives of Kosovo Citizens, Compared to Citizens who Agree that Kosovo Should Be Integrated Into the EU

To confirm the above hypothesis, I used the Independent Sample T-test where I made a comparison between citizens who wanted Kosovo's accession to the EU and those who did not accept as an independent variable and the impact that this integration may have on life of the citizens of Kosovo as a dependent variable. The first results show a high difference, where those who have accepted you have an average of 1.24, compared to those who have accepted EU integration with an average of 1.86.

Table 12. Group Statistics

| | Do you like Kosovo to integrate into the European Union? | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|--|--|-----|------|----------------|-----------------|
| How will Kosovo's EU integration affect the lives of citizens? | Yes | 344 | 1.24 | 0.662 | 0.036 |
| | No | 56 | 1.86 | 0.883 | 0.118 |

Based on the following results we see that the test F of statistical significance is 15,285, the test t = 65,454, p value = .000 which is within the reliability limit of 1%. So, we accept the hypothesis that citizens who do not want Kosovo's integration into the

European Union are afraid that this negatively affects the lives of Kosovo citizens, compared to citizens who agree that Kosovo should be integrated into the EU.

Table 13. Independent Samples Test

| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | t-test for Equality of Means | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---|-------|------------------------------|-----|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---|--------|
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
| | | | | | | | | | Lower | Upper |
| How will Kosovo's EU integration affect the lives of citizens? | Equal variances assumed | 15.285 | 0.000 | - | 398 | 0.000 | -0.619 | 0.100 | -0.816 | -0.421 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 6.162 | - | 65.454 | 0.000 | -0.619 | 0.123 | -0.865 |

4.7.4. H04. Kosovo's Integration Into the EU Would Have a Positive Impact on Economic Development and Prosperity.

This hypothesis has been confirmed through interviews by analyzing the interpretations of three experts in this field, where one of them is a senior official of the Government of Kosovo and the other two are senior experts.

We can conclude that Kosovo has many benefits from EU membership, but it must pay attention to and support Kosovar businesses at all times. The sectors that Kosovo has the opportunity to benefit from are initially the agricultural sector in economic terms, while in broader aspects it is the security aspect which is in fact the main element of investments and economic prosperity of a country, ie the provision of capital investments.

Other benefits include membership in Interpol and improved judicial system.

This shows that our country must be part of the EU as soon as possible to achieve proper development and get out of the 20-year post-war transition. So, Kosovo's integration into the EU would have a positive impact on the development and economic prosperity of our country.

4.8. Analysis and Interpretation of Interviews

4.8.1. Analysis of Interviews with Government Officials and Integration and Foreign Policy Experts

Table 14. interviews with Policy experts

| <i>Category</i> | <i>Preliminary interpretation</i> | <i>Text</i> |
|---|--|---|
| <p>1 . Do you think that Kosovo businesses are ready and have enough capacity to enter the European market?</p> | <p>According to government officials and experts, we can say that Kosovar businesses are ready but do not meet the necessary conditions to compete with European businesses due to lack of conditions and failure to meet key criteria required by the EU. In this context, the EU is seen as guilty because of the political game it plays and the domestic spectrum because of the high level of corruption. For reasons</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">B.R</p> <p>Kosovo businesses, despite their progress, are still not at the level of businesses of EU member states. Therefore, they are not sufficiently ready to compete or compete with foreign businesses. So local businesses need to focus on increasing quality to become compatible with the products of EU member states' businesses. To reach this stage, the state of Kosovo must support their advancement through grants and subsidies, ie make a development policy</p> <p style="text-align: center;">V.Y</p> <p>Kosovo businesses will have great initial difficulties in achieving a certain level of competitiveness for the European market. In these difficulties, the Republic of Kosovo must have a much more active commitment, thus undertaking the financing of product and quality standardization, qualification and training of the workforce, ensuring and crediting the financial liquidity of the enterprise, as well as improving the conditions. infrastructure for industry development (primarily electricity supply). This would enable Kosovo enterprises to have ample space and opportunities to invest in capacity building, as well as in improving the production process that would increase its efficiency.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">N.H</p> <p>No, Kosovar businesses are still far from such a reality, so we still need time to be equal at the level of the European market with the businesses of EU countries.</p> |
| <p>2.. With EU membership, would Kosovo benefit more economically if so in which sectors specifically?</p> | <p>According to the opinion of experts and Government officials, it is emphasized that Kosovo would greatly benefit from EU membership starting from the legal aspect, by joining international-Security Institutions,would encourage the agricultural sector to increase production capacities and in all other areas in Kosovo. So membership for Kosovo is a real opportunity for positive change and development and prosperity.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">B.R</p> <p>The very fact that all countries that join the EU, do it of their own free will, this shows that all countries that integrate have benefits in all sectors, especially in the economic one. One of the benefits of different sectors, I think is the opening of markets, so a greater opportunity for economic development of Kosovo through the deportation of local businesses in the wider European market. So through participation in the European market the state of Kosovo would benefit financially a lot.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">N.H</p> <p>Non-EU countries have financial assistance restrictions and double customs barriers, so our country's membership in the EU is a priority as we gain equal rights with member states, being exempt from customs duties and the opportunity of the absorber of donations, which is in the interest of the country.</p> <p>The Government of Kosovo has taken several steps to promote agriculture and rural development. In order to improve the economy in rural areas, the budget for the agricultural sector has increased steadily in recent years. This budget is intended for farmers in rural areas to improve productivity and quality of agricultural products.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">V.Y</p> <p>In the long run, of course, Kosovo will benefit. But this does not come by itself. Thus, it is the national duty of public authorities together with the private sector in Kosovo to clearly define the economic sectors in which Kosovo has or can build comparative advantages in order to focus both public and private investments to maximize the potential of these sectors. Of course, the food processing industry, the wood industry, but also the mining sector can be sectors of industry in which Kosovo can increase its potential and benefit from them. In particular, we need to focus on sophisticated service sectors which require a much more efficient education system so that the Information Technology sector is one where Kosovo, through economic integration with the EU, manages to maintain a part of great value added within its own economy.</p> |

4.8.2. Final Interpretation of Interviews

4.8.2.1. Topic 2: Readiness and Capacities of Kosovo Businesses to Enter the European Market.

We consider Kosovo businesses to have an extraordinary readiness to integrate into the EU, despite their ability to compete in the European market. The Government of Kosovo should create facilities, invest in production and in the agricultural sector in order for Kosovo businesses to be ready and closer to meeting the criteria required by the EU. The main causes of non-fulfillment of conditions by businesses are corruption and nepotism, which are the main destructive factors of prosperity and opportunities for Kosovo businesses to meet the criteria. Kosovo businesses are in a neglected way, especially the production and agriculture sector, due to long-term and genuine non-planning by the Government of Kosovo since the declaration of Independence. Recently there has been a greater, but not enough, approach, and if this continues then the risk is that even if Kosovo joins the EU, then Kosovo businesses, manufacturing or industry and agriculture will not be ready to compete with European businesses. This requires detailed planning, investment and maximum support by the Government of Kosovo to all business sectors.

4.8.2.2. Topic 3: Potential Economic Benefit of Kosovo with EU Membership

We can conclude that Kosovo has many benefits from EU membership, but it must pay attention to and support Kosovar businesses at all times. The sectors that Kosovo has the opportunity to benefit from are initially the agricultural sector in economic terms, while in broader aspects it is the security aspect which is in fact the main element of investments and economic prosperity of a country, ie the provision of capital investments. Other benefits include membership in Interpol and the improvement of the judiciary.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

In the research was attended by a total of 400 respondents, a sufficient number to represent the public opinion on Kosovo's

integration into the EU, as well as officials and experts in the field of integration and policy. The age groups of the participants were from 18 years old to over 65 years old, while the gender difference was 57.3% male participation and 37.3% female, with a relatively high level of bachelor and master education. Based on the results, we conclude that the citizens of Kosovo are ready for EU integration and think that this is in the interest of Kosovo, clarifying that this integration will not have an impact on the loss of Kosovo's sovereignty, not excluding others. who think differently. Citizens' lives are considered to be more positive for most citizens, and there are those who are skeptical about this work. They say that the governments have not worked properly and this shows that they are the main responsible that Kosovo has not joined so far, and there is a pessimism that Kosovo will join in a short period. As the biggest obstacle we see the dialogue with Serbia and the non-recognition of Kosovo by 5 EU countries, while on the other hand the internal factor is equivalent to the first two which shows that we have both internal and external problems in terms of Kosovo's integration into the EU. They say they would not migrate even after Kosovo's EU membership, and that an agreement with Serbia should not be a precondition for membership. On the other side, businesses are viewed with high skepticism regarding their competition with European companies, as it is considered that they do not meet the right conditions and that a lot of work needs to be done in this regard. The citizens of Kosovo say that the EU is using double standards for Kosovo's integration into the EU and the exit of Great Britain does not see a problem for the future of the EU. On the other side, experts say that although changes have been made and there has been some prosperity on the road to the EU, it is still not enough due to the high level of corruption, nepotism and organized crime. These are the key factors that are hindering Kosovo in its EU Integration and without improving and working in this direction, they do not see any quick solution. Regarding the recommendations in relation to the results, we address the Government of Kosovo to create the action plan for achieving Kosovo 's main objective, which is EU integration. Initially, work must be done to reduce corruption and nepotism, to carry out vetting at all institutional levels, to fight organized crime. To achieve these, the political scene in Kosovo must achieve stability and work hard in this direction. On the contrary, without political stability it will not be possible to achieve any of the objectives, much less EU integration.

The Government of Kosovo must provide suitable conditions for Kosovo businesses to be ready and meet the conditions to compete with European Union businesses. This should be fast and efficient, so that economic development is then more stable and employment is possible in our country. This gap is affecting the

brain drain of Kosovo and this is very harmful, as it is happening constantly without noticing it much.

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