

Second review of  
**Institution Building in Post-Conflict Areas:  
The Quest for Legitimate Institutions in Kosovo**

**Author: A. Semenov**

The author has successfully implemented the changes that I suggested, primarily with the “sui generis” issue of Kosovo and Noel Malcolm’s rather shallow vision, which was removed in its entirety. Additionally, the multiple wrongly written names were taken care of. The context has been expanded on several places, including the addition of secondary sources.

I am of the opinion that the thesis can be defended in this form.

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**Andrej Semenov**  
**Institution Building in Post-Conflict Areas:**  
**The Quest for Legitimate Institutions in Kosovo**

**Doctoral dissertation review**

The doctoral dissertation entitled *Institution Building in Post-Conflict Areas: The Quest for Legitimate Institutions in Kosovo* by Andrej Semenov is, in short, a thesis that could be defended.

Mr Semenov argues that because of specific circumstances, Kosovo essentially operates as a protectorate that influences UN members by dividing them on the Kosovo issue, and argues about it in detail throughout the dissertation, with a solid theoretical framework and plentiful use of primary sources, which is commendable. Adding secondary sources throughout the dissertation would probably be a good choice in strengthening the theoretical issues even more.

The author argues well and within reason, and shows the knowledge of the subject. Minor mistakes can be seen within the body of the text, mostly misspelled names, plus the incorrect idea that the singer Đorđe Balašević “perpetuated the war”, which is the opposite and needs to be fixed.

There are minor instances within the thesis, as it is, that could be improved, though they by no means represent an issue. The pages given are PDF pages, not dissertation pages.

Page 7 “due to special circumstances” – perhaps list them here at the beginning, so that the reader is already informed

Page 7 – Kosovo is an autonomous province in the Serbian law – list the preamble of the Serbian Constitution that claims this

Page 9 – “London believes that Kosovo's independence is logically the last step in the violent break-up of Yugoslavia” check if Johnson’s gov’t still thinks the same

Page 11 – add sources on deeply-divided society, plenty of secondary sources could be used here (Horowitz, Barry, etc, to inform the reader where it goes)

Page 12 – it is ROGERS Brubaker, not Roger

Page 25 – the central argument should perhaps be given at the beginning

Page 25/26 – “While Cyprus is not a candidate to become a European protectorate because its political status does not divide the great powers, it certainly provides a grain of hope for the case of Kosovo” – true, could use more elaboration. Where does the hope come from in terms of legal/political procedures?

Page 28 – like many parts of the thesis, the abstract – naturally – and if needed as a part of the thesis, goes on the very beginning

Page 35 – first sentence is unclear

General comment – add diacritics to all names within the body of the text. Some are there, some are not.

Page 37 – “Young generations study from textbooks filled with hate speech, accounts of state genocide, terrorist activities, and nationalism”. Add sources, there is plenty on this

Page 38 – “A Serbian singer and poet, Đorđe Balašević perpetuated the wars”. This is untrue, he was a pacifist all the time and sang AGAINST the war! The musicians who in actual fact perpetuated the conflicts were the so-called “narodnjaci”, the “turbo folk” singers, from Ceca Ražnatović, to a bunch of other ones. There are sources on this as well.

Page 49 – mind that Noel Malcolm’s work is not too loved by scholars as he was fairly blunt and did not go into detail

Page 60 – „scope of THE international mission“

Page 71 – maybe add that the DSS, even though called „democratic“ was a hardlining nationalist party

Page 82 – it is SANDA Rašković-Ivić, not Sandra

Page 89 – the chapter is generally well-written, but somewhat lacks in secondary sources

Page 113 – same here, the chapter could use more secondary sources. Whenever someone has written something on the topic, it should be included

Page 115 – socially constructed, not imagined

Page 177 – in the chapter, it should probably figure that Thaci is pending an indictment by the Tribunal

In short, I am of the opinion that this doctoral dissertation is defensible as it is, pending some minor changes to make it even better.

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