

# The politics of the green energy transition in developing countries

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## Abstract

As climate change impacts intensify globally, efforts to shift from fossil fuels to renewable energy face significant political challenges. While research in developed countries highlights strong opposition from fossil fuel-dependent communities to decarbonization policies, less is known about the political consequences of the energy transition in the Global South, where 95% of emissions growth occurs. This study examines how international funding for green energy in developing countries shapes political dynamics. I argue that such funding provokes backlash against domestic political allies of the international community. Using the case of the World Bank's coal funding withdrawal in Kosovo and employing a spatial difference-in-differences approach, I analyze how this shift affects voter support for parties aligned with or opposed to international actors. Results show that coal-reliant communities penalize pro-international parties and favor pro-coal parties following the funding withdrawal. Notably, and in contrast to studies in developed countries, communities near renewable energy installations show increased support for pro-international parties and decreased support for pro-coal parties. Cross-national analysis reveals similar trends, linking

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international influence to pro-renewable attitudes across the developing world. This paper offers caution and hope for internationally led climate policy by drawing close attention to the distributional consequences of donor funding.

# 1 Introduction

Addressing climate change is one of the most significant political and economic challenges of the modern world. While scientific consensus on the causes and consequences of climate change is strong, the global energy transition from fossil fuel to renewable energy has encountered strong resistance from entrenched political interest groups, particularly in rich, developed countries (Colgan *et al.*, 2021). Barriers to meaningful progress on climate change across countries in the form of collective action dilemmas are second only to barriers *within* countries due to the uneven political distributional effects of reducing reliance on oil and gas (Aklin & Mildenberger, 2020). Fossil fuel industries, communities, and their allies have mobilized against the economic dislocation of the energy transition, creating political barriers for governments hoping to implement climate action (Bosetti *et al.*, 2025; Stokes, 2020). While the responsibility for historical emissions lies with rich, industrialized countries, the majority of new emissions emanate from developing and emerging market economies.

What are the domestic political distributional consequences of the green energy transition in developing countries; and are these dynamics different from those in developed countries? What are the domestic political distributional consequences of the green energy transition in developing countries; and are these dynamics different from those in developed countries? This question becomes increasingly pertinent as developing countries rapidly increase their carbon output alongside economic growth (Olivier *et al.*, 2017). A 2023 McKinsey & Company report highlights that achieving the Paris Agreement goals likely hinges on developing countries adopting a green growth, low-carbon development pathway.<sup>1</sup> However, research on the politics of decarbonization in these nations lags behind. Notable exceptions include studies by Gaikwad *et al.* (2022) and Gaikwad *et al.* (2025), which reveal that coal commu-

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<sup>1</sup>“Solving the climate finance equation for developing countries.” *McKinsey & Company*. December 6, 2023. <https://www.mckinsey.com/capabilities/sustainability/our-insights/solving-the-climate-finance-equation-for-developing-countries>

nities in India generally support a just energy transition that compensates “losers” for job losses and leverages international funding for decarbonization. Similar to developed countries, the green energy transition in developing nations will generate both winners and losers. The concentrated geography of fossil fuels and lower levels of industrialization mean that certain areas in the Global South will bear the brunt of decarbonization’s economic impacts more acutely.

The majority of scholarship on climate change mitigation focuses on the industrialized world, particularly the countries responsible for the vast majority of historical emissions. Job losses and perceived threats to established ways of life in fossil fuel communities have inspired political resistance against the green energy transition and its supporters (Bolet *et al.*, 2024; Colgan *et al.*, 2021; Egli *et al.*, 2022; Gaikwad *et al.*, 2022; Gazmararian, 2025; Stokes, 2020). The rise of renewable energy and global attention towards the harms of continued fossil fuel production threaten to eliminate the coal, oil, and gas industries that have long employed geographically concentrated communities in the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Parallel work on globalization shocks to manufacturing in rich, industrialized countries has shown that the resulting local economic downturns have driven citizens towards conservative, isolationist policies (Autor & Dorn, 2013; Baccini & Weymouth, 2021; Ballard-Rosa *et al.*, 2021; Margalit, 2011; Walter, 2021). The necessity of deindustrialization – shuttering high-pollution factories and energy-inefficient processing facilities – for addressing climate change links the global energy transition to the economic dislocation of entire towns and communities across the US and Europe.

I argue that developing countries face unique decarbonization challenges due to a key political feature: international funding for the green energy transition. International funding alters the domestic politics of the energy transition in these nations. Efforts to mitigate climate change through international economic interventions have intensified over the past two decades (Kono & Montinola, 2019; Roberts *et al.*, 2009), and a growing body of litera-

ture on climate financing seeks to understand the politics of rich countries promoting climate mitigation in poorer nations (Clark & Zucker, 2024; Graham & Serdaru, 2020; Michaelowa & Namhata, 2022). Although foreign investment in the energy sector benefits both wealthy and poor countries, poorer nations face greater budget constraints that limit their capacity to allocate domestic funds for energy development, thus increasing their dependence on external investors and foreign aid. For developing countries, internationally driven funding for renewable investment and divestment from fossil fuels could provoke geographically concentrated backlash affecting the pro-climate domestic constituencies that the international community aimed to foster initially. This dynamic creates a political landscape where communities most impacted by the withdrawal of fossil fuel support may penalize parties aligned with international donors, while favoring those advocating for continued fossil fuel use.

Empirically, I illustrate this dynamic in the case of Kosovo, where international actors unexpectedly withdrew their support from a coal plant a year prior to the country's national elections. I use a spatial difference-in-differences design to estimate the effect of the internationally funded energy transition on voter support for political allies and adversaries of the international community. Novel geocoded polling station data shows that polling stations close to coal production have a five-percentage-point-higher vote share for parties that support the development of fossil fuels – a finding that aligns with existing scholarship on the energy transition in rich, industrialized countries – but punish parties with pro-international allegiances with a three-percentage-point decrease in vote share. In communities near renewable energy plants, the pattern reverses: pro-international party gains two percentage points and the pro-coal party loses four percentage points. Extensive robustness tests increase the internal validity of the causal interpretation of these estimates.

While the difference-in-differences design used in Kosovo provides strong internal validity, I rely on cross-national data from developing contexts to test the generalizability of the findings on three dimensions. First, I test the correlation between pro-environmental and

pro-international attitudes among citizens with public opinion data from Europe, Asia, and Africa, which consistently show an association between support for environmental issues and international cooperation. Second, I demonstrate that this relationship holds for political elites: pro-environmental and pro-international policies in political party platforms in low- and lower-middle income countries are highly correlated; and international funding for renewable energy increases the strength of this association. Third, I introduce a new dataset on World Bank energy projects to show that withdrawal of donor funding, particularly from fossil fuel projects, is relatively common and has increased during the Bank’s shift away from coal, often replaced by renewable energy initiatives. These elements collectively support the relevance of the Kosovo case for understanding the political dynamics of international climate finance in developing countries.

Finally, I discuss the implications of these results for the domestic political economy of foreign aid. While international aid organizations have made climate mitigation aid a priority, I demonstrate that the distributional consequences of energy interventions in the political economy of recipient states may cost international actors allies in prospective recipient countries. In early 2025 the second Trump administration withdrew funding by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), an act which demonstrates how shifts in foreign aid policies can disrupt ongoing projects and political alliances. Sudden stoppages of international funding for fossil fuel plants can jumpstart decarbonization in developing countries, but may also risk alienating local political actors who depend on international support, thereby complicating efforts to build durable coalitions for climate action in developing countries.

This finding unites the foreign aid and climate transition literatures by illustrating the link between lost economic potential and lower support for climate change mitigation amongst energy transition “losers” (Bolet *et al.*, 2024; Gaikwad *et al.*, 2022, 2025; Scoville-Simonds *et al.*, 2020; Zucker, 2022)—as well as increased support for the international community amongst

those exposed to renewable energy generation. This is both substantively and theoretically significant as backlash against international allies poses significant barriers to international, top-down efforts for policy changes, particularly climate change mitigation. However, I demonstrate that investing in alternative energy sources can stimulate local economies and help counteract this resistance. The way these costs and benefits are distributed geographically and economically may change the domestic power dynamics in recipient countries, potentially leading to shifts in environmental and energy policies. This study highlights both the challenges and opportunities of internationally driven climate policies by emphasizing the uneven political effects of donor funding.

## 2 Foreign aid and the green energy transition

Industrialized countries bear responsibility for the vast majority of carbon emissions historically and currently (Meng *et al.*, 2023). Decarbonization in the developing world is often seen as coming at a cost of economic development (Gaikwad *et al.*, 2022). Energy poverty in the Global South is a major driver of underdevelopment (Adom *et al.*, 2021) and ramping up energy production in developing countries has been a major priority of international development financing for decades (Munyanyi & Churchill, 2022). Even as foreign aid donors have sought to pursue more environmentally friendly policies (Hicks *et al.*, 2008; Michaelowa & Michaelowa, 2011; Michaelowa & Namhata, 2022; Wade, 1997), the growing energy needs of developing countries led both private companies and foreign aid donors to support the power sector with fossil fuel projects.

The power sector is highly visible, economically significant, and, in recent years, highly contested. The need for electricity in developing countries to power industrialization, urbanization, and general development efforts has established power generation as a major priority for donors and recipients alike. For decades, internationally funded fossil fuel plants were

the cheapest and most economically beneficial means of recipient country power generation; not only did countries establish stable power supplies, but the energy sector provided steady employment for some local populations (Rafey & Sovacool, 2011). The infrastructure of power plants is a visible signal of government investment and capacity (Marx, 2017)– as is the pollution and health effects generated by fossil fuel plants.

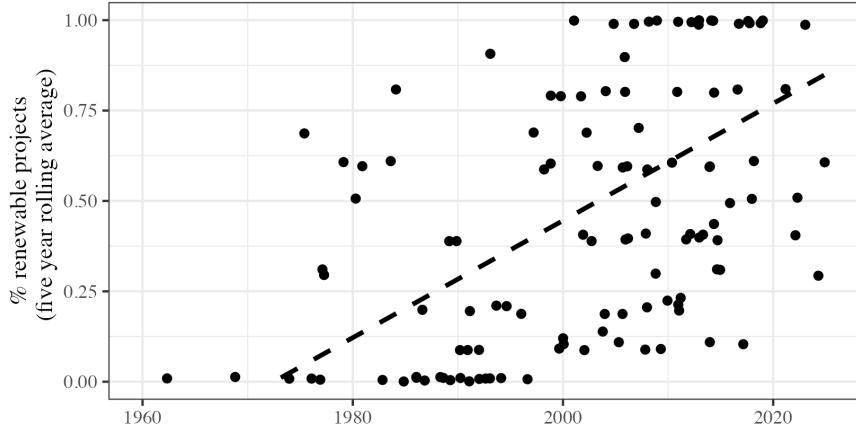
The global turn towards renewable energy offers an alternative power generation strategy in development. The rise in affordability of solar and wind power makes these energy sources a viable option – particularly for developing nations with limited resources. International funding for the energy sector is shifting from fossil fuel investment and maintenance towards renewable energy generation (Hicks *et al.*, 2008). In 2013, the World Bank officially stated that it would limit its financing of coal, citing both its climate impacts and the decreasing cost of alternative renewable energy (Bank, 2013).

Figure 1 show changes in World Bank energy funding from 1955 to 2024.<sup>2</sup> The five-year rolling average for energy project funding shows a distinct shift away from fossil fuels and towards renewable energy sources, particularly in the last two decades.

While existing work aims to document the increase in foreign aid for environmentally friendly projects (Kono & Montinola, 2019; Michaelowa & Michaelowa, 2011; Roberts *et al.*, 2009), less is known about how reduced international funding for fossil fuels affects international and domestic politics in developing countries. Some domestic dynamics parallel those in rich countries: entrenched fossil fuel interests resist the energy transition (Bolet *et al.*, 2024; Egli *et al.*, 2022; Gazmararian, 2025; Goetz *et al.*, 2019). International funding to increase renewable energy production in Indonesia, for example, has stalled, according to the solar industry, because the government “has a price cap that keeps coal prices artificially

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<sup>2</sup>I code each project individually to ensure that the measure captures projects aimed at the source of energy generation. Projects focusing more generally on the power sector, for example, projects that focus on rehabilitating a country’s energy grid or more energy-efficient insulation for housing, are excluded from this particular analysis.



*Figure 1: Proportion of World Bank energy projects using renewable sources, five year rolling average: Country-level measures of the proportion of energy projects using renewable sources (compared to fossil fuels) by year; five year rolling average. Dashed black line shows OLS trend. Data on World Bank energy projects collected by author.*

low.”<sup>3</sup> In addition, an international deal to wean Indonesian’s economy off of coal plants has created opportunities for political selection of which plants are still allowed to operate as many of the country’s elite have close ties to coal.<sup>4</sup> Other dynamics are more acute in developing contexts: energy poverty is a huge retardant for economic growth. As poorer countries face stricter budget constraints, these countries are less likely to have the political will to decommission existing fossil fuel plants or abandon local fossil fuel resources given dire needs for energy generation (Bos & Gupta, 2019).

In aid-dependent contexts, recipients are closely attuned to the presence (or absence) of aid projects (Baldwin & Winters, 2020; Clark *et al.*, 2023). Citizens have preferences for how involved donors are in the aid delivery process (Baldwin & Winters, 2020) and

<sup>3</sup>NPR. “Despite billions to get off coal, why is Indonesia still building new coal plants?” Julia Simon. 5 February 2023. <https://www.npr.org/2023/02/05/1152823939/despite-billions-to-get-off-coal-why-is-indonesia-still-building-new-coal-plants>

<sup>4</sup>“The green park that plans to build new coal plants is a project of coal billionaire Garibaldi Thohir, whose brother, Erick Thohir, is Minister of State Owned Enterprises.” NPR. “Despite billions to get off coal, why is Indonesia still building new coal plants?” Julia Simon. 5 February 2023. <https://www.npr.org/2023/02/05/1152823939/despite-billions-to-get-off-coal-why-is-indonesia-still-building-new-coal-plants>

political conditions of aid (Clark *et al.*, 2023) that come from exposure to and knowledge of aid projects. Almost a third of all press articles in Senegal, for example, addressed the topic of development; of these, seventy percent focused on non-governmental and/or international development initiatives (Lemke, 2018). Politicians advertise their involvement with aid projects, heightening general public awareness, to claim additional credit for the provision of these goods (Baldwin & Winters, 2023; Dolan, 2020; Ijaz, 2020; Young, 2009).

Political parties may have incentives to shift blame onto the international community, which can undermine the legitimacy of donor efforts in the eyes of citizens affected by aid withdrawal (Grossman *et al.*, 2018; Gruffydd-Jones, 2019; Terman, 2019). This delegitimization can create obstacles for international interventions in recipient countries, especially if local populations oppose donor involvement and limit donor influence over political decisions in recipient countries. Discrediting one donor could also create opportunities for other donors—who may have differing levels of commitment to environmental concerns—to increase their influence (Blair *et al.*, 2022; Dunning, 2004; Kohno *et al.*, 2021).

When donors use aid to encourage policy changes in recipient countries that align with their own priorities (Morgenthau, 1962), citizens in those countries respond based on their own interests—both in terms of policy outcomes and the capacity of politicians to implement them. In aid-dependent nations, continuing investment in fossil fuels may mean losing support from the international community, while parties and politicians advocating for renewable energy often rely on international backing to realize their policy objectives. Pro-climate parties in developing countries tend to have greater credibility and effectiveness when connected to international funding sources. Conversely, parties supporting fossil fuel policies are less likely to maintain strong relationships with donors promoting a green energy transition. Citizens who bear the costs of this transition may gravitate toward more regressive parties with fewer international ties (Voeten, 2024). Similarly, those who benefit from the shift to green energy are more likely to support environmentally focused parties, particularly those

closely linked to international donors.

Before the shift towards green energy, political parties were motivated to take credit or provide support for fossil fuel initiatives that were financed by entities such as the World Bank and the United States(Cruz & Schneider, 2017; Marx, 2017).<sup>5</sup> Political parties in countries that rely heavily on aid often modify their energy policy priorities in reaction to changes in international donor funding, given the significant impact of such funding on the energy sector. This is especially true as the global emphasis transitions from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources. Since major energy infrastructure projects are highly dependent on external financial support, alterations in donor priorities can directly determine which projects are able to move forward. The electorate reacts to these changes based on anticipated gains or losses: individuals who are negatively impacted by the withdrawal of aid tend to back parties that oppose the donors' decisions, whereas those who stand to benefit from the new donor priorities are more likely to support parties that align with the new international agenda.

In the context of climate transitions, communities geographically or environmentally suited for renewable energy investments are likely to benefit more from international disinvestment in fossil fuels. Changes in donor funding not only reflect shifting priorities but also reshape political competition by enabling alternative projects to gain prominence when previous projects lose support. In essence, the theory links international donor funding shifts to domestic political party behavior and voter preferences, emphasizing how external aid dynamics influence internal policy competition and electoral outcomes during energy transitions. Two hypotheses emerge from these theoretical expectations.

*H1:* Energy transition “losers” decrease (increase) support for parties linked to international donors (support for anti-international actors).

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<sup>5</sup>In developing nations, foreign direct investment in the energy sector is a crucial source of capital but frequently relies on loan guarantees from multilateral development banks like the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. These guarantees enable states to secure loans for projects involving foreign investors who might not qualify for credit under normal circumstances (Group *et al.*, 2016).

*H2*: Energy transition “winners” increase (decrease) support for parties linked to international donors (support for anti-international actors).

### 3 Study context

Kosovo, a small Balkan nation with a population of 1.2 million and a history of economic and security reliance on the United States and the European Union, was the proposed site for a coal plant described by international media as “the real test” of the World Bank’s 2013 commitment to end coal funding in developing countries.<sup>6</sup> The project, intended to replace two aging coal plants in the region, received support from local politicians due to its potential economic benefits, including stable electricity supply and job creation. Media reports indicated that the plant’s construction would create 10,000 new jobs, with 500 permanent positions for ongoing operations.<sup>7</sup> However, in 2018—twelve years after initially pledging support—the World Bank withdrew its funding, citing the declining costs of renewable energy, which challenged coal’s long-term economic viability in Kosovo. This abrupt

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<sup>6</sup>“The one major test of the new policy will come in Kosovo, which wants to build a new 600-megawatt plant fired by lignite coal, a particularly carbon-intensive fuel. The bank needs to decide whether to offer loan guarantees, and Kim has signaled before that Kosovo may be an exception to the coal ban.” *The Washington Post*. “The World Bank cuts off funding for coal. How big an impact will that have?” Brad Plumer. 17 July 2013. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2013/07/17/the-world-bank-cuts-off-funding-for-coal-how-much-impact-will-that-have/>; “The real test of the strategy may come next year, when the World Bank should decide whether to provide loan guarantees for the Kosovo power plant fired by coal.” *Reuters*. “World Bank to limit financing of coal-fired plants”. Anns Yukhananov and Valerie Volcovici. 16 July 2013. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-worldbank-climate-coal-world-bank-to-limit-financing-of-coal-fired-plants-idUSBRE96F19U20130716>.

<sup>7</sup>“ContourGlobal could start building Kosovo power plant in 2016.” *Reuters* February 4, 2015. <https://www.reuters.com/article/markets/contourglobal-could-start-building-kosovo-power-plant-in-2016-idUSL6N0VE2DW/> Analysts estimate that the claim is overestimated: “no more than about 1600 workers should be required during the construction stage – and many of them are likely to be imported specialists – while no more than 200 should be required during operation.” (Ciută & Gallop, 2016, 24).

and external reversal of international energy funding provides a quasi-natural experiment to examine how shifts in global green energy financing impact domestic politics in recipient countries.

In the wake of the withdrawal, the three major political parties in Kosovo diverged on their approaches to the withdrawal of international support for the power plant. The incumbent party, Partia Demokratike e Kosovës, campaigned on promises of moving forward with the project despite lack of international support (henceforth *pro-coal party*). The party, which emerged from the Kosovo Liberation Army in the wake of the country's independence from Serbia, has long touted the importance of energy independence as a national security issue (Visoka & Richmond, 2017). A pro-Western, internationally supported party, Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës, tacitly accepted the withdrawal while pledging future investment in renewable energy (Visoka & Musliu, 2019) (henceforth, *pro-international party*). The international party has historically appealed to international donors from its initial nonviolent resistance to Serbian aggression to its support from the Kosovar diaspora. A third party, Vetëvendosje, emerged from a wartime coalition called the “Movement for Self-Determination” and known for its anti-elite and anti-international rhetoric, opposed building the plant even before the international community withdrew its support (Visoka & Musliu, 2019) (henceforth *non-aligned party*).<sup>8</sup> The parties' positions on energy in Kosovo became salient in 2019 when the governing coalition collapsed and parliamentary elections were set for October, roughly one year after the World Bank's announced funding withdrawal.

The 2019 election did not center on energy concerns; while these were noted in party platforms, corruption and institutional reform were the primary focus of political debate in the lead-up to the elections. The non-aligned party handily won the 2019 election – primarily at the expense of the pro-coal party – and formed a ruling coalition with the pro-international

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<sup>8</sup>While Kosovo has dozens of political parties, I focus on those which were most competitive during and immediately prior to the time period of interest.

party.<sup>9</sup> In 2020, the company contracted with building the coal plant withdrew from the project, citing lack of government support as a primary reason.(??) While the current national energy strategy aims to increase the share of energy generated from renewables to 35% in the next decade, two coal plants remain operational in the country and face both political and economic barriers to decommissioning; in the words of one Kosovan climate expert, “If we want to shut down [the coal plant], there will be many workers saying ‘you’re taking our jobs, where will electricity come from?’”<sup>10</sup> This political and economic context sets the stage for understanding how the World Bank’s withdrawal of support for the coal plant acted as an external shock influencing local political dynamics.

### 3.1 Identification strategy

I use a spatial difference-in-differences design to identify the causal effect of international funding for energy on the domestic politics in recipient states. The units of analysis are polling station-election. People in communities close to energy sources are considered treated while communities further from energy are considered the control group; the treatment is activated in 2018 when the World Bank withdraws its support for the coal plant.

I put together a novel dataset of geolocated polling stations in Kosovo from 2010-2021.<sup>11</sup> In total, I observe 921 polling stations across five national elections (2010, 2014, 2017, 2019, and 2021). I geolocate each polling station using the stated name of the municipality, town or city, and physical building where the poll is located. Polling stations for rural voting areas are often located in the closest city – rural voters then travel to the nearest urban area

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<sup>9</sup>“Kosovo Final Election Result Confirms Vetevendosje Victory.” *Balkan Insight*. 7 November 2019. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/11/07/kosovo-final-election-result-confirms-vetevendosje-victory/>

<sup>10</sup>Xharra, Jeta and Ardit Zeqiri. “From Coal to Renewables: Kosovo’s Long Energy Transition Journey.” *Prishtina Insight*. 4 June 2024. <https://prishtinainsight.com/from-coal-to-renewables-kosovos-long-energy-transition-journey-mag/>

<sup>11</sup>Polling station-level electoral results are only available from 2010 onwards from the Kosovo Central Election Commission.

to cast their ballots. I attain the coordinates for the location (town, city neighborhood) of the population in these cases rather than the physical building. This method captures the proximity of the population voting in a given polling station in relation to industrial sites of interest. All polling stations are depicted in a map of Kosovo on Figure 2. As Kosovo uses a closed-list proportional representation system, equal weight is applied to votes across the country.<sup>12</sup>

Data on the location of energy plants and energy-industry-adjacent mines are sourced from domestic and international official documents. Locations from renewable energy plants (wind and solar) are sourced from a report commissioned by USAID in 2021<sup>13</sup> and the annual reports of Kosovo's Energy Regulatory Office.<sup>14</sup> Mine locations were derived from a United States Department of Interior geological survey from 2022; the survey includes values and weights of mineral production from 2016 to 2020.<sup>15</sup> Figure 2 shows the location of each energy source and mine by type of energy; Appendix Table 8 details each of the plants. Descriptive statistics in Table 1 show polling station and municipal-level characteristics. The analyzed sample includes all polling stations in Kosovo, manually geolocated by the author, and covariates from the Kosovo Central Election Commission.<sup>16</sup>

The World Bank's withdrawal of support for the new coal plant represents an exogenous shock to Kosovo's political environment. I use two sources of variation to analyze this shock: (1) voters' proximity to energy sources and (2) political party platforms on energy

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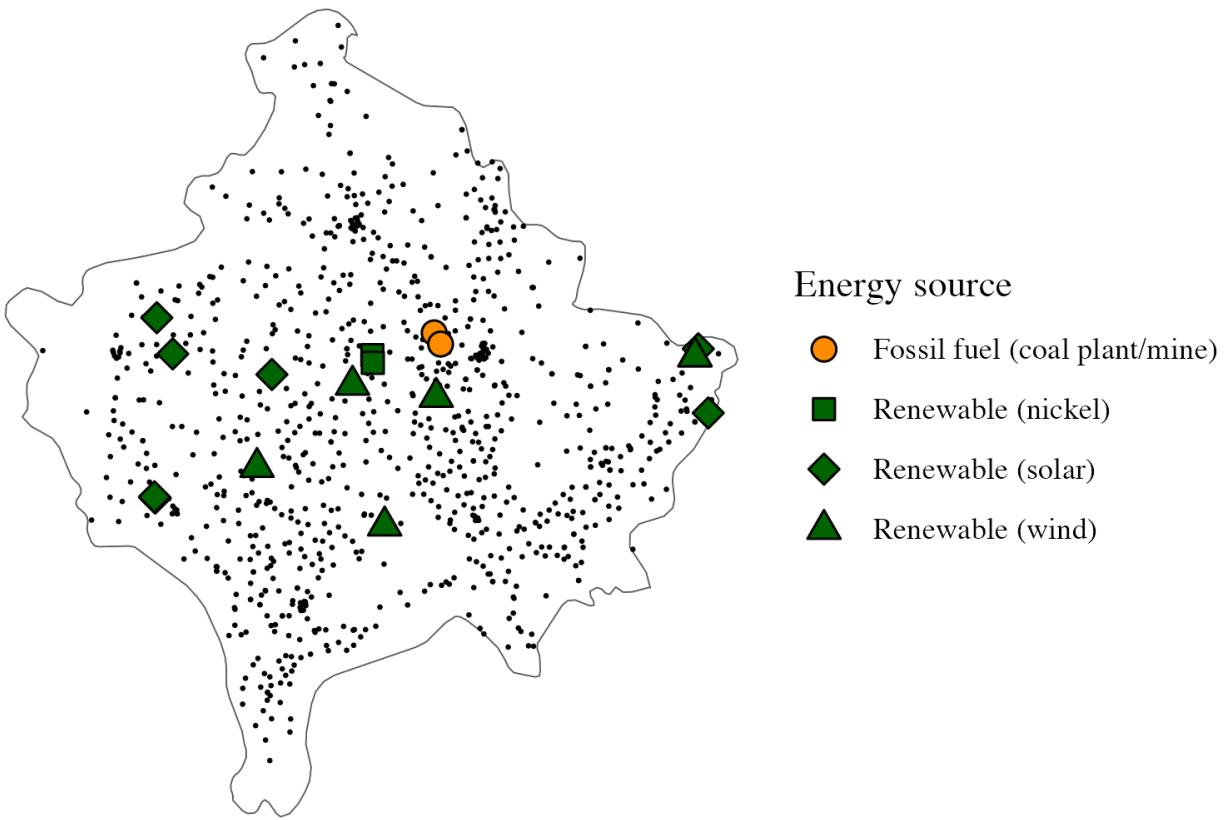
<sup>12</sup>Ethnic minorities are guaranteed twenty seats in the 120-member parliament (Landau, 2017); the other 100 seats are allocated proportionally to the national vote.

<sup>13</sup>"Kosovo Energy Security of Supply. Jo 27: Assessment of PV Generators in Kosovo." January 2021. [https://reskosovo.rks-gov.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/Assessment\\_of\\_PV\\_Generators\\_in\\_Kosovo.pdf](https://reskosovo.rks-gov.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/Assessment_of_PV_Generators_in_Kosovo.pdf)

<sup>14</sup>"Annual Report 2015". Energy Regulatory Office. 2015. [http://ero-ks.org/2016/Raportet/Raporti\\_Vjetor\\_2015\\_ZRRE\\_shq.pdf](http://ero-ks.org/2016/Raportet/Raporti_Vjetor_2015_ZRRE_shq.pdf)

<sup>15</sup>Hastorun, Sinan. "The Mineral Industry of Kosovo." U.S. Department of the Interior; U.S. Geological Survey 2022. <https://pubs.usgs.gov/myb/vol3/2019/myb3-2019-kosovo.pdf>

<sup>16</sup>A number of polling stations were added for the 2017 elections. These polling stations are included in the main specifications but results are robust to their exclusion (see Appendix Table 5).



*Figure 2: Energy source and polling station locations in Kosovo active in 2019: Small black dots indicate polling station locations. Orange circles represent coal mining and refining plants, green squares nickel mining, green diamonds solar plants, and green triangles wind.*

and international cooperation. Before the World Bank pulled funding, voters both near and far from energy sources expected no change in Kosovo’s energy policy, as the World Bank’s support guaranteed coal as the lowest-cost energy option. The withdrawal of coal funding creates energy insecurity nationwide<sup>17</sup> and breaks the World Bank’s prior commitment to the country. While all voters are affected by the loss of the future power plant—both in terms of

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<sup>17</sup>In 2018, 80% of Kosovo’s electricity was generated by coal from the two existing coal power plants. <https://www.iea.org/data-and-statistics/data-tools/energy-statistics-data-browser?country=KOSOVO&fuel=Energy%20supply&indicator=TESbySource>

Polling station covariates	Min	Max	Mean	N
Vote share: Pro-international party	0	0.7340426	0.2145138	3731
Vote share: Pro-coal party	0	0.9798206	0.271589	3731
Vote share: Non-aligned party	0	0.7931034	0.1898546	3731
Total votes	0	7810	1041.413	3731
# elections	1	5	4.113561	921
Distance from coal	0.862	193.472	43.667	921
Distance from renewable	0.575	199.711	60.119	921
Municipal covariates				
Temperature	273.267	281.3909	278.9486	190
Particulates	14.84199	27.10273	20.50494	190
Population	1795.07	224318.1	82332.61	190
Nighttime lights	0.05903931	9.083917	1.114262	190

*Table 1: Descriptive statistics*

information and increased energy costs—those living near energy sources experience a greater impact due to changes in local employment opportunities resulting from the defunding.

The loss of guaranteed funding suddenly made relevant cleavages in party platforms that previously had not been salient. The pro-international party pledged to solve the country’s energy crises with internationally funded renewable energy while the pro-coal party aimed to find additional funding to complete the coal plant. The non-aligned party supported renewable energy, but not the international cooperation required to fund it. These party platforms are uniform across the country: parties do not make different promises about national energy policy in different municipalities.<sup>18</sup> The parties also differ on a number of other dimensions; for example the non-aligned party campaigned on an anti-corruption platform while the pro-coal party touted its historic representation of war heroes from the Kosovo Liberation Army.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>See Appendix G for geographical coverage of energy policy across Kosovo.

<sup>19</sup>See Bami, Xhorxhina. “Kosovo Elections: Education, Health, Environment and Rights.” *Balkan Insight*. 3 October 2019. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/10/03/kosovo-elections-education-health-environment-and-rights/> for more on the electoral platforms of these three parties.

An important assumption in the empirical strategy is that these two sources of variation are insignificant prior to the treatment (World Bank withdrawal of funding). Pre-treatment patterns in voting behavior for each party in voters close to energy projects in comparison to voters further from energy projects prior to World Bank withdrawal assures us that we are comparing like to like. Figures in Appendix A confirm that voters close to and far from energy projects were not subject to pre-trends that threaten inference.

Party	Party position		Expected effect of withdrawal (vote share)	
	Support coal	Support intl community	Coal community	Renewable communities
Pro-coal	✓	-	Increase	Decrease
Pro-international	-	✓	Decrease	Increase
Non-aligned	-	-	No change	No change

*Table 2: Party positions: Support for coal and international cooperation by political party.*

Theoretically, I expect voters for whom changes in energy production are economically significant to be particularly attentive to the loss of coal funding. Physical proximity to energy production is commonly used in the political economy literature in developing and advanced economies to proxy for differential exposure to policies (e.g. Baccini & Weymouth (2021); Isaksson (2020); Jablonski (2014); Knutsen *et al.* (2017)). Voters reliant on coal for jobs should disproportionately support parties that aim to continue with fossil fuel production. As the international community no longer funds fossil fuel development, these voters are likely to oppose parties with close ties to the international community. In contrast, voters who expect to benefit from renewable energy should be more likely to support the international party given its support for renewables and its backing by the international community—and should oppose pro-coal parties. The non-aligned party, which does not support coal but also does not align with the international community, is unlikely to receive support from renewable voters given the party’s inability to secure funding from donors and also unlikely to gain ground with coal voters given its anti-fossil fuel position. Table 2 depicts

the positions of each party with regard to the withdrawal of the plant and the international community as well as empirical expectations.

I estimate the following model for each party vote share separately:

$$Vote\_share_{it} = \beta_1 Close_i + \beta_2 Post2018_t + \beta_3 Close * Post2018_{it} + \alpha_i + \delta_t + \mathbf{X}_{it} + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where  $i$  is an individual polling station and  $t$  is an election year. Our coefficient of interest is  $\beta_3$  for the interaction term of close polling stations in the years after the withdrawal of World Bank funding.  $\alpha_i$  and  $\delta_t$  are polling station and time fixed effects, specifically.  $\mathbf{X}_{it}$  is a vector of covariates measured at the municipal level (included in the second set of models). I control for `Nighttime lights` to account for a municipality's level of development, `Particulates` for pollution, `Precipitation` for variation in potential agricultural shocks, `Night_temperature` for exposure to climate change, and `Population`. All variables extracted from Goodman *et al.* (2019). Close is defined as 15 kilometers from an energy source in the main models.<sup>20</sup>

## 3.2 Results

I estimate the difference in the change in vote share for each major political party after the World Bank's 2018 withdrawal of support from the power plant for polling stations close to

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<sup>20</sup>Kosovo occupies an area of 10,887 kilometers (roughly the size of Connecticut). A circle with a radius of 15 kilometers covers about 6% of the surface area of the nation. Additionally, this is a stricter restriction on geographic exposure compared to the existing literature, which applies a 50km bandwidth (Briggs, 2019), but one that more appropriately approximates the exposure of individuals to energy projects. The modal distance that an individual travels by bus, car, and taxi, the predominant means of commuting to work, in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, is 1-5 kilometers (Humolli *et al.*, 2020). For more rural areas, this distance increases. The initial bandwidth of 15 kilometers balances exposure to energy projects with statistical power, as fewer polling stations are included in a lower (5km) bandwidth.

and far from 1) fossil fuel production and 2) renewable energy production.<sup>21</sup> Table 3 displays the main results. Models 1-6 show the effects of withdrawal on party vote share for polling stations within 15 km of fossil fuel production. Models 7-12 show the effects amongst polling stations within 15km of renewable energy. The second set of results replicates these findings excluding polling stations within 15km of the rival energy source – fossil fuel communities are compared to non-renewable communities in Models 13-18 and vis-a-versa for Models 19-24. Models shown include the least restrictive (no covariates or year fixed effects) and most (full covariates and year fixed effects). All models include polling station fixed effects and cluster standard errors at the municipal level. Robust standard errors reported in parentheses; Conley standard errors reported in brackets.

Table 3 supports the primary argument of the paper: communities close to fossil fuel disproportionately support pro-coal parties and oppose pro-international parties. The opposite is true for communities close to renewable sources, who oppose pro-coal and support pro-international parties. The party with cross-cutting platforms—anti-coal and anti-international—sees a small, borderline-significant change in vote share (increased support in coal communities; decreased support in renewable) but this result is not robust to alternative specifications. The lack of consistent effects for the non-aligned party suggests that environmental policies alone do not explain voting patterns. Instead, it is the combination of pro-environmental and pro-international cooperation stances that reflects parties' commitment and capacity to advance renewable energy initiatives in developing countries.

One potential threat to inference is the existence of pre-election coalitions in Kosovo's national elections. I use a synthetic difference-in-differences model (Arkhangelsky *et al.*, 2019) to adjust for this issue. The synthetic difference-in-differences method is appropriate here

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<sup>21</sup>When major parties run in coalitions with other parties, I use the vote share of the coalition as the outcome. This reporting only occurs when coalitions are formed prior to the election, not post-electoral coalitions. In all other circumstances, the party's vote share is reported.

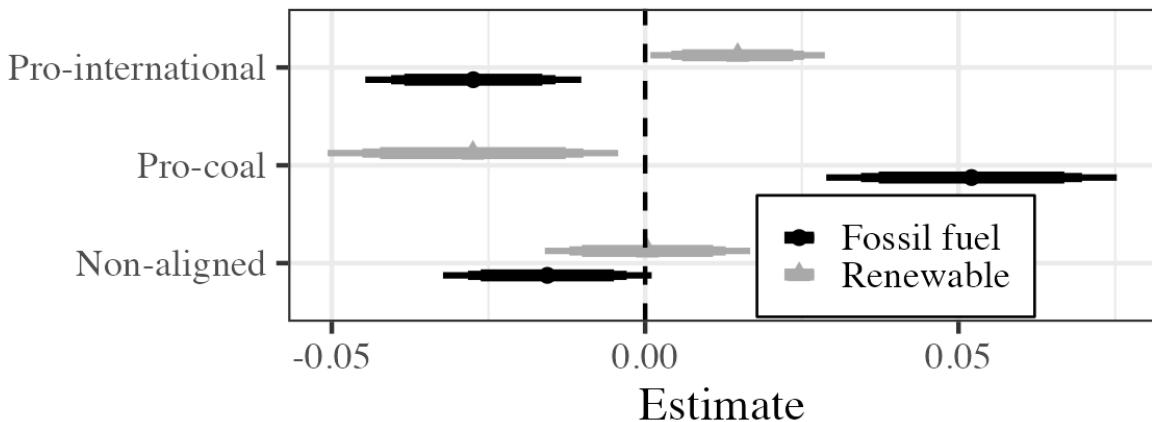
Panel A: Full		Fossil fuel						Renewable				
	Pro-Intl. (1)	Pro-Coal (2)	Non-aligned (3)	Pro-Intl. (4)	Pro-Coal (5)	Non-aligned (6)	Pro-Intl. (7)	Pro-Coal (8)	Non-aligned (9)	Pro-Intl. (10)	Pro-Coal (11)	Non-aligned (12)
Post-2018 × Proximity	-0.029*** (0.007) [0.0008]	0.055*** (0.006) [0.0012]	0.017 (0.012) [0.0151]	0.168** (0.060) [0.0010]	0.019 (0.073) [0.0003]	-0.050 (0.056) [0.0002]	0.022*** (0.005) [0.0002]	-0.042*** (0.006) [0.0001]	-0.018* (0.009) [0.0001]	0.005 (0.004) [0.0145]	-0.048*** (0.006) [0.0000]	-0.001 (0.0006) [0.0087]
Poll fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓
Num.Obs.	5131	5118	5072	5131	5118	5072	5131	5118	5072	5131	5118	5072
R2	0.838	0.869	0.678	0.894	0.866	0.837	0.837	0.869	0.679	0.887	0.894	0.866
R2 Adj.	0.803	0.841	0.608	0.863	0.871	0.837	0.802	0.841	0.609	0.862	0.871	0.837

Panel B: Subsets		Fossil fuel						Renewable				
	Pro-Intl. (13)	Pro-Coal (14)	Non-aligned (15)	Pro-Intl. (16)	Pro-Coal (17)	Non-aligned (18)	Pro-Intl. (19)	Pro-Coal (20)	Non-aligned (21)	Pro-Intl. (22)	Pro-Coal (23)	Non-aligned (24)
Post-2018 × Proximity	-0.058*** (0.010) [0.0007]	0.072*** (0.006) [0.0013]	0.057*** (0.017) [0.0011]	-0.039*** (0.009) [0.0003]	0.099*** (0.010) [0.0001]	-0.002 (0.012) [0.0002]	0.016** (0.005) [0.0090]	-0.044*** (0.007) [0.0000]	-0.006 (0.010) [0.0150]	0.001 (0.005) [0.0001]	-0.074*** (0.007) [0.0001]	0.007 (0.007) [0.0002]
Poll fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓
Num.Obs.	3283	3263	3251	3263	3263	3251	4312	4311	4255	4312	4311	4255
R2	0.832	0.848	0.683	0.884	0.863	0.875	0.829	0.846	0.676	0.882	0.881	0.860
R2 Adj.	0.795	0.814	0.613	0.858	0.832	0.846	0.791	0.813	0.603	0.856	0.854	0.829

*Table 3: Difference-in-differences results: DiD estimates for the effects of proximity (15km) to renewable or fossil fuel plants after the World Bank's withdrawal of support for coal. Robust standard errors in parentheses; Conley standard errors in brackets. Panel A show results for the full sample of polling stations. Panel B subsets the sample to polling stations not in proximity to the alternative energy source (for renewables, no fossil fuel proximity; for fossil fuel, no renewable proximity) to avoid overestimating the effects of withdrawal.*

because of its ability to differentially weight time periods (using time period fixed effects). Three parties formed a pre-election coalition in the third time period in the study (2017), with the internationalist party and a third party forming a second pre-election coalition, and therefore the parties in this period receive a higher vote share than as a coalition than they otherwise would have in running as individual parties.<sup>22</sup> Mechanically, we should expect parties *without* coalitions to receive fewer votes due to smaller constituent bases; the drop in the pro-coal party's vote share in 2019 and 2021 overall could be related to both their performance and the absence of coalition partners. With synthetic differences-in-differences, we can algorithmically upweight periods in the pre-trends that are more similar to the post-treatment period and down-weight exceptionally different periods. This method is more appropriate than the synthetic control method for the study at hand because the synthetic control uses unweighted treatment period averages which are helpful in the case at hand due to the aforementioned changes in electoral coalitions.



*Figure 3: Synthetic difference-in-differences: Coefficients for the interaction term, **Post-2018\*Proximity**, using a 15km bandwidth of exposure (**Proximity**). 90, 95, and 99% confidence intervals depicted. Six separate models estimated by party and energy source.*

The synthetic difference-in-differences substantively replicate the results of the main tests:

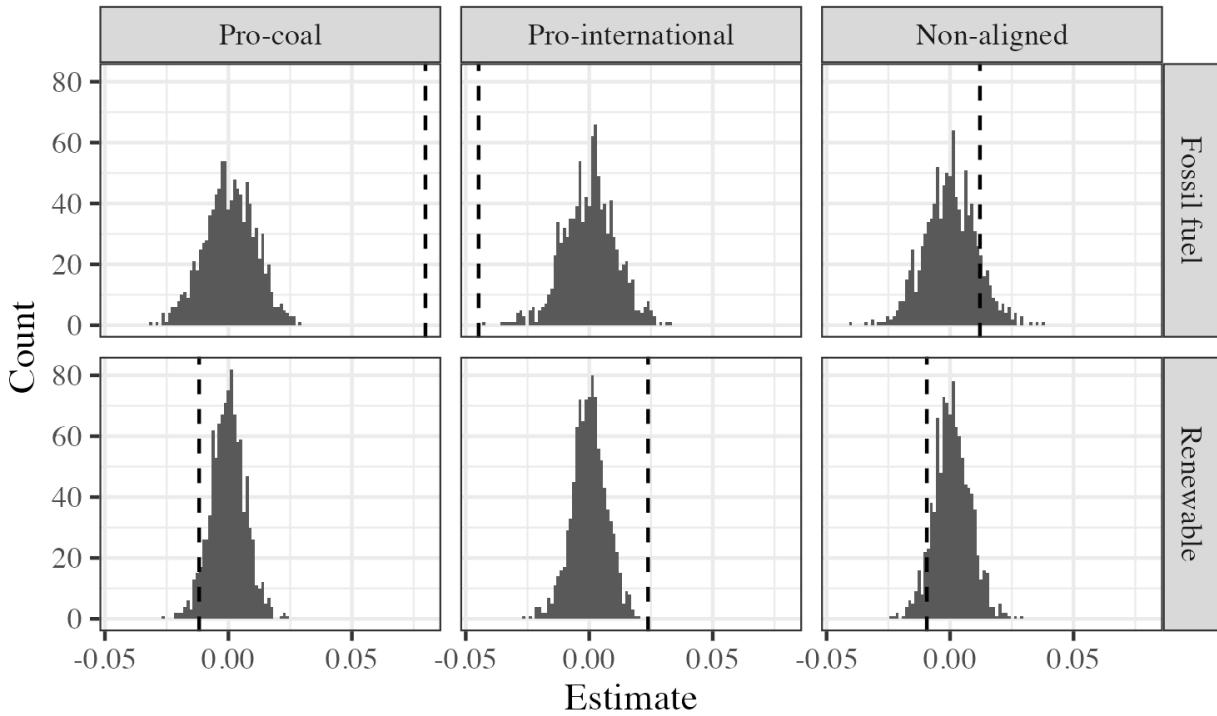
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<sup>22</sup>See Appendix Table F for a full accounting of pre- and post-electoral coalitions.

the pro-international party sees a relative increase in vote share amongst renewable communities and decrease amongst fossil fuel communities. The pro-coal party sees the opposite effect: fossil fuel communities increase their relative support for the pro-coal party and renewable communities decrease their support, relative to other communities. The non-aligned party does not have substantive or significant difference in support in the renewable community but does see a decrease in support within the fossil fuel community. Across all specifications, the results are consistent with voter awareness of the distributive effects of the energy transition and the international community's new role in funding renewable energy.

Figure 4 shows placebo tests for the main models. I randomly select sets of coordinates within Kosovo as placebo locations for fossil fuel plants (two locations) and renewable plants (eleven locations) and rerun OLS regressions for vote share of polling stations near these locations, compared to further locations, for each political party. The placebo tests evaluate the possibility of spurious geographic correlation driving the results: if a substantial number of geographic areas in Kosovo produce the same estimated effect as the actual fossil fuel or renewable communities, the main models would be incorrect. Instead, the placebo tests are consistent with the theory that the fossil fuel and renewable communities responded distinctly to the political parties' positions in response to the loss of the coal plant.

The results are robust to a number of different specifications. Appendix Figure 11 reruns both the fossil fuel and renewable models with additional smaller and larger bandwidths—measures of closeness to energy plants—and the results remain substantively the same across exposure distances. Alternative models using total number of votes for a party, rather than party vote share, as an outcome, replicate the main results substantively and significantly (see Appendix Table 4). Removing polling stations closest to energy plants—creating a ring of polling stations between 5km and 15km from the plants—also replicates the main results; see Appendix Table 6. Additional tests account for anticipatory investment in renewable energy: it is possible that voters in municipalities with high photovoltaic output or wind power



*Figure 4: Placebo tests: Histograms for 1000 randomly selected sets of coordinates as treatment groups; coefficients for the interaction term,  $\text{Post-2018} * \text{Proximity}$ , using a 15km bandwidth of exposure ( $\text{Proximity}$ ) and OLS with polling station fixed effects. Three separate models estimated by party: Pro-coal is the leftmost column, pro-international the center, and non-aligned the rightmost. Top panel estimates models where (placebo) fossil fuel communities are the treated group; bottom panel (placebo) renewable communities. Vertical dashed line shows main model coefficient.*

potential would be aware of future plans for renewable energy in their localities through site visits by engineers, international development officials, and political figures. Indeed, municipalities suitable for renewable investment follow the same patterns as locations close to existing renewable energy plants (see Appendix 7). Appendix Table 8 decomposes the energy sources into individual plants and specific energy sources.

### 3.3 Alternative mechanisms

The results are consistent with a theory of developing country energy transitions in which voters care about both the *direction* of political representatives towards renewable energy and the *linkages* to an international community with the funds to implement the proposed energy policies. The material interests of voters in poor countries are deeply tied with support from international actors – and I argue that it is through these economic links to energy generation that voters respond to donor shifts towards renewable investment.

However, there exist several alternative mechanisms through which donor withdrawal from fossil fuels could affect domestic politics. First, pollution from the coal plant could drive political behavior. While the coal plant was expected to produce significantly more environmental damage than comparable renewables, the plant was also intended to replace the existing Kosovo B plant, renowned as one of Europe’s dirtiest coal plants. It is possible that voters close to the coal plant disproportionately support pro-coal party in order to prevent further, local environmental damage from the continuation of the existing plant. However, it is unclear that this mechanism would affect support for either pro-coal or anti-coal parties for voters close to renewable plants. If environmental preferences are mainly local—residents near the polluting Kosovo B plant want a cleaner replacement while those living elsewhere prefer a full shift to renewables—then the lower pollution exposure experienced by voters near renewable facilities would likely not alter their political preferences following the World Bank’s withdrawal from fossil fuel funding. Instead, results from polling stations in the

vicinity of renewable energy plants show clear increased support for the pro-international party, the party associated with no further continuation of the ‘Kosova e Re’ project. In an additional test of concern about environmental standards, I use media data from two major newspapers in Kosovo, *Kosovo Sot* and *Prishtina Insight*, to identify the prevalence of articles referring to the coal plant, renewable energy, and environmental issues across the country. Appendix G shows that the area around the coal plant sees disproportionate coverage of the coal plant, but not of renewable energy or pollution.

Second, fossil fuel withdrawal could create pressure on the energy grid, increasing energy prices.<sup>23</sup> High-energy consumers might then be more likely to vote for the pro-coal party and against the pro-international party in order to restore energy prices. Appendix Figure 12 shows that, in the aggregate (across all cities), the results mirror those for the coal municipality–city centers are more likely to vote for the pro-coal and against the pro-international party in the wake of withdrawal—though individual cities differ substantially in the magnitude and direction of their estimates.<sup>24</sup> The price mechanism can explain the results for cities in aggregate – voters most reliant on coal production (in the form of electricity dependency) shifting towards the party supporting coal and against the party supporting renewables with international support – but differences across cities remain unexplained by price alone.

Third, the polling station results could be affected by other labor and political decisions endogenous to the economic promise of the coal plant. In Appendix C, I show that individuals in the coal county commute to work in less than 20 minutes on average; they are unlikely to

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<sup>23</sup>As Kosovo has a single electrical grid connecting the country, there are no geographic differences in accessibility of energy that would be driven by the decommissioning of the coal plant or installation of renewable energy. While some parts of the country may have more or less reliable electricity, this is orthogonal to the source of the energy itself.

<sup>24</sup>Importantly, these results are not a consequence of a sudden increase in energy demand overall or in particular sectors (see Appendix C)—rather, they are in line with expectations of *future* energy generation from coal and renewables.

work outside of the municipality. Additionally, the population of the coal municipality sees less than 100 people move in or out of the area in a given year. The location of polling stations themselves does not change over time, reducing the likelihood that polls are endogenously (re)located around energy projects based on political interference (see Appendix Figure 27).

Fourth, Kosovo's long conflict with Serbia might affect voter preferences. Serbian citizens of Kosovo could differ in their support for energy independence due to loyalty to the Serbian state and its leverage over Kosovo's energy supply. The geographically concentrated Serbs in Northern Kosovo also have had a peculiar relationship to Kosovan energy authorities: until 2022, residents in Northern Kosovo did not pay electricity bills due to the difficulty of revenue collection in this part of the country. I test for the potentially confounding effect of Serbian voters in Appendix Table 9 and find that the results substantively and significantly hold in models remove Serbian municipalities from the analysis.

Fifth, the presence of alternative international financing for fossil fuel plants could fundamentally alter donor decisions to withdraw support for coal and recipient country domestic politics post-withdrawal (Cheeseman *et al.*, 2024; Kohno *et al.*, 2020; Swedlund, 2017). Donor competition for projects undermines the capacity of an individual funder to make unilateral decisions about recipient country policies (Blair *et al.*, 2022; ?; Dunning, 2004). However, the unique geopolitical position of Kosovo insulates the country from rival donor politics: China, Russia, and the Gulf States do not have a strong presence in the country due to the influence of and reliance on the European Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Bartlett, 2021). The Western international funders guarantee the physical security of Kosovo from its rival, Serbia, and have a long history of extreme influence on domestic politics in Kosovo (Visoka, 2017, 2019). Even the anti-international political parties in the country do not claim a willingness or ability to entertain alternative international influence from China and Russia (Yabanci, 2016). Additionally, the alternative donors, primarily China, have recently pledged to follow the World Bank and Western countries in putting a

moratorium on overseas coal funding (Wang *et al.*, 2024).<sup>25</sup> The rapid growth of China's renewable energy industry also shifts the economic calculus for Chinese support of fossil fuels globally: cultivating developing country reliance on renewables sourced from China improves the country's geopolitical standing.<sup>26</sup> A third reason that alternative financing was not forthcoming is the plant's economic inviability. The World Bank's final calculus of withdrawal relied on the falling costs of renewable substitutes compared to coal, particularly when factoring in the environmental and health costs of the project. The long-term return on investment for the new coal plant was deemed unacceptable to the most favorable lender; private and alternative lenders were therefore unlikely to step in.

Finally, information about donor withdrawal from the coal plant could lead to public backlash in an ideational story. Observationally, this mechanism cannot be ruled out as this could lead to geographically unconstrained vote shifting across the country. The models estimate the differences in vote share across Kosovo, not between Kosovo and other states. However, even in the case of informational effects, the geographic winners and losers from the withdrawal disproportionately vote for the pro-international and anti-coal party, respectively. Ideational backlash would also be more likely to increase support for the non-aligned party, which explicitly blamed the World Bank for its failure to follow through with the project—empirically the non-aligned party sees no change in its vote share. Additionally, the *direction* of backlash in response to aid withdrawal does bear out empirically: blame for withdrawal directed at the incumbent party should result in a lower vote share for this party amongst areas most affected by the withdrawal. Instead, the incumbent (pro-coal) party *gains* vote

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<sup>25</sup>Though the credibility of this pledge has been undermined by China's continued investment in Indonesia's coal industry, see "China still backs overseas coal plants despite 2021 pledge, research shows." *Reuters*. April 28, 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/sustainability/cop/hold-china-still-backs-overseas-coal-plants-despite-2021-pledge-research-shows-2025-04-29/>

<sup>26</sup>Ma, Ziyi and Yu Ma. "What's After Coal? Accelerating China's Overseas Investment in Renewables." *World Resources Institute*. January 31, 2023. <https://www.wri.org/insights/whats-after-coal-accelerating-chinas-overseas-investment-renewables>

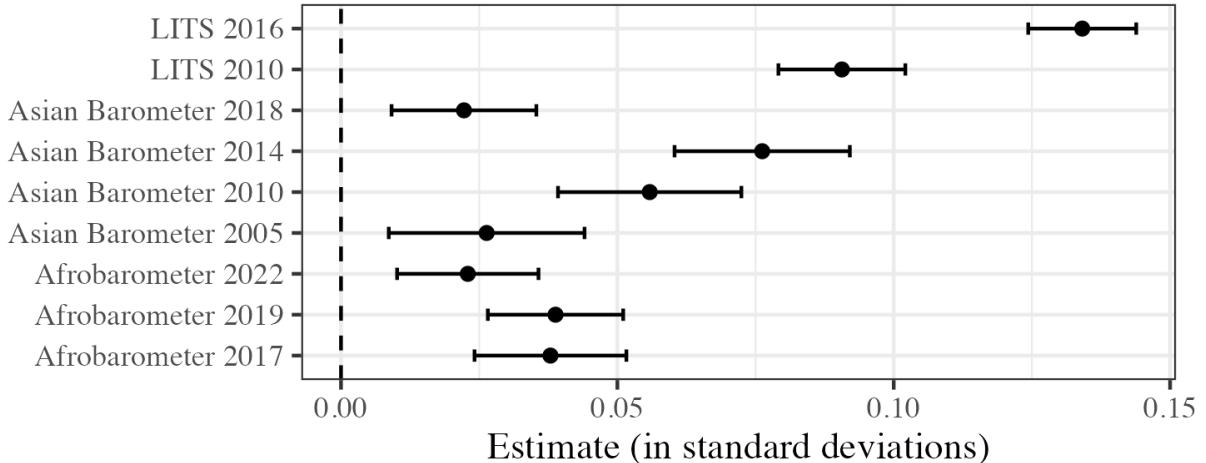
share in this population.

## 3.4 Generalizability

The case of the World Bank’s withdrawal from coal in Kosovo is uniquely suited to test the effects of international donor funding for the green energy transition in aid-dependent nations. However, the internal validity of the difference-in-differences design could come at a cost to the applicability of the findings beyond a single country. I ensure that the Kosovo case is not overly specific by examining how key features of the design apply to other contexts: first, the salience and correlation between pro-environment and pro-international attitudes in other developing contexts, second, the translation of these concerns into political platforms for parties in developing countries, and finally, the frequency of donor withdrawal from energy plants globally.

### 3.4.1 Generalizability

First, is the link between pro-environmental attitudes and pro-international attitudes unique to Kosovo? Existing research suggests that the two are often bundled together in rich, industrialized nations (Voeten, 2025), but less is known about their association in developing contexts. Drawing from three cross-national surveys fielded across Europe (Life in Transition Survey, or LITS), Africa (Afrobarometer), and Asia (Asian Barometer) from 2005 to 2022, I compare individual respondents’ attitudes towards climate change and international cooperation. Appendix Table 11 reports details of the questions used to identify pro-climate and pro-international attitudes as well as listing the sample of countries in each survey-year. Figure 5 shows the association between pro-climate attitudes (primarily proxied by concern about climate change’s impacts) and pro-international cooperation attitudes. To account for differences in question phrasing and outcome scale over surveys and time, I transform all estimates into standard deviations for comparability.



*Figure 5: Public opinion on climate change and pro-international orientation: OLS estimates for association between climate concern and pro-international orientation. Pro-international orientation is proxied by trust in NGOs (LITS 2010 and 2016), perceptions of corruption in NGOs (Asian Barometer; Afrobarometer 2017 and 2021), and support for freedom of movement (Afrobarometer 2019).*

Across all surveys in all years, pro-climate attitudes are positively associated with pro-international attitudes. These results align with existing work on pro-environmental and pro-non-governmental attitudes as determinants of pro-climate action in China, India, Germany, and the United States (Davino *et al.*, 2019). The consistency of the relationship between environmentalism and internationalism across survey contexts suggests that the empirical patterns in Kosovo generalize to other developing countries.

### 3.4.2 Generalizability

Second, do politicians in developing countries link cooperation with the international donor community and environmental policies? The history of international development and environment is not straightforward. The environmental disruption of fossil fuels inspired local resistance to international organizations throughout the latter half of the twentieth century (Hadden, 2015; Nielson & Tierney, 2003; Wade, 1997; Weaver, 2008). International support for extractive industries in the name of industrialization for developing countries often for-

gave environmental crimes—the World Bank’s Narmada Dam project in India was infamously cancelled after local populations rallied against the deforestation, displacement, and environmental damage planned by the dam’s construction.<sup>27</sup> While the Bank approved a large loan for South Africa to decommission its coal sector in 2023, it also approved almost three billion dollars for the construction of a new coal plant in the country in 2010.<sup>28</sup> Political parties that support international cooperation could be more or less likely to have pro-environmental platforms depending on their exposure to international funding for dirty and clean energy.

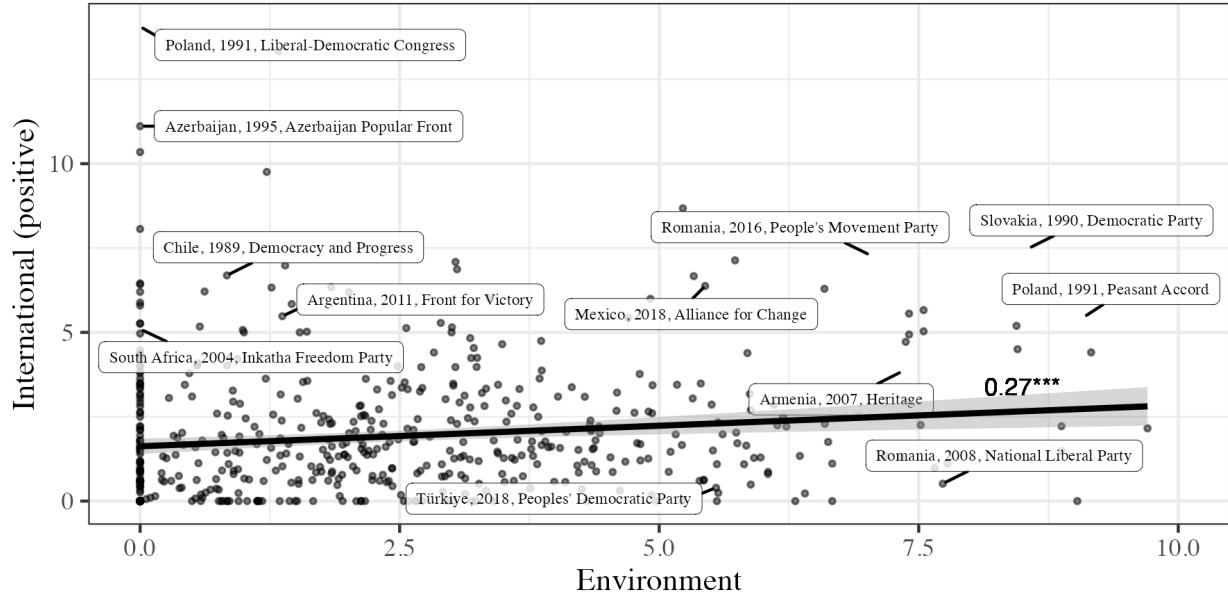
Drawing from data on political party platforms from the Comparative Manifesto Project (Lehmann, 2024), Figure 6 shows the association between political parties’ stances on environmentalism (higher values = pro-environment) and positive stances on international cooperation. Parties that score high on environmentalism are generally “in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other “green” policies” (Lehmann, 2024, 18); positive internationalism represents parties that support the “need for international co-operation,” which may additionally include support for aid to developing countries, support for the UN or other international organizations, and generally positive attitudes towards global governance (Lehmann, 2024, 12). The Comparative Manifesto Project collects the electoral policy platforms of over 1000 parties in fifty countries from 1945 to present. Geographic coverage of the dataset favors rich, industrialized countries but contains a number of historically low and lower-middle income countries. Subsetting the data to only these countries of interest, I find that parties in low and lower-middle income countries highly correlate on measures of pro-environmental and pro-international policy preferences ( $t - stat = 0.17$ ).

In Appendix Figure 18, I show that the association between parties’ environmental and

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<sup>27</sup>Weaving, Rachel. “Leaning from Narmada.” *World Bank*. 1 May 1995. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/777211468249297544/pdf/28514.pdf>

<sup>28</sup>Goldenberg, Suzanne. “World Bank Approves \$3.75B for South Africa Coal Plant, Despite Environmental Criticism.” *InsideClimateNews*. 10 April 2010. <https://insideclimatenews.org/news/09042010/world-bank-approves-375b-south-africa-coal-plant-despite-environmental-criticism/>



*Figure 6: Internationalism and environmentalism by party: Association between political party stances on international actors and environmentalism. Points represent party platforms on two dimensions. Select party-years labeled. Data on party platforms from Lehmann (2024); only parties in low- and low-middle income countries with greater than 10% of national vote share included; excludes two outlier parties (Romania's 1990 Romanian Ecological Party and Mexico's 2012 Mexican Green Ecologist Party).*

pro-international preferences has grown stronger over time (by 0.05 standard deviations per year). Additional exploratory tests show an association between party platforms and countries receiving energy projects from international actors (specifically the World Bank): parties in countries that have received fossil fuel projects in the prior five years are not particularly likely to link pro-environmental to pro-international attitudes ( $t - stat = 0.06$ ) while parties in countries with renewable projects have a strong association between the two policy platforms ( $t - stat = 0.38$ ) (see Appendix Figure 19). These data show a link between how political parties situate their environmental and international preferences and the types of aid projects they receive. The relationship is not causal but reflects underlying conditions that may encourage politicians to shift preferences towards friendlier environmental policies if they are internationally aligned, or against environmental concerns when they oppose

international cooperation. This association may be made stronger when international actors are likely to or have already funded energy projects that support environmentally sensitive policies.

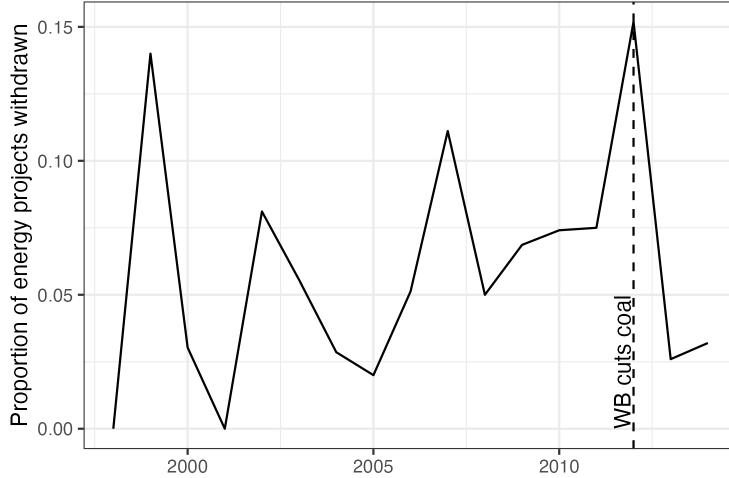
### 3.4.3 Generalizability

Finally, how often are internationally funded energy projects abandoned? A challenge in studying donor withdrawal from energy projects is selection into withdrawn projects; often donors withdraw funding for projects in part because of the political or economic situation in a recipient country. While the strategic value of aid withdrawal has been noted (Asongu & Nwachukwu, 2017)<sup>29</sup>, fluctuations in fiscal support for aid projects may have little to do with donors' strategic aims towards developing countries, as the recent shuttering of the United States Agency for International Development by the second Trump administration shows. I collect novel data from the World Bank's Monthly Operational Summaries (MOS) to provide a lower bound of the frequency of withdrawal from energy aid.<sup>30</sup> With these data, which include details on projects in progress but not yet approved by the World Bank, I show the first evidence of the rate at which specifically energy aid projects are withdrawn in Figure 7. Withdrawn projects are not evenly spread across World Bank sectors; energy projects are particularly likely to be withdrawn (see Appendix E). On average, ten percent of proposed World Bank projects are withdrawn. For energy projects, this rate increases dramatically from 3% in 2004 to over 15% in 2013, in the midst of the World Bank's transition away from coal funding. The majority of these projects supported fossil fuel production and were subsequently replaced by renewable energy projects (see Appendix E).

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<sup>29</sup>See also the 2023 special issue of *World Development* on Aid Withdrawals and Suspensions: Why, Why and Are They Effective? (Cheeseman *et al.*, 2024), including Attia & Grauvogel (2023); Corwin (2023); Dasandi & Erez (2023); Iannantuoni (2025); Kohno *et al.* (2020); Mertens (2021)

<sup>30</sup>For a full description of these data, see Appendix E



*Figure 7: Aid withdrawal rates in energy sector: Proportion of projects from 1998 to 2015 withdrawn. Black line represents proportion of projects last reported on in a given year that were withdrawn. Dotted horizontal line at 2013 shows the year in which the World Bank pledged to remove funding for coal plants. Data collected by author from World Bank Monthly Operational Summaries.*

## 4 Conclusion

The green energy transition affects the domestic politics of recipient countries by altering the distributional benefits of energy investment. In countries where the ability to implement policies is tied to international funding, voters look not only to the policy position of parties but their ties to the international community. As donors withdraw their support for fossil fuel projects in favor of renewable energy, the economic benefits to voters depends on their representatives' links to foreign funding. The causal effects of withdrawal depend on the distributional costs (and benefits) of the policy, which in turn depend on the likelihood of international support for projects. In Kosovo, while expectations of economic benefits define voting in coal and renewable communities in the wake of aid withdrawal, a key distinguishing feature between parties is their closeness to the international community. Fossil fuel communities punished pro-renewable parties with international ties but not pro-renewable parties without them; the reverse holds for renewable communities. Withdrawing from fossil

fuels allows pro-environmental donors to align their future commitments to their new priorities, but these actions may have longer-term costs on international influence in developing countries when donors' domestic allies lose ground.

While parties in the global north have struggled in recent years to keep their campaign promises in an increasingly globalized world (Schneider & Thomson, 2024), the policies and promises of politicians in aid-dependent states in the global south have long been subject to the changing preferences of outside actors. Countries with limited funds are reluctant to decommission power plants that are still able to generate power in favor of spending additional funds to invest in new power sources, particularly when these promises may be fickle. However, dollar for dollar, it is often cheaper to transition countries with less established fossil fuel infrastructure to renewable sources. For both economic and normative reasons, several partnerships between donor and recipient countries have emerged to ease the shift from fossil fuel production to renewable energy use. As of 2024, Just Energy Transition Partnerships (JETPs) sponsored by major bilateral and multilateral donors have been signed with South Africa, Senegal, Indonesia, and Vietnam. JETPs aim to rectify the international and internal inequities in the energy transition by subsidizing renewable investment and the decommissioning of fossil fuels. The JETPs aim to compensate energy transition “losers” across countries (by allocating funds from rich to poor countries) and within them (by subsidizing jobs in renewable energy in the same locations as former fossil fuel plants).

The ability of international donors to maintain influence via their domestic allies through the green transition depends on their promises to invest in new projects, particularly in renewable energy. However, the credibility of international donors even *within* the context of commitments to renewable energy threatens the green transition (Michaelowa & Namhata, 2022). As of early 2025, the almost complete withdrawal of United States development aid leaves a giant fiscal hole in the budgets of developing countries worldwide; any prior US pledges to support renewable energy, amongst all other pledges, have been effectively

wiped from the ledger. Other rich, industrialized countries undercut their commitments to an international green energy transition through their own energy demands: South Africa saw an increase in coal exports to Europe in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine<sup>31</sup>, undermining donors' ability to push the country to decommission its coal plants.<sup>32</sup> Vietnam's JETP saw setbacks due to the reorganization of financing as concessional loans rather than grants, making the transition riskier and more expensive for the country.<sup>33</sup> The viability of renewable energy development within aid-dependent countries is also in flux as domestic investments in renewable energy production in Europe, Canada, and Australia undermine the competitiveness of renewable energy in the Global South. The chief economist of the Asian Development Bank noted of the new green industrial policies, "We just think all of that is terrible for the world. You're going to slow the green transition."<sup>34</sup>

Climate-concerned donors may be their own worst enemy in the energy transition, but they also face challenges from an evolving landscape of donors. As nontraditional actors such as China and Saudi Arabia play a larger role in global international development, competition between these states and traditional Western donors could alter the dynamics of aid withdrawal and the energy transition.<sup>35</sup> Environmentally progressive donors face

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<sup>31</sup>Burkhardt, Paul. "Top African Coal Port's Snags Are No Match for European Demand." *Bloomberg*. 6 February 2023. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/newsletters/2023-02-06/supply-chain-latest-south-african-coal-shipments-to-europe-surged-in-2022>

<sup>32</sup>Germany itself halted the decommissioning of its coal due to disrupted fuel pipelines, further reducing its ability to credibly encourage the energy transition. Sguazzin, Antony and Paul Burkhardt. "How 60 Million South Africans Are Being Failed by Global Climate Politics." *Bloomberg*. 25 April 2023. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2023-04-25/load-shedding-today-south-africa-green-energy-plan-fails-first-test>

<sup>33</sup>Civillini, Matteo. "Vietnam charts uncertain coal path as finance falls short." *Climate Change News*. 3 December 2023. <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2023/12/03/vietnam-charts-uncertain-coal-path-as-finance-falls-short/>

<sup>34</sup>McCormick, Myles, Amanda Chu and Miguel Johnson "Green nationalism' endangers the global energy transition." *Financial Times*. 6 July 2023 <https://www.ft.com/content/17808f45-adb9-4006-8d1a-dce1822add1e>

<sup>35</sup>Shukman, David. "China-backed coal projects prompt climate change fears." *BBC* 22 November 2018. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-46310807>

particular challenges as their own withdrawal from fossil fuels could lead to replacement with even less climate-friendly policies as other donors step in.

This study has clear implications for international involvement in mitigating climate change in developing countries. International commitment to climate change mitigation and adaptation is reshaping international institutions, and foreign aid, both bilateral and multilateral, follows these same trends (Kono & Montinola, 2019; Michaelowa & Michaelowa, 2011; Roberts *et al.*, 2009). In the energy sector, donors and recipients balance the humanitarian and development concerns of recipients in coal-, oil-, and natural gas-abundant nations against the environmental costs of burning fossil fuels. Environmental groups have successfully instituted policies for development agencies to evaluate the environmental risks of development projects, requiring implementors to assess the potential pollution or agricultural degradation that may result from implementing projects. This dynamic points to the limits of international coercion on climate change mitigation and adaptation in developing contexts. While foreign aid can be a tool for environmental progress, new commitments to climate-friendly policies cannot fail to take into consideration the costs of transitioning from fossil fuel projects.

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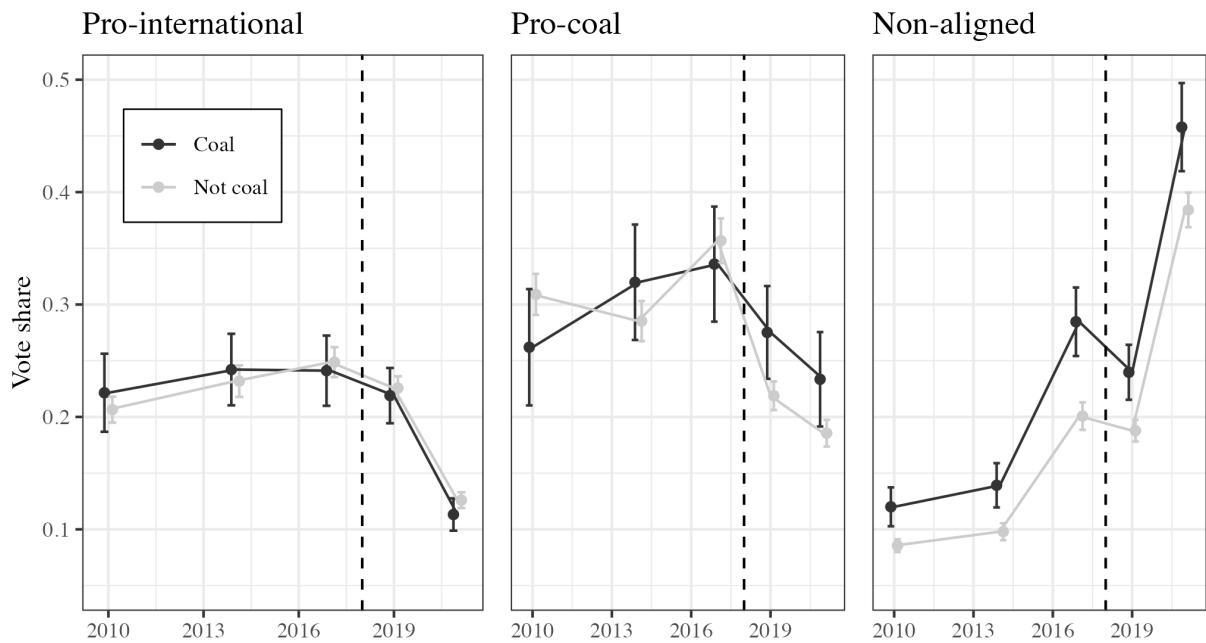
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*Figure 8: Difference-in-differences (Coal): Coefficients for the interaction term, Post-2018\*Proximity, using a 15km bandwidth of exposure (Proximity). 95% confidence intervals depicted. Three separate models estimated by party.*

## A Pre-trends

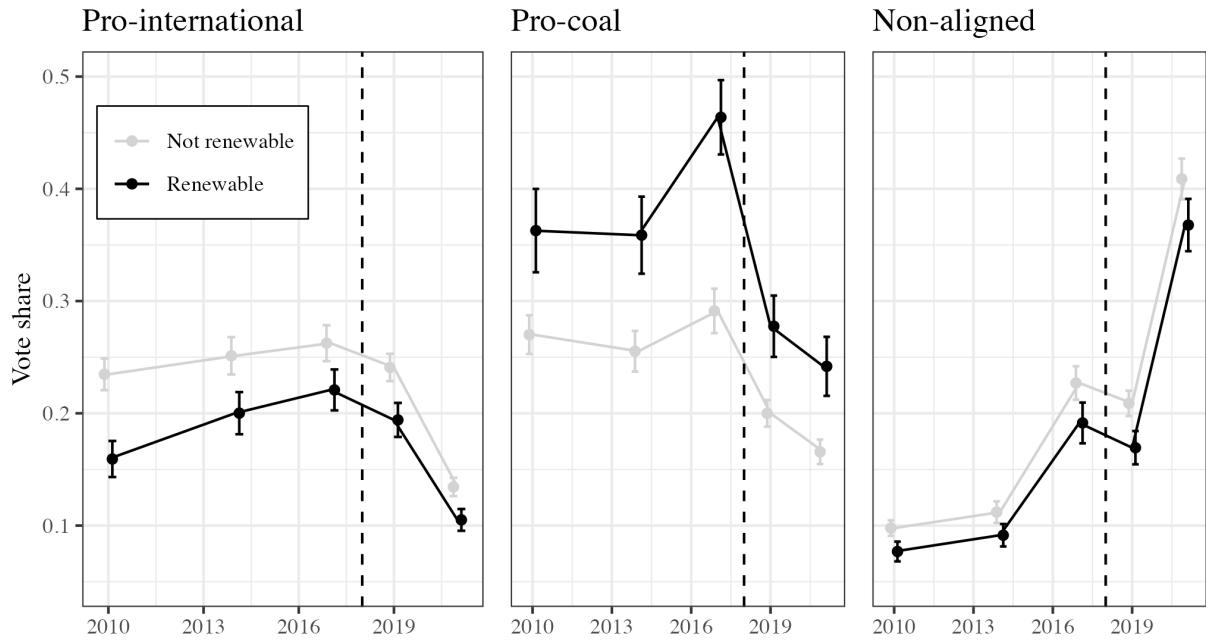


Figure 9: Difference-in-differences (Renewable): Coefficients for the interaction term, Post-2018\*Proximity, using a 15km bandwidth of exposure (Proximity). 95% confidence intervals depicted. Three separate models estimated by party.

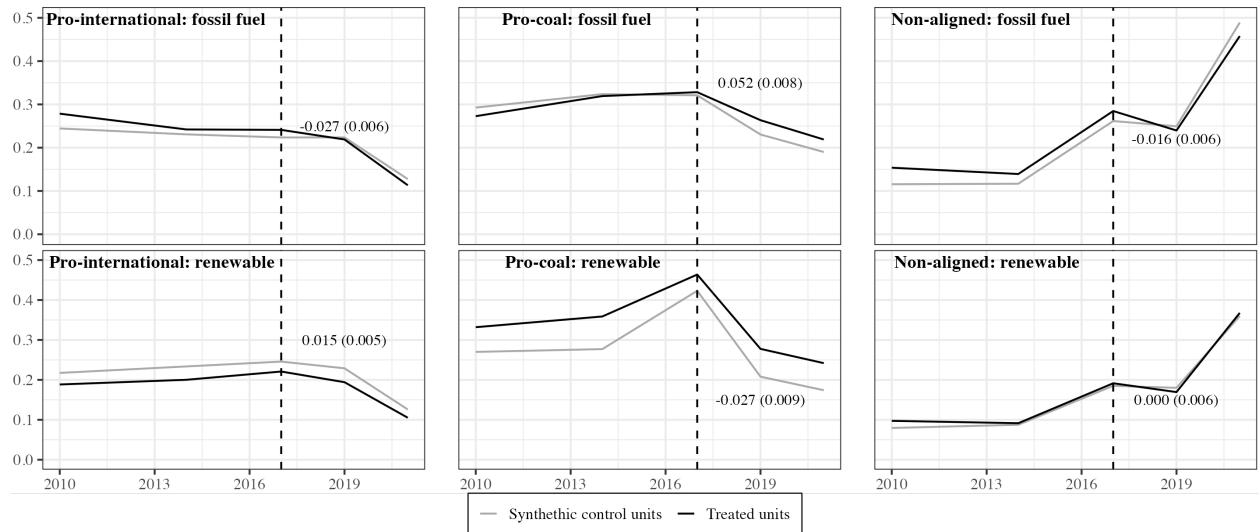


Figure 10: Synthetic difference-in-differences: Coefficients for the interaction term, Post-2018\*Proximity, using a 15km bandwidth of exposure (Proximity). Six separate models estimated by party and energy source.

## B Robustness

	Panel A: Party votes			Fossil fuel			Renewable		
	Pro-Coal (1)	Pro-Intl. (2)	Non-aligned (3)	Pro-Coal (4)	Pro-Intl. (5)	Non-aligned (6)			
Post-2018 × Proximity	38.848** ( 14.178) [2.2979]	-38.641* ( 16.268) [0.93637]	217.269*** ( 45.514) [6.5923]	-80.180*** ( 8.700) [1.4554]	16.519* ( 8.420) [0.99447]	-22.237 ( 26.338) [6.2583]			
Poll fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Num.Obs.	5119	5132	5073	5119	5132	4164			
R2	0.897	0.932	0.671	0.899	0.931	0.6644			
R2 Adj.	0.875	0.917	0.599	0.877	0.916	0.5913			
Panel B: Party votes (log)									
	Fossil fuel			Renewable					
	Pro-Coal (1)	Pro-Intl. (2)	Non-aligned (3)	Pro-Coal (4)	Pro-Intl. (5)	Non-aligned (6)			
Post-2018 × Proximity	0.332*** ( 0.047) [0.006]	0.095+ ( 0.053) [0.005]	0.093 ( 0.059) [0.005]	-0.185*** ( 0.036) [0.005]	0.090* ( 0.041) [0.007]	0.062 ( 0.049) [0.007]			
Poll fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Num.Obs.	3504	3519	3479	3504	3519	3479			
R2	0.946	0.954	0.927	0.946	0.954	0.927			
R2 Adj.	0.938	0.947	0.915	0.937	0.947	0.915			

Table 4: Difference-in-differences results with polling station votes as outcome: DiD estimates for the effects of proximity (15km) to renewable or fossil fuel plants after the World Bank's withdrawal of support for coal. Robust standard errors in parentheses; Conley standard errors in brackets. Top panel uses party votes as an outcome; bottom panel logs the party votes.

	Fossil fuel			Renewable		
	Pro-Coal (1)	Pro-Intl. (2)	Non-aligned (3)	Pro-Coal (4)	Pro-Intl. (5)	Non-aligned (6)
Post-2018*	0.051*** ( 0.006) [0.0008]	-0.033*** ( 0.008) [0.0010]	0.027+ ( 0.014) [0.0017]	-0.032*** ( 0.006) [0.0009]	0.037*** ( 0.006) [0.0012]	-0.018+ ( 0.011) [0.0017]
Poll fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Num.Obs.	3504	3519	3479	3504	3519	3479
R2	0.857	0.850	0.662	0.856	0.851	0.662
R2 Adj.	0.834	0.826	0.606	0.833	0.827	0.606

Table 5: Difference-in-differences results with long-standing polling stations: DiD estimates for the effects of proximity (15km) to renewable or fossil fuel plants after the World Bank’s withdrawal of support for coal. Robust standard errors in parentheses; Conley standard errors in brackets. Excludes polling stations opened after 2010.

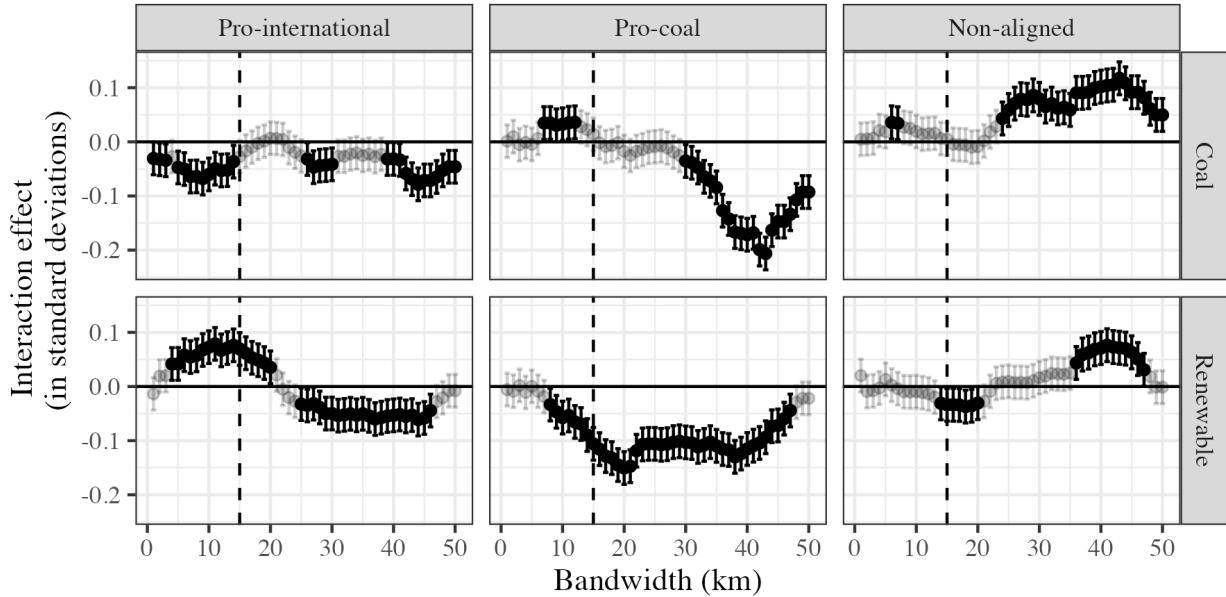


Figure 11: Difference-in-differences results by distance from energy: DiD estimates for the effects of proximity to renewable or fossil fuel plants after the World Bank’s withdrawal of support for coal by distance from energy source. Confidence intervals constructed with robust standard errors.

	Fossil fuel			Renewable		
	Pro-Coal	Pro-Intl.	Non-aligned	Pro-Coal	Pro-Intl.	Non-aligned
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Post-2018 x Proximity	0.063*** ( 0.006) [0.0012]	-0.029*** ( 0.007) [0.0009]	0.022+ ( 0.013) [0.0011]	-0.049*** ( 0.007) [0.0006]	0.020*** ( 0.005) [0.0008]	-0.024* ( 0.009) [0.0015]
Poll fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Num.Obs.	5019	5032	4974	4766	4783	3869
R2	0.869	0.838	0.679	0.862	0.839	0.6794
R2 Adj.	0.841	0.803	0.609	0.832	0.803	0.6084

Table 6: Difference-in-differences results with donuts: DiD estimates for the effects of proximity (15km) to renewable or fossil fuel plants after the World Bank's withdrawal of support for coal excluding polling stations within 5km of energy plants. Robust standard errors in parentheses; Conley standard errors in brackets.

	Photovoltaic potential			Wind power density		
	Pro-Intl.	Pro-Coal	Non-aligned	Pro-Intl.	Pro-Coal	Non-aligned
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Post-2018* Suitability	0.054+ ( 0.028)	-0.289*** ( 0.042)	-0.142** ( 0.052)	-0.000 ( 0.000)	0.0001* ( 0.000)	-0.000*** ( 0.000)
Poll fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Num.Obs.	5131	5118	5072	5131	5118	5072
R2	0.836	0.870	0.679	0.836	0.868	0.681
R2 Adj.	0.801	0.842	0.609	0.801	0.839	0.611

+ p < 0.10

Table 7: Renewable potential: One unit increase in solar potential (kilowatt hours per day) on vote share for a given party in a given polling station in a given municipality (Models 1-3). One unit increase in mean wind power density (watts per square meter) on vote share for a given party in a polling station in a given municipality.

Energy plant	Material	Vote share		
		Pro-intl	Pro-coal	Non-aligned
Kosovo Energy Corp	Coal	-0.03 (0.01)	0.05 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Newco Ferronikeli	Nickel (Ore)	0.03 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.05 (0.01)
Glogovac	Nickel (Metal)	0.03 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.06 (0.01)
LED Light Technology Kosova	Solar	0.03 (0.01)	-0.09 (0.01)	-0.08 (0.01)
ONIX Spa	Solar	0.03 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Birra Peja	Solar	0.02 (0.01)	-0.07 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Eling	Solar	0.03 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)
Frigo Food Kosova	Solar	0.02 (0.01)	-0.07 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Solar Green Energy	Solar	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Kitka	Wind	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Era Energija	Wind	-0.01(0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)

Table 8: List of energy plants and mines in Kosovo: Names of plants and type of material produced. Coefficients for the interaction term, **Post-2018\*Proximity** using 15km bandwidth of exposure (**Proximity**) around individual plant, robust standard errors in parentheses. Fossil fuel sources highlighted in grey; renewable sources unhighlighted.

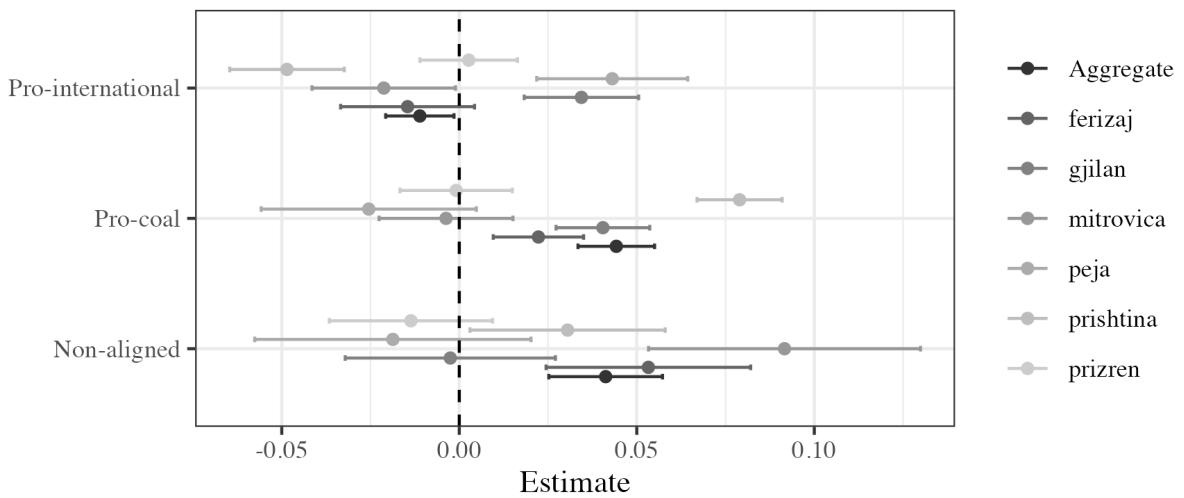


Figure 12: Aggregate and decomposed: Coefficients for the interaction term, **Post-2018\*Proximity**, using 15km bandwidth of exposure (**Proximity**) around major city centers. 95% confidence intervals depicted.

	Excluding Serb municipalities					
	<u>Fossil fuel</u>			<u>Renewable</u>		
	Pro-intl. (1)	Pro-coal (2)	Non-aligned (3)	Pro-intl. (4)	Pro-coal (5)	Non-aligned (6)
Post-2018*	-0.030***	0.061***	0.015	0.027***	-0.034***	-0.031***
Proximity	( 0.007)	( 0.006)	( 0.012)	( 0.005)	( 0.006)	( 0.009)
Poll fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Num.Obs.	4779	4769	4723	4779	4769	4723
R2	0.822	0.862	0.671	0.822	0.861	0.672
R2 Adj.	0.786	0.833	0.603	0.786	0.832	0.605

Table 9: Estimates accounting for Serb municipalities: Main models measuring effect of coal withdrawal on vote share for three parties in fossil fuel (left three models) and renewable (right three models) communities excluding polling stations in Serb municipalities. All models include polling station fixed effects and robust standard errors.

## C Labor characteristics

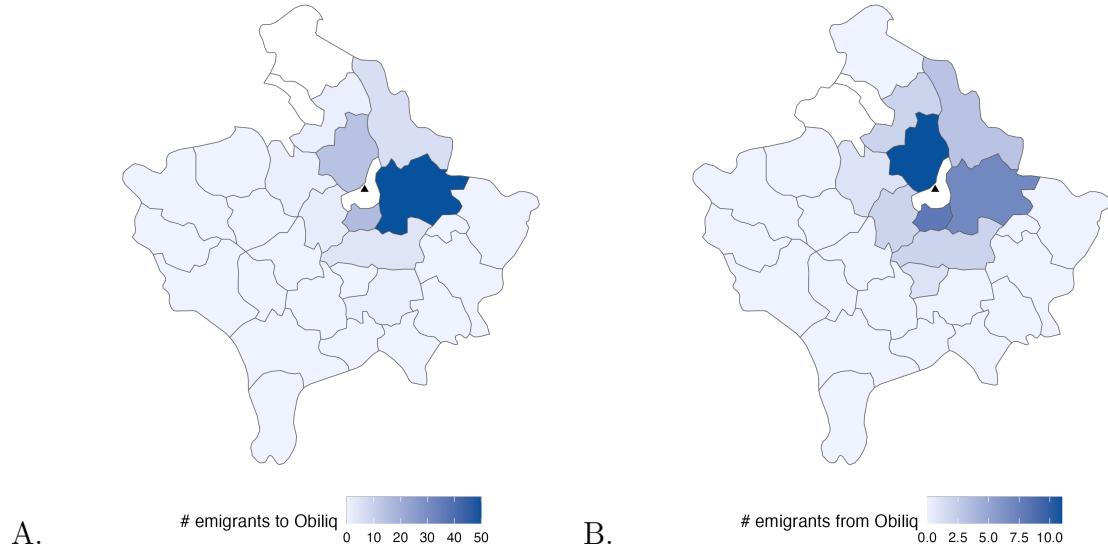


Figure 13: Migration to and from mining area (2014): Panel A shows number of emigrants to municipality with coal; Panel B shows number of emigrants from municipality with coal. Coal plant location indicated by black triangle.

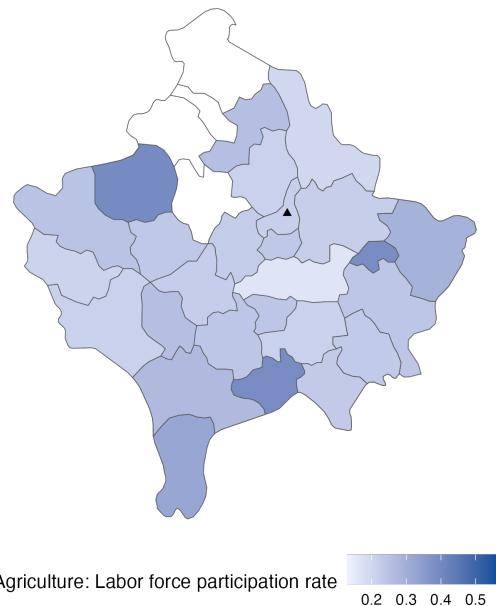


Figure 14: Labor force participation rate in agriculture by municipality. Coal plant location indicated by black triangle.

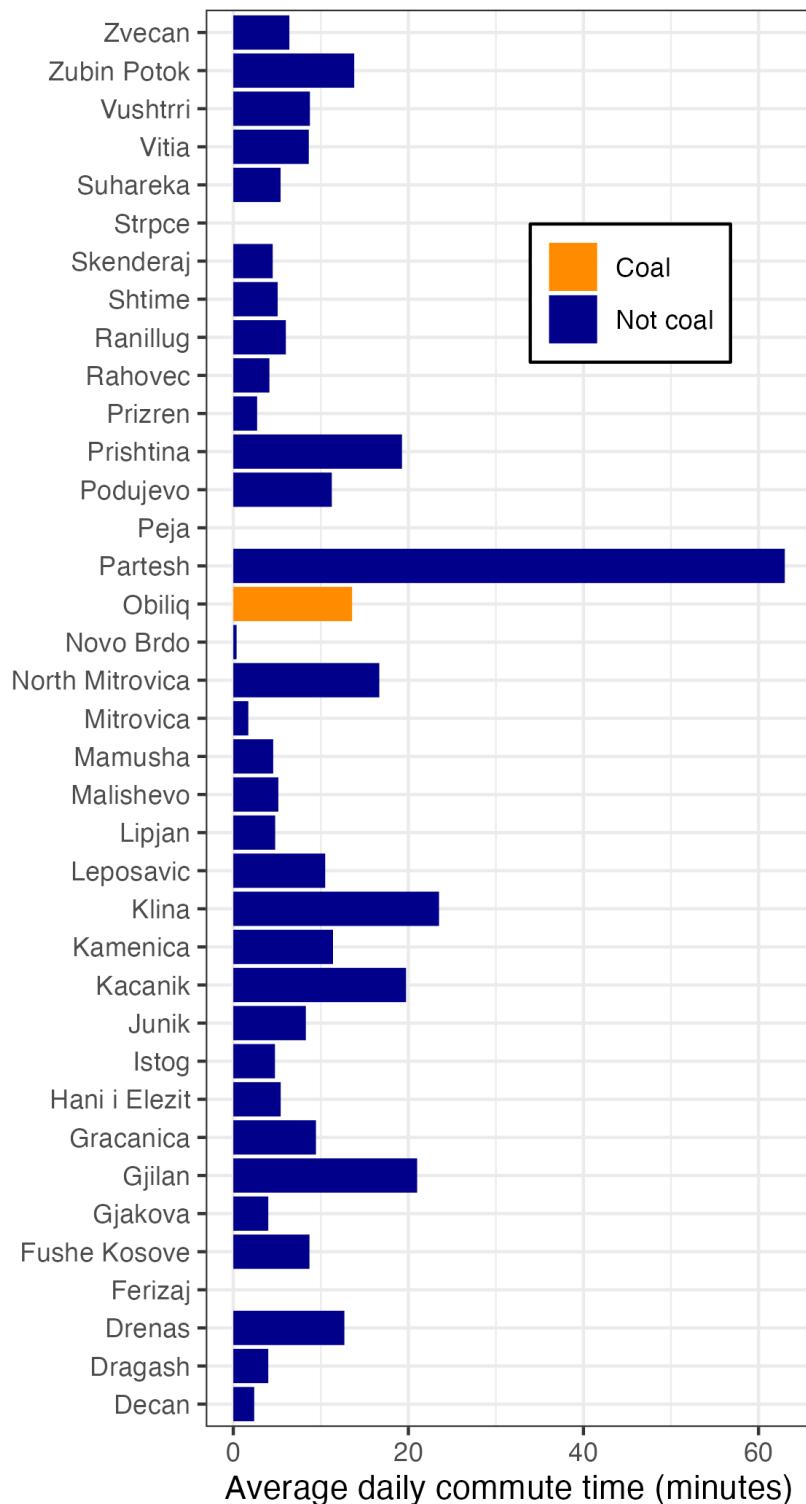
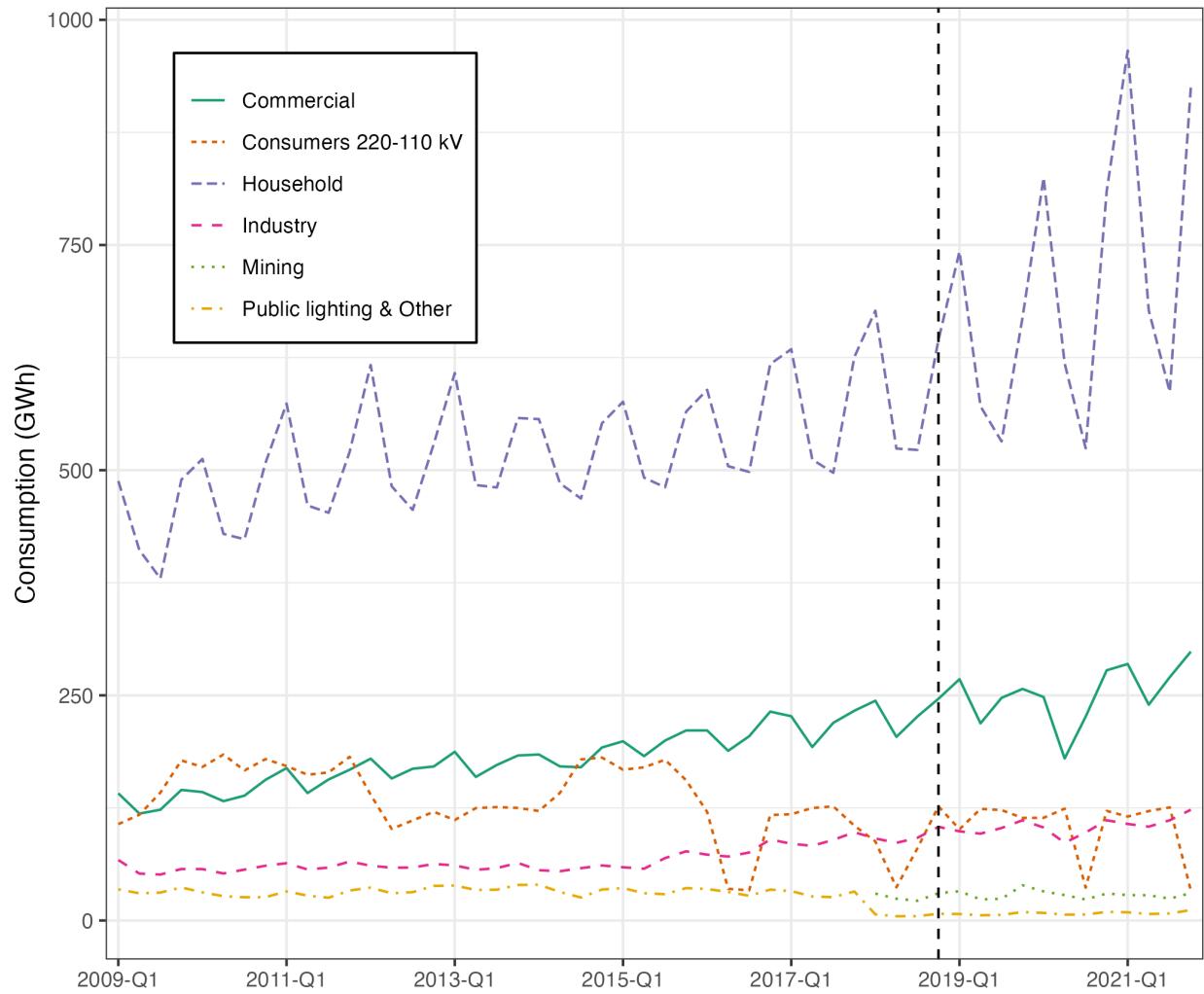
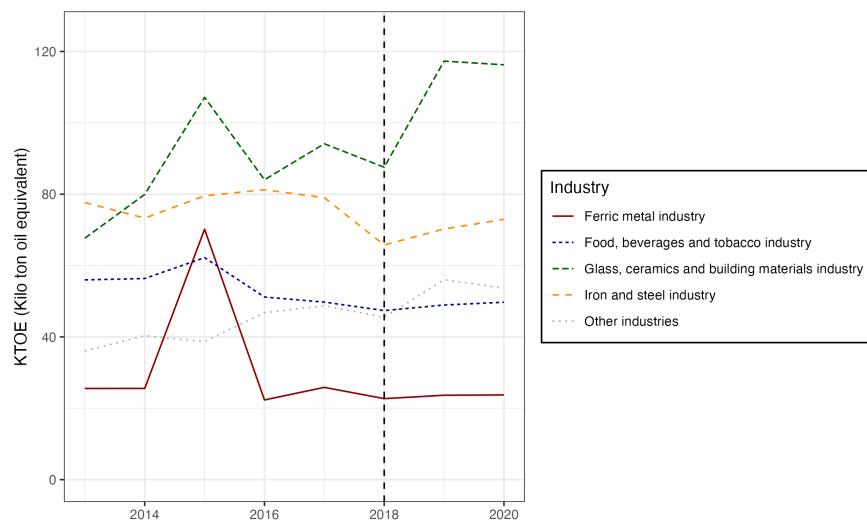


Figure 15: Average commute times: Average commute time in a given municipality. Data from the Kosovo Time Use Survey.

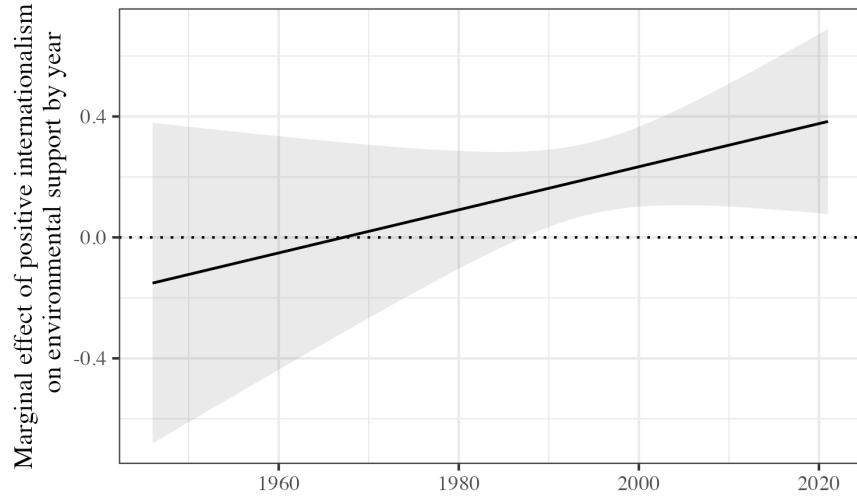


*Figure 16: Kosovo energy use: Consumption of energy over time. Data from the Kosovo Agency for Statistics. Horizontal line indicates date of coal plant withdrawal.*



*Figure 17: Kosovo energy use by industry: Consumption of energy over time by industry. Data from the Kosovo Agency for Statistics. Horizontal line indicates date of coal plant withdrawal.*

## D Scope conditions



*Figure 18: Party internationalism and environmentalism over time: Marginal effect of pro-environmental policy preference on pro-international policy preference over time. Data on party platforms from Lehmann (2024); only parties in low- and low-middle income countries with greater than 10% of national vote share included*

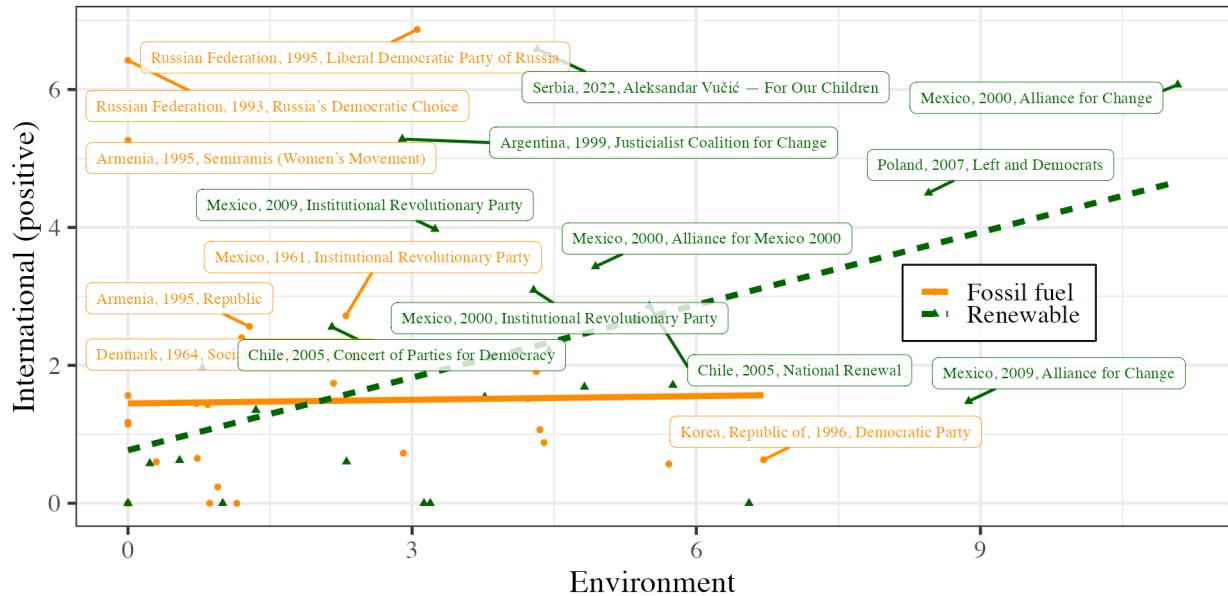
	LITS II (1)	LITS III (2)	AfB 8 (3)	AfB 7 (4)	AfB 9 (5)	AsB 2 (6)	AsB 3 (7)	AsB 4 (8)	AsB 5 (9)
(Intercept)	0.242*** ( 0.008)	0.212*** ( 0.006)	3.180*** ( 0.032)	2.773*** ( 0.019)	2.849*** ( 0.018)	2.541*** ( 0.007)	2.661*** ( 0.007)	2.605*** ( 0.006)	3.912*** ( 0.009)
Climate	0.038*** ( 0.002)	0.055*** ( 0.002)	0.050*** ( 0.008)	0.026*** ( 0.005)	0.016*** ( 0.004)	0.041** ( 0.014)	0.250*** ( 0.038)	0.096*** ( 0.010)	0.051*** ( 0.015)
Num.Obs.	29141	40261	25633	20360	23480	12254	13965	15283	22395
R2	0.008	0.018	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.004	0.005	0.001
R2 Adj.	0.008	0.018	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.005	0.001

*Table 10: Public opinion on climate change and pro-international orientation: OLS estimates for association between climate concern and pro-international orientation (proxied by NGO and freedom of movement).*

Survey	Countries	Climate Q	International Q	Estimate	SE	N
Life in Transition Survey II (2010)	Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Macedonia, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Tajikistan, Turkey, Great Britain, Ukraine, Uzbekistan	Would you be willing to give part of your income or pay more taxes, if you were sure that the extra money was used to combat climate change (No...Yes)	To what extent do you trust the following institutions... NGOs (Complete distrust .... Complete trust)	0.038 [0.037]	0.002 [0.002]	29139 [29105]

Life in Transition Survey III (2016)	Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herz., Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Rep., Estonia, FYR Macedonia, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyz Rep., Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovak Rep., Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkey, Ukraine, Uzbekistan	Would you be willing to give part of your income or pay more taxes, if you were sure that the extra money was used to combat climate change (No...Yes)	To what extent do you trust the following institutions... NGOs (Complete distrust .... Complete trust)	0.055 [0.051]	0.002 [0.002]	40259 [40226]
Afrobarometer 7 (2017)	Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, eSwatini, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Do you think climate change is making life in [COUNTRY] better or worse, or haven't you heard enough to say? (Much worse ... much better)	How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? Non-governmental organisations (None ... All of them)	0.026 [0.013]	0.005 [0.005]	20358 [20327]
Afrobarometer 8 (2019)	Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Do you think climate change is making life in [COUNTRY] better or worse, or haven't you heard enough to say? (Much worse ... much better)	Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement 1: People living in East Africa should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries. Statement 2: In order to protect their own citizens, governments should limit the cross-border movement of people and goods.	0.050 [0.050]	0.008 [0.008]	25631 [25598]
Afrobarometer 9 (2022)	Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Côte d'Ivoire, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Do you think climate change is making life in [COUNTRY] better or worse, or haven't you heard enough to say? (Much worse ... much better)	How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? Non-governmental organisations (None ... All of them)	0.016 [0.006]	0.004 [0.005]	23478 [23440]
Asian Barometer 2 (2005)	Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Mainland China, Mongolia, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia	In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? (Food shortage/famine; Natural disaster (drought, flood, earthquake, hurricane, etc); Land; Environment; Natural resources; Water supply)	To what extent do you trust the following institutions... NGOs (Complete distrust .... Complete trust)	0.041 [-0.006]	0.014 [0.014]	12252 [12244]
Asian Barometer 3 (2010)	Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Mainland China, Mongolia, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia	In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? (Mining exploration; Food shortage/famine; Drought; Land; Environmental protection; Natural resources)	To what extent do you trust the following institutions... NGOs (Complete distrust .... Complete trust)	0.250 [0.013]	0.0380 [0.037]	13963 [13953]
Asian Barometer 4 (2014)	Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Mainland China, Mongolia, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar	In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? (Environment/pollution/protection; Food shortage/famine; Drought; Land)	To what extent do you trust the following institutions... NGOs (Complete distrust .... Complete trust)	0.096 [0.005]	0.010 [0.010]	15281 [15270]
Asian Barometer 5 (2018)	Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, China, Mongolia, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Australia, India	In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? (Natural calamities - floods, drought; (Environment) within this Paradigm but no clear answer; Environmental degradation/protection of environment; Climate Change; Pollution/Air Quality; Wildlife protection; Waterrelated problem; Hunger, starvation, Lack of food and Nutrition; Environment issues; Climate change; Forest fire in Goseong area; Environmental issues; Environment/pollution/protection; Water supply)	To what extent do you trust the following institutions... NGOs (Complete distrust .... Complete trust)	0.051 [0.053]	0.015 [0.016]	22393 [22380]

Table 11: Public opinion on climate change and pro-international orientation: OLS estimates for association between climate concern and pro-international orientation (proxied by NGO and freedom of movement); estimates with country fixed effects in brackets. All variables recoded such that higher values indicate more pro-climate and pro-international orientation.



*Figure 19: Party internationalism and environmentalism by World Bank energy projects: Association between political party stances on international actors and environmentalism. Points represent party platforms on two dimensions. Orange circles indicate party platforms for countries that have received a fossil fuel project from the World Bank in the prior five years; green triangles parties in countries that have received a renewable project over the last five years. Green dashed line indicates fitted relationship between environmentalism and internationalism for parties in countries that have received renewable energy projects; orange solid line fossil fuel projects. Select party-years labeled. Data on party platforms from Lehmann (2024); only parties in low- and low-middle income countries with greater than 10% of national vote share included. World Bank data coded by author.*

## E World Bank Monthly Operational Summaries

These data report progress on proposed projects in recipient countries each month. The frequency and consistency of reporting on project progress allows me to pinpoint exact dates at which projects are withdrawn or approved. Once the projects are officially approved by the World Bank, they are removed from reporting. The projects enter the data in the preparation stage; the average project remains in the preparation stage for four years. A substantial amount of bureaucratic labor and capital are expended on project preparation by both the Bank and recipient countries. Both sides have clear incentives to move forward with proposed projects. Figure ?? shows the text of withdrawn projects in the MOS.

### **Lebanon**

#### **Agriculture, fishing, and forestry**

##### **Sustainable Agric. Livelihoods in Marginal Areas (SALMA):**

The proposed Project Development Objective (PDO) is to expand access of small farmers to supplementary irrigation and increase protection of agricultural lands from soil erosion in targeted remote hilly areas. Concept completed on 5 December 2012. *This project is no longer in the lending program. Further reporting will be discontinued.* Environmental Assessment Category B. Project: P131431. US\$24.0 (IBRD). Consultants will be required. Ministry of Agriculture Tel: (961-1) 821-900, E-mail: mkhansa@agriculture.gov.lb, Contact: Mohammad Khansa, Advisor to H.E. the Minister of Agriculture.

#### **Energy and mining**

##### **LB: PCB Management in the Power Sector Project:**

The objective of the Project is to dispose of high risk PCBs and improve the inventory management of transformers in the power sector in an environmentally sound manner. Approval completed on 21 November 2014. Environmental Assessment Category A. Project: P122540. US\$ 2.5 (GEFU). Consultants will be required. Ministry of Environment Tel: 9611981854, E-mail: manal.mousalem@undp-lebprojects.org, Contact: Manal Mousalem, Advisor.

### **Niger**

#### **Agriculture, fishing, and forestry**

**Agriculture Climate Smart Support Project:** The proposed development objective is to increase food production and enhance resilience through adoption of climate smart agriculture practices in the targeted communities and households in Niger. Identification completed on 18 November 2014. Environmental Assessment Category B. US\$ 116.0 (IDA Credit). Consulting services to be determined. Implementing agency(ies) to be determined.

#### **Energy and mining**

**Niger - Electricity Access Expansion Project (NELACEP):** 16. The Project Development Objective (PDO) is to increase access to electricity. Concept completed on 3 February 2015. Environmental Assessment Category B. Project: P153743. US\$ 60.0 (IDA Credit). Consulting services to be determined. Ministry of Energy and Petrol Tel: 22790645556, E-mail: as.toune@live.fr, Contact: Alio Touné, Chief of Staff, Nigelec Tel: 22720722461, E-mail: arzikam@yahoo.fr, Contact: Mahamadou Arzika, Secrétaire Général.

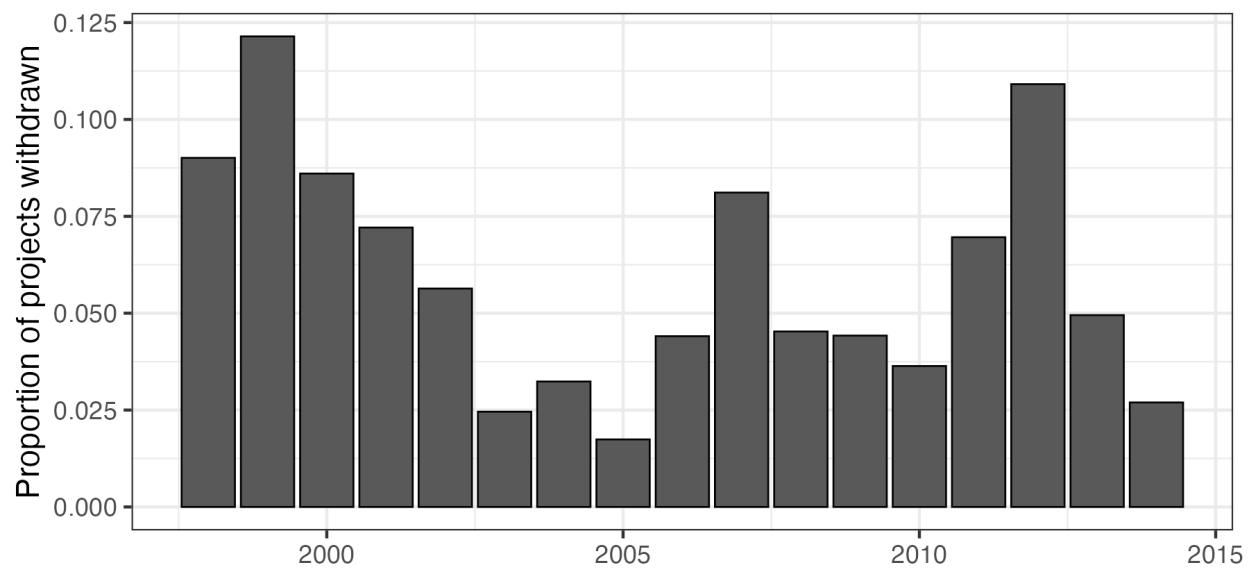


Figure 20: Aid withdrawal rates by year: Aggregated by year from projects ended from 1998 to 2015. Data collected by author from World Bank Monthly Operational Summaries.

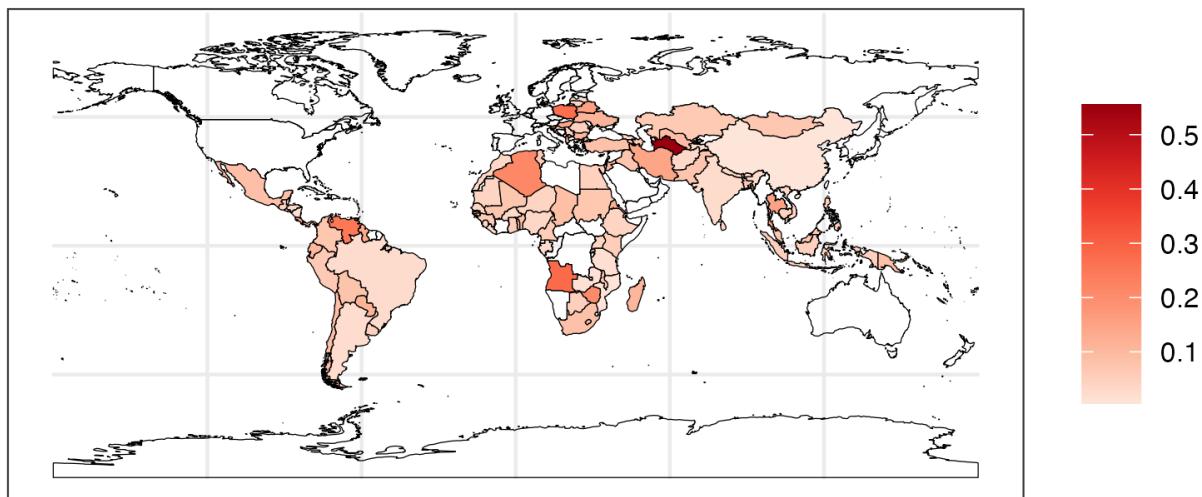


Figure 21: Proportion projects withdrawn: Proportion of total projects withdrawn by country.

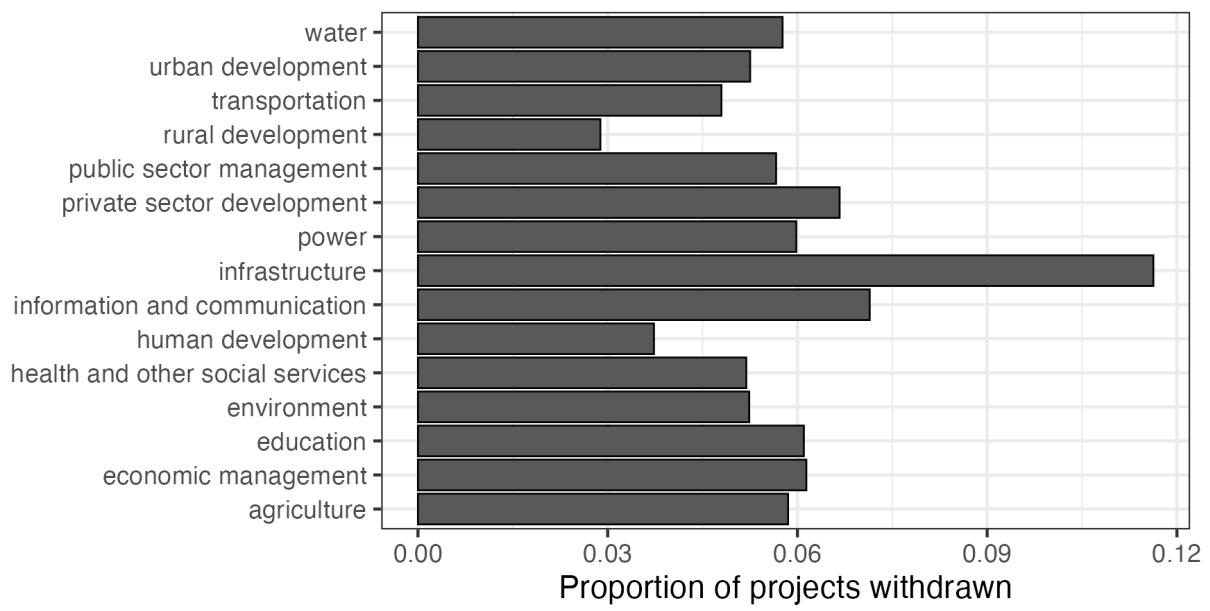


Figure 22: Aid withdrawal rates by sector: Aggregated by sector from projects started from 2004 to 2013. Data collected by author from World Bank Monthly Operational Summaries.

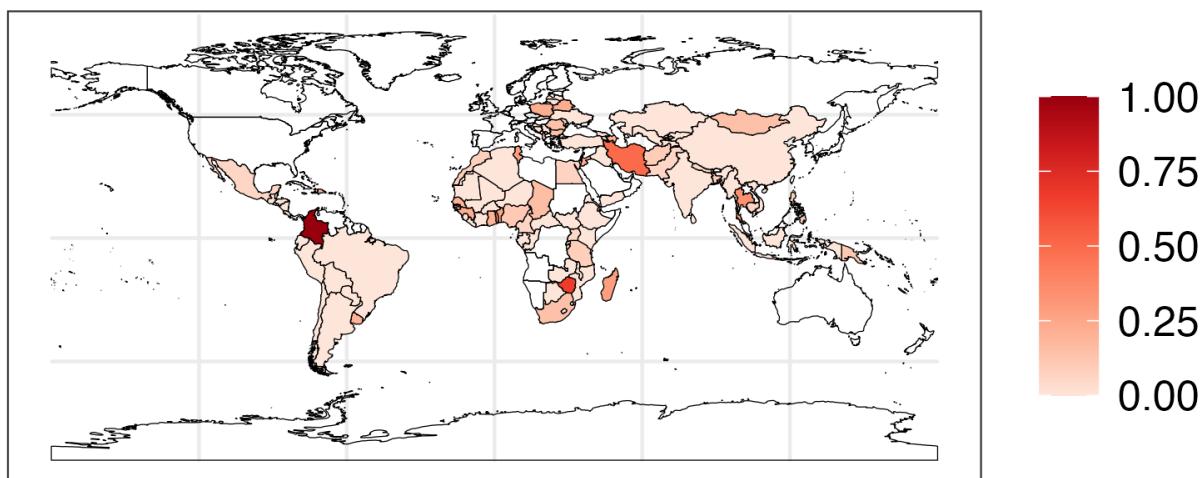
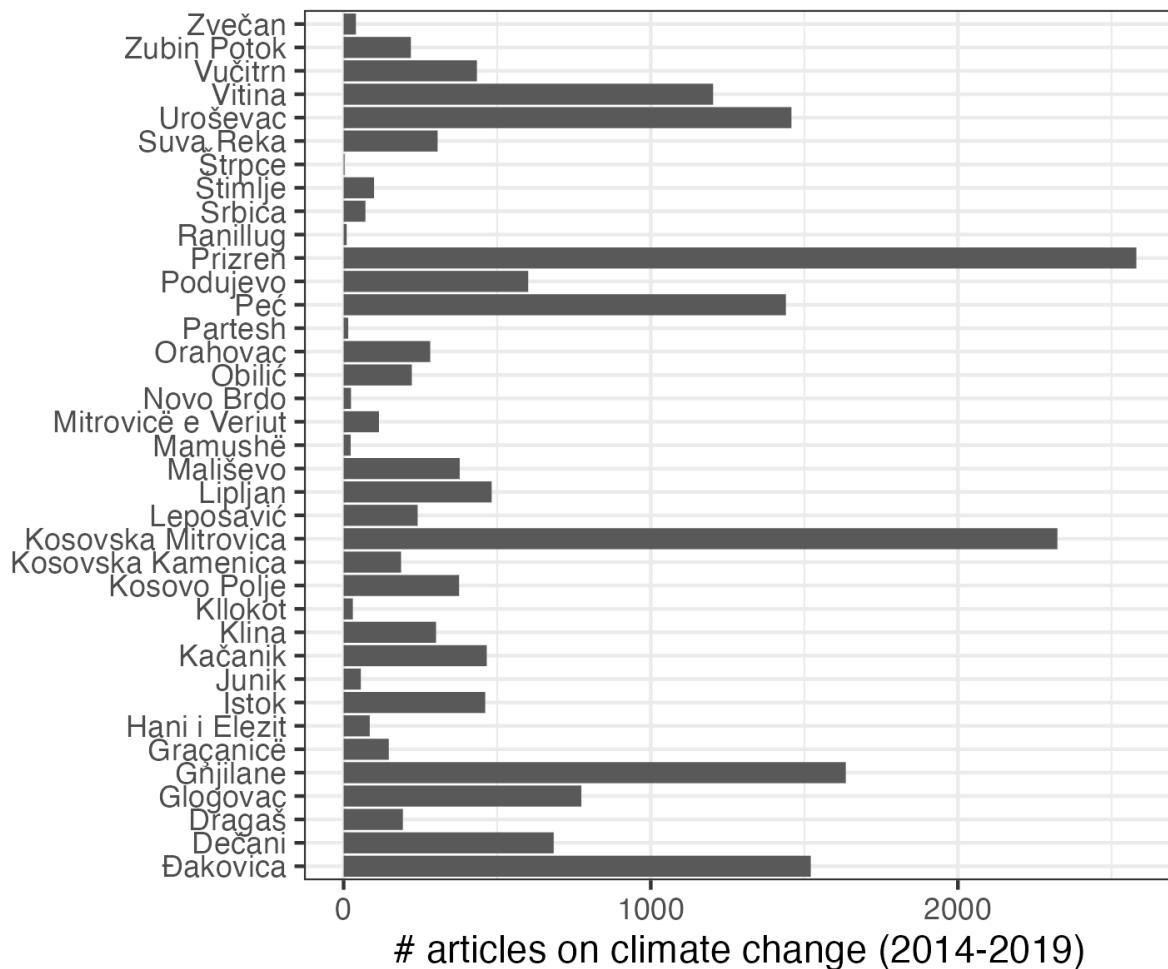


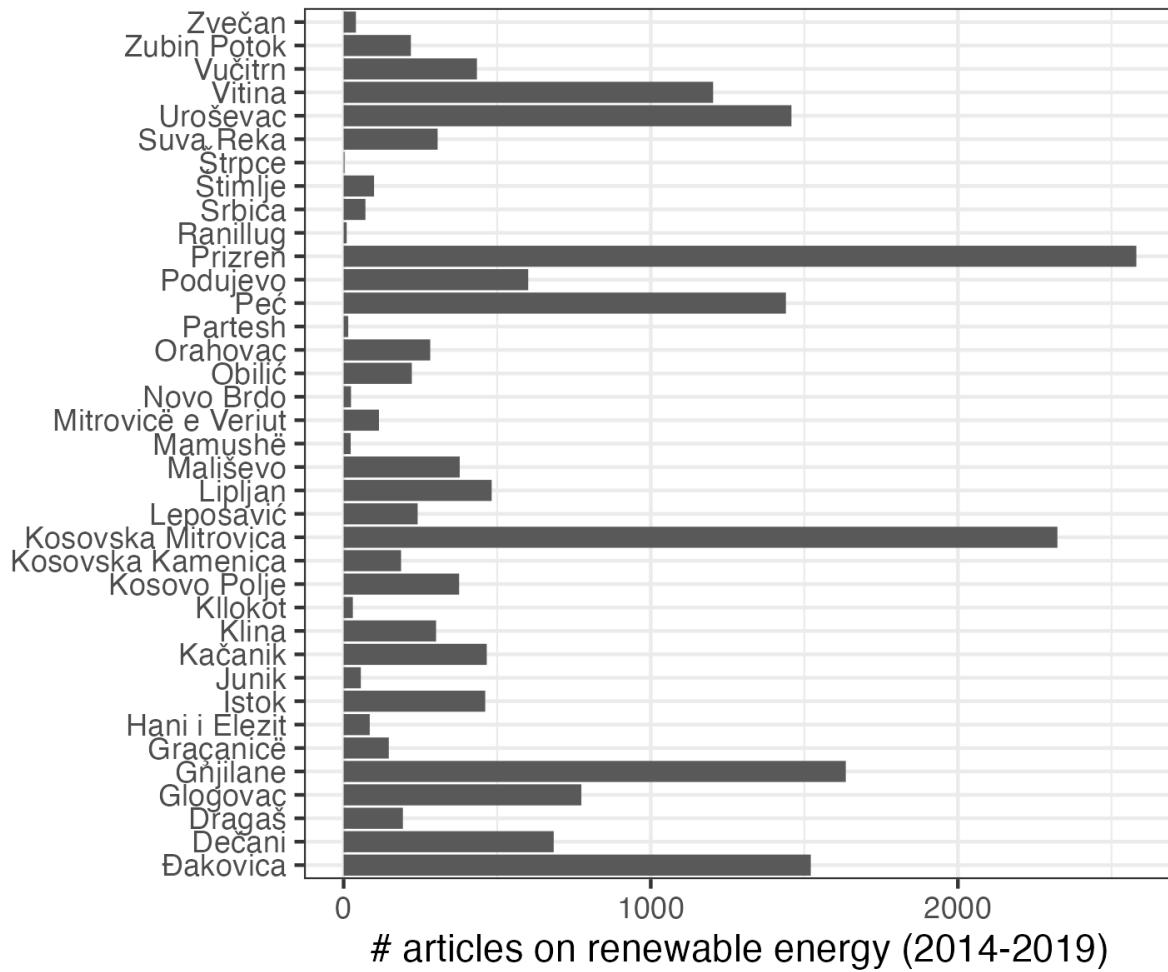
Figure 23: Proportion energy projects withdrawn: Proportion of total energy projects withdrawn by country.

## F Coalitions

Year	Stance	Pre-electoral coalitions	Post-election coalitions
2010	Government	PDK AAK-LDK	PDK AAK-LDK
	Opposition	New Kosovo Coalition (AKR-PD-PSD) LV	LV New Kosovo Coalition (AKR-PD-PSD) LDK
2014	Government	PDK	PDK LDK
	Opposition	LDK LV	LV
2017	Government	PAN Coalition (PDK-AAK-NISMA) LAA Coalition (LDK-AKR)	PANA Coalition (PDK-AAK-NISMA-AKR)
	Opposition	LV	LDK LV
2019	Government	PDK 100% Kosovo (AAK - PSD Coalition) NISMA - AKR - PD Coalition	LV-LDK
	Opposition	LV LDK	PDK 100% Kosovo (AAK - PSD Coalition) NISMA - AKR - PD Coalition

## G Media





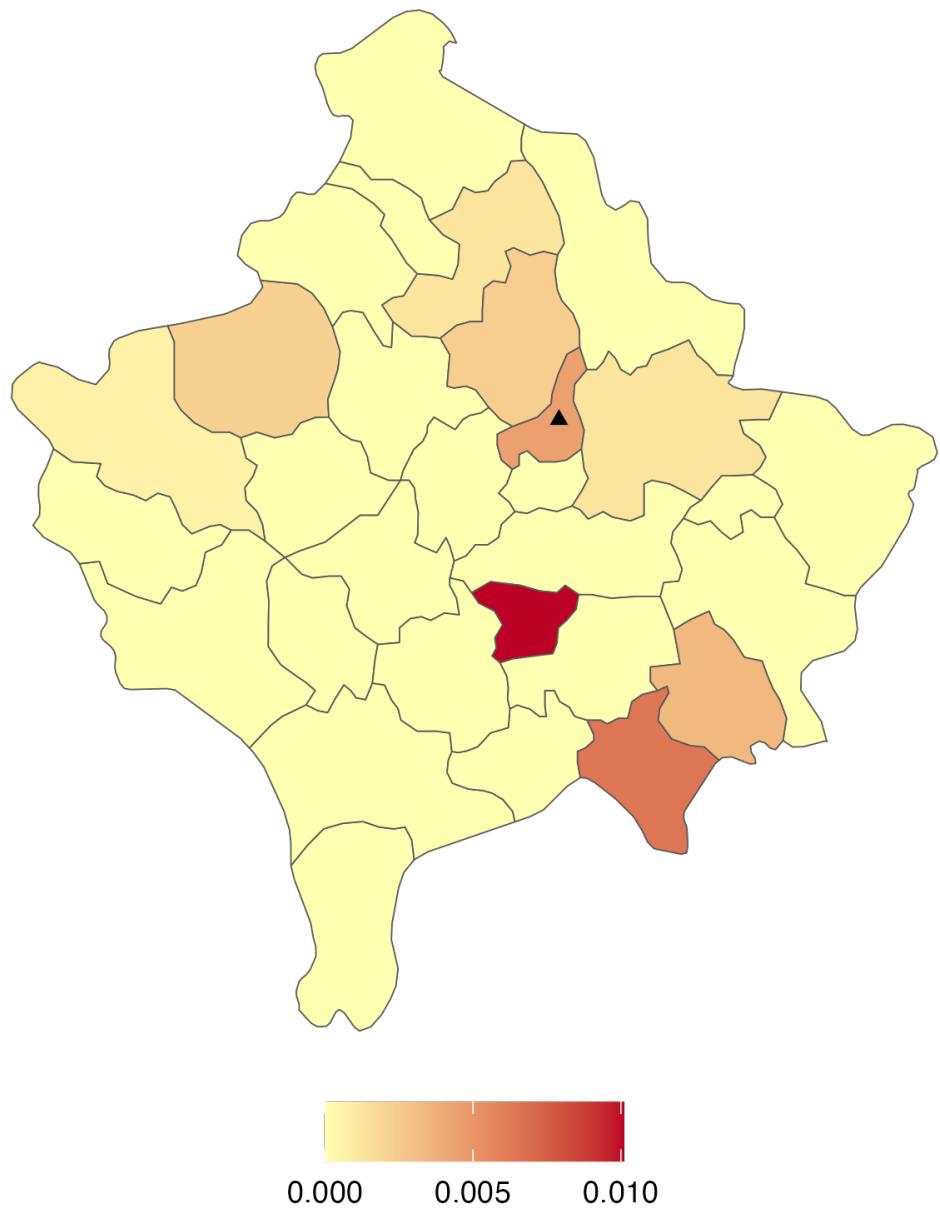
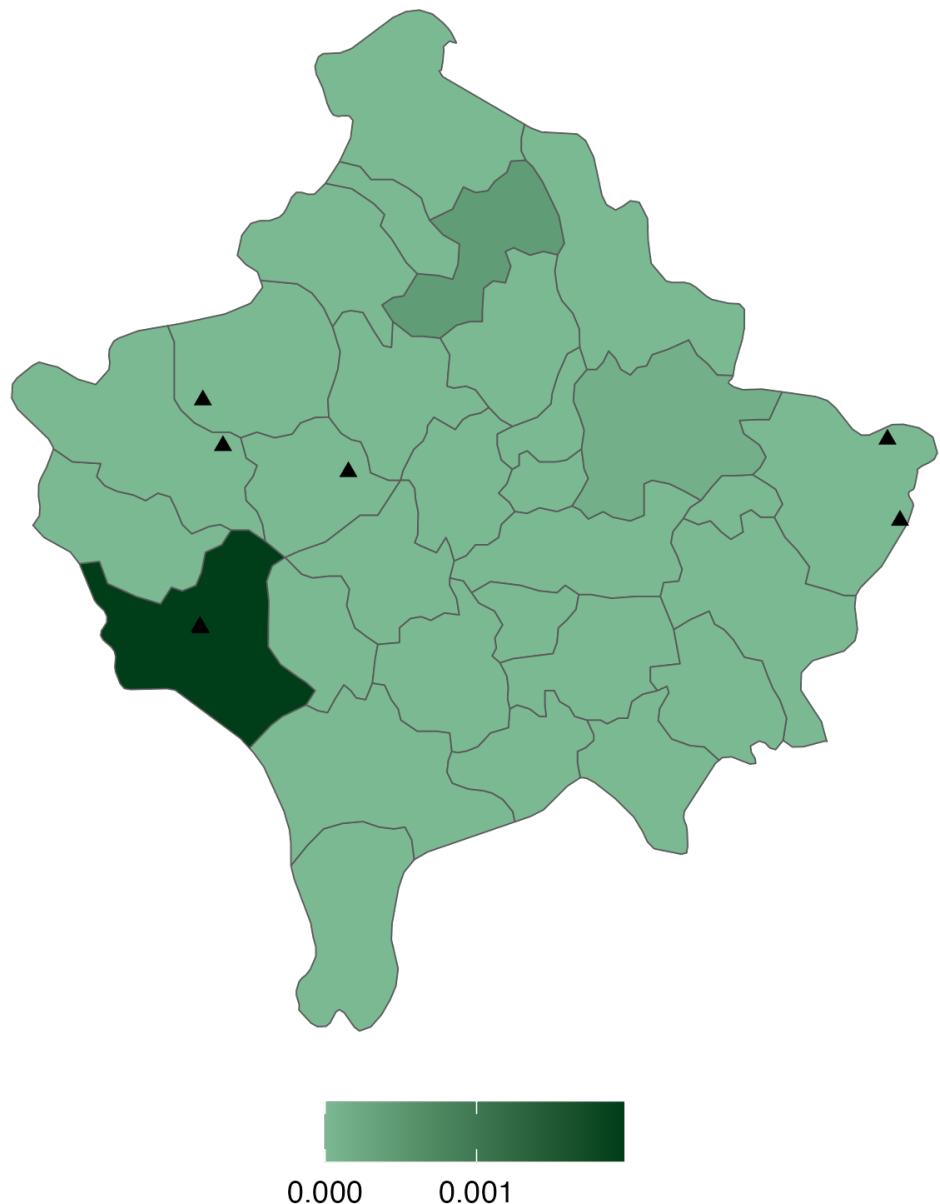
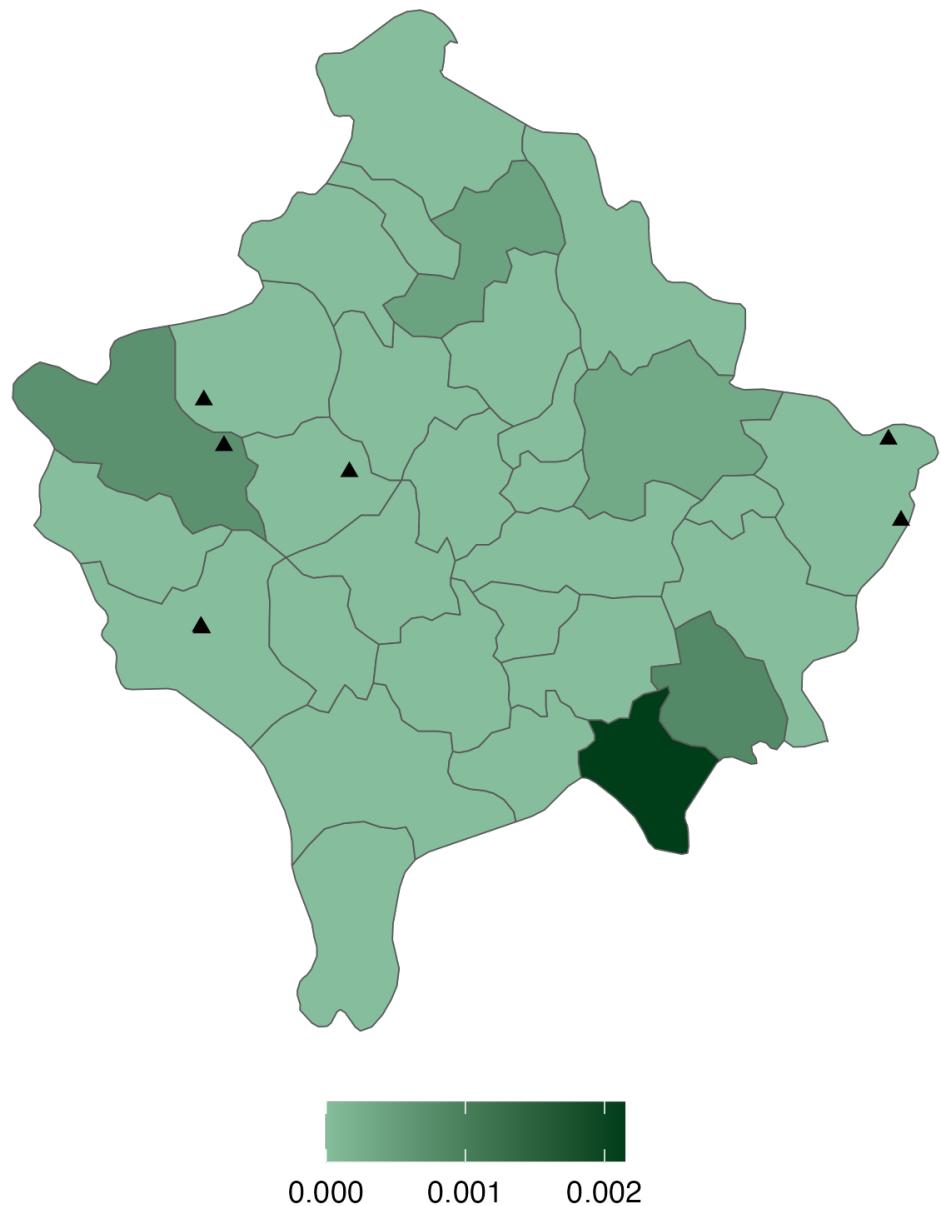


Figure 24: Proportion of news articles (2014-2017) mentioning municipality that also mention the coal plant.



*Figure 25: Proportion of news articles (2014-2017) mentioning municipality that also mention climate change.*



*Figure 26: Proportion of news articles (2014-2017) mentioning municipality that also mention renewable energy.*

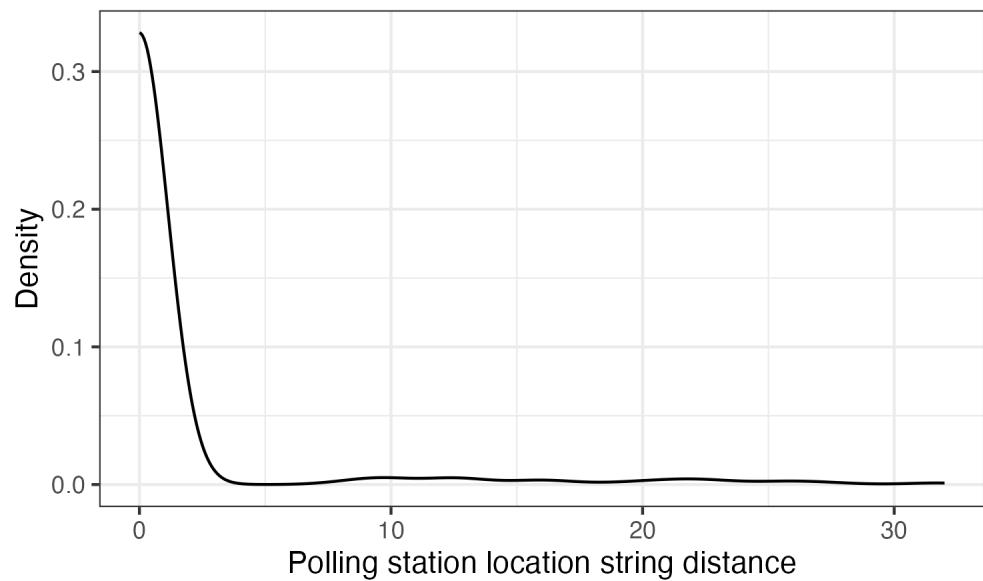


Figure 27: Polling station similarity check: String distance of all polling station location names from 2010 to 2021