

**GEOPOLITICAL CURSE AND STATES BORN TO BE FAILED:
A CASE STUDY OF IRAQ AND BOSNIA**

MEHMET ÇETİNKAYA

MAY, 2019

GEOPOLITICAL CURSE AND STATES BORN TO BE FAILED:

A CASE STUDY OF IRAQ AND BOSNIA

By

MEHMET ÇETİNKAYA

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

MAY, 2019

Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences



Prof. M. Fazıl GÜLER
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master.



Prof. Cengiz Erişen
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



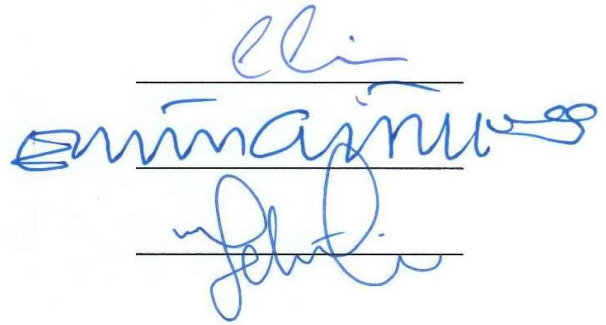
Prof. Cengiz Erişen
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Cengiz Erişen (Yeditepe Uni.)

Prof. Emin Gürses (Sakarya Uni.)

Asst. Prof. Selin Türkeş Kılıç (Yeditepe Uni.)



PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: 03.06.2019

Name/Surname: Mehmet Çetinkaya

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mehmet Çetinkaya', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

ABSTRACT

Failed states are fast becoming a central issue in the field of global security. In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of internationally recognized states. Especially, following the dissolution of USSR, numerous states have declared their independence. Western policymakers have claimed that the end of Cold War and spread of democratization and globalization would make the world more peaceful. Yet, some specific areas like Middle East and Western Balkans have remained unstable. In the absence of a central authority that maintains the global order, these regions have become the focus of permanent conflicts. In view of above, this study aims to explore the impact of permanent conflicts on state failure and the role of great powers that shaped post-war conditions in Iraq and Bosnia. The examination of these cases via using Most Similar Systems Design method has showed that while they both share some certain characteristics of a typical failed state, Bosnia, today is more stable relative to Iraq owing to acceleration of the process of the EU membership.

Keywords: Iraq, Bosnia, failed state, structural realism

ÖZET

Başarısız devletler, küresel güvenlik alanında merkezi bir mesele haline gelmiştir. Son yıllarda uluslararası kabul görmüş devletlerin sayısında çarpıcı bir artış olmuştur. Özellikle SSCB'nin dağılmasının ardından birçok ülke bağımsızlıklarını ilan etmiştir. Batılı politika yapıcılar, Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesi ve demokratikleşme ve küreselleşmenin yayılmasıyla birlikte dünyanın daha huzurlu hale geleceğini iddia ettiler. Ancak, Orta Doğu ve Batı Balkanlar gibi bazı bölgeler istikrarsız kalmaya devam etti. Küresel düzeni koruyan merkezi bir otoritenin yokluğunda, bu bölgeler sürekli çatışmaların odağı haline geldi. Yukarıda anlatılanlar ışığında, bu çalışma Irak ve Bosna'daki sürekli çatışmaların, devletin başarısızlığı üzerindeki etkisini ve savaş sonrası koşulları şekillendiren büyük güçlerin rolünü ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir. Çok Benzer Sistemler Tasarımı yöntemi kullanılarak yapılan bu inceleme, her iki devletin de tipik bir başarısız devletin özelliklerine sahip olduğunu, fakat Bosna'nın AB üyelik sürecinin hızlandırılması nedeniyle Irak'a kıyasla daha istikrarlı bir yapıya kavuştuğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Irak, Bosna, başarısız devlet, yapısalci realizm

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Prof. Cengiz Erişen for his continuous support, patience and motivation. His guidance helped me in all the time of writing of this thesis.

Besides my advisor, I would like to thank the rest of my thesis committee: Prof. Emin Gürses and Asst. Prof. Selin Türkeş Kılıç, for their encouragement and insightful comments.

I also would like to express my very profound gratitude to my family for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of writing this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Özet.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Abbreviations.....	xi
Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
1.1. Introduction.....	4
1.2. Defining State Failure.....	4
1.2.1. Conceptualizing State Failure.....	5
1.2.2. Scope of State Failure.....	5
1.2.3. Limits of Power of State.....	6
1.2.4. Minimum Criteria for Statehood.....	6
1.3. A New Global Security Threat: Failed States.....	7
1.3.1. Spread of Organized Crime and Terrorism.....	7
1.3.2. Non-State Actors and State failure.....	8
1.4. The Response of the International Community to State Failure.....	9
1.4.1. Revival and Reconstruction.....	9
1.4.2. Shared Sovereignty.....	10
1.4.3. Territorial Reconstructing.....	11
1.4.4. Stateless Zones.....	12
1.4.5. Military Interventions.....	12
1.5. Critique of International Community’s Interventions.....	13
1.6. Conclusion.....	14
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK....	16

2.1. Introduction.....	16
2.2. Theoretical Background: Structural Realism.....	16
2.2.1. State Behavior.....	19
2.2.2. Security Dilemma.....	20
2.2.3. Balancing Power.....	21
2.2.4. Power Distribution in IR.....	22
2.2.5. Critical Analysis of Structural Realism.....	22
2.3. Hypotheses.....	25
2.4. Research Methodology.....	27
2.4.1. Qualitative Research.....	27
2.4.2. Research Method.....	28
2.4.3. Sampling Method.....	30
2.4.4. Data Collection.....	31
2.4.5. Level of Analysis.....	31
2.4.6. Methodological Limitations.....	32
2.5. Conclusion.....	32
CHAPTER 3: IRAQ.....	34
3.1. Introduction.....	34
3.2. Historical Background.....	34
3.3. Political and Social Fragmentation.....	38
3.3.1. Failure of Democratization.....	39
3.3.2. Ethnic and Religious Polarization.....	40
3.4. Security Gap.....	43
3.4.1. Impact of Post-Saddam Order.....	43
3.4.2. Ethnic and Sectarian Violence.....	45

3.4.3. Lack of a Collective Security Policy.....	46
3.5. Economic Crisis.....	47
3.5.1. Oil Imperialism.....	47
3.5.2. Oil Dependency.....	48
3.5.3. Inflated Public Sector.....	49
3.5.4. Corruption.....	49
3.6. Involvement of External Factors.....	50
3.6.1. Interventionist Policies of the US.....	51
3.6.2. Expansionist Policies of Iran.....	53
3.7. Analysis of Iraq's Failure.....	55
3.7.1. Geopolitical Curse.....	55
3.7.2. Failure of Post-Saddam Order.....	56
3.7.3. Dysfunctional Government.....	56
3.7.4. Political and Social Disintegration.....	57
3.7.5. Security Gap.....	57
3.7.6. Economic Collapse.....	58
3.7.7. The US-Iran Competition.....	59
3.8. Conclusion.....	59
CHAPTER 4: BOSNIA.....	61
4.1. Introduction.....	61
4.2. Historical Background.....	61
4.3. Political and Social Fragmentation.....	64
4.3.1. Failure of Democratization.....	65
4.3.2. Ethnic and Religious Polarization.....	66
4.4. Security Gap.....	68

4.4.1. Impact of Dayton Order.....	69
4.4.2. Religious Extremism and Global Terrorism.....	70
4.4.3. Lack of a Collective Security Policy.....	71
4.5. Economic Crisis.....	72
4.5.1. Weak Private Sector.....	72
4.5.2. Ethnic Divide in Economy.....	73
4.5.3. International Aid and Corruption.....	74
4.6. Involvement of External Actors.....	75
4.6.1. Interventionist Policies of the US.....	75
4.6.2. The EU's Enlargement Policy.....	76
4.7. Analysis of Bosnia's Failure.....	79
4.7.1. Geopolitical Curse.....	79
4.7.2. Failure of Dayton.....	80
4.7.3. Political and Social Disintegration.....	80
4.7.4. Dysfunctional Government.....	81
4.7.5. Security Gap.....	82
4.7.6. Economic Collapse.....	83
4.7.7. The Influence of the EU's Enlargement Policy on Bosnia's Failure.....	83
4.8. Conclusion.....	85
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	86
5.1. Overview of the Study.....	86
5.2. Possible Contributions to Literature.....	90
5.3. Limitations of the Study.....	91
5.4. Recommendations for Future Studies.....	91
REFERENCES.....	92

ABBREVIATIONS

MSSD:	Most Similar Systems Design
NSAs:	Non-state Actors
INGOs:	International Non-governmental Organizations
MNCs:	Multinational Corporations
RCC:	Revolutionary Command Council
CPA:	The Coalition Provisional Authority
KRG:	Kurdistan Regional Government
ISIS:	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
PSA:	Production Sharing Agreement
IRG:	Islamic Revolutionary Guards
JNA:	Yugoslav People's Army
ICTY:	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
SDA:	Party of Democratic Action
HDZ:	Croatian Democratic Union
SDS:	Serbian Democratic Party
VNSA:	Violent Non-state Actors
RCC:	Regional Cooperation Council
CSF:	Civil Society Facility

INTRODUCTION

In post-Cold War period, the number of independent states has been dramatically increased due to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The fall of the USSR has been presented as the beginning of a more secure and peaceful world by the West. However, the international system has realized that newly independent states could be a new form of security threats in early 1990s. Especially countries located in conflict regions like Middle East and Western Balkans have faced with many challenges in maintaining peace and stability in their national territory. Permanent conflicts in these regions did not enable to establish sustainable sovereign state structures which can provide order and security. As a result, some newly independent states have failed to fulfill basic requirements of statehood such as exercising monopoly over means of violence, implementing and enforcing laws, providing health and education services, forming a legitimate and sovereign government etc. Due to being located in conflict regions, Iraq and Bosnia suffer deeply from being unable to fulfill these requirements which are essential for a state. They both have failed to form sovereign state mechanism since they have gained their independence because of endless conflicts among various ethno-religious groups and external powers. Ethno-religious groups basically try to control power and resources for strengthening their political and economic status and weakening their rivals. On the other hand, external actors are intended to penetrate into Middle East and Western Balkans by shaping post-war conditions in Iraq and Bosnia under the name of international community. Conflicting interests of great powers and historical rivalries among ethnic fractions create available conditions for state failure in these countries.

The purpose of this study is to explain how permanent conflicts influence state failure in Iraq and Bosnia. These countries share similar conditions in the process of

failure. Both are located in strategic regions that experienced dangerous confrontations of global powers. Therefore, they are extremely volatile and unstable countries. Throughout their history, they were shaped politically and socially by permanent conflicts and wars. As a consequence, even today they are subject to be regarded as failed states. The state structure in these countries does not function properly and it fails to maintain peace and stability in their defined territory.

The main focus of this thesis is to examine external and internal actors of permanent conflicts that cause state failure by comparing the case of Iraq and the case of Bosnia. The study will seek to shine a new light on failed states through attempting to find persuasive answers for following questions:

- How do permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups influence the process of failure in Iraq and Bosnia?
- How do interventionist policies of the US and expansionist policies of Iran influence the process of failure in Iraq?
- How do interventionist policies of the US and enlargement policy of the EU influence the process of failure in Bosnia?

This thesis is composed of five chapters. Chapter 1 will focus on the literature review. First, state failure will be defined and conceptualized based on previous works of academics. After that, global security threats originated from failed states will be explored. Then, the solutions offered by international community for state failure will be explained. Finally, a critique of international community's interventions in failed states will be made. Chapter 2 will include theoretical framework and research methodology of the study. First, a theoretical background section will examine structural realist theory that is key to understand under what conditions states become failed. After that, the method used in this thesis will be discussed. Chapter 3 and

Chapter 4 will conduct an analysis of the failure process in Iraq and Bosnia. First, a historical background section will outline important events for understanding current conditions of failure. Second, political social and economic dimensions of failure will be discussed. After that, the process in which state failure creates security gap and the role of external actors will be explained. Then, a critical analysis of failure will be made. Finally, a conclusion will summarize all the chapters and make some recommendations for future research.



CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Introduction

This literature review is basically trying to define and conceptualize the concept of state failure and discuss the limits of a state's power and minimum criteria for statehood in order to better understand the differences between failed and successful states. Due to the fact that there is no agreement on the definition of state failure, providing standards for statehood can be very helpful for determining whether a state is failed. The literature review also attempts to explain how failed states are becoming a threat for global security and how international community reacts state failure. It contends that international community is a controversial concept and it is unable to find a permanent solution for failure.

1.2. Defining State Failure

Failed state has been first used in 1992 by Gerald Helman and Steve Ratner, two US State Department employees, in an article (Saving Failed States) published in Foreign Policy. It has also been appeared in the US National Security Strategy Report submitted to US Congress by President Clinton in May 1997. These documents present the concept of state failure as one of the most potent dangers that risks the world order and security owing to the fact that failed states provide optimal conditions for the spread of global terrorism and other illegal activities in the absence of a sovereign political entity (Kraxberger, 2007).

There are various definitions of state failure, however, not surprisingly, many writers define failed states in contrast to successful states that exercise complete authority over a specific territory and population (Helman and Ratner, 1992). Recent definitions of the concept of state failure suffer from a major drawback. There are no

specific criteria to define failed state. The literature has no agreement on naming the notion of state failure. Academics study various related alternatives such as fragile, weak, collapsed and 'failed' state (Zartman, 1995).

1.2.1. Conceptualizing State Failure

There are two different approaches to the concept of state failure according to how it is understood. First approach considers states as service providers. A failed state cannot provide fundamental services such as ensuring security, rule of law, right to political participation, protection of property and basic needs related to health and education for which it exists. When basic functions are no longer maintained, state structure would collapse. The second approach implies that failed states are unable to control its territory and exercise monopoly over violence. Unlike the first approach in which state failure is due to inability to maintain fundamental services, this perspective includes that state failure is more concerned with losing control of the territory and monopoly over violence (Giddens, 1985).

1.2.2. Scope of State Failure

Some scholars contend that failed state is no longer an analysis of historical, imperial ideology or a factor legitimizing interventions (Cooper, 2002). State failure is more likely to be in relation with modern state formations. In other words, failure of a state should be examined according to the norms of modern states. Modernist approach claims that the pre-modern era was full of failed states which could not meet the criteria of modern world. Most failed states today suffer from having pre-modern tools of statehood. On the contrary, some believe that state failure is not a new concept. It is a concept that occurs through the historical context (Rotberg, 2004). Failure is an inevitable curse because each state has experienced socio-economic or

political crises that might damage state mechanism. For example, Western states as the indicators of statehood in a modern sense, has faced failure in the historical process. Behind this view, there is a significant assumption. Historical development does not follow a worldwide standard that can be applicable to all states. Today's failed states may somehow reflect the characteristic of European states that have experienced failure in history. The process of failure might be necessary for development of the capacity of statehood. Because according to this idea, failure is a historical stage of the evolution of states.

1.2.3. Limits of Power of State

After experiencing a number of examples of state failure, scholars have started to question the limits of the power of state. It might be too strong that allow violent arbitrariness. There is no control mechanism to avoid such a situation. It may be too weak which is unable to prevent uncertainty, corruption, crimes, socio-economic and political crises etc. The worst possibility is related to the absence of any entity to provide some sort of governmental ability. All these options may cause failure and none of them may contribute to facilitate stability and peace in the society (Marton, 2008).

1.2.4. Minimum Criteria for Statehood

The literature on state failure seeks to clarify whether states are able to perform fundamental operations and have core functions. It addresses a variety of questions associated with legitimacy of governments, their capacity to perform fundamental services for their citizens in times of conflicts or crises. To better understand the concepts of failed state and state failure, minimum criteria for statehood must be determined. Thus, it can be observed that whether a failed state has

these criteria. There must be shared elements in definition of statehood that cover all states including a defined territory, population, government and international recognition. Taken together, these criteria refer to modern standard state forms. Other factors, for example, type of government, ability to control a territory and monopolize the violence are not prior to statehood and they vary from state to state (Migdal, 2001).

1.3. A New Global Security Threat: Failed States

Existing literature is mostly intended to identify state failure through international security perspective. The security-oriented perspective of state failure refers to the situation where internationally recognized governments cannot exercise control sufficiently and establish effective administrative formations in their defined territory (Patrick, 2007; Posen 1993). Such governments are unable to prevent the spillover effects of wave of violence, conflicts and humanitarian crises within their territory. The potential dangers of state failure and the connection between failed states and global terrorism highlight the need for interventions to areas of conflicts. Within this optic, the spillover effects of dysfunctional governments regarding international or regional security become top priority issue to be held by international community (Jeffrey, 2007). Many studies, here, underline that security is a crucial factor for development of neighboring countries and the rest of the world (Collier, 2007; Gros, 1996; Ignatieff, 2002; Iqbal and Starr, 2008).

1.3.1. Spread of Organized Crime and Terrorism

Failed states are subject to be regarded as the source instability and insecurity which may generate great risks for international community and global system. (Dorff, 2005). Negative effects of state failure are most often affiliated with terrorism

and other organized crime activities (Buzan and Waever, 1998). Global terrorist networks are intended to take advantage of authority gap occurred in failed states for ensuring and strengthening their position. In the lack of governmental control, terrorist activities unavoidably become a threat for sustainability of state (Eizenstat et al., 2005).

A significant relationship exists between state and crime. Failing state is a kind of magnet attracting both internal and external criminal activities but, it is important to bear in mind failed states are not only perpetrator, but also, they are the victim of concentration of international crime within their territory (Gros, 2003). Criminal networks look for opportunity to make use of corrupted government officials, recruit new members, set up secure camps or bases for their organizations in failed states (Patrick, 2007). Concentration of international crime destroys existing capacity of the target state and deteriorates the conditions of failure.

1.3.2. Non-State Actors and State failure

Successful states have a hierarchical structure in which the relationship between governments and sub-state actors is determined. Conversely, failed states cannot establish this hierarchical relationship among all actors within their territory. More particularly, failed states are unable to exert authority over some armed groups that might be able to control some autonomous regions in their internationally recognized borders (Jackson, 1993; Krasner, 2004). In a modern sense, there are a number of such autonomous entities controlled by armed groups. These groups may be independent of government's regulations, thus they may govern their own domains through establishing state-like formations (Nye and Keohane, 1971).

Internal armed conflicts are central to the process of state failure. Failed states are surrounded by violence and conflicts between warring factions composed of insurgent groups, gangs, militias, juntas etc. (Rotberg, 2004). It is somewhat natural for a state losing some of its administrative capabilities or struggling with alternative political structures to its internationally recognized government. However, even though, there is a tendency of blaming armed groups for their role in the process of state failure, the role of governments may be overlooked. In failed states, governments mostly consolidate power in their hands through using illegal actions. They generally lack popular support and are illegitimate in the eyes of their citizens.

1.4. The Response of the International Community to State Failure

In response to failed states, international community tries to resolve urgent humanitarian issues and security risks by conducting peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. It also attempts to establish a well-grounded democratic system by providing an effective constitutional structure, ensuring separation of power, maintaining independent judicial system and holding free fair elections (Stromseth, et al., 2006).

1.4.1. Revival and Reconstruction

There are two tendencies in revival and reconstruction approach: It can be an internally or externally driven process. Internally driven reconstruction suggests that state building efforts of international system must be implemented in indirect forms of assistance. Indirect forms include political economic social, medical and environmental measures taken to re-establish dysfunctional institutions of states. Indirect involvement is interpreted as a moderate way to react crises originated from failed states which connect supporters and opponents of intervention. Cooperation

between government and international community for specific problematic areas can be an effective way of settling disputes. Local actors play a key role in the internally driven reconstruction. While the international community maintain some technical support or aid, fundamental political institutions are rebuilt by local groups. Uganda and Ethiopia may be counted as two successful examples of internally driven reconstruction (Ottaway, 2002).

Externally driven reconstruction includes direct involvement of international community for rebuilding failed states. If the situation turns out to be violent in failing states international community can intervene in conflicts through peacekeeping and peacemaking operations. After stabilizing the violence, global actors try to build a well-functioning political system to deal with economic issues through reforms and financial aids or credits. Bosnia and Lebanon are the best examples of externally driven reconstruction. Both countries suffered from long- lasting disputes and civil wars that destroyed state authority and capacity. International community took initiative and conducted peacekeeping operations to end bloody conflicts and violence. Then, international community made effort to re-establish state authority which is essential for a sustainable peace and stability. (Fukuyama, 2004; Duffield, 2002).

1.4.2. Shared Sovereignty

Shared sovereignty is another way of re-establishing failed states. This perspective includes long term interventions by the international community to create available environment for reconstruction of key institutions in the failed states (Fukuyama, 2005). Reason why this idea becomes more important trend is that self-determination is seen as a controversial concept. International community has realized

that newly independent states are unable to maintain their existence by themselves during the process of decolonization. This approach can provide an effective kind of governance that help states to reduce negative consequences of state failure (Ferguson, 2005). In shared sovereignty approach, decision-making is shared between local and international actors on a mutual basis. Establishing new institutions to target problematic issues is central to this perspective. It is important to bear in mind only political authority of a state can legitimize such a structure and it can survive only as long as both sides benefit from a win-win situation (Krasner, 2005). Despite all, even though shared sovereignty perspective solves some key issues, there is a doubt about negotiation capabilities of a failed state. If this approach requires to legitimize shared mechanism by national political authorities, attempting to negotiate with local actors may be waste of time. Because of the fact that, failed states are mostly lack of legitimacy or power to negotiate with international community (Zartman, 1995).

1.4.3. Territorial Reconstructing

In contrast to revivalist perspective, territorial reconstructing perspective includes redrawing political borders which may lead to partition of existing states (Herbst, 1996). This brings us to a new type of sovereignty which is known as empirical sovereignty. There are various areas having de facto autonomy in failed states. Although they have not a legal basis, which means they are not recognized by the UN, they have some sort of capacity to control their territory and population (Jackson, 1990). International community might change the way of thinking about territorial conservatism to settle disputes regarding to state failure and be prepared to reconsider reconstruction of problematic territories (Herbst, 1997).

1.4.4. Stateless Zones

Stateless zones, as a solution for failure, is a radical approach to stabilize failed states. This approach is based on the idea that some marginal people may prefer to live without a state structure in their territory. Many of those people living in failed states see a modern territorial state as an instrument that exploits their resources and poses threat for their local cultural identity. Especially in Africa there are various examples of stateless zones and this situation leads us to recalculate the advantages and drawbacks of persisting on establishing modern territorial states (Clapham, 2002; Scott, 1998).

1.4.5. Military Interventions

Currently, the attempts of international community have gained a momentum for legitimizing interventions which are conducted in the name of humanity. The motivation behind this idea is that international community tends to hold the direct responsibility to prevent crimes against humanity. Basically, international system has two potential options and both have some advantages and drawbacks. Intervening in a crisis in a failed state may be interpreted as a post-modern imperialist attempt due to negative historical experiences of colonialism. On the other hand, letting states fail as another option, may be a greater danger for global security. Therefore, there are various reactions for two options. For instance, human right internationalists are willing to legitimize the interventions for the sake of universal application of human rights. However, while human right supporters insist on that international community has the responsibility to intervene in humanitarian crises, some thinkers believe that intervention attempts should not be tolerated due to the possibility of having imperialist intentions (Marton, 2008).

1.5. Critique of International Community's Interventions

State failure has been predominantly defined as a term describing some sort of crisis in the Third World. The notion has been so rapidly accepted and it has become a central issue by many scholars in the field of international relations. There has been little concern on its critical reflections (Milliken and Klause, 2002; François and Sud, 2006). This concept has been unquestioningly accepted as a subject of research without determining a common definition or a framework in order to better understand the process of failure.

Ongoing international political structure shows that international community is unable to maintain peace and stability and take violence under control. The global system does not maintain international order. Because, today, the numbers about violence, epidemics, environmental pollution around the world have dramatically increased. It may be attributed to various reasons, but it cannot only be attributed to causes related to failed states. Actually, almost every example of failed states has never well-functioning structures in the first place. In modern sense, these states cannot not succeed in establishing an influential entity. They have seats in United Nations, defined territories on the map and international legal personalities. However, such pseudo states are unable to actively participate in the international system (Williams and Scharff, 2003). Therefore, the failure of a state might be interpreted as the failure of international system which is centered on internationally recognized governments. On the other hand, an armed group, other than the internationally recognized government may be more successful in controlling a part of state's territory and providing an efficient governance structure based on public support (Marton, 2008). Unfortunately, in this situation, the international system is stuck in a

dilemma to make a choice between legal 'failed' government and successful 'illegal' alternative.

1.6. Conclusion

This chapter attempted to provide detailed information about state failure. It defined and conceptualized the notion of state failure based on different perspectives to gain critical insights for better understanding under what conditions a state becomes failed. It determined some particular standards for the statehood that allow for making a comparison between failed and successful states. It also attempted to explore global security risks originated from failed states and discuss international community's solutions for state failure. The literature review was generally suspicious about the efficiency of these solutions.

Next chapter will include the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis. The theoretical framework will try to provide theoretical insights into the dynamics of existing international system which are key to understand the concept of state failure at global level. Structural Realists contend that international system is centered on an anarchical structure and there is no central authority to bring peace and stability to the world. Under the conditions of anarchy, establishing an international mechanism for preventing state failure seems impossible. Therefore, the concept of international community does not make any sense in Structural Realist Theory. In fact, global actors dominating international system use this concept for legitimizing their interventions in failed states. For global actors there is an endless struggle for power. Their main objective is maximizing their material capacity to change balance of power in favor of themselves. Here, failed states are primary targets for aggressive policies of great powers. Because they can have difficulty in meeting standards of

statehood. They are mostly unable to exercise complete authority over their defined territory and population. It makes them vulnerable to external interventions. Global actors use the authority gap to penetrate into failed states having strategic importance.

The theoretical framework will also maintain a theoretical basis for research questions posed at the beginning of the thesis which attempts to address the impact of foreign objectives of external actors over failure of Iraq and Bosnia. The framework will enable us to explore that state failure in Iraq and Bosnia is a consequence of anarchical structure of international system. Absence of an international mechanism maintaining order in the world encourages global actors to be more aggressive about changing global balance of power. Failed states like Iraq and Bosnia are directly related to aggressive intentions of these actors. Because they are located in extremely strategic locations and have no complete control over their territory, they are defenseless against external interventions.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This chapter includes two parts. The first part maintains a theoretical background for state failure based on a Structural Realist perspective. Structural Realists consider the International system as an anarchy which means that there is no credible power over states to bring peace and stability to the world. They believe that the system is shaped by global actors whose only objective is increasing their power capacity relative to their rivals. State failure is an important part of this power politics. Because by controlling strategic failed states, global actors can change balance of power in the international system. Second part focuses on discussing the methodological framework. The MSSD method will be utilized for this thesis. This method can be very useful for comparing the case of Iraq and the case of Bosnia systematically. It enables us to determine similarities and differences by matching factors influencing state failure. More importantly, it helps us to detect variables having impact on the outcome.

2.2. Theoretical Background: Structural Realism

The theory of realism applied in International Relations relies heavily on power politics. States are intended to be dominant players in the international system which is made up of anarchical conditions. A various set of traditions exist in the field International Relations integrating different thoughts of such as Waltz, Morgenthau and Carr with many studies today. It is also possible to add some classical thinkers like Thucydides, Hobbes and Machiavelli as the philosophical contributors of the Realist Theory (Nicholson, 1998). As a conceptual framework, realist theory has a

number of versions in International Relations however, they all share some basic assumptions:

- The states are key actors on the international stage who seek to maintain security and existence. They are always trying to increase their material and economic capabilities. Their actions and decisions shape political and economic structure of the globe. Non- state formations are unable to influence or change such a state-centric international system.
- The global system is an anarchy: there is no superior or central authority to regulate relations among states. Due to the fact that there is no credible power above the states to maintain peace and order, individual states cannot be certain of the intentions of other states that may have aggressive objectives. It is rational for states to maximize their material capabilities relative to other states in global system. Because, only relative power can guarantee the survival of a state.
- Highly strategic issues concerned about security and power dominates the mode of interactions. A state aims to be strong enough for deterring its rivals and maintaining its national security. Security-oriented view of IR is a reflection of states regarding desire of for power. This is why conflicts or wars are inevitable among states on the international stage.
- The reason why some states engage in defensive actions is directly related to their power position. Their power capacity determines means of action or reaction in interstate relations which lead them to choose revisionist or status-quoist strategies according to their relative power.
- Internal politics and external politics are extremely differentiated. State behavior is largely determined through interstate relations and therefore,

internal factors have secondary importance (Buzan et al, 1993; Spegele, 1996). States are engaged in seeking ways of ensuring their security and dealing with their rivals. This situation forces them to neglect internal dynamics in foreign policy making process.

This theoretical analysis tries to provide an overview of structural realist approach in the field of international relations. Here, it is important to draw a distinction between Classical Realism and Structural Realism. While the classical approach focuses on pessimist human nature, structural approach mostly emphasizes the role of material capacity. Classical Realists believe that the will to power is the strongest motivation of human nature. Similar to individuals, desire for power is the major incentive of states seeking to maintain their survival. Conversely, for Structural Realists, human nature does not give adequate insight to analyze behaviors and intentions of individual states. The mechanism of international system forces regimes to pursue power to be able to defend themselves against possible hostile engagements. It is also necessary to make a distinction between offensive and defensive perspectives in the Structural Realist Theory. Offensive Realism presents that the absence of a global government encourages states to expand their influence. Anarchy provides great incentives for increasing their power relative to other states. Because only strong regimes are able to ensure their survival. Under the conditions of anarchy there are two options: hunting or being hunted by another. States are unavoidably forced to pursue expansionist policies (Snyder, 1991; Frankel, 1996; Lynn-Jones 1998) and maximize their power capacity through armament, unilateral diplomacy and autarchic foreign economic strategies (Mearsheimer, 1990). Defensive realists agree with the idea of anarchical world order, but they believe that it does not necessarily end up with direct confrontations or hot wars. Besides, war is not a useful

instrument for sustainability of national security due to its unpredictable nature. A state may seek ways of defending itself against hostile intentions. The best way of defense is owning strategic arms (especially nuclear weapons) to be deterrent power for others. Balancing power offers incentives for peace and stability in an anarchical international system. This is why the strategy of deterrence is the most influential way of guaranteeing national security and stability on international stage (Waltz, 1990; 2000).

The Theory of Structural Realism is composed of various conceptions. Structural Realists analyze IR using conceptions such as state behavior, security dilemma distribution and balance of power to explain the dynamics of global structure. They can help us to better understand politics among states under the conditions of anarchy.

2.2.1. State Behavior

Structural Realism assumes that states are rational actors. Their behaviors are determined through calculations and analyses based on estimating capability and ability of each other. It can be interpreted as a kind of a relationship based on the principle of action and reaction. A state's decisions or intentions determine the quality and quantity of its rival's reaction. Here, threat perception has a central role in encouraging states to pursue offensive or defensive foreign policy. It somehow forces states to implement similar national strategies.

Realist academics share the idea of anarchy and lack of a global government that provides security and peace. However, the term 'anarchy' differs from chaos described in the Hobbesian state of nature. Conversely, it is a 'structure' ordering

international system and its effectiveness comes from being able to determine state behavior (Waltz, 1988).

Waltz (2010) put an emphasis on maintaining a framework for better understanding state behavior in an anarchic environment. He contends that even though states have different cultures, ideologies, regimes etc. they tend to produce the same patterns of state behavior owing to the fact that all states have common national objectives which are directly related to power and security.

2.2.2. Security Dilemma

Under anarchic circumstances, states are urged to be perceived as potential dangers for each other. It means that a state must pursue the principle of self-help and provide its own security. No state can be sure about the real intentions of others. Therefore, regimes give the highest priority to national security in their foreign policy (Mearsheimer, 2001). Security dilemma basically refers to the principle of action and reaction. If a state increases its material capacity, others will perceive it as a threat against their security. This situation will lead to an endless competition between rivals regarding seeking ways to maintain balance of power and being deterrent actors ensuring nation security. Waltz notes that security dilemma does not necessarily have to force states to pursue a revisionist or expansionist foreign policy. Because balance of power is more likely to keep status quo and aims to close power gap. With Mearsheimer, however, the only way of overcoming security dilemma is pursuing offensive policies. States always seek more power and it makes them to be more intended to have revisionist intentions (Schweller, 1996).

2.2.3. Balancing Power

According to Waltz (2010) Realpolitik is the central concept which dominates interstate relations based on seeing national interests as the source of motivation of state behavior. It is a product of fierce competition which encourages states to possess strategic instruments to deter their rivals through preventing imbalance of power. This type of state behavior occurs while weak states are punished by the system. The idea of punishment lead states to apply a common strategy based on deterrence and balance of power. As long as states do not prevent imbalance of power, all options will be on the table including war, but focusing only pursuing power may lead to self-defeating. Because the major objective is providing security, not maximizing power capacity. The optimal way of ensuring security includes that a state should not be weak enough to motivate its rival to attack. Possessing the right amount of power would be the best strategy for providing national security. This is why keeping status quo is essential for a guaranteeing stability and peace in international system. Revisionist perspectives regarding balance of power are blamed to increase the possibility of inevitable wars and conflicts.

Mearsheimer (2001) however, perceive a different international system leading states to be more aggressive. In difference to Waltz, he concludes that the most efficient way of achieving security is gaining more power to ensure that no other would dare go to war with you. Keeping this in mind, balancing power strategy is acceptable but states should also be prepared to change balance of power in favor of themselves. Maximization of national power can prevent possible attacks of balancing coalitions established to create power imbalance.

2.2.4. Power Distribution in IR

International system may be a unipolar, bipolar or multipolar design according to the degree of distribution of power. Unipolar system refers to only one dominant actor exists in world politics. Unipolarity occurs in the system when a power becomes extremely strong and the rest unable to close power gap. Waltz thinks unipolar design is the least stable reality in global system. Such structure tends to be changed owing to the fact that the leading power is urged to be responsible for stabilizing international system. Accepting such enormous burden may be resulted in self- destruction for the dominant actor. In addition, the existence of a dominant power produces unbalanced status quo and the system instinctively has the tendency of restoring balance of power.

Waltz claims the most stable design is an international system based on bipolarity which means there are two dominant powers sharing the management of entire world. Basically, as long as only two relatively equal powers exist, it is easy to calculate conditions and determining the best strategy in response. Because an increase in the number of super powers would generate miscalculation which leads to unwanted consequences.

2.2.5. Critical Analysis of Structural Realism

Much of criticism against realism has generated by liberalist approach of international relations. It is often criticized on the basis of rejecting collaboration and cooperation among states. Liberalists emphasize the role of universal norms, international institutions and economic growth in interstate relations. Concepts such as democracy, peace and human rights cannot be disregarded in relations among states (Richmond, 2003). The proponents of this theory also argue that realists cannot explain how and why a war or a conflict between the EU would never be unthinkable

despite their main assumption centered on anarchical order and unpredictability of international system (Williams, 2008).

One of the major critiques is about the state centric analysis of global politics. This perspective contends that the realist theory overestimates the position of the state as the unitary players in international arena. Realists tend to ignore countless amount of non-state actors which directly influence the global issues and cases. The most concrete evidence of the impact of non-state actors can be observed through global terrorist activities which were able to change the entire international system after 9/11.

The process of globalization has increased the power of non-state actors to be involved in international issues. Realism generally is interested in interstate confrontations. However, for instance the massacre in Rwanda or civil war in Vietnam has little to do with the Realist view. Although the theory defines itself using the term 'realist' it inadequately addresses ongoing issues at global level. What is expected from the theory is to be more realistic. Consequently, state-centric reading of IR and the concept of self-interest are seriously problematic issues. In fact, most conflicts today are not among state, instead, they are among non-state actors. Therefore, the idea of determining state as primary actor does not provide adequate insights for describing existing mechanisms of such globalized world. Realism is losing blood, not because a better theory has been found, but because the mechanism of international system is not static and it has changed through a process that leads us to reconsider the efficiency of existing theories in the field of international relations. In fact, the notion of globalization is not explained within the realist perspective. It is quite possible to realize that the relative importance of nation states is being decreased with the acceleration of globalization. Rather, economy becomes a global trend in

international arena. It encourages companies or corporations to gain an international identity and expand their influence (Nicholson, 1998).

Despite all these constructive criticisms, some believe that, structural realist theory is still able to explain the new world system centered on the conditions of unipolarity and globalization. It is already accepted that global system has deeply differentiated since the collapse of USSR. The new world order has brought new types of war, conflicts and international competition. It is obvious that the majority of conflicts are originated from non-state actors. Insurgent movements, terrorist activities, crime organizations etc. can produce regional or global level conflicts. However, when it comes to the question of how these sub-state groups sustain their existence, the same answer is expected from both opponents and proponents of structural realist theory. All these groups receive financial aid from external actors, especially some particular states. It somehow shows the fact that states still play a central role in global politics.

The aim of using this theoretical analysis is to provide some critical insights for better understanding external dynamics of state failure in Iraq and Bosnia. Structural Realist Theory is quite influential for clarifying external dynamics of failure by stressing interventionist or expansionist intentions of global powers. However, it may not sufficiently address internal dynamics of failure which produce permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups. Because Structural Realism is not really interested in domestic issues of individual states. Nevertheless, it is clear that without analyzing permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups, failure of Iraq and Bosnia cannot adequately be explained. Therefore, external and internal dynamics of state failure will be discussed together in this thesis.

2.3. Hypotheses

Following the end of the Cold War, a number of countries have gained their independence owing to dissolution of Soviet Union. It was expected that the world would become more stable and peaceful with the acceleration of globalization and democratization. However, some particular regions have remained problematic such as Middle East and Western Balkans.

Due to being located in such troubled regions, Iraq and Bosnia today have to deal serious problems regarding maintaining stability and peace within their national territory. Both countries are surrounded by long-lasting disputes which can inevitably be resulted in an ethnic conflict or civil war. Permanent conflicts among ethnic and religious groups do not allow for establishing a well-functioning state structure. They destroy the state's ability of fulfilling basic requirements for statehood such as having complete control over a defined territory, ensuring monopoly over means of violence and providing fundamental services for people. They also make these countries defenseless against external interventions. Because, as mentioned in the theoretical discussion, strategic importance and weakness encourages external actors to intervene in failed states. It is clear that taking failed states like Iraq and Bosnia under control has the potential of changing balance of power in international system.

In light of above mentioned, this study aims to make an important contribution to the literature on failed states by examining the concept of state failure based on an international basis. Existing literature is mostly intended to explain state failure according to internal dynamics of failed states. It fails to take interventionist intentions of great powers into account. State failure appears to be a concept that should be analyzed at global level. It cannot be restricted to internal dynamics of a nation-state. This study, therefore, is intended to examine internal and external

dynamics together for better understanding state failure based on hypotheses as follows:

- Permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups decrease state capacity and produce state failure in Iraq and Bosnia.
- Reducing the effects of state failure depends largely on foreign objectives and interests of external actors dominating post-war conditions in Iraq and Bosnia.

These hypotheses will be tested via discussing some particular factors of permanent conflicts which produce state failure including political and social fragmentation, security gap, economic crisis and involvement of external actors. Social and political fragmentation will be explored through discussing ethno-religious polarization and failure of democratization. The competition among ethnic and religious groups for controlling state power and its effects on failure of Iraq and Bosnia will be discussed. Security gap will be measured by indicating the impact of post-war order shaped by the US, global terrorism and lack of a collective security policy over the process of state failure in Iraq and Bosnia. Economic crisis in Iraq will be explained via stressing the impact of oil imperialism, oil dependency, corruption and inflated public sector. Economic crisis in Bosnia will be explained via emphasizing the effects of weak private sector, ethnic divide in economy and corruption. These factors will enable us to understand under what conditions economic crisis occurs and how it contributes to state failure. Involvement of external actors will be addressed through determining foreign powers dominating political system in Iraq and Bosnia. Iraqi politics is basically under the influence of the US-Iran competition and Bosnia is mostly affected by the enlargement policy of the EU and expansionist policies of the US-led NATO. The influence of these external actors on state failure of Iraq and Bosnia will be discussed.

2.4. Research Methodology

This research tries to make a qualitative examination of two case studies by using the method of Most Similar Systems Designs (MSSD): The case of Iraq (2003-2018) and the case of Bosnia (1995-2018). Even though, a historical background section is provided for each case, the study is largely concerned with comparing current conditions of failure starting from the end of Saddam regime in Iraq and civil war in Bosnia. The research methodology is discussed under the headings as follows:

2.4.1. Qualitative Research

This study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is the process that provide in-depth analysis of social phenomena based on non-numerical data and measurements. Rather than producing broadly generalized results, the objective of qualitative studies is to provide detailed analysis of particular situations or events. Qualitative approach focuses on a limited number of cases. It is largely concerned with comprehensive understanding of an event or unit. While qualitative approach examines a small number of cases, it generally reveals a huge amount of information from the earlier scholarly foundations (King et al., 1994).

Qualitative research is interpretative in nature and therefore it relies heavily on detailed observations and explanations. Qualitative researchers mostly begin with collecting data and then they try to derive explanations from those data. It is intended to be exploratory that seeks to maintain insights for understanding social phenomena. Qualitative approach is centered on inductive logic. Possible understandings of a social phenomenon are basically derived from the data gathered during the process of research.

2.4.2. Research Method

The Most Similar System Design (MSSD) technique is adopted in the study. For applying MSSD, the objects of research systems having a number of similarities in the context that they will be examined should be chosen. However, at least one factor should be different that can affect the outcome. The rationale for selecting similar cases is to keep constant as many extraneous variables as possible (Bartolini, 1993).

When using the MSSD, similar systems which only differ in independent variable are selected and all contesting factors are kept constant (Anckar, 2008). Similarities are unable to explain differences and therefore the core objective is to determine different variables. In the beginning of the research process, whereas we must ensure that the independent variable that influences outcome is different, we do not have to focus on values of the dependent variable.

Researchers, generally, have no control over the values of explanatory (independent) variables; they are determined by history or nature. Because there are a small number of observations, using random selection of observations does not make any sense. For this reason, observations must be selected intentionally and must be consistent with research objectives. Intentional selection of observations ensures variation in explanatory variables without regard to the values of dependent variables. Only during the research, we can determine the values of dependent variable to generate a causal inference through analyzing differences influencing outcome (King et al., 1994).

For making use of a pure MSSD, the researchers seek to choose quite relevant situations in which the number of similarities is maximal and the number of differences is minimal. MSSD offers optimal cases for compatible qualitative

inquiries. It enables us to choose cases sharing a number of social political economic and cultural characteristics (Przeworski and Teune, 1970). Basically, there are two ways for applying MSSD. A strict application of MSSD requires choosing countries as similar as possible and only one factor (independent variable) must be different. A looser application of MSSD includes countries sharing numerous background characteristics. However, here, the cases are not systematically matched based on control variables (Anckar, 2008). Some academics argue that a strict application of MSSD bears close resemblance to a randomized experiment (Tarrow, 2010).

Assuming that, if resulting similarities between cases treat as control group, any correlation between a variable and the outcome can be causal. However, this kind of application does not have popular support among researchers. Because MSSD appears to be statistically underpowered. Besides, the process of case selection and examination of variables or outcome is subject to generate random error. Qualitative studies should match cases statistically and provide a parametric model in order to make causal inference (Ho et al., 2007).

I have chosen MSSD for various reasons. First, the cases that were selected for the study require applying this method. The objective or purpose of the study is the strongest motive for determining what kind of research method will be employed. Iraq and Bosnia share a number of background characteristics regarding failure. Similarities between two cases force to choose this type of methodology. Second, MSSD can give us the chance to compare the case of Iraq and the case of Bosnia systematically. More particularly, the method maintains a comparative analysis through matching both cases and determining similarities and differences. Another purpose of choosing this kind of method is to explain both external and internal dynamics of state failure. In-depth analysis of Iraq and Bosnia will be quite helpful

for clarifying several aspects of failure, examining the changing nature of global competition playing major role in regional instability and developing a well-grounded understanding of failed states.

2.4.3. Sampling Method

Systematic case selection is essential for a well-grounded comparative analysis. Most similar case selection requires choosing cases having common characteristics. The process of most similar case selection includes following procedures: First, a relevant universe of cases is defined. After that, leading variables of interest which appear to be similar across the target cases are identified. Then variables that lead to differences across the target cases are identified. Finally, the selection of the suitable cases having particular similarities and differences is done. Generally, researchers already determine a case at the beginning of the research process to be able to apply the procedure mentioned above and detect a second case which is similar (Nielsen, 2016).

This study includes a multiple cases study. Multi-case study designs are considered to be more credible or compelling relative to single case designs (Johnston et al., 2001). Multiple cases strengthen the credibility of study by enabling to examine data within each case and also across different cases. Thus, researchers can comprehend differences and similarities between cases and generate a comparative understanding of social phenomena.

Generally, the purpose or objective of a particular study determines what cases will be chosen in the process of case selection (Dubois and Gadde, 2002). Instead of a random or representative sampling which are often used in quantitative research, qualitative sampling is based on choosing appropriate cases. Cases can be selected

before or in advance of the study. Sampling procedure includes initial case selection and within case selection regarding choosing documents, observations, informants etc.

Due to the fact that, MSSD requires selecting failed states experiencing similar conditions during the process of failure, the case of Iraq and the case of Bosnia were chosen for this thesis. They are both considered as failed states. They located in highly strategic areas where global or regional actors can have conflicting interests and different foreign objectives. Both Bosnian and Iraqi states were re-established following a wave of violence and conflicts resulted in involvement of external actors.

2.4.4. Data Collection

The data used in the study will be obtained from secondary sources. Despite having difficulties in collecting and classifying a vast amount of information, this sort of data gathering seems to be suitable for the research method utilized in the study. A considerable amount of academic books and journals will be searched to develop an alternative understanding for state failure.

Secondary data analysis aims to extend or replicate previously obtained findings. It may also address new research questions which were not studied in the original data. Existing data can free the researchers to devote effort and time to other steps of research process (Greenhoot, 2012). It can be efficient and readily available way of obtaining information for the research. Existing databases contain a number of documents providing a huge amount of information which is essential for initiating a qualitative research.

2.4.5 Level of Analysis

Case studies can involve examining a single unit or level of analysis or more than one unit of analysis (Yin, 1984). However, while some case studies at single level, data gathering and analysis or evaluation of findings may occur in multiple

level. For example, a case study at international level can be supported by data provided through interviewing individuals (Yin, 2003). The MSSD is particularly feasible where the variables are examined at systemic level. For making use of the MSSD in comparative politics, sub-systemic level is not so useful. Due to the fact that MSSD depends on cross-national observations, systemic level appears to be the best option for this study.

2.4.6. Methodological Limitations

MSSD suffers from some practical constraints. In spite of numerous possibilities of variables, there are a limited number of countries. Therefore, keeping all potential factors of explanation altogether constant may not be possible (Anckar, 2008). To address this problem the MSSD can over-determine the dependent variable (Przeworski and Teune, 1970). Moreover, despite its comprehensive examination capacity, this study is qualitative in nature and it gives information about specific cases. In spite of sharing similar conditions, Iraq and Bosnia may have different dynamics in the process of failure. While claiming that the analysis of these cases may give us an idea about failure in other states, a high degree of generalizability cannot be provided by this kind of methodology. Besides, it may not be possible to talk about a causal relationship among variables used in the study owing to lack of statistical matching of cases.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter was divided into two parts. The first part provided a theoretical framework for state failure. Structural Realist Theory claims that in the anarchical conditions of the international system the only proper action is to be stronger than others. It forces global actors to increase their relative power by controlling countries having strategic values. This power struggle mostly damages peace and stability of

such countries. The second part discussed research method. MSSD method was employed for this thesis. The rationale behind employing this method was being able to make a systematic comparison between the case of Iraq and the case of Bosnia. MSSD enables us to match both cases systematically and determine similarities and differences between them. It also helps us to indicate variables influencing the outcome and differentiating the cases.

Next two chapters will examine the process of state failure in Iraq and Bosnia. For making an effective analysis of these two failed states, some critical insights must be drawn from the literature review and theoretical framework which were discussed on the previous pages. The literature review will provide essential information about state failure that enables us to determine whether Iraq and Bosnia meet standards of statehood such as exercising full authority over national territory, monopolizing means of violence, maintaining fundamental services for citizens. The theoretical framework will help us to examine the process of failure through global politics. It indicates that international system is dominated by great actors struggling for power. These actors always seek to increase their material capacity through controlling strategic locations. Iraq and Bosnia, as two failed states, are located in quite strategic regions. For great powers controlling these countries can change balance of power at regional or global level.

CHAPTER 3: IRAQ

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the factors of permanent conflicts producing state failure in Iraq including political and social fragmentation, security gap, economic crisis and involvement of external actors. This chapter can be quite useful for testing our hypotheses which attempt to explain that permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups are the primary dynamics of state failure and without consent of external powers dominating post-war politics, Iraqi state is not able to maintain peace and stability within its territory. The examination of the case of Iraq will make a substantial contribution to this thesis by discussing the effects of permanent conflicts among Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds and the impact of the US-Iran competition on failure process.

3.2. Historical Background

By the 20th century, Middle East became an area of conflict between Europe and Ottoman Empire. In WWI, British forces attacked Ottoman territory of Iraq. Despite gradual resistance, most of modern-day Iraq was occupied by Britain in 1917. Britain formed a constitutional monarchy in the country according to its colonial agenda. The ruling elites were directly supervised and led by British government. In 1932, this system has changed and Iraq became a member of League of Nations after gaining its independence. However, Britain kept its military presence in the country to be able to influence Baghdad administration economically and politically.

During 1930s, Baghdad initiated a nation-building campaign aimed at integrating diverse social groups. However, this attempt could not succeed in unifying all the population. Because the Iraqi society was composed of a variety of religious

groups, tribes, sects and ethnicities. The government did not have a broad popular support depending on the will of the majority of its citizens. Instead, the ruling elite was based on a particular group's interests.

In 1958, the army carried out a successful coup d'état against King Faysal and the monarchy was overthrown. It was a reaction to socio-economic structure ruled by pro-British political elite. New authoritarian regime was dominated by military officers and middle class but sectarian and ethnic problems remained unsolved. Kurds and Shiites were excluded from the representation and administrative activities. Therefore, in this period, the country experienced an increasing trend of political instability due to a series of successful and failed coup attempts.

In 1968, following several coup attempts, Ahmad Hassan al Bakr came to power and established Ba'athist regime that ruled uninterruptedly until 2003. Ba'ath Party was originally established in Syria in 1941. The ideology of this political movement was based on secularism, Arab nationalism and socialism. In 1979, Saddam Hussein succeeded Hassan al Bakr. He applied totalitarian policies and created a highly centralized political system in which execution, legislature and judiciary were merged under the strict control of Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). The power of military and security bureaucracy was massively expanded in the state. Throughout his era, Saddam Hussein applied an aggressive strategy based on extermination and manipulation of enemies. In 1980 he launched a military operation against Iran who was perceived as a weak target following Islamic Revolution of 1979. Despite peace attempt of international community, the war between two states lasted till 1988 and killed about 1 million people. Meanwhile, Kurdish Peshmerga forces made effort to take advantage of the conditions of war and force Baghdad administration diplomatically and militarily for Kurdish autonomy.

Irrational and aggressive foreign policy of Saddam continued with attempting to invade Kuwait in 1990 which was resulted in the military intervention of international community. US-led UN forces defeated the regime forces decisively in 1991. After that, Saddam administration faced with a number of arm restrictions, economic sanctions and a de facto Kurdish autonomous region.

During 1990s Kurdish political movement gained a momentum due to the fact that international community directly became a part of the conflicts between Kurdish insurgents and Saddam regime in order to prevent possible massacre in the north of Iraq. Especially chemical attack launched in Halabja which killed around five thousand Kurds in 1988 forced international community to take an active role in impeding the regime. The US-led international forces set up no-fly zone which covered the north of 36th parallel. Consequently, a de facto Kurdish autonomous region was established.

In March 2003, US-led coalition launched 'Iraqi Freedom Operation' against Baghdad which was resulted in the overthrow of Saddam regime. The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) was established to form a democratic political structure in the country. From 2003 till 2005 terrorist or insurgent attacks blocked the process of normalization of socio-political and economic conditions in Iraq. In January 2005 an interim parliament was constituted through a national election which was responsible for writing constitution and determining an interim president. In June 2006, permanent government headed by Nouri al Maliki was elected following election of permanent parliament and approval of a new constitution in 2005. New political structure allowed to establish autonomous regions in the country. Thanks to that, Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) was established and Kurdish autonomy was officially recognized by the constitution.

The Prime Minister Maliki pursued sectarian policies that deepened rivalries among Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds. Political turmoil continued to grow owing to violent insurgent or terrorist attacks across the country since the beginning of the Maliki's term in office. The government forces were unable to prevent this increasing trend of violence. The death of the leader of al Qaeda in Iraq Zarqawi in 2006 did nothing to reduce terrorist attacks. In February 2009, Barack Obama, newly elected president of the US, declared that by the end of August 2010, US forces would be withdrawn.

In 2011, protests started in some Iraqi cities as continuation of popular demonstrations and uprisings against dictatorships in the North Africa and Middle East because of sectarian and ethnic disagreements, corruption, high unemployment rates, lack of sufficient public services etc. Terrorist groups in Sunni areas benefited from the instability and security gap occurred in Syria and Iraq. In 2013, Iraq's branch of al Qaeda, some radicals coming from Syria and some former Ba'athist soldiers began to launch attacks jointly against Maliki Administration under the name 'Islamic State in Iraq and Syria' (ISIS).

In 2014, ISIS took control of Sunni cities such as Fallujah, Anbar and Mosul and captured a large number of Iraqi soldiers. After the takeover, the world watched the mass execution of these soldiers on TV channels and social media. Event though, Maliki won the parliamentary election in April 2014, he faced with severe political pressure from both internal and international actors. Consequently, Maliki had to allow Haider al Abadi form a new cabinet and government. Iraqi forces launched an extensive operation against ISIS with the help of the US-led coalition and Iran-led Shiite militia. Finally, ISIS was defeated decisively in Iraq 2017.

Meanwhile, KRG began to increase its demand on a referendum for independence in areas under its control. In September 2017, the referendum was held and it was approved with 92 percent of the vote. However, it was regarded as nonbinding and many countries including Turkey, Iran, the US, and Baghdad administration did not support it. International actors stressed that this unilateral attempt may increase tension and trigger a civil war. Within weeks of the vote, Abadi sent Shiite militia and government forces to disputed areas outside the KRG's legal borders which were claimed by both Erbil and Baghdad. Iraqi troops took the control of Kirkuk and other disputed areas after withdrawal of Peshmerga forces without strong resistance.

Tensions between KRG and central government were reduced after elections held in May 2018 which resulted in failure of Prime Minister Abadi. Anti-American Sadr-led coalition won 54 seats, and became the first party. Abadi's group could win only 42 seats and become the third party in the parliament following Amiri-led coalition who won 47 seats. On the other hand, Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) won 26 seats and became the first party in Kurdistan region. Today, the relations between KRG and new central government seems much better and stable, but there is always the possibility of new conflicts due to lack of sustainable cooperation between Baghdad and Erbil.

3.3. Political and Social Fragmentation

Iraq's political system has a fragmented structure and therefore, mostly establishing an efficient government cannot be possible. Shaky coalitions do not enable the state to become a fully sovereign entity despite having international recognition. Limited sovereignty of the government leaves behind a series of conflicts

producing instability. While international sovereignty has been granted to Iraq, domestic sovereignty cannot be obtained. The governments are incapable of facilitating an effective political organization as a sovereign actor. In fact, it is not that simple to achieve a large-scale integration in the society. Fragmented social and political structure creates inescapable conflicts among ethnic and sectarian groups in the lack of an efficient authority. Besides, state apparatus constituted in Iraq is a reflection of conflicting interests of globalized forces. It is not a case that, the government is outside these forces which seek ways of being sovereign. Rather, the Iraqi government is largely shaped by factions serving global interests. These internal and external dynamics generates endless conflicts which are mainly resulted in state failure in Iraq.

3.3.1. Failure of Democratization

The US democratization attempts fail to end the competence and rivalry among sects and ethnic groups. In fact, these attempts deepen polarization in Iraqi society (Grotenhuis, 2016). Because, each group is forced to make a decision between supporting and rejecting the involvement of the US in Iraqi politics. Despite some limited improvements regarding political support of different groups, the Washington administration cannot not succeed in gain popular support and trust. Only local support of Kurds in the north and some Shiite groups can be maintained. Besides, the majority of Iraqi people do not trust the central government that is considered to be under the influence of the US. People mostly obey religious leaders who have their own militias instead of the US and central government. Although the US is extremely optimistic about the consequences of bringing peace and democracy to Iraq, it fails to take sectarian and ethnic dynamics into account which are key to prevent permanent conflicts.

Mainstream perspective in relevant literature suggests that institutions of a state should be designed on the basis of share of power among competing groups to maintain peace and stability in the society. It is a prerequisite for establishing a successful state formation and prevent ethnic conflicts in states that tend to fail (Lijphart 1977). Regrettably, rather than attempting to reach a general consensus, manipulating competing groups seems more convenient to achieve political or economic goals for both local and external actors in Iraq. All governments established so far were dominated by a specific group which has sectarian or ethnic based political agenda. This situation forces some disadvantaged groups to be radicalized and pursue separatist movements (Cornell, 2002; Fearon and Laitin, 2003). Uneven distribution of power and resources fuels permanent conflicts among ethnic and sectarian groups that risks the existence of the state.

3.3.2. Ethnic and Religious Polarization

Iraq has an extremely polarized social structure. Shiites Sunnis and Kurds, as the major groups in the society have quite different and conflicting political objectives. Shiites are the most powerful ethno-religious group and they are not so eager to share power with Kurds and Sunnis. Kurds are the only ethnic minority that has their own autonomous region. Compared with Shiites and Kurds, Sunnis are the most disadvantageous group because of absence of a legitimate Sunni military and rich oil resources in their region. The authority gap in Sunni areas creates available conditions for the spread of local and global terrorism. These three groups unavoidably engage in ethnic and sectarian conflicts to preserve or strengthen their political position which destroy existing capacity of the state.

Shiites, as a sectarian identity in Islam, compose the majority of entire Iraqi population (nearly 60% of total population). Shiite inhabitants are mostly located in southern part of the country. Shiite region, especially Basra city has rich oil reserves estimated in billions of barrels. This region is the only zone that has direct access to the Persian Gulf for connection to external world. Even though, Shiites have Arab ethnicity, it is not that easy to improve good relations with Arab States owing to long-lasting disagreements with Sunnis. Naturally, for them, the only potential ally seems to be Iran as a regional power having Shiite identity (Mehkri, 2005). Governments are generally dominated by Shiite coalitions in Iraq. Sunni groups and Kurds cannot establish a vibrant opposition force against Shiite majority in the government and parliament. This somehow encourages Shiites to implement sectarian policies throughout the country. Disadvantageous groups unavoidably seek some illegal ways of eliminate Shiite governments including engaging in armed conflicts and insurgent movements.

Sunni Arabs compose approximately 15-20 % of total Iraqi population. Sunni region is located in the center of the country. It is considered to be the most disadvantageous ethnic zone relative to Kurdistan and Shiite regions. Because it does not possess a strategic economic asset such as large oil reserves or agricultural farms and water resources. The region also suffers from lacking legitimate military power. It is defenseless compared with Kurdistan and Shiite region. This is the main reason why terrorist or insurgent movements occur and gain power in Sunni areas (Vanzo, 2007). Insurgent and terrorist attacks are becoming the most important security threat in Iraq and Middle East (Yosufi, 2016).

Kurds are the second largest ethnic group in Iraq (about 15-20% of the population). While they religiously identify themselves as Sunni, they are

predominantly under the influence of ethnic motivations. Kurdish region is located in the northern parts of the country. It enjoys a number of agricultural and mineral resources. It hosts the majority of forests and arable lands. Yet, the petroleum industry dominates the economy of the region. Kurdistan contain rich oil fields may contain billions of barrels. Therefore, it has the capacity of playing a vital role in politics of Iraq (Stansfield, 2013).

Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), as an autonomous region recognized by the constitution of Iraq, controls and protects Kurdish region. KRG generally tries to take advantage of authority gap and consolidate its power in the north with the help of economic and military aids provided by the US. Kurdish Peshmerga forces have a crucial role for the interests of the US in post-war period. It is possible to say the greatest internal support comes from Kurdish groups (Rogg and Rimscha, 2007).

The main objective of Kurdish political movement is to struggle for independence and establish a Kurdish state. Kurds have a significant military presence in the north. However, despite their great potential, they may not be able to gain their independence. Because external political conditions are still not in favor of Erbil administration. A declaration of independence can inevitably increase the possibility of an intervention conducted by Turkey or Iran. The mainstream thought concludes that without gaining support of at least one of those actors, KRG could not succeed in declaration of independence. Because both Turkey and Iran have a Kurdish minority and they would not tolerate such a one-sided action.

3.4. Security Gap

Iraq is an extremely volatile country owing to being surrounded by ethno-religious violence and external interventions. Permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups devastate the capacity of Iraqi state. Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds, as the leading groups dominating Iraq's politics are always trying to change the distribution of power in favor of themselves. Before the US occupation Sunni factions controlled the power and other groups were excluded from the state. In the post-Saddam period, Shiites and Kurds captured power and Sunnis were excluded from the state. It seems that there is an endless struggle for the control of power among ethnic and sectarian factions. Shiite-led government is intended to justify its sectarian policies which marginalize Sunnis by using the rhetoric of fighting with terrorism. Similarly, Sunnis are so eager to use illegal means of resistance including terrorist and insurgent attacks against Shiite led government forces. Internal conflicts and external interventions together make their own contribution to generating security gap in the country.

3.4.1. Impact of Post-Saddam Order

Post-Saddam order which was directly shaped and designed by the US is subject to generate obstacles for maintaining security in Iraq. The main obstacle appears to be the ethnic divide in administrative system of the country. The Federalist system gives Kurds the right of ruling their defined territory and having their own military forces. Peshmerga is the only legal military structure that is responsible for maintaining security in the north. Central government forces cannot access this region without consent of KRG. Similarly, Peshmerga cannot engage in military activities outside Kurdistan without consent of Baghdad. This means that there are two military structures that can have different objectives and procedures over Iraqi territory.

Tensions between these militaries have always the potential of producing an armed conflict. For instance, in 2017, following independence referendum which was held by KRG, central government forces conducted a military operation against Peshmerga and took disputed areas under control including oil rich Kirkuk city. Here it is important to explain how disputed areas generates security risks and cause armed confrontations between two sides. According to the constitution of 2005, disputed areas that are considered to be outside of central government and Kurdistan would be part of one of these entities through a plebiscite. However, the plebiscite could never be held to date due to political and economic competition between Baghdad and Erbil.

Ensuring security depends highly on cooperation and harmony between central government and Kurdistan. Nevertheless, since the beginning of Federalist system, it was experienced that both sides are willing to forcing each other for controlling more power instead of working together. Because of the fact that the new system was introduced by external powers, neither central government nor Kurdistan region is so eager to internalize or protect it. This may explain the reason why political engineering of external powers does not function properly in the Iraq. Rather than bringing democracy and peace, the new order increases the possibility of conflicts and instability and deepens ethnic and sectarian rivalries among Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds. As a result, the country becomes a fertile land for global terrorist organizations. Insurgent movements and other illegal activities are gaining momentum with the help increasing threat of ethnic and sectarian violence. Growing insecurity deteriorates ongoing failure and undermines international community's attempts to build a well-functioning central government that has the ability to settle peace and stability (Pirnie and O'Connell, 2008).

3.4.2. Ethnic and Sectarian Violence

Ethno-religious tensions in Iraq stem from the fact that sectarian and ethnic groups are intended to take the state under control. The new system allows Shiites and Kurds to consolidate state power in their hands. This situation marginalizes Sunni minority who feels increasingly pressured. It is unfortunate that the central government reinforces this feeling via suppressing and alienating Sunni groups. As a result, these groups become engaged in conducting insurgent attacks against the central government and cooperate with global terrorist networks. Especially Al Qaeda associated terrorist organizations have the opportunity to strengthen their position in the country with the help of radicalized Sunni minority and former military officers who suffered from suppressive policies of Shiite dominated government. Increasing number of terror attacks against government officials and civilians in Sunni areas exacerbates the risk of an endless civil war in the country (Damluji, 2010).

Traditionally, Shiite-Sunni divide comes from disagreements on theological or doctrinal inconsistencies. However, its modern expression is appeared to be competition for control of power and resources. Sectarian identities are used as a political instrument for interest of each groups. Sectarian tensions endanger Iraq's fragile democracy and stability. Political elite fails to create a well-functioning system of government to avoid ethnic and sectarian violence in the country (Nazir, 2006).

Rivalries among Shiites and Sunnis and Kurds play a crucial role in shaping Iraqi politics. Ethnic and sectarian tensions hinder state-building efforts and destabilize the country. Shiite-led central government pursues sectarian policies by attempting to exclude Sunni groups and Kurds from military and civil bureaucracy. It tries to consolidate its power, control military apparatus, marginalize highly

fragmented parliament and other institutions, subjugate the judiciary and reduce the effectiveness of the opposition. Consequently, Iraq cannot not build a national identity that ensures its political, social and territorial integrity. Continuity of ethnic and sectarian conflicts worsen the conditions of failure and undertake the process of a successful nation-building (Arosoaie, 2015).

3.4.3. Lack of a Collective Security Policy

Iraq has difficulties in making or implementing a collective security policy owing to its highly fragmented and polarized structure. Ethnic and sectarian tensions and lack of channels for cooperation and coordination do not allow central government to implement a nationwide security policy in Iraq. Because the concept of security is perceived as an ethnic issue by all groups. Shiite-led central government basically does not have the authority to be actively involved in a security problem in the Kurdistan. Only KRG and Peshmerga are authorized to protect the region. Central government forces and Peshmerga are mostly using contradictory procedures and protocols that hinder the efforts of implementing a national security strategy. Another impediment for implementing a large-scale security strategy is troubled Sunni region. Baghdad does not have complete control over this region even though it is legally responsible for maintaining stability and security. Apparently, central government's security policy is restricted to Shiite areas. It can be said that the authority of Iraqi state can only be exerted locally.

It is obvious that for making an effective national security strategy ethnic and sectarian groups should cooperate and work in harmony. Particularly, cooperation between KRG and central government is extremely necessary for a sustainable security policy. Such an action will inevitably increase the capacity of the Iraqi state

for ensuring the security of the country. Also, it has the potential of stabilizing Sunni areas producing security gap. However existing political conditions in Iraq still stand as an impediment for cooperation among Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds. As long as the status of disputed areas remains unresolved central government and Kurds will not be so eager to work together.

3.5. Economic Crisis

Despite possessing large oil reserves, Iraq has faced with numerous financial and economic crises. Unfortunately, Oil is only one of the factors that leads to political volatility and uncertainty in the country. Ethnic and sectarian groups attempt to control production and exportation of oil to strengthen their political position. This situation causes a variety of problems including: rise of violence and civil conflicts, sectarian and ethnic divisions, corruption, fragmentation of politics and society, religious extremism, interventions from external actors. All these factors are making their own contribution to poor and dysfunctional economic system.

3.5.1. Oil Imperialism

To comprehend the ongoing economic crisis in the Iraqi state, a well-grounded analysis of the imperialist intentions of the US must be made. Middle East has rich oil reserves which makes it a highly strategic region for Washington to control. Particularly, Iraq possesses the second largest oil reserves (approximately 150 billion barrels) proven officially throughout the World (Herring and Rangwala, 2005). US basically seeks to eradicate its oil vulnerability and reduce its energy dependence. It wants to increase its control over energy sources and establish hegemony in oil sector. Many scholars argue that some members of the US government have close relations with arms and oil companies which encourages Washington to implement

interventionist policies in countries like Iraq (Shorrock, 2008; Bryce, 2004; Scheer, 2008). Such imperialist attempts can allow American companies to take the control of oil reserves through privatizations and investments (Bichler and Nitzan, 2004). For example, after invasion of Iraq, the US and the UK attempted to re-establish and modernize oil infrastructure in order to integrate it with global market. They supported the 'Production Sharing Agreement' (PSA) that allows multinational companies to regulate pricing and production of oil in the country. PSA was unique and special to Iraq which was unfair and exploitative. With this agreement the authority of exportation of oil was given to multinational oil companies.

The oil exportation is an extremely important financial resource for the Iraq's national budget. However, Iraqi government and people cannot benefit from oil revenues in an efficient way due to exploitative attempts of external powers. This situation decreases the Iraqi state's capacity of providing fundamental services and exerting authority over its territory. Without oil revenues the state cannot find a solution for ethno-religious disagreements and fund infrastructure investments which are key to preventing permanent conflicts and state failure.

3.5.2. Oil Dependency

It is obvious that Iraq's stability and peace rely heavily on oil export. Oil revenues maintain a sustainable economic growth and decrease unemployment through employing more people in public sector. However, despite this positive effect, oil prices suffer from having an unpredictable nature which means that they are subject to sudden drops or rises. Gradual rise in oil prices provides relatively stable economic conditions but, when oil prices experience a dramatic decrease, the country faces severe economic and financial problems (Clayton and Levi, 2015). Recently, oil

prices have an upward trend, nevertheless, there are still risks for stabilizing oil sector due to ethnic and sectarian tensions which generate obstacles for making structural reforms in oil industry.

3.5.3. Inflated Public Sector

Iraq is regarded as an economy of subsidies. Pensions and salaries of public sector employees which consume billions of dollars of the national budget create a huge financial burden for government. This situation deepens inequality in the society. While public sector employees have relatively good standards of living, the majority of people who could not get a job in public sector have to work in bad conditions with lower salaries. This also applies to Kurdistan region in the north. Public sector dominates economy of Iraqi Kurdistan. The workforce of KRG is predominantly employed by government (Natali, 2007). It is believed that inflated public sector is one of the primary reasons why resistance to reforms, mismanagement of revenue and income inequality occurs in the Iraqi economy. Inflated public economy also hinders proper allocation of resources for key institutions in the state that are responsible for providing security and exerting state authority throughout the country. Thus, Iraqi state cannot establish efficient mechanisms to prevent failure and ethno-religious conflicts.

3.5.4. Corruption

Corruption and clientelism are a quite common problem in Iraq which stands as a major impediment for sustainability of economy. Iraq's political system is centered on interest-based network of political elite, bureaucrats and private entrepreneurs. Most profitable businesses or large-scale projects can only be made through having close relations with people at key positions in the government.

Besides, political parties and their armed wings use these strategic positions as an instrument for patronage which is essential for maintaining sustainable financial gains. Each party forms economic committees that are responsible for arranging such dirty relations. Because governments can only be formed via coalitions including various political parties, bureaucrats and private companies, making structural reform to prevent corruption and clientelism seems impossible. Besides, Iraq receives billions of dollars by the international community for stabilizing economic conditions that have a direct effect on the failure of state. However, financial aids or loans received by central government could not be used efficiently owing to this corrupt political order (Whyte, 2007).

3.6. Involvement of External Actors

External actors can play a critical role in maintaining stability or causing instability in Iraq. Particularly the competition between the US and Iran over Iraq has great potential for armed confrontations that endanger peace and security. The US frequently raises its concerns about expansion of the Islamic Regime in Middle East. Similarly, expansionist foreign policy of the US is considered to be the greatest threat for the Islamic Regime. Iraq is extremely significant for both Iran and the US for strengthening their position across the region. Presence of these external actors in Iraq's politics appears to generate enduring security risks in the future (Murthy, 2007). Interventionist policies of Iran and the US deepens rivalries among ethnic and sectarian groups. They basically support a specific group in order to ensure its existence in Iraq. For instance, whereas the US uses Kurdish factions, Iran uses some Shiite factions. It is possible to say that if tension rises between the US and Iran, a conflict between Shiites and Kurds will not be a surprise. This somehow shows that permanent conflicts and state failure in Iraq cannot be prevented unless the US and

Iran relations improve or at least become stabilized. Because reducing the effect of state failure and ending rivalries among ethno-religious groups depends highly on cooperation of these external powers who shaped post-war conditions in Iraq.

3.6.1. Interventionist Policies of the US

Foreign interventions of the US can change balance of power at regional and global level. To understand why the US conducts interventions in Iraq, our analysis cannot be restricted to national borders of the Iraqi state. The interventions cannot solely be explained with the actions of Baghdad administration. The larger picture shows that the US has projections for entire Middle East geography. Because of that Iraq is located at the heart of the region, it becomes a primary target for Washington's interventionist foreign policy.

Unilateral conditions of the current international system enable US to be the most credible actor in Middle East. The absence of a power like USSR gives the US the chance of consolidating its economic and diplomatic capabilities, silence anti-Israel and anti-American voices and improve its relations with Arab countries throughout the region. The US tries to have good relations especially with Gulf Arab states to strengthen its position in Middle East. Because these states have relatively smaller militaries and they are increasingly dependent on the US support that can protect them against Iran's expansion. This makes it easy for Washington to access to Middle East under the mask of democracy and defending Sunni coalition against Iran (Shlaim, 1995).

Failed states are an important component of interventionist foreign policy of the US. Washington argues that state failure is the primary reason why global terrorist threat becomes widespread. This argument gives the US the opportunity for declaring

global war on terror by conducting propaganda of promoting democratic values in failed states. States like Iraq are therefore primary targets for ‘liberating’ and ‘democratizing’ through international interventions. The US dominated international system presents the concept of democratization as the only way of state building which is intended to legitimize its expansionist strategy. The US uses this concept as means of foreign policy to transform regimes considered to be a threat for its interests (Britton, 2006). Washington frequently stresses the importance of democratization and dangers of non-sovereign states. It is clear that these states generate insecurity and instability. However, the process of determining non-sovereign states is mostly based on geopolitical concerns instead of technical assessment of state competency. Geopolitically less important states are mainly not the subject of democratization and state failure. Yet, highly strategic failed states like Iraq are more important for spread of ‘democracy’. Moreover, the argument of the Washington for intervention appears to depend on subjective assessments. The US justifies the necessity of applying an interventionist strategy in failed states via claiming that these states unable to control their territory which becomes a base for global terrorist networks (Feldman, 2009).

State failure and global terrorism in Iraq give a unique opportunity to the US to apply a more aggressive policy in the Middle East. Washington administration has peculiar intentions for Iraq which has the potential to affect entire world politics (Donnelly et al., 2000). Controlling oil production and changing regional balance are the most stressed components of this strategy. The US believes that implementing interventionist policies in Iraq makes the US economy less vulnerable than before. Iraq is the second largest oil producer in the world and controlling this country will possibly change the global balance of power in favor of the US (Clark, 2005; Duffield, 2005).

3.6.2. Expansionist Policies of Iran

Traditionally, foreign policy of Iran in Middle East has often been explained on the basis of religion that characterizes the state identity of the Islamic regime. As the most prominent actor in Shiite Muslim world, Iran is able to mobilize Shiite populations living throughout Middle East. This foreign strategy allows Tehran to lead and consolidate Shiite minorities radicalized through sectarian conflicts (Emadi, 1995). Iran's foreign policy is basically based on unifying Shiite world and transforming Middle East according to its political ambitions under the mask of exportation of Islamic Revolution which is presented as an anti-imperialist movement. Tehran has the ability to activate and lead Shiite masses in Sunni-dominated countries which is used in purpose of creating a 'Shiite Crescent' via connecting several countries in the region. This structure includes Yemen, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and finally it reaches Gaza. There are two basic objectives of this region-wide project:

Firstly, Islamic regime wants to send aid to Shiite militia groups such as Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza. Although Hamas is a Sunni religious group, for Tehran supporting Gaza resistance is extremely significant action for legitimacy of its foreign policy. Because helping Palestine, creates a good image due to its iconic meaning in Islamic world. The regime also uses this as a successful means of propaganda to gain popular support through mobilizing Iranian people and spreading anti-western sentiment in the society (Takeyh, 2008).

Secondly, Tehran is intended to challenge expansionist policies of the US-led western coalition that are perceived as a primary threat for the Islamic regime. Iran is quite aware of that the US want to contain and then overthrow the regime via

imposing sanctions and supporting Sunni states both militarily and politically.

Therefore, it is clear that when we take all these projections into account, the foreign policy pursued by Tehran is the best way of maintaining its survival and sustaining the Islamic regime. It means that such a counter expansionist or aggressive policy is extremely necessary and it has no other alternatives.

Iraq is the backbone of Iran's Middle East policy. Without controlling Iraq, Tehran cannot succeed in forming a Shiite Crescent and access other countries in the region. Therefore, it pays particular attention to strengthening its position in Iraq. The political order depending on Shiite coalitions enables Iran to build a strong political basis in the country. Despite the fact that all Shiite fractions do not support Iran's expansionist intentions, the Islamic regime can be able to improve its relations with the majority of Shiites dominating political system.

The rise of extremism in Iraq allows Iran to be actively involved in conflicts between central government and Sunni insurgent groups (Arosoaie, 2015). Tehran administration supports a number of Shiite militia groups which are known as Hashdi Shabi. Some of these groups are directly controlled by Islamic Revolutionary Guards (IRG). IRG provides military training, financial assistance, weapons and ammunitions for these groups to create an efficient resistance against Sunni extremism in Iraq. Hashdi Shabi is a prominent actor in Iraqi military and politics. Aside from being a military force, it has some political functions. For example, in general elections of 2018 it formed a political coalition and became the second fraction who gained 47 seats in the parliament. This may give us an idea about the influence of Tehran on Iraq.

3.7. Analysis of Iraq's Failure

The examination of the case of Iraq tried to explore that permanent conflicts among Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds decrease the capacity of the state and produce state failure. For exploring the role of permanent conflicts in Iraq's failure four main factors were determined which are political and social fragmentation, security gap, economic crisis and involvement of external actors. Comprehensive examination of these factors enable us to provide an analysis of state failure in Iraq under the headings as follows:

3.7.1. Geopolitical Curse

Iraq is considered to be one of the most unstable countries in the world. Permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups and imperialist intentions of global actors do not allow for forming a functioning state mechanism. Due to its strategic importance, it suffers from fierce competition among global powers. It is located at the heart of the Middle East and therefore it has the potential of influencing Syria, Turkey, Iran, Gulf countries and Jordan. Besides, Iraq possesses rich oil reserves and is regarded as one of the biggest energy suppliers in the world. It means that controlling Iraq can possibly change balance of power at regional and global level. All great actors have some particular projections about the future of the country. This makes it more difficult to find a solution depending on consensus among various local and international actors. Local actors do not have their own agenda, instead, they serve as local representatives of key international players. For example, Iran uses some Shiite groups as an instrument for its foreign objectives. Also, it is possible to say that the US has the ability to affect some fractions politically and diplomatically in the Iraqi government and Parliament.

3.7.2. Failure of Post-Saddam Order

Despite being a dictatorship, it is believed that the Saddam era was relatively stable and peaceful due to presence of strong state mechanisms and institutions. The regime formed a highly centralized authority and consolidated power in one hand which is illegitimate but useful for impeding ethnic and sectarian violence. Even though its capacity of exercising full sovereignty over its territory was damaged following a series wars and international interventions in last decades, Saddam regime is considered to be more successful than today's democracy. Post-Saddam order fails to establish a sovereign state structure and institutions to exert authority on Iraqi territory. Because, political system designed by external powers does not function properly and ethno-religious groups are not so eager to be part of it. Instead, they manipulate the system for their interests. Therefore, the new order is unable to meet expectations of both Iraqi people and the international community regarding preventing ethno-religious conflicts and ongoing state failure.

3.7.3. Dysfunctional Government

Iraq is recognized as a sovereign state by the existing international system. However, it is quite doubtful that whether the Iraqi state meet minimum criteria for being fully sovereign. Central government is incapable of controlling its territory and borders completely. It does not have the capacity to provide a secure life for its citizens. Moreover, the Iraqi government is largely shaped and controlled by external actors. Especially the US and Iran are extremely influential players in Iraqi politics. They both can change balance of power among Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds by direct or indirect operations. It is obvious that Iraq was not a successful state before the involvement of the US and Iran in Iraqi politics but was relatively stable. The

involvement of external actors deteriorated the process of failure and destructed existing capacity of central government to control its territory.

3.7.4. Political and Social Disintegration

The Iraqi state cannot succeed in maintaining its social and political integration. Due to lack of equal distribution of power amongst different ethnic or religious groups, the governments mostly cannot provide popular support. They predominantly rely on a particular ethno-religious fraction. This situation increases polarization and disintegration in the society. Deep fragmentation of society creates obstacles for establishing sustainable state institutions. It also leads to the failure of attempting to build a national identity. In fact, sectarian and ethnic groups are not so eager to engage in the process of creating a national identity. Because nation-building attempts are solely based on transforming the society according to the ruling group's political ideology. For example, Saddam's nationalist perspective was centered on being Sunni and it was never accepted by Shiites and Kurds.

3.7.5. Security Gap

Iraqi state has some structural security problems that endanger its existence. The country suffers deeply from ethno-religious violence, the new 'democratic' system introduced by the US in the post-Saddam period and lack of collective security policy. All these factors together hinder the efforts of building a workable state structure which ensure equal distribution of power and resources among Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds. In the absence of a well-functioning state structure, the entire country becomes a target for global terrorist organizations. Authority gap enables terrorist groups to institutionalize their ideology recruit new members and reach financial resources. Especially, disadvantageous Sunni minority provides an available

sociological basis for expansion of extremism and insurgent violence. Due to sectarian policies of Shiite dominated central government, Sunni groups become marginalized and seek some illegal ways of protecting their political existence such as forming insurgent resistance and cooperating with global terrorist networks. Insurgent or terrorist attacks appear to be the most significant factor producing security gap in the country.

3.7.6. Economic Collapse

Iraq suffers from several economic problems. Firstly, the Iraqi economy relies heavily on oil sector. Oil prices can experience a sudden drop or rise because of their unpredictable nature. When a dramatic decrease occurs in the prices, the government cannot provide adequate financial resources for maintaining economic growth and fundamental public services for its citizens which are key to peace and stability. Secondly, interventionist policies of external actors may worsen existing economic collapse. Especially, the US imperialist policies have a negative effect on Iraqi economy. They are mainly intended to transform the country's economic structure in favor of global corporations through privatization of oil production and exportation. Thirdly, despite having a huge amount of oil revenues and financial aids provided by the international community, a sustainable growth cannot be succeeded due to corrupt state mechanism and inflated public sector. Corruption deepens the consequences of economic crisis in the society and decreases efficiency and capacity of administrative system. Consequently, the country faces with economic collapse that worsens the conditions of failure and ethno-religious violence.

3.7.7. The US-Iran Competition

External interventions have direct influence on state failure in Iraq. Expansionist and interventionist policies of great powers deteriorate ongoing conflicts among ethnic and sectarian groups. The US and Iran are the most influential external actors in Iraqi politics. Their conflicting interests and different foreign objectives impede the integrity and functionality of the Iraqi state. Because both actors are able to change political conditions by controlling or directing a specific ethno-religious fraction in the government. It indicates the fact that preventing ethno-religious conflicts and providing stability depend largely on the degree of competition between the US and Iran. More particularly, without consent of these actors who shape political conditions in the post-Saddam period, a long-lasting peace cannot be succeeded. Regrettably, existing disputes and crises that strain the US-Iran relations seems to be stand as a primary obstacle for stabilizing and normalizing political conditions in Iraq.

3.8. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the effects of political and social fragmentation, security gap, economic crisis and involvement of external actors on Iraq's failure. The analysis of the case of Iraq has showed that each of these factors makes its own contribution to state failure. Political and social fragmentation do not allow for creating a national identity that covers all ethnic and religious identities. Security gap stemming mainly from sectarian violence and global terrorism decrease state's capacity to maintain order and peace. Economic crisis impedes central government's efforts for decrease unemployment and provide fundamental services

for its citizens. Under such conditions the country becomes vulnerable to external interventions which can worsen the ongoing failure.



CHAPTER 4: BOSNIA

4.1. Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to discuss the factors of permanent conflicts producing state failure in Bosnia including political and social fragmentation, security gap, economic crisis and the involvement of external actors. The chapter will provide an opportunity for measuring hypotheses that are intended to explore the role of permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups and external powers shaping post-war conditions in Bosnia's failure. Examining the case of Bosnia will enable us to indicate the impact of permanent conflicts among Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats on the dysfunctionality of the state. It will also allow for detecting negative and positive effects of interventionist policies of the US and enlargement policy of the EU on Bosnia's failure.

4.2. Historical Background

For centuries Bosnia was under the rule of Ottoman Empire. However, by 20th century the empire lost its power and faced with significant territorial losses, particularly in Balkans. In 1908, Austro-Hungarian Empire annexed Bosnia until the end of First World War. In 1918, Yugoslavia was established after the fall of Austro-Hungarian Empire through the Treaty of Versailles. The new state was composed of six republics (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Slovenia) and various ethnic and religious groups. Despite the fact that Yugoslavia did not include a wide national basis, it was able to survive till early 1990s.

During Second World War, Nazis occupied the Yugoslavia and granted independence to Croatia in 1941. The Croatian state including the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina lasted only until the defeat of Hitler in 1945. This state was

dictatorship and it committed atrocities on other ethnic groups, particularly on Serbs who had relatively strong national identity. Following Second World War, USSR dominated the Balkans and consequently, a socialist regime was introduced in the country. In 1963, under the presidency of Josip Broz Tito, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was adopted as the official name of the state. Tito was extremely strong political figure who was able to keep a number of ethnic and religious fractions together. During his period, he suppressed nationalist movements and political activities. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia was much more liberal than Warsaw Pact countries due to being relatively independent of Soviet dominance.

After President Tito's death in 1980, the country faced with a period of social, economic and political decline. Slovenia and Croatia, as the locomotives of the economy of Yugoslavia, increased demands for independence. These two republics had better conditions than the rest of the Federation in terms of standard of living and industrial production. They believed that they were forced to bear economic burden of poorer republics.

By 1990s, Yugoslavia realized that its problematic structure could no longer be sustained. In 1991, following the fall of Soviet Union, socialism was replaced by ethnic nationalism. Some republics of the Federation such as Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence. Dissolution process was the greatest opportunity for Serbs because of having largest population (nearly 10 million) which was just under half of the total population of the Federation at that time. They dominated the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) using such a huge amount of population and controlled key institutions owing to the fact that Belgrade was the center of the Federal Government and also the capital of Serbia. Serbs used JNA as an

instrument for legitimizing their military operations. They wanted to present themselves as the only legitimate power for protecting entire Yugoslavian territory.

The republics had not homogeneous demographic distribution. Because Tito administration arbitrarily designed their borders. When the country faced civil war, ethnic nationalists attempted to solve this problem through conducting ethnic cleansing operations. In 1991, Slovenia gained its independence after a short period of armed conflicts with JNA. Following Slovenia, Croatia declared its independence. Serbs living in newly independent Croatia declared their own state which was under the influence of Serbia. Bosnia was also eager to be independent through a referendum supported by the EU in 1992, but it could not be possible due to eruption of civil war. Bosnia was the most vulnerable republic, because of that the society was a mix of Muslim Bosniaks, Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs. Not surprisingly, the most devastating confrontations emerged among these groups which were driven by ethnic and religious motives. Hundreds of thousands of Bosnian Muslims and Croats were forced to leave their home or killed as a part of ethnic cleansing campaign of Serbs. The UN failed to prevent war and protect civilians during armed conflicts. The US-led NATO took initiative and started a military operation against Serbia. Finally, in 1995 Serbia was defeated and modern Bosnia was established by Dayton Agreement.

In general elections of 1996, a tripartite presidency chaired by Alija Izetbegovic and a national legislature which was dominated by ethnic nationalist parties was determined. Over next several years, Bosnia experienced relatively stable social and political conditions by increasing efforts of international community. Especially, the EU provided the country with extensive financial and technical

assistance for reconstructing infrastructure and implementing some structural reforms in economic and political system which was devastated during civil war.

In May 2011, Ratko Mladic who was responsible for the massacre of Srebrenica was captured. He was extradited to The Hague to face trial by International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) on charges of committing war crimes especially crimes humanity and genocide. In 2014, the country faced with a widespread civil unrest following the government's approval of plans for privatization of some key state-owned enterprises. This was resulted in eruption of mass protests against government's corrupt structure.

General elections in October 2014, Party of Democratic Action (SDA) claimed the majority of votes and in February 2015, Denis Zvizdic was confirmed as the next prime minister of Bosnia. Zvizdic made accession talks with the EU one of his top priorities. Finally, in February 2016, the country formally applied for being member of the Union. Although Bosnia could not see rapid developments, the accession had a significant impact over transforming the country's politics and economy in parallel to the EU standards. In March 2016, Serb Radovan Karadzic and later in November 2017, Radio Mladic were found guilty of their role Srebrenica Massacre. Whereas Karadzic was sentenced to 40 years Mladic was sentenced to life in prison. While ethnic tensions remain unresolved, with such decisions of ICTY, the country today is more hopeful for a possible peace.

4.3. Political and Social Fragmentation

Despite their artificial nature, former Yugoslavian republics are relatively successful in holding numerous ethnic and religious fractions together. All republics outside Bosnia, are able to establish a moderately stable social and political system.

Regrettably Bosnia has some peculiar conditions in terms of socio-political fragmentation. Apart from, for example, Serbia or Croatia, Bosnia is unable to form a national identity and implement a successful nation-building policy (Malcolm, 1996). Thus, it cannot not improve well-functioning political institutions or procedures for preventing social conflicts and maintaining a peaceful resolution for disagreements among different groups.

4.3.1. Failure of Democratization

Dayton order provides quite complex political system. It divides the state into Serbian Republic and Federation of Bosniaks and Croats, as two autonomous entities. Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks are recognized as founding nations and all the state institutions are shared among these ethnicities according to some unclear procedures that frequently become the subject of crisis in the country's political life. Each nation has the right to elect a member of tripartite presidential council which means three presidents are elected through an election. Determining the members of local and federal parliaments is also a very problematic process. Bosnian State cannot be able to maintain equal distribution of power among different ethnic and religious groups and therefore it fails to establish a stable or sustainable state structure (Bojkov, 2003). Here, it is important to note that dividing state into autonomous entities does not necessarily end up with instability and failure of democratization. In fact, divided states can also establish a sustainable democratic system. For example, Canada and Switzerland are considered to be democratic and stable states despite being composed of various ethnic factions, languages and religions (Erisen and Wiltse, 2017). However, in highly fragmented and polarized states like Bosnia, divideness can generate risks for the process of democratization.

The failure of democratization in Bosnia-Herzegovina depends highly on polarization of the society through manipulating ethnic and religious differences. Political parties have a major role in disintegration of the society. Ethno-religious concerns dominate almost all the topics regardless whether they are political or daily issues. For example, an issue about forest protection can easily be presented as a vital national interest by political parties. Muslim Party of Democratic Action (SDA), Catholic Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and Orthodox Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) generally gain the majority of seats in the Parliament. They promote nationalistic ideologies with the help of engaging in artificial conflicts and counter propaganda. As a result, it becomes impossible to create an available political environment for peaceful resolution of ongoing problems. Besides, some parties are acting as a satellite from countries sharing the same ethnicities. For example, SDS has close relations with Serbia. Similarly, HDZ appear to be under the influence of Croatia. The involvement of these external actors generates obstacles for maintaining peace and stability in Bosnia (Pickering, 2009).

4.3.2. Ethnic and Religious Polarization

Bosnian society is extremely polarized and fragmented structure. Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats, as three main ethno-religious groups, have quite problematic relations. Each group prioritizes strengthening its political position and weakening others. Therefore, nation-building process which ensures peace and stability faces with an inescapable failure. Being Bosniak or Serb or Croat is more significant than sharing Bosnian identity that covers all sides. Without being able to create a national identity, Bosnia cannot sustain its existence as a sovereign state.

Bosniaks are the largest ethno-religious group in Bosnia (about 45% of total population). Therefore, they are the most influential ethnic fraction in Bosnian politics. Bosniak identity is mostly associated with religion Islam. While they share Slavic origins, language and culture with Serbs and Croats, they prefer to identify themselves as Bosniak because of some certain political reasons. Bosnian Muslims were subject to genocide and ethnic cleansing resulted in drastic demographic changes during the civil war. Thousands of Bosniaks were killed or forced to leave their home particularly by Serbian militia backed by Belgrade. Mass killings of Muslim men and systematic rape of Muslim women were deliberately planned by Serbian authorities (Banac, 1988). International authorities frequently find new mass graves full of Bosniak people. Painful memories of the war still keep its importance and because of that re-integration of ethnic groups and maintaining peace among them may not be that easy.

Serbs are the second largest ethnic group in the country (nearly 30% of total population). They are considered as one of three constitutive nations along with Bosniaks and Croats, they have their representative in tripartite presidential system. Serbian Republic, one of two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is mainly dominated by Serbian inhabitants. It has its own executive and legislative structure (Batakovic, 1996). Traditionally, the Serbian community in Bosnia is viewed as natural extension of Serbia. Throughout Civil War, Bosnian Serbs were led by Belgrade and they both served the same interest. They wanted to unify all Serbian communities in Balkan Peninsula and establish Great Serbia. This project caused the death of millions of people and many Serbian leaders were accused of committing crime against humanity and other related war crimes.

Croats are the smallest ethnic group in Bosnia-Herzegovina (approximately, 18% of total population) and they unevenly spread across the country. They were unable to establish a compact mass to struggle for being a part of Croatia during civil war. The best option for them was to cooperate with other groups and promote multi-ethnic state structure in Bosnia. Croats do not play a leading role in initiating events owing to its relatively small population. They basically react to agreements or conflicts between Serbs and Muslims. They can never directly affect the course of politics in the country. They are intended to ensure their social and political presence through improving channels of negotiation and cooperation with other ethnicities. In spite of having weak position, they strongly believe that Bosnian State which guarantees the rights of three ethnic groups might be the only opportunity to sustain their existence (Ancic, 2003).

4.4. Security Gap

Although armed conflicts came to an end following international intervention in Bosnia, security concerns still keep its importance. There is lack of an efficient entity which can implement consistent policies and enforce rules for stabilizing political social and economic conditions in the country. Dysfunctional state structure is unable to control its national territory or exercise monopoly over means of violence. These security risks cannot be restricted to Bosnia. In fact, the entire Western Balkans suffer from security gap originated from absence of a well-functioning state structure. Most states are not legitimate in the eyes of their citizens due to being dominated by different ethnic group. It seems normal that if state is not able to provide security and other basic public services for its citizens, global powers and some illegal organizations would be so eager for attempting to fill the gap. Especially violent non-state actors (VNSA) generate national, regional and global security threats.

4.4.1. Impact of Dayton Order

Dayton order is intended to prevent ethnic conflicts in Bosnia by introducing a political system that ensures power sharing and territorial self-government.

International backers of the agreement consider that this system can provide stability and security by encouraging ethnic groups for peaceful resolution of disputes.

However, apparently, the efforts of the international society are unable to prevent escalation of political instability and uncertainty in the country. The new order is centered on the fact that decentralization of power and authority may decrease the risk of ethnic conflicts, but it can only bring an extremely fragile peace to Bosnia (McMahon and Western, 2009).

Dayton offers a quite complex political system which is unable to find a solution for enduring disputes among ethnic and religious groups. Dividing the country into two entities that have different objectives and intentions may prevent armed conflict and violence, but it cannot provide a permanent peace and security in Bosnia. It is clear that for protecting fragile peace, both Bosniak-Croatian Federation and Serbian Republic should work together and form effective mechanisms. However, to date it could not be done owing to some political reasons. Disagreements and competition among Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats hinder the efforts of cooperation. Therefore, it seems impossible to fill the authority gap that endangers political, social or territorial integrity of the country. Authority gap is subject to generate various security risks compromising state's capacity of preventing illegal activities and crimes. Here it is important to emphasize that Bosnia is regarded as the most insecure country in Western Balkans which is surrounded by violent and non-violent crimes. The level of illegal activities is a good indicator for determining whether a state is sovereign over its national territory. High crime rates therefore, may give us an idea

about why Bosnian state is incapable of exercising full sovereignty within its national borders. As long as Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats pursue different policies and prioritize their ethno-national identity, the central government cannot form a collective security perspective which is extremely necessary for sustainability of the state.

4.4.2. Religious Extremism and Global Terrorism

The most significant security threat appears to be related to non-traditional security issues. Similar to all other weak states, Bosnia is considered as an available location for every means of illegal activities. Non-traditional security threats such as global terrorism, proliferation of arms, drug and human trafficking, refugee flow, transnational organized crime generate risks for sustainability of peace and stability in the society which is composed of various ethnic groups sharing historical rivalries. (Cha, 2000). Especially, religious terrorism has deep roots in Bosnia. Global terrorist organizations can easily access to the country owing to permanent ethno-national conflicts. Terrorist groups frequently use Bosnia to reach Europe due to its strategic location. It is believed that the country has the highest number of religious terrorists in the Western Balkans. Compared with other European countries, terrorist organizations can easily be organized, recruit new members and make ideological propaganda in Bosnia. Given the fact that, Bosnian citizens have the right of travelling visa-free throughout the EU, entire continent of Europe is at risk of being attacked by a terrorist group located in Bosnia. The most recent attack took place in Paris in 2015. An al Qaeda associated group targeted Charlie Hebdo, a satirical magazine that featured cartoons about Prophet Muhammed. The perpetrators of the Charlie Hebdo attack, not surprisingly, provided ammunitions and weapons from Bosnia. This somehow shows the growing global terrorist threat stemming from Bosnia.

A possible terrorist attack in Bosna and Herzegovina can produce very grave consequences owing to having the potential of triggering ethnic and religious conflicts. Presenting an attack occurred in the country as an Islamic assault can easily canalize Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs to take action against Muslim Bosniaks. Because Christian groups are generally intended to blame Bosniaks for spread of religious terrorism and extremism.

4.4.3. Lack of a Collective Security Policy

Highly polarized political structure directly affects security policy implementing in Bosnia. Ethno-religious divide and absence of available political conditions generate obstacles for adopting a national security policy. Because the notion of security is perceived or presented as an ethnic issue, a collective security strategy cannot be succeeded. Central government is incapable of persuading Bosniak-Croatian Federation and Serbian Republic on pursuing a collective security policy in the country. There is lack of cooperation and coordination between these two entities about creating a common security perspective due to having different political intentions and objectives. Moreover, ethno-national parties dominating politics in Bosnia attempt to take advantage of the ethnically heterogeneous political structure by manufacturing the perception of ethnic fear within the society (Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2015). They, deliberately spread ethnic fear to consolidate their supporters. In fact, the rhetoric of ethnic fear appears to be a quite successful political strategy. Bosniak SDA, Serbian SDS, and Croat HDZ generally win the majority of votes in elections thanks to mobilizing people having ethno-national tendencies. These parties are quite aware of that if Bosnian society become normalized and leave ethnic problems behind, they cannot gain popular support via spreading the perception of ethnic fear.

For implementing an influential collective security policy, central government, Bosniak-Croat Federation and Serbian Republic should work together and redefine the concept of security depending on a non-ethnic perspective. Implementing a nationwide security policy is extremely significant for protecting fragile peace. As mentioned before, Bosnia still suffers from uncertainty and instability. Without pursuing a common security policy, Dayton peace can no longer survive.

4.5. Economic Crisis

Despite its strategic location, Bosnia cannot obtain a strong economic growth and development. The country's bad infrastructure, weak private sector, complicated administrative system, corrupt political elite and poor economic performance impede economic efficiency which is essential to a sustainable growth. Comparing to other Western Balkan countries, Bosnia seems to be a less desirable market to invest for international companies owing to such structural problems.

4.5.1. Weak Private Sector

A strong private sector is quite necessary for rebuilding the infrastructure, stabilizing political conditions and maintain a sustainable economic order. Bosnian economy is unable to strengthen its private sector which is a prerequisite for a stable economic growth. The private sector in Bosnia suffers from some structural inadequacies. Existing infrastructure of Bosnian economy was completely destroyed during civil war that generated painful socio-economic consequences. More additionally, Bosnia was ruled under communist regime for decades. Therefore, its newly emerging private sector cannot dominate the economy or compete with multinational giant companies. In the absence of a strong private sector, local traders

tend to become more interested in black market and other illegal means of economic activities (Tzifakis and Tsardanidis, 2006).

Although Bosnia receives enormous amount of aid, very little is directly used in mainstream business community. Therefore, private sector cannot play a crucial role in building a solid foundation for economic growth. The country cannot attract foreign direct investment which is key to the development of weak economies. As a result, the Bosnian state cannot provide sufficient financial resources for allocating basic economic demands of its citizens (Tzifakis and Tsardanidis, 2006).

4.5.2. Ethnic Divide in Economy

The notion of ethnicity determines not only Bosnia's political and social life but also its economic conditions. Central government does not have the capacity of establishing a single economic zone which covers all ethnic fractions and cannot succeed in implementing a nationwide policy to recover its economy due to fragmented and ethnically divided state. Because each ethnicity is intended to pursue a different policy within its defined political entity. Highly decentralized state structure hampers reforms and coordination of economic policy (Pugh, 2002). For instance, whereas, Serbian Republic has the majority of mineral deposits and agricultural lands, most power plants and heavy industry are located in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This division between two entities is a significant problem for reconstruction of infrastructure. Despite efforts made to integrate institutional and legal structure of two entities, Bosnian cannot create a new foundation for sustainable growth in economy.

Ethnic and religious factions are intended to blame each other for hampering economic development. Serbian Republic believes that dysfunctional central

government and Bosniak pressure do not allow for implementing a sustainable economic policy. Conversely, Bosniaks argue that Serbian Republic often generates obstacles for making reforms regarding centralization of political and economic activities. Croats claim their own entity that is seen as a prerequisite for resolution of structural disputes and they criticize centralization efforts of Bosniaks.

4.5.3. International Aid and Corruption

A strong economy is extremely important for keeping peace in post-conflicts period. Poor financial and economic prospects endanger fragile peace in Bosnia. Regrettably, Dayton order is not able to succeed in solving structural economic problems. Dividing the country into separate entities and introducing a very complex national and local administration do not allow for providing economic growth and preventing corruption, income inequality among social and ethnic groups (Vucetic, 2002)

International community provides an enormous amount of financial aid and reconstruction assistance to Bosnian State in order to rebuilding infrastructure and preventing economic collapse. In spite of the huge amount of financial aid, the Bosnian economy remains precariously weak. Because, inefficient and corrupt state mechanism impedes a proper allocation of these financial resources for maintaining economic growth (Vucetic, 2002).

Bosnia cannot survive without receiving international aid or loans from the international community. Despite its huge potential, international community cannot not find a permanent solution for recovering Bosnian economy. Instead, it is virtually buying peace by providing financial assistance. Its only success appears to be

preventing armed conflicts or violence among ethnic groups via supporting a number of national and local projects financially to avoid political, social and economic crises.

4.6. Involvement of External Actors

Western Balkan region is a tremendously strategic area that experienced numerous confrontations of superpowers throughout its history. It has always the potential of influencing global political order. Not interestingly, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand which triggered WWI was made in the Balkan city of Sarajevo. Given its geopolitical location, the peninsula is politically volatile and therefore it has a number of global security risks particularly for Europe. Western Balkan region has strategic trade and transit routes. For the US-led West this region is considered as a buffer zone for preventing Russia's historical ambitions regarding reaching the warm waters and penetrating into Slavic zones. Regrettably, the region suffered so deeply from competitions among great powers for centuries.

4.6.1. Interventionist Policies of the US

Washington's projections about the future of Bosnia are a reflection of global enlargement of the American hegemony in Western Balkans. The absence of the USSR gives the US the chance of implementing interventionist policies in Western Balkans and Bosnia (Vukadinovic, 1999). The US enlargement strategy is based on integrating Eastern Europe with the Western World (Frydrych, 2008). Washington expands its military presence in Bosnia and other Western Balkan countries under the name of the NATO to transform the region according to its foreign intentions.

Dayton order is a product of the US enlargement strategy in Western Balkans. Rather than focusing on providing long-lasting peace, it is intended to prioritize national objectives and interests of the US. It does not try to solve problems

responsible for violence and historical rivalries among ethno-religious groups in Bosnia. It can only bring an extremely fragile peace to the country (McMahon and Western, 2009). Nevertheless, despite the fact that Dayton order fails to facilitate a sustainable peace, it plays an essential role in encouraging the US and the EU to work together for stabilizing political conditions in Bosnia. It is fortunate that there is no fierce competition or conflicting interests between these global powers which can produce quite negative consequences for Bosnia's peace. Washington generally supports the enlargement policy of the EU in Western Balkans. It enables the EU to implement an effective enlargement strategy which has a positive impact on peace and stability of Bosnia and other candidate countries.

4.6.2. The EU's Enlargement Policy

Even though, Bosnia is an internationally recognized independent state, it shows the characteristics of a failed state and is unable to prevent the disintegration of its national unity. Political and economic crises, dysfunctional governments and lack of security make it quite difficult to hold all communities together under the Bosnian identity. Despite this negative picture, today, Bosnia is becoming a relatively stable with the acceleration of the accession negotiations for full membership to the EU. The country experiences a period of peace and security thanks to enlargement policy of the Union.

The enlargement policy includes countries aspiring to become members of the EU. Accession negotiations cover numerous topics including fundamental rights, justice, security, fight against corruption and organized crimes. There are strict criteria and conditions for accession of new countries such as maintaining rule of law,

freedom of expression and media, strengthening civil society, regional cooperation and economic governance (Juncos, 2005).

The EU is centered on the principle of rule of law. It means that every action taken by the Union is based on written agreements or treaties which are approved in a democratic way. Similar to all countries joining the EU, Bosnia should respect the rights and obligations explained in European Convention on Human Rights and Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. As a candidate country, it must provide the independence and impartiality of judiciary, accountability of government officials, transparency of the process in which laws are prepared, approved and enforced. Strengthening rule of law can protect Bosnian citizens, state institutions as a whole from crimes, conflicts and violation of rights (Tocci, 2007).

Freedom of expression and media is quite significant indicator determining whether a country is ready for membership of the EU. It is based on political accountability, good governance and democracy. A country cannot be a member of the Union without ensuring freedom of expression which is considered to be a basic human right. Ensuring freedom of expression and media is a problematic issue in Bosnia. Political interference in media does not allow for institutionalizing freedom of expression. This situation increase tension and polarize ethnic groups (Taylor and Kent, 2000). The EU provides technical and financial assistance for institutionalizing freedom of media in Bosnia. Also, it launches a forum known as EU and Western Balkans Media Days aimed at dealing with media freedom challenges, encouraging impartial journalism and stressing the role of pluralism in media. The forum tries to contribute to strengthening media freedom through offering result-oriented strategies or approaches.

For the EU, a vibrant civil society is extremely important condition for candidates. Civil society organizations enable citizens to be actively involved in political issues. In Bosnia, dialogue with public or participation of citizens in politics is lacking. Therefore, citizens do not have the opportunity to influence policy-making process (Bostic, 2011). The EU promotes participation of people in politics and social issues. Policies shaping or affecting civil society in the country are strictly monitored by the Union. It also provides financial support and professional assistance in order to institutionalize civil society culture in Bosnia. For this purpose, it established Civil Society Facility (CSF) to contribute to the strengthening civil society institutions. CSF mainly focuses on development of national or local initiatives dealing with internalizing rule of law, democratic values, human rights and ensuring political participation of citizens in the process of decision making.

Regional cooperation is top priority for stabilization of troubled areas in enlargement policy of the EU. Western Balkan countries dominates the Union's political agenda due to their violent history. Regional cooperation aims to address common challenges and obstacles impeding peaceful resolution of disputes. The EU established Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) to obtain cooperation among Balkan countries. The Union play an active role in RCC through providing financial support and sharing its professional experiences (Missiroli, 2016).

Fulfilling economic criteria is a core requirement for the EU membership. It aims to provide a well-functioning market economy in candidate countries. These criteria ensure that only independent institutions like central bank can regulate or steer the economy. It is essential for a sustainable economic growth in Bosnia and other enlargement countries (Brühlhart et al., 2004). Because it prevents manipulative interventions of political elite that are engaged in taking advantage of polarization of

ethnic and religious groups. More additionally, it encourages candidates like Bosnia to tackle economic fundamentals including a welcoming business environment, functioning financial and labor market, macroeconomic stability and economic integration with the Union. The EU conditionality for economic issues forces political parties to avoid tensions and cooperate with each other for sustaining economic development which is key to peace and stability.

4.7. Analysis of Bosnia's Failure

The examination of the case of Bosnia attempted to explain that permanent conflicts among Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats decrease the capacity of state and produce state failure. To indicate the impact of permanent conflicts on Bosnia's failure four main factors were determined which are political and social fragmentation, security gap, economic crisis and involvement of external actors. Detailed examination of these factors provides an opportunity to analyze state failure in Bosnia under the headings as follows:

4.7.1. Geopolitical Curse

Geopolitical location has a direct effect on the process of failure. As mentioned, there are some certain areas of conflict in the world that produce numerous failed states. Western Balkans are one of those regions that experienced permanent conflicts and political volatility throughout its history. It is very difficult to establish workable and long-standing state formations in such troubled geography. Western Balkan countries suffer deeply from being a strategic target for global powers. The US, Russia and the EU are the most prominent actors in this region. Each actor has different agenda or projections that may lead to political instability. For the West, keeping Russia away from the neighborhood of Europe is the major security

objective. On the other hand, Russia sees Western expansion in former Soviet countries as primary threat for its national security. This situation increases the possibility of conflicts and confrontations between two sides. For Bosnia, being located in such a region which is best known for its endless conflicts and violence that develops optimal conditions for state failure.

4.7.2. Failure of Dayton

International actors involved in peace process following civil war did or could not find a permanent solution for stabilizing political conditions in Bosnia. They rather focused on meeting their own demand and engage in building available conditions to penetrate into the Western Balkans and Bosnia. The US, as the leading actor shaped post-war period, prioritized strengthening NATO's military presence in Western Balkans and decreasing Russia's influence on the countries of the region. This is why, Dayton order cannot offer a permanent peace to the country. The new political system does not solve long-lasting disputes among ethnic and religious groups. Instead, it masks old existing rivalries and freeze ongoing conflicts and violence. Dayton system provides a very complicated and unpredictable political structure. There are no clear indicators of electing members of local and federal parliament, determining president and ensuring equal distribution of power and resources among Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs.

4.7.3. Political and Social Disintegration

Bosnia and Herzegovina may have the most complicated political system in the world that frequently becomes the subject of political crises among different groups. Ethnically divided political system generates obstacles for maintaining stability and peace in the society. It hinders the efforts of establishing a national

identity to bring unity among ethno-religious groups. Political parties mainly focus on taking advantage of this fragmented political system by using ethnic and religious rhetoric to consolidate or mobilize their supporters. We can experience that even an ordinary issue has the potential to be presented as a strategic matter by leading parties representing a specific ethnic fraction. Dealing with artificial crises consumes the energy and the reliability of political system of Bosnia.

On the other hand, some regional actors are so eager to be a part of the conflicts among Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. Serbia is intended to be an influential actor in Bosnia through mobilizing Serbian minority. Similarly, Croatia has the capacity to penetrate into the country's politics by using Croatian population of the country. Also, Bosniaks improve relations with some Muslim countries like Turkey. Direct involvement of these external actors is likely to deteriorate conditions of failure and instability. Because even if domestic consensus become possible, manipulations and interventions of external actors cannot be easily prevented.

4.7.4. Dysfunctional Government

While Bosnia is an internationally recognized state, it could not sufficiently exercise control over its territory. More particularly, Bosnian state is incapable of exerting authority over ethnic and religious groups due to some structural problems. Firstly, there are many different national and local entities recognized by the Dayton order. This frequently becomes a dispute among such a huge number of actors regarding determining the authority and jurisdiction of federal and local institutions. Each ethnic group pursue a particular policy depending on its ethno-national identity. This creates structural problems about effectiveness of political institutions that should seek ways of maintaining unity and cooperation. Channels for peaceful

resolution of political, social and economic disputes are not functioning efficiently in such terribly designed state structure. Secondly, corrupt government officials do not allow for creating an efficient mechanism for strengthening the ability of the state of governance. Instead of seeking public good, they are mostly seeking their personal interests. Similar to many other failed states, Bosnia cannot prevent its bureaucratic body from corrupt actions or culture. Because it is not able to institutionalize the sense of being professional and giving priority to public good.

4.7.5. Security Gap

Security gap in Bosnia is a consequence of Dayton order's failure. The US contended that dividing the country into different entities which are dominated by a specific ethno-religious faction would possibly reduce tensions among Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats and bring a permanent peace to the country. However, Dayton's decentralization could only bring two extremely polarized entities and an incapacitated central government which cannot implement a nationwide security policy. Lack of an efficient central government makes the country's entire security system defenseless against acts of terror and other illegal activities. Extremist movements can easily establish a strong basis and recruit new member for their organization via using authority gap in Bosnia. A terrorist attack in the country can lead to mass violence or conflicts among ethnic and religious groups and damage political stability which is already in danger of being turned into a second civil war. The country is a transit route for terrorist networks that aims to target European countries. In many terrorist attacks including Charlie Hebdo attack of 2015, Bosnia played an important role in maintaining ammunition weapon and human resource for terrorist groups.

4.7.6. Economic Collapse

Bosnia cannot not facilitate an infrastructure in order to establish a sustainable economic structure. Its private sector is not strong enough to share economic burden of the society with the government. As a result, MNCs and international institutions like IMF and World Bank dominates the Bosnian economy through privatizations and foreign investments. On the other hand, the rise of political stability, corruption, illegal economic activities and high unemployment generate obstacles for economic stability. Despite receiving billions of dollars from the US and the EU in terms of security, economic and social projects, the country cannot maintain a sustainable growth and development. Because, financial aids sent by international community disappear within the corrupt mechanism of the central and local governments.

4.7.7. The Influence of the EU's Enlargement Policy on Bosnia's Failure

The EU's strategy for Western Balkans has a regional basis that aims to help all countries of the region in meeting conditions of accession and full membership. It is intended to increase the potential of trade liberalization, cooperation and financial assistance in many fields. The process of European integration contributes to normalize social and political conditions and leads new candidates to cooperate with each other which is quite necessary for a long peace. Accession to the EU incentivizes all Western Balkan countries to avoid political obstacles, solve structural problems with their neighbors, accelerate the reform process and pay more attention to economic growth.

The EU promotes good governance, especially maintaining rule of law, well-functioning public administration and an independent judicial system in Bosnia due to the fact that corruption and dysfunctional governance are quite common realities in

the country. Willingly or not, Bosnian government engage in making structural reforms to keep the door of the Union open and receive billions of dollars via financial aid programs for integration. The EU also provides substantial financial support to economically disadvantageous candidate or member countries. Bosnia makes effort to avoid corrupt practice and establish well-grounded state mechanism to gain the Union's support to be able to rebuild fundamental facilities and institutions.

While negotiations for accessions are between the EU and governments, the Union pays particular attention to improving civil society in Bosnia. It encourages the direct involvement of civil society organizations in finding solutions for social political and economic disputes. Many projects funded by the EU aims to strengthen ability and potential of civil society culture which may be regarded as a prerequisite for facilitating peace in the society. The EU urges Bosnian government to cooperate with international community for increasing role of civil society organizations in politics. It contributes to improve relations among ethnic factions and provides peerless opportunity for resolution of long-lasting disputes. More additionally, the Union encourage Bosnian state to ensure freedom of media and speech which is extremely necessary for a vibrant civil society. It monitors the actions of the government about political interference in media, establishes institutions and provides financial support for institutionalizing freedom of media in the country.

The enlargement policy of the EU has quite positive effect on peace and stability of Bosnia. The willingness of the EU for enlargement encourages all political mechanisms to make structural reforms regarding maintaining democratic values and preventing ethnic and religious conflicts. The EU conditionality makes Bosnia a relatively stable country despite the fact that frozen conflicts among religious and ethnic groups still keep their importance.

4.8. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to discuss the effects of political and social fragmentation, security gap, economic crisis and involvement of external actors on the process of failure in Bosnia. The examination of the case of Bosnia depending on these factors has indicated that Bosnian society is composed of different ethno-religious groups which can have different political objectives. Conflicting interests of Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats impede establishing a well-functioning state structure which is critical for peace and stability. They also do not allow for implementing a collective security strategy to prevent increasing security risks related to global terrorism and making structural reforms to reduce the effects of economic crisis. Ethno-religious conflicts somewhat encourage external actors to implement interventionist policies in Bosnia. However, it is important to note that while external interventions are mostly regarded as the factor deteriorating the process of failure, the influence of the EU appears to be quite positive for Bosnia's stability and peace.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1. Overview of the Study

Chapter 1 maintained a literature review regarding state failure. The review helped to clarify criteria or standards of statehood that include ensuring complete control over a defined territory and population, having monopoly over means of violence, providing fundamental services for citizens. Because there is no common definition of state failure, the criteria and standards of statehood are quite useful for categorizing states as failed or successful.

Chapter 2 focused on theoretical and methodological framework. The theoretical framework provided significant insights for understanding external dynamics of state failure. Structural Realism contends that under anarchical conditions of global politics failed states become vulnerable to external interventions due to the fact that they have difficulty in meeting standards of statehood. It also maintains that global actors are intended to dominate failed states in the purpose of changing balance of power at regional and global level. This theory was quite useful for exploring external dynamics of state failure. However, Structural Realist Theory might not sufficiently address internal dynamics of failure including political and social fragmentation, security gap and economic crisis due to its tendency of neglecting domestic issues of individual states. Nevertheless, it is clear that without taking these internal dynamics into consideration, a well-grounded analysis of state failure cannot be possible. Therefore, external and internal dynamics of failure were examined together despite the fact that Structural Realism has little to do with domestic disputes of individual states. Following discussing theoretical framework, methodological framework introduced the MSSD method. This method was

extremely useful for comparing the case of Iraq and the case of Bosnia in a systematic way. It provided an opportunity to determine similarities and differences between two cases in terms of state failure. More importantly, it enabled us to detect factors that influence the outcome which is essential for the objective of this thesis.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 were intended to explain how permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups influence state capacity of Iraq and Bosnia. It also attempted to indicate the role of external powers in the process of failure. For examining permanent conflicts four indicators were determined: Political and social fragmentation, security gap, economic crisis and involvement of external actors. Each was explained in great detail for making a systematic comparison between the case of Iraq and Bosnia. With the systematic comparison of these two cases, this thesis tried to find matched and unmatched factors influencing state failure. The comparative examination of the case of Iraq and the case of Bosnia has produced following findings:

- Both Iraq and Bosnia have similar social structures which are made up of different religious and ethnic groups. Bosnian and Iraqi states cannot create a national identity which covered all components of the society. Each social group prioritizes its ethnic background in political or social life. Reaching consensus on a particular topic cannot be possible due to deep fragmentation of ethno-religious fractions. Moreover, political parties representing a specific ethnicity use rivalry and competition among ethno-religious groups as an instrument for consolidating their supporters. This situation increases the risk of ethno-religious conflicts which can easily be resulted in a new civil war.
- Both Iraq and Bosnia have important security problems that generate obstacles for maintaining peace and stability. They suffer deeply from ethno-religious

violence, federalist system that deepens ethnic divide in the state and lack of a collective security policy. These problems do not allow for establishing a well-functioning state structure which is essential for preventing ongoing failure. Absence of an efficient state structure makes these countries defenseless against global terrorism and other types of organized crimes. It enables global terrorist networks to facilitate camps, spread their ideology, recruit new members and reach financial resources. Compared to Iraq, Bosnia is considered to be more secure, nevertheless, it is extremely important for international security due to its geopolitical proximity to the EU.

- Both Iraq and Bosnia suffer from severe economic crises owing to having some structural inadequacies. Firstly, they both are composed of different ethno-religious groups whose primary purpose is controlling strategic sectors dominating the economy. All the strategic economic activities are subject to produce conflicts among these groups. Secondly, both countries have a weak private sector which is core to a stable economic growth and development. Thirdly, both Iraq and Bosnia have extremely high corruption rates that decrease the economic and administrative capacity of governments. All these economic problems threaten fragile peace in Iraq and Bosnia.
- Both Iraq and Bosnia are an important part of the interventionist foreign policy of the US and its allies that change balance of power in the international system in favor of the West. It is clear that the interventionist policy of the US does not contain re-establishing efficient political structures in Iraq and Bosnia. Despite its democratic rhetoric, Washington is not really interested in regime type of Bosnia and Iraq or how legitimate these states are. It is rather concerned about seeking ways of preventing expansionist attempts of Iran in

Middle East and keeping Russia away from Western Balkans. This is the main reason why post-Saddam order in Iraq and Dayton order in Bosnia are not able to find a solution for historical rivalries and offer a permanent peace.

- As mentioned above, both Bosnia and Iraq share similar political, social, economic and historical conditions of failure. However, today, Bosnia experience a degree of stability and peace relative to Iraq with the acceleration of the EU's enlargement process. As a candidate country, Bosnia is forced to make structural reforms to be able to meet minimum criteria for full membership which include for example ensuring rule of law, freedom of expression and media, civil rights and regional cooperation and fight against corruption. These reforms encourage all candidates to work together in harmony for a common future. They increase the effectiveness of government through requiring accountability impartiality of bureaucratic or political elite and transparency of all governmental activities in enlargement countries. The EU supports candidates like Bosnia both financially and technically for ensuring making such reforms. Because governments are so eager to receive financial aids to fund large scale infrastructure projects, they are encouraged to make critical reforms and changes which are quite necessary for full membership. While Bosnia does not fulfill all requirements of accession, the EU conditionality has a very positive effect on the process of failure. Thanks to enlargement policy, the country becomes a relatively peaceful and stable place for ethnic groups having historical rivalries and disputes. It is obvious that the painful memories of civil war still keep their importance in society and full integration will not be possible for long time, nevertheless Serbs,

Muslims and Croats are now quite aware of advantages of living together and drawbacks of conflicting each other.

Overall these findings have showed that permanent conflicts among ethno-religious groups have a destructive impact on state structure of Iraq and Bosnia. Political, social, economic and security problems impede the efforts of facilitating a long-lasting peace in both countries. The findings have also indicated that without consent of external actors dominating post war conditions in Iraq and Bosnia, a permanent peace cannot be succeeded. Conflicting interests of the US and Iran do not allow for establishing a well-functioning central government in Iraq which is crucial for preventing state failure. On the other hand, good relations between the US and the EU positively affect the process of failure in Bosnia. This situation encourages the EU to implement its enlargement policy that makes the country relatively stable.

5.2. Possible Contributions to Literature

This thesis attempted to make a contribution to existing literature by offering an alternative analysis of failed states. It suggested that while there are a number of internal dynamics of failure, failed states appear to be a part of global politics centered on power struggle of great powers. In other words, the examination of failed states exceeds national boundaries and it is positioned on an international basis. Existing literature does not sufficiently address objectives of global actors regarding failed states. It rather tries to explain the concept of state failure based on inadequacy or inefficiency of failed states. Therefore, this thesis may be helpful for better understanding state failure by positioning it on an international basis.

5.3. Limitations of the Study

There seems to be two main limitations of the analysis conducted in this thesis. The first limitation is related to generalizability issue. This thesis focused on only the dynamics of state failure which are peculiar to the case of Iraq and the case of Bosnia. It may provide some insights about the concept of state failure, however, it cannot be fully applicable to other failed states. Second limitation is about the number of indicators of state failure. Some particular indicators were determined in the comparative analysis of two cases. There may be more indicators influencing the process of failure in Iraq and Bosnia.

5.4. Recommendations for Future Studies

Future studies may be more concerned with the analysis of failed states at global level and provide a new understanding regarding state failure. Also, they may examine different states that are considered to be failed and extend our knowledge about failure. Thus, they can determine more indicators or factors involved in the failure process. More additionally, it can be suggested that future works might improve the methodological basis of the research for reaching more generalized scientific conclusions. In other words, by employing a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, future studies can generate more persuasive assumptions and concrete evidence for understanding exactly how states fail.

REFERENCES

- Arosoaie, A. (2015). Iraq. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 7(1), 62-66.
- Ančić, M. (2003). Society, ethnicity, and politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Časopis Za Suvremenu Povijest*, 36(1), 331-359.
- Anckar, C. (2008). On the applicability of the most similar systems design and the most different systems design in comparative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(5), 389-401.
- Banac, I. (1988). *The national question in Yugoslavia: Origins, history, politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Bartolini, S. (1993). On time and comparative research. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 5(2), 131-167.
- Bataković, D. T. (1996). *The Serbs of Bosnia & Herzegovina: History and politics*. Paris: Dialogue.
- Bichler, S., & Nitzan, J. (2004). Dominant capital and the new wars. *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 10(2), 255-327.
- Bojicic-Dzelilovic, V. (2015) The politics, practice and paradox of 'ethnic security' in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, 4(1), 1-18.
- Bojkov, V. D. (2003). Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-1995 political system and its functioning. *Southeast European Politics*, 4(1), 41-67.
- Boštic, A. V. (2011). Analysing EU's civil society development in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *European Perspectives*, 3(1(4)), 91-116.
- Brinkerhoff, D. W. (Ed.). (2007). *Governance in post-conflict societies: Rebuilding fragile states*. London: Routledge.

- Britton, G. (2006). September 11, American exceptionalism and the war in Iraq. *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, 25(1), 125-141.
- Brühlhart, M., Crozet, M., & Koenig, P. (2004). Enlargement and the EU periphery: The impact of changing market potential. *World Economy*, 27(6), 853-875.
- Bryce, R. (2004). *Cronies: Oil, the Bushes, and the rise of Texas, America's Superstate*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Buzan, B., Jones, C. A., Little, R., & Richard, L. (1993). *The logic of anarchy: neorealism to structural realism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (1998). *Liberalism and Security: The contradictions of the liberal Leviathan*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Peace Research Institute.
- Cha, V. D. (2000). Globalization and the study of international security. *Journal of Peace Research*, 37(3), 391-403.
- Clapham, C. (2002). The challenge to the state in a globalized world. *Development and Change*, 33(5), 775-795.
- Clark, W. R. (2005). *Oil, Iraq and the future of the dollar: petrodollar warfare*. British Columbia, Canada: New Society.
- Clayton, B., & Levi, M. A. (2015). *Fiscal breakeven oil prices: Uses, abuses, and opportunities for improvement*. Council on Foreign Relations.
- Collier, P. (2007). *The bottom billion: Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cooper, R. (2002). *Reordering the world*. London: Foreign Policy Center.
- Cornell, S. E. (2002). Autonomy as a source of conflict: Caucasian conflicts in theoretical perspective. *World Politics*, 54(2), 245-276.

- Damluji, M. (2010). "Securing democracy in Iraq": Sectarian politics and segregation in Baghdad, 2003-2007. *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 21(2), 71-87.
- Donnelly, T., Kagan, D., & Schmitt, G. (2000). *Rebuilding America's defenses: Strategy, forces and resources for a new century*. Washington, DC: Project for the New American Century.
- Dorff, R. H. (2005). Failed States After 9/11: What did we know and what have we learned?. *International Studies Perspectives*, 6(1), 20-34.
- Dubois, A., & Gadde, L. E. (2002). Systematic combining: An abductive approach to case research. *Journal of Business Research*, 55(7), 553-560.
- Duffield, M. (2002). Aid and complicity: The case of war-displaced Southerners in the Northern Sudan. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40(1), 83-104.
- Duffield, J. S. (2005). Oil and the Iraq War: How the United States could have expected to benefit, and might still. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 9(2), 109-142.
- Eizenstat, S., Porter, J., & Weinstein, J. (2005). Rebuilding weak states. *Foreign Affairs*, 84(1), 134-146. doi:10.2307/20034213
- Emadi, H. (1995). Exporting Iran's revolution: The radicalization of the Shiite movement in Afghanistan. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 31(1), 1-12.
- Erisen, C., & Wiltse, E. C. (2017). Dividedness, institutions and economic performance: A cross-national analysis of democratic stability. *Social Indicators Research*, 132(3), 1145-1161.
- Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2003). Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war. *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 75-90.

- Feldman, N. (2009). *What we owe Iraq: War and the ethics of nation-building*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Ferguson, N. (2005). *Colossus: The rise and fall of the American Empire*. New York: Penguin.
- François, M., & Sud, I. (2006). Promoting stability and development in fragile and failed states. *Development Policy Review*, 24(2), 141-160.
- Frankel, B. (1996). Restating the realist case: An introduction. *Security Studies*, 5(3), 9-20.
- Frydrych, E. (2008). The debate on NATO expansion. *Connections*, 7(4), 1-42.
- Fukuyama, F. (2004). The imperative of state-building. *Journal of Democracy*, 15(2), 17-31.
- Fukuyama, F. (2005). "Stateness" first. *Journal of Democracy*, 16(1), 84-88.
- Giddens, A. (1985). *The nation-state and violence* (Vol. 2). CA: Univ of California Press.
- Greenhoot, A. F., & Dowsett, C. J. (2012). Secondary data analysis: An important tool for addressing developmental questions. *Journal of Cognition and Development*, 13(1), 2-18.
- Gros, J. G. (1996). Towards a taxonomy of failed states in the New World Order: Decaying Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda and Haiti. *Third World Quarterly*, 17(3), 455-472.
- Gros, J. G. (2003). Trouble in paradise: Crime and collapsed states in the age of globalization. *British Journal of Criminology*, 43(1), 63-80.
- Grotenhuis, R. (2016). *Nation-building as necessary effort in fragile states*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

- Helman, G., & Ratner, S. (1992). Saving failed states. *Foreign Policy*, (89), 3-20.
doi:10.2307/1149070
- Herbst, J. (1997). Responding to state failure in Africa. *International Security*, 21(3), 120-144.
- Herring, E., & Rangwala, G. (2005). Iraq, imperialism and global governance. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(4-5), 667-683.
- Ho, D. E., Imai, K., King, G., & Stuart, E. A. (2007). Matching as nonparametric preprocessing for reducing model dependence in parametric causal inference. *Political Analysis*, 15(3), 199-236.
- Ignatieff, M. (2002). Intervention and state failure. *Dissent*, 49(1), 114-123.
- Iqbal, Z., & Starr, H. (2008). Bad neighbors: Failed states and their consequences. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 25(4), 315-331.
- Jackson, R. H. (1993). *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, international relations and the Third World* (Vol. 12). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jeffrey, A. (2007). The politics of 'democratization': Lessons from Bosnia and Iraq. *Review of International Political Economy*, 14(3), 444-466.
- Johnston, W. J., Leach, M. P., & Liu, A. H. (2001). *Using case studies for theory testing in business-to-business research: The development of a more rigorous case study methodology*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Juncos, A. E. (2005). The EU's post-conflict intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (re) Integrating the Balkans and/or (re) inventing the EU?. *Southeast European Politics*, 6(2), 88-108.
- King, G., Keohane, R. O., & Verba, S. (1994). *Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- Krasner, S. D. (2004). Sharing sovereignty: New institutions for collapsed and failing states. *International Security*, 29(2), 85-120.
- Krasner, S. D. (2005). The case for shared sovereignty. *Journal of Democracy*, 16(1), 69-83.
- Kraxberger, B. M. (2007). Failed states: temporary obstacles to democratic diffusion or fundamental holes in the world political map?. *Third World Quarterly*, 28(6), 1055-1071.
- Lijphart, A. (1977). *Democracy in plural societies: A comparative exploration*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lynn-Jones, S. M. (1998). Realism and America's rise: A review essay. *International Security*, 23(2), 157-182.
- Malcolm, N. (1996). *Bosnia: A short history*. New York: NYU Press.
- Marton, P. (2008). Global governance vs. State failure. *Perspectives: Central European Review of International Affairs*, 16(1). 85-107.
- McMahon, P., & Western, J. (2009). The death of Dayton: How to stop Bosnia from falling apart. *Foreign Affairs*, 88(5), 69-83.
- Mehkri, I. (2005). Religion and politics in Iran-Iraq relations. *Pakistan Horizon*, 58(4), 33-41.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (1990). Back to the future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War. *International security*, 15(1), 5-56.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2001). *The tragedy of great power politics*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Migdal, J. S. (2001). *State in society: Studying how states and societies transform and constitute one another*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Milliken, J., & Krause, K. (2002). State failure, state collapse, and state reconstruction: Concepts, lessons and strategies. *Development and Change*, 33(5), 753-774.
- Missiroli, A. (Ed.). (2016). *The EU and the world: Players and policies post-Lisbon: A handbook*. Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies.
- Murthy K.S.D. (2007). US, Iran slug it out over Iraq. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(17), 1495-1496.
- Natali D. (2007) The spoils of peace in Iraqi Kurdistan, *Third World Quarterly*, 28(6), 1111-1129.
- Nazir, M. (2006). Democracy, Islam and insurgency in Iraq. *Pakistan Horizon*, 59(3), 47-65.
- Nicholson, M. (1998). Realism and utopianism revisited. *Review of International Studies*, 24(5), 65-82.
- Nielsen, R. A. (2016). Case selection via matching. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 45(3), 569-597.
- Nye, J. S., & Keohane, R. O. (Eds.). (1971). *Transnational relations and world politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ottaway, M. (2002). Rebuilding state institutions in collapsed states. *Development and Change*, 33(5), 1001-1023.
- Patrick, S. (2007). "Failed" states and global security: Empirical questions and policy dilemmas 1. *International Studies Review*, 9(4), 644-662.
- Pickering, P. (2009). Explaining support for non-nationalist parties in post-conflict societies in the Balkans. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61(4), 565-591.
- Pirnie, B., & O'Connell, E. (2008). *Counterinsurgency in Iraq (2003-2006)* (Vol. 2). CA: Rand Corporation.

- Posen, B. R. (1993). The security dilemma and ethnic conflict. *Survival*, 35(1), 27-47.
- Przeworski, A., & Teune, H. (1970). *The logic of comparative social inquiry*. New York: John Wiley.
- Pugh, M. (2002). Post-war political economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The spoils of peace. *Global Governance*, 8(4), 467-482.
- Richmond, O. (2003). *Peace in international relations*. London: Routledge.
- Rogg, I., & Rimscha, H. (2007). The Kurds as parties to and victims of conflicts in Iraq. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 89(868), 823-842.
- Rotberg, R. (Ed.). (2004). *When states fail: Causes and consequences*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Scheer, R. (2008). *The pornography of power: How defense hawks hijacked 9/11 and weakened America*. New York: Twelve.
- Schweller, R. L. (1996). Neorealism's status-quo bias: What security dilemma?. *Security Studies*, 5(3), 90-121.
- Shlaim, A. (1995). *War and Peace in the Middle East*, London and New York: Penguin.
- Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Shorrock, T. (2008). *Spies for hire: The secret world of intelligence outsourcing*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Snyder, J. (1991). *Myths of empire: Domestic politics and international ambition*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Spegele, R. D. (1996). *Political realism in international theory* (Vol. 47). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Stansfield, G. (2013). The unravelling of the post-First World War state system? The Kurdistan Region of Iraq and the transformation of the Middle East. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, 89(2), 259-282.
- Stromseth, J., Wippman, D., & Brooks, R. (2006). *Can might make rights?: Building the rule of law after military interventions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Takeyh, R. (2008). Iran's new Iraq. *The Middle East Journal*, 62(1), 13-30.
- Tarrow, S. (2010). The strategy of paired comparison: Toward a theory of practice. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(2), 230-259.
- Taylor, M., & Kent, M. L. (2000). Media transitions in Bosnia: From propagandistic past to uncertain future. *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, 62(5), 355-378.
- Tocci, N. (2007). *The EU and Conflict Resolution: Promoting Peace in the Backyard*, London: Routledge.
- Tzifakis, N., & Tsardanidis, C. (2006). Economic reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The lost decade. *Ethnopolitics*, 5(1), 67-84.
- Vanzo, J. P. (2007). A geopolitical analysis of a partitioned Iraq: Political, economic, and military viability. *World Affairs*, 169(4), 155-160.
- Vučetić, S. (2002). Peacebuilding and political corruption: The Bosnia case. *SEER: Journal for Labour and Social Affairs in Eastern Europe*, 5(3), 65-80.
- Vukadinović, R. (1999). US policy in the Southeast Europe. *Politička Misao: Casopis Za Politologiju*, 35(5), 89-104.
- Waltz, K. N. (1988). The origins of war in neorealist theory. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18(4), 615-628.

- Waltz, K. N. (1990). Nuclear myths and political realities. *American Political Science Review*, 84(3), 730-745.
- Waltz, K. N. (2000). Structural realism after the Cold War. *International Security*, 25(1), 5-41.
- Waltz, K. N. (2010). *Theory of international politics*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
- Whyte, D. (2007). Hire an American! Economic tyranny and corruption in Iraq. *Social Justice*, 34(2 (108)), 153-168.
- Williams, P. D. (2008). *Security studies: An introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Williams, P. R., & Scharff, M. (2003). Report of the committee of experts on nation rebuilding in Afghanistan. *New England Law Review*, 36(4). 709-711.
- Yin, R.K. (1984), *Case study research design and methods*, London: Sage Publications.
- Yin, R.K. (2003), *Case study research design and methods*, London: Sage Publications.
- Yosufi, A. B. (2016). The rise and consolidation of Islamic State: External intervention and sectarian conflict. *Connections*, 15(4), 91-110.
- Zartman, I. W. (Ed.). (1995). *Collapsed states: the disintegration and restoration of legitimate authority*. Boulder, C.O.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.