### Abstract

Increasingly, traditional peacekeeping operations are giving way to what are referred to as either peace-, state-, or nationbuilding projects. This conceptual shift is due less to changes in the target states than it is to changes in the international system. Recognition of state failure as a security threat, the fading away of the sanctity of state sovereignty, and the absence of the Cold War-era deterrent have led to an increase in more robust and wholesome engagement in post-war societies, resulting in increased politicization of peacekeeping. This transformation also necessitates a transformation of the study of peacekeeping insofar as peacekeeping cannot be observed without contextualizing it within the larger framework of international relations.

This paper suggests that statebuilding be seen as a way of reproducing the dominant, liberal democratic state conglomerate. By looking at the statebuilding operation in Bosnia since 1995, this paper shows that the interests and the ideologies of the donor community often precede those of the local society’s. In order to show this, the paper uses a theoretical framework in which peacebuilding is divided into statebuilding and nationbuilding. Statebuilding is seen as the institutional rebuilding of the state structure, whereas nationbuilding refers to the social reconciliation in the civil society sphere. This dual framework is used to study the General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton Agreement). The 150 pages of the Dayton Agreement form the primary material of the analysis, and previous research from academics and think tanks, especially the International Crisis Group, are used as secondary sources.

The first section looks at the Dayton Agreement in this dual framework. It concludes that both statebuilding and nationbuilding appear as elements in the wording of the agreement, and that it is therefore not possible to characterize the peace agreement as only that of creating a western-modelled state with little regard to reconciling the ethnic hatred.

The second section expands on the themes of the first section by looking at the practice of peacebuilding in the post-war Bosnia. Attention is given in particular to territorial arrangements, political structures, equality before law, and human rights. This section shows how the institutional structure imposed on Bosnia consistently works to reproduce rather than alleviate the ethnic divisions that caused the conflict in the first place. Many of the political and social institutions established under the Dayton framework have, in institutional terms, transformed Bosnia into a western liberal-democratic state, but have nonetheless left the Bosnian people to deal with their ethnic divisions themselves.

The paper concludes by assessing the research process, presenting the main findings, and by presenting the implications of this case study to both the study and practice of peacebuilding.

### Keywords

- peacekeeping
- peacebuilding
- Bosnia
- global governance