

Table of Contents

I	Introduction	9
1.1	Problem Definition	9
1.2	Objective of the Research	12
1.3	Methodology and the structure of the research	15
II	Theoretical considerations concerning the democratization process	21
2.2	Basic assumptions about the democratization process and democracy consolidation	25
2.3	Major approaches to the democratization process	34
2.3.1	Domestic factors: structural-functionalist perspectives and actors	35
2.3.2	Political institutions and the democratization process	40
2.3.3	International dimension of the democratization process	45
2.4	Theoretical categorization and simplification of factors affecting the democratization process – how to consider in BiH’s context?	48
2.5	Résumé of theoretical considerations	56
2.6	Interim Conclusion	57
III	The role of political institutions in the democratization process with reference to Bosnia and Herzegovina and its <i>stateness</i>	61
3.1	Political institutions and institutional design – which standards are required?	62
3.2	Addressing ethnicity and ethnic conflict in the institutional solutions during the democratization process	68
3.3	Ethnic groups and democratic political institutions – basic principles of consociational democracy as a comprehensive model	73
3.4	Evolution of political institutions in BiH – historical and communist legacies, ethnic groups, and post-war conflict settlement	82
3.4.1	Establishment of the religious communities during the reign of the Ottoman Empire	84
3.4.2	Bosnian State during the reign of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy: first attempts of political institutionalization	86
3.4.3	Bosnia and Herzegovina within multi-ethnic Communist Yugoslavia and development of “constitutional nationalism”	90
3.4.4	Dayton Agreement: the constitution-making procedure and institutional design of the new democratic state of Bosnia and Herzegovina	100

3.5	International actors and institutional choice in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the issue of stateness	111
3.5.1	European Union: evolution of involvement	111
3.5.2	Office of High Representative (OHR)	116
3.6	Paradoxes of the Dayton institutional arrangement: legitimacy, weak state, and questionability of political and social inclusion	121
3.7	Interim Conclusion	127
IV	Performance of the political institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina: efficiency, effectiveness, and guarantee of political and social inclusion	130
4.1	Managing ethnicity: Institutional framework in Bosnia and Herzegovina – analysis and evaluation	132
4.1.1	Broad-based parliamentary coalitions – grand coalition	132
4.1.2	Minority or mutual veto	140
4.1.3	Proportionality	145
4.1.4	Electoral system as a tool for proportionality assurance	147
4.1.5	Segmental group autonomy	161
4.2	Comparative analysis of favoring and obstructing factors influencing performance of political institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina	164
4.3	Interim Conclusion	177
V	International factors and the democratization process in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the process of EU Integration	180
5.1	EU's enlargement policy and its role as a democracy promoter	182
5.2	The EU Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the principle of conditionality	187
5.2.1	Negotiating process on the SAA between the EU and BiH	194
5.2.2	Credibility of the membership perspective and its impact on the conditionality effectiveness in the case of BiH	199
5.3	Context of the EU conditionality and BiH's progress in meeting the EU's democratic standards	204
5.4	The substance of the EU democracy promotion and its reliability in case of BiH	212
5.5	Interim conclusion	229
VI	Conclusion	231
VII	Appendixes	240
VIII	Bibliography	243