

## REPORT ON THE MASTER THESIS

IEPS – International Economic and Political Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University

<b>Title of the thesis:</b>	<b>Assessment of Multinational Federalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>
<b>Author of the thesis:</b>	<b>Mustafa Ferhat Solar</b>
<b>Referee (incl. titles):</b>	<b>Mgr.Martin Riegl,PhD.</b>

**Remark:** It is a standard at the FSV UK that the Referee's Report is at least 500 words long. In case you will assess the thesis as "non-defendable", please explain the concrete reasons for that in detail.

### **SUMMARY OF POINTS AWARDED** (for details, see below):

<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>POINTS</b>
<i>Theoretical background (max. 20)</i>	13
<i>Contribution (max. 20)</i>	9
<i>Methods (max. 20)</i>	3
<i>Literature (max. 20)</i>	14
<i>Manuscript form (max. 20)</i>	8
<b>TOTAL POINTS (max. 100)</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>The proposed grade (1-2-3-4)</b>	<b>3-4</b>

You can even use a decimal point (e.g. giving the grade of 2.5 for 60 points).

### **Comments of the referee on the thesis highlights and shortcomings (following the 5 numbered aspects of your assessment indicated below).**

#### **1) Theoretical background:**

The author decided to base his research on theory of federalism, multinational federalism, liberal nationalism and normative theories of democracy, but the theory of consociational democracy (Lijphart and many others) which is so inseparably connected with post-Dayton political and constitutional arrangement of BiH is missing, although the author partially quotes the document. Theory of federalism is undoubtedly relevant theoretical framework. I have to point at author's subjective statements regarding the theory of federalism: *"As a Kurdish person from Turkey, I believe that federation is the best alternative in order to provide a high willingness to live together in multiethnic societies. Therefore I hold a certain view on federalism and consider myself as federalist. I also believe that federalism should be incorporated into our private lives as an organizational approach and it is a functional principle in political theory"* (p.15) I find this statement a bias which should not have appeared in the diploma thesis. Therefore I would recommend to focus on the objective analyse of the thesis only. Mr.Solar has also decided to analyze a tradition of federalism during the Bosnian history.

#### **2) Contribution:**

The topic of the thesis is definitely still topical but not a original one, the so called post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina was the topic of countless papers, theses and other academic works.

I do appreciate author's attempt to answer the question whether the contemporary Bosnia is a kind of neo-protectorate (p.16), but he surprisingly does not offer any answer.

Hypotheses are explicitly mentioned in the thesis project only! I have to disagree with author's argument stating that federalism was introduced in BiH constitution in order to implement peace. *„Even federalism is perceived more and more as a tool of conflict management in Bosnian case"* (p.15) It is more than obvious that the international community decided to use „power-sharing model"

introduced by theory of consociational democracy in order to guarantee territorial integrity of the civil war conflict-driven Bosnia and Herzegovina .

### **3) Methods:**

No methodology is explicitly mentioned in the thesis itself. Author of the submitted thesis used qualitative method and the case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Concerning the difficulty of the topic and huge amount of sources focused on research of the constitutional framework of Bosnia and Herzegovina introduced by Dayton Agreements, I would expect the theory of consociational democracy to be mentioned at least.

### **4) Literature:**

Literature is sufficient, author analyzed important theoretical monographs of Lijphart, Riker and others. Mr. Solar has compiled and analyzed relevant resources. What is striking is the absence of primary sources – especially Dayton Agreements which is the crucial sources for any text dealing with the issue of constitutional framework in Bosnia a Herzegovina.

### **5) Manuscript form:**

The author has divided his thesis into eight separate chapters including introduction and conclusion. The submitted meets the formal criteria required by the Faculty of Social Science. Particularly scope of the thesis barely exceeds minimum length. Also a thesis design is rather poor or at least very average. The bibliography form is not in required format and. Misspelling and grammar flaws also appear in the thesis. I absolutely do not understand author's decision to include the Constitution of BiH as an appendix. The bibliography lack the formal format, the internet sources absolutely ignore the required bibliography format.

**DATE OF EVALUATION:**

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**Referee Signature**

**The referee should give comments to the following requirements:**

**1) THEORETICAL BACKGROUND:** Can you recognize that the thesis was guided by some **theoretical fundamentals** relevant for this thesis topic? Were some important theoretical concepts omitted? Was the theory used in the thesis consistently incorporated with the topic and hypotheses tested?

Strong                      Average                      Weak  
20                              10                              0                      points

**2) CONTRIBUTION:** Evaluate if the author presents **original ideas** on the topic and aims at demonstrating **critical thinking** and ability to draw conclusions based on the knowledge of relevant theory and relevant empirical material. Is there a distinct **value added** of the thesis (relative to knowledge of a university-educated person interested in given topic)? Did the author explain **why** the observed phenomena occurred? Were the policy implications well founded?

Strong                      Average                      Weak  
20                              10                              0                      points

**3) METHODS:** Are the **hypotheses** for this study clearly stated, allowing their further verification and testing? Are the theoretical explanations, empirical material and **analytical tools** used in the thesis relevant to the research question being investigated, and adequate to the aspiration level of the study? Is the thesis **topic comprehensively analyzed** and does the thesis not make trivial or irrelevant detours off the main body stated in the thesis proposal? More than 10 points signal an exceptional work, **which requires your explanation "why" it is so**.

Strong                      Average                      Weak  
20                              10                              0                      points

**4) LITERATURE REVIEW:** The thesis demonstrates author's full understanding and **command of recent literature**. The author quotes relevant literature in a proper way and disposes with a representative bibliography. (Remark: references to Wikipedia, websites and newspaper articles are a sign of **poor research**). If they dominate you cannot give more than 8 points. References to books published by prestigious publishers and articles in renowned journals give much better impression.

Strong                      Average                      Weak  
20                              10                              0                      points

**5) MANUSCRIPT FORM:** The thesis is **clear and well structured**. The author uses appropriate language and style, including academic **format** for quotations, graphs and tables. The text effectively refers to graphs and tables, is easily readable and **stimulates thinking**.

Strong                      Average                      Weak  
20                              10                              0                      points

**Overall grading scheme at FSV UK:**

TOTAL POINTS	GRADE	Czech grading	US grading
81 – 100	<b>1</b>	= excellent	= A
61 – 80	<b>2</b>	= good	= B
51 – 60	<b>3</b>	= satisfactory	= C
41 – 50	<b>3</b>	= satisfactory	= D
0 – 40	<b>4</b>	= fail	= not recommended for defence