



# Understanding Collective Security in the 21st century:

## A Critical Study of UN Peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia

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### Abstract

The thesis *Understanding Collective Security in the 21st Century: A Critical Study of UN Peacekeeping in the Former Yugoslavia* is motivated by the puzzle that while the practice of collective security continues to grow and expand with more and bigger peacekeeping operations, the system is struggling to address threats and stabilize the global world. Thus to find out more about the justificatory background of the reinvention of collective security after the end of the Cold War, an in-depth critical analysis is conducted of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for the former Yugoslavia and the subsequent peacebuilding missions. Questions are asked about whether in fact the problems of multidimensional peacekeeping are limited to bureaucratic and technical flaws that can be corrected through institutional and instrumental adjustments, or if they also relate to more fundamental normative problems of collective security in a global world.

As such, the thesis has two main trajectories: collective human security and multidimensional peacekeeping. On the one hand, it addresses the relationship between security and world order, and on the other, the correlation between peace and collective security. By bringing security and peace studies together within a critical analytical framework that aims to inform theory through practice, divides between the discourse and the system of collective security are highlighted and connected with the practical problems of multidimensional peacekeeping and collective security in a global world.

Three main sets of findings are made that indicate that multidimensional peacekeeping amounts to an institutionalization of internal conflicts that requires a practice of peace-as-global-governance that the UN is neither technically let alone normatively equipped to carry out. First, the policies of multidimensional peacekeeping have perverse consequences in practice whereby peacekeeping comes at the expense of peacebuilding. Second, in order to terminate multidimensional peacekeeping successfully, the UN is forced to compromise the operations' initial mandates to accommodate practice. Third, the aim of multidimensional peacekeeping is in the doing or in the ritual, rather than in the end result.

Against this background, the argument is made that the current security discourse suffers from an incoherence, or a disconnect from practice, whereby it is assumed that

collective security is a sphere of influence in its own right that can tackle delicate normative dilemmas, both making and enforcing decisions about which processes and needs should be upheld and satisfied at the cost of others.



**Jury: Lene Hansen (Univ. Copenhagen), Friedrich V. Kratochwil (EUI (Supervisor), Ramesh Thakur (Univ. Waterloo), Pascal Vennesson (EUI/RSCAS)**

### **Bio**

Jibecke H. Joensson conducted doctoral research at the European University Institute (EUI) between 2006 and 2010 for the thesis *Understanding Collective Security in the 21st Century: A Critical Study of UN Peacekeeping in the Former Yugoslavia*. During these four years, she conducted field-studies in the Western Balkans and at the United Nations headquarters in New York, and actively participated in seminars, working groups, workshops and conference in Europe and North America on a wide range of topics related to peace and security. Between 2004-2006 Joensson worked as a Programme and Research Assistant with the United Nations University Office to the United Nations in New York, and in the summer of 2003, she worked as a Human Rights Monitor with the International Service for Human Rights, a UN accredited NGO in Geneva. Joensson has been awarded a Certificat de diplôme d'études approfondies en relations internationales from the Institut d'études politiques de Paris (2004) for her MPhil thesis on *La réconciliation au 21ième siècle: d'une paix négative à une paix positive en Bosnie-Herzégovine*; and a BA Hons in Politics and International Relations with French from the University of Kent at Canterbury (2003). Publications include *Sweden in Wojciech Gagattek, ed., Elections to the European Parliament Country Reports, European Union Democracy Observatory (Florence, European University Institute, 2010)*; 'Elements of a Road Map for a Politics of Apology', co-authored with Jean-Marc Coicaud in *The Age of Apology*, ed. by Mark

Gibney et al. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); and 'From Foes to Bedfellows: Reconciling Security and Justice', co-authored with Jean-Marc Coicaud in the *Whithead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, Volume VIII, Number 1, Winter/Spring, 2007.