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ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cpar20

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To cite this article: Ayfer Genç Yılmaz & Billy Agwanda (2021) Turkey's contribution to international policing, Global Change, Peace & Security, 33:2, 143-161, DOI: 10.1080/14781158.2021.1924128

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2021.1924128

Published online: 11 May 2021.

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GLOBAL CHANGE, PEACE & SECURITY
2021, VOL. 33, NO. 2, 143–161
https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2021.1924128

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Turkey's contribution to international policing

Ayfer Genç Yılmaz [a] and Billy Agwanda [b]

[a]Political Science and International Relations, Istanbul Commerce University, Istanbul, Turkey; [b]Political Science and International Relations, Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey

ABSTRACT

The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations has undergone significant changes in its organisation since 1948. A new global environment established by the end of Cold War, elevated the Police Division to a more pronounced role in international peace as an essential pillar of UN peacekeeping missions. Nonetheless, despite the increased role of police in international missions, research on police contributions to peacekeeping remains limited. This article addresses this gap in literature by highlighting the case of Turkey's contribution to UN international police peacekeeping missions. The article confirms empirically that the Turkish police contribution has increased since the 2000s by relying on quantitative data offered by the TUBAKOV dataset designed to collect data on international peacekeeping missions of Turkey. The paper contends that, besides global trends, the increased participation of Turkey in UN-led missions reflects its internal political dynamics. First, under the JDP rule, Turkey's Cold War era subtle foreign policy was transformed to a proactive policy in global politics. Second, since the 2000s, the transformation of civil–military relations has ended the system of military tutelage, and this has had a considerable impact on foreign policy. Civilian authority, by abolishing military dominance, has become the primary actor in foreign policy decision-making.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 23 November 2020
Accepted 27 April 2021

KEYWORDS
Police; UN; peacekeeping; Turkey; international policing; middle powers

Introduction

Peacekeeping as one of the United Nations' core missions, was conceived of and introduced by former UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld to facilitate ceasefires and allow for political solutions to conflict.[1] The founding principles of any UN peacekeeping mission include: provision of personnel by states on a voluntary basis; consensual deployment of peacekeeping personnel after a political settlement; impartiality; and observing strict rules regarding the use of minimum force during operations.[2] Traditionally, the multilateral approach to peacekeeping has often been in the form of military operations. In several conflict scenarios, military forces have been deployed to serve as impartial international actors to observe ceasefires during conflict resolution processes. As a result, few

CONTACT Ayfer Genç Yılmaz ayfergenc@gmail.com

[1]UN Department of Public Information, *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2nd ed. (New York: UN, 1990).

[2]Goulding, Marrack, 'The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping', *International Affairs* 69, no. 3 (1993): 451–464.

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international police missions engaged in peacekeeping in host countries as conflict monitors. Whereas this was a common feature observed during the Cold War, the deployment of police in overseas missions began as early as the 1960s. For example, in 1960, the first deployment of UN Police to an international peacekeeping mission occurred in the Congo.[3]

Yet, since the end of the Cold War, growing international policing practices have become important components of peacekeeping and some of the international peacekeeping missions have been spearheaded by police contingents.[4] The institution of police has evolved such that its increasing capacity and capability, enables it to undertake roles outside the domestic law enforcement contexts. The new dynamics of international policing have three dimensions in addition to the rise in the number of police deployments in international operations. These dimensions include: the increasing number of police personnel involved in operations; the growing number of actors who contribute police to peacekeeping operations; and, the broadening and deepening of police tasks within those international operations.[5] As of 2019, approximately 10,000 police personnel were deployed in 14 peacekeeping operations initiated by the UN and over 120 countries provided police personnel to UN missions.[6] Moreover, police personnel who are deployed abroad, have started undertaking various tasks such as monitoring, regulation of host country police personnel, and providing assistance in securing public order in conflict-torn countries. Many of these missions focus on fragile states that grapple with ensuring safety of citizens and they manifest particular configurations of state-society relations.[7]

Turkey's role in international missions has expanded in the post-Cold War era.[8] However, the literature examining the involvement of Turkish police in international operations remains scarce. An overview of existing literature demonstrates that scholars conducting research on this subject have not attempted to establish a distinction between military and police involvement. Instead focus has been on a combined outlook of the topic. In this context, there is an emphasis on the ideational dimension of Turkish involvement in peace operations.[9]

Several studies examining the involvement of the Turkish military in peacekeeping concluded that such operations contribute to the re-construction of Turkey's Western identity and the maintenance of its security interests as part of the Western bloc.[10] Moreover, in an attempt to distinguish the form of Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping missions, the TÜBAKOV dataset records the specific participation of police and military forces

[3]Franck, Thomas M., 'United Nations Law in Africa: The Congo Operation as a Case Study', *Law & Contemporary Problems* 27 (1962): 632; Boulden, Jane, 'United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)', in *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, 2017.

[4]Perito, Robert M., 'Police in Peace and Stability Operations: Evolving US policy and practice', *International Peacekeeping* 15, no. 1 (2008): 51–66.

[5]Greener, Beth K., 'The New International Policing', in *The New International Policing* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2009), 110–128.

[6]Hunt, Charles T., 'To Serve and Protect. The Role of UN Police in Protecting Civilians', *IPI Global Observator* https://theglobalobservatory.org/2019/09/to-serve-and-protect-the-role-of-un-police-protecting-civilians (2019).

[7]Lipsky, Michael, *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2010).

[8]Bağci, Hüseyin, Şaban Kardaş, and Foreign Policy Institute, 'Exploring Turkey's Role in Peace Operations: Towards a Framework of Analysis', *Contemporary Issues in International Politics: Essays in Honour of Seyfi Taşhan* (2004): 125–45.

[9]Tarik Oğuzlu, H., and Uğur Güngör, 'Peace Operations and the Transformation of Turkey's Security Policy', *Contemporary Security Policy* 27, no. 3 (2006): 472–488.

[10]Bayer, R., and E. F. Keyman, 'Turkey: An Emerging Hub of Globalization and Internationalist Humanitarian Actor?' *Globalizations* 9, no. 1 (2012): 73–90; Kirecci, Akif, *Turkey in the United Nations Security Council* (Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2009).

in international peacekeeping missions.[11] Other studies have also focused on decision-making processes to explain the reluctance of the Turkish military to participate in UN peacekeeping missions.[12]

This article puts emphasis on two issues. First, the article explores the impact of the end of the Cold War on peacekeeping operations (PKOs) and the increasing role of police in international missions. This will be analysed by examining the transformation of peace operations in the post-Cold War era with an emphasis on the multidimensional nature of these operations. Secondly, this paper examines how the changes in the international system have influenced Turkey's contribution to international police missions and the distinctive nature of such contributions. Within this context, this article contends that besides global trends, internal factors should also be taken into consideration when examining the increasing contribution of Turkish police to international UN peacekeeping operations.

This is because Turkey's foreign policy has shifted towards other new regions such as Latin America and Africa as it strives to represent itself as an emerging soft power with a global outreach. Secondly, the contributions of the Turkish police to UN missions have been accelerated by the transformation of civil–military relations in Turkey. The end of the system of military tutelage under the Justice and Development Party (JDP) rule ended the military dominance in foreign policy decision-making processes. Key decisions such as participation in peacekeeping operations have ceased from being a reserve of the military, instead, it is the civilian authorities who decide whether to contribute to international peacekeeping missions. Finally, to further explore Turkey's police contribution to international peace operations, the study also analyses the capacity of the Turkish police focusing on the distinctive features of the organisation such as experience in counterinsurgency and the existence of gendarmerie and how this experience is ideal in international police peacekeeping missions.

The analysis of this article uses both qualitative and quantitative data. The researcher has used semi-structured questions to conduct 10 interviews with Turkish police personnel who have participated in international police missions across the world. The essence of the interviews is to make an assessment of personal experiences, knowledge about missions and opinions and how they relate to the broader value and ideology of international policing in peacekeeping operations. The article also adopts quantitative data from the UN police peacekeeping mission database to provide data on Turkey's contribution to international police missions between 2015 and 2019. Additionally, the study also appropriates data from the TÜBAKOV dataset that provides data on 57 peace operations between 1988 and 2015 and highlights the number of Turkish police personnel engaged in international police missions and in which countries.

This article is limited in its scope and focuses on the UN-led international police peacekeeping mission because of the challenges in accessing relevant data. Indeed, the researcher sought permission to access data from the Turkish General Directorate of Security on Turkey's contribution to international peacekeeping missions, but the answer was negative.

[11]Yalçınkaya, Haldun, Emre Hatipoglu, Dilaver Arıkan Açar, and Mitat Çelikpala, 'Turkish Efforts in Peacekeeping and the Introduction of the TUBAKOV Dataset: An Exploratory Analysis', *International Peacekeeping* 25, no. 4 (2018): 475–496.
[12]Bellamy, Alex J. and Paul D. Williams, eds. *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions* (Oxford: OUP, 2013).

Police in international missions

The UN under its United Nations Police (UNPOL) branch has provided a platform through which police are increasingly becoming involved in visible international peacekeeping missions. Second to military peacekeepers, approximately 9,148 international police personnel were involved in international UN peacekeeping missions as of February 2020. Previously, participation of police in international missions remained relatively subtle up until the Cold War. However, the pioneering use of police in international missions can be traced back to 1960 during the UN Peace Operation in the Congo (ONUC). Throughout this period, UNPOL was used in an extremely limited way with the sole mission to monitor the local police and was deployed only for a short term.[13]

After the Cold War, police participation abroad has taken a significant turn in the form of increased and intensive participation in a wider scope of international peacekeeping missions.[14] Henceforth, increasing police contribution to complex peacekeeping missions can be explained by two interrelated factors that characterise the post-Cold War era. These factors include the increasing occurrence of intra-state conflicts rather than inter-state conflicts, and a new understanding of human security as the basic unit of security.[15]

First, the decline in traditional interstate conflicts after the end of the Cold War has seen growing strife in fragile states and those that have recently attained independence as exemplified in countries such as East Timor, Kosovo, Haiti, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia, and South Sudan. These conflicts have largely taken the form of ethnic violence or competition for power between opposition groups and governments.[16] Besides this, in many conflict-torn states, various threats to human security such as organised crime, terrorism, and gang violence have become prevalent.[17] Under these circumstances of extreme internal insecurity, police contribution with executive functions have become necessary for the establishment of law and order.

Second, human security has gained traction over the last decade and its perspective on the challenges to survival, livelihood and human dignity suggests the need for a new approach to peacekeeping in intrastate conflicts in a manner that seeks to achieve the transitional assistance roles performed by international police peacekeepers. In other words, the role of police in international peacekeeping missions can offer vital links between post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives such as humanitarian assistance and long-term capacity building initiatives. Adopting human security approaches in police peacekeeping missions therefore serves as reminder that their involvement in post-conflict transnational initiatives is that of assisting and not dictating; collaborating in

[13]For example, the Ghanaian police unit of the UN Mission in Congo was withdrawn very quickly after the security situation deteriorated. See, Timilsina, Anga R., James Dobbins, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Andrew Rathmell, Brett David Steele, and Richard Teltschik, *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Congo to Iraq* (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND, 2005).

[14]Yilmaz, Muzaffer Ercan, 'UN Peacekeeping in the post-Cold War Era', *International Journal on World Peace* (2005): 13–28; Hansen, Annika S., *From Congo to Kosovo: Civilian Police in Peace Operations* (Routledge, 2013).

[15]Nyadera, Israel Nyaburi, and Mohamed Omar Bincof, 'Human Security, Terrorism, and Counterterrorism: Boko Haram and the Taliban', *International Journal on World Peace* 36, no. 1 (2019): 4–15.

[16]Regan, Patrick M., 'Third-party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 1 (2002): 55–73; Evans, Gareth, 'Cooperative Security and Intrastate Conflict', *Foreign Policy* 96 (1994): 3–20; Agwanda, Billy and Uğur Yasin Asal, 'State Fragility and Post-Conflict State-Building: An Analysis of South Sudan Conflict (2013–2019)', *Güvenlik Bilimleri Dergisi* 9, no. 1: 125–146.

[17]Ciorciari, John D., 'Sharing Sovereignty in the Streets: International Policing in Fragile States', *International Peacekeeping* 27, no. 5 (2020): 732–759.

existing local peace initiatives; utilising local resources; and, building capacity in order to establish a sense of local ownership of the broader peacekeeping process.

International peacekeeping missions during earlier years of the post-Cold War era were largely viewed as periods for learning for the UN and this was manifested by the declining numbers of peacekeeping personnel to just 12,000 by 1999 from a high of 79,000 personnel in 1994. This decline can be explained by the need for instance, to review the failure of the UN to deter genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica and this was captured in the publication of the UN-commissioned Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (Brahimi Report) in 2000. This Report sort to address the weaknesses facing the UN in maintaining international peace and security, and it laid the foundation for reforms in international peacekeeping approaches.

The UN declared a doctrinal shift to undertake reforms in democratic policing, restructuring, and training of local police as essential features of future peace operations.[18] In this context, police deployment in international peace operations acquired more recognition as a fundamental component of peacekeeping missions abroad.[19] As peacekeeping operations aim to establishing rule of law in conflict-affected countries, police contributions have become a crucial component and its role increasingly is recognised as a sine qua non for meeting the changing needs of modern peacekeeping efforts that involve both stabilisation and peacebuilding.[20]

Security threats such as political instability, collapsed and fragile regimes, and terrorism have been the defining characteristics of the post-9/11 period's security concerns.[21] In 2001, the declaration of the global war on terror contributed to the emergence of political vacuums in the aftermath of several military interventions in states accused of providing support to terror organisations and those that had been overrun by terrorist groups. Failed or fragile states are targets for terrorist organisations and as such, also the main targets for international intervention. The failure of some military interventions such as the US-led military intervention in Iraq, ended with the collapse of the state authority and created long term domestic political instability. Such complex political environments can be great obstacles to military-led missions whose techniques may not be adequately appropriate to restore civilian order. Instead, transition from establishing public order to long-term goals such as the establishment of a regime of law and order necessitates the involvement of the police (Figure 1).

The global approach to the war on terror has reshaped the post-Cold War era such that international peacekeeping missions led by the UN are incorporating police personnel.[22]

[18]White, Nigel D., 'Commentary on the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (The Brahimi Report)', *Journal of Conflict & Security Law* 6, no. 1 (2001): 127–146; Gray, Christine, 'Peacekeeping after the Brahimi Report: Is there a Crisis of Credibility for the UN?' *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 6, no. 2 (2001): 267–288; Durch, William J., Victoria K. Holt, Caroline R. Earle, and Moira K. Shanahan, *The Brahimi Report and the Future of the UN Peace Operations* (Henri L. Stimson Center, 2003).

[19]Day, Graham and Christopher Freeman, 'Policekeeping is the Key: Rebuilding the Internal Security Architecture of Postwar Iraq', *International Affairs* 79, no. 2 (2003): 299–313.

[20]Osland, Kari M., 'UN Policing: The Security–Trust Challenge', in *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 191–209.

[21]Sucuoğlu, G. and O. Sazak, 'The New Kid on the Block: Turkey's Shifting Approached to Peacebuilding', *Rising Powers Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (2016): 69–91.

[22]Mackinlay, John and Jarat Chopra, 'Second Generation Multinational Operations', *Washington Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (1992): 113–131.

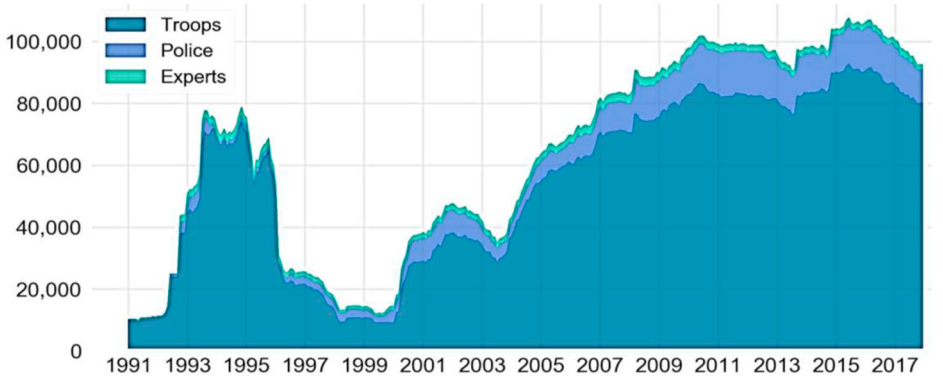


Figure 1. Total peacekeepers by type (1990–2018).

Efforts to prioritise state-building in failed states have also necessitated a multi-faceted approach of security agencies. A study by Beth Greener highlights that:

> Peacebuilding has seen a greater role ascribed to actors that can engage in both security and developmental roles as the objectives of peace missions have moved from the simpler act of the separation and monitoring of warring parties, to the much more complex and difficult aim of establishing a self-sustaining positive peace.[23]

In 2006, standing police capacity (SPC) was established to facilitate the growing need for UN police and assist in addressing the complex missions of international police.[24] The SPC was mandated to contribute to police missions through facilitating mission planning, increase pace of response, and provide start-up capability for new police components of UN peace operations.[25] Additionally, SPC contributes 36 police personnel equipped with expertise and vast experience in police reforms and restructuring; gender advisory services; financial management; information communication technology; public order control; planning and logistics; human resources; transnational organised crime; legal affairs; and community-oriented policing.

A police policy report published by the UN in 2014, designates two primary functions of UN police in international peacekeeping missions. First, the police are to be involved in supporting reforms and restructuring of the institution of police in the host country so that they can effectively and efficiently undertake police services in an accountable, responsive and representative manner. Secondly, UN police are to provide operational assistance or temporary executive policing that can facilitate maintenance of law and order; protection of life and property; criminal investigations; and prevention and early detection of crime. Under these two broad categories, UN police engage in other activities such as disarmament and mobilisation; police patrols;

[23]Greener, 'The New International Policing'.
[24]Weinlich, Silke, 'The Institutional Dimension: The Creation of the Standing Police Capacity', in *The UN Secretariat's Influence on the Evolution of Peacekeeping* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 178–214.
[25]Sebastian, Sofia, *The Role of Police in UN Peace Operations: Filling the Gap in the Protection of Civilians from Physical Violence* (Stimson, 2015).

assistance in electoral processes; executive law enforcement and strengthening police institutions.

Indeed, the presence of police in international peacekeeping missions is advantageous because they facilitate a people-centred approach comparatively to military operations. Military approaches are synonymous with emphasis on applying force to attain quick and decisive gains over adversaries while the police can undertake long-term activities such as criminal investigations, crowd control, and capacity building.[26] The successful peacekeeping missions that ended violence in Kosovo and East Timor have been partly attributed to the high number of international police presence.[27]

Turkish police in international operations

Turkey participated in an international peacekeeping mission for the first time during the Korean War in 1950[28] and has henceforth been an active participant in several other peacekeeping missions initiated by the United Nations, EU, and NATO. Between 1950 and 1953, approximately 15,000 Turkish troops were engaged in Korea on a rotational basis. However, during the Cold War, Turkey's contribution to peace operations became relatively subtle. This article argues that participation in peacekeeping operations is a foreign policy issue and the structure of the international system at the time limited the behaviour of small and medium power states in international politics. This foreign policy stance is best captured by Morton Kaplan who argues that a tight bipolar international system of two superpowers dominating international politics leaves minimal room for smaller powers to manoeuvre.[29] Consequently, Turkish foreign policy behaviour did not appear to stretch beyond the parameters of international political dynamics set by the Cold War.[30]

Secondly, the immediate years after the collapse of the Soviet Union presented challenging security dilemmas for Turkey both at the domestic and regional level. At the dawn of the post-Cold War era, Turkey had to address the plight of over 360,000 ethnic Turkish refugees expelled from Bulgaria in 1989.[31] Moreover, there were other regional events such as the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia,[32] invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, the Gulf War,[33] a refugee crisis whereby an estimated 450,000 Kurds fled from Iraq to the border with Turkey,[34] and instability in the Balkans. These geopolitical developments necessitated Turkey to become more assertive in its foreign policy by

[26]Bellamy, Alex J., Paul D. Williams and Stuart Griffin, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity, 2010).
[27]Sebastian, Sofia, *The Role of Police in UN Peace Operations: Filling the Gap in the Protection of Civilians from Physical Violence*.
[28]Gruen, George E., 'Turkey's Role in Peacekeeping Missions', *American Foreign Policy Interests* 28, no. 6 (2006): 435–449.
[29]Kaplan, Morton A., *New Approaches to International Relations* (St. Martin's Press, 1968).
[30]Tayfur, Fatih and Korel Göymen, 'Decision Making in Turkish Foreign Policy: The Caspian Oil Pipeline Issue', *Middle Eastern Studies* 38, no. 2 (2002): 101–122.
[31]Kamusella, Tomasz, *Ethnic Cleansing During the Cold War: The Forgotten 1989 Expulsion of Turks from Communist Bulgaria* (Routledge, 2018).
[32]Cornell, Svante E., 'Turkey and the Conflict in Nagorno Karabakh: A Delicate Balance', *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 1 (1998): 51–72.
[33]Brown, Cameron S., 'Turkey in the Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003', *Turkish Studies* 8, no. 1 (2007): 85–119.
[34]Chatelard, Géraldine, 'Migration from Iraq Between the Gulf and the Iraq Wars (1990–2003): Historical and Sociospacial Dimensions' (2009).

putting more importance on geopolitical and domestic security. In 2001 for instance, Turkey deployed approximately 100,000 soldiers along its border with Iraq, facilitated the establishment of no-fly zones in Northern Iraq, and provided logistical support to US fighter planes.[35]

Transitioning from the Cold War to the post-Cold War era provided an opportunity for small and medium power states to emerge and play an expanded role in international political discourses. This is because the influence of the US began to decline as economic interdependence increased and another centre of political relations largely consisting of non-aligned countries operating independently emerged. While the US remained as the biggest political and economic power, these parameters were not sufficient for global dominance. As such, small and medium power states like Turkey emerged in the post-Cold War era eager to partake in a more assertive role in international politics. According to a study by Aktaş, "the emergence of new possible areas of influence around Turkey also led to the re-emergence of a historical/cultural dimension in Turkish foreign policy and freed the country from the shackles of the Cold War."[36] Thus, the changes in the international system provided a context for a rethinking of Turkey's foreign policy in which the policy of non-involvement in active international and regional politics was abandoned for a security-centred approach and multilateralism in foreign policy through institutions such as the UN, EU, and NATO. An overview assessment of data from the TÜBAKOV dataset indicates that the frequency and nature of Turkey's contributions to peacekeeping operations shifted from the beginning of the 2000s. This increase in Turkish contribution can be explained with reference to the post-Cold War period (international context); the restructuring of Turkish foreign policy to accommodate new regions; and the transformation of civil–military relations in Turkey. With the end of the system of military tutelage, international missions ceased to be regarded as a monopoly of the military. Instead, policing emerged as a new approach to international peacekeeping missions (Table 1).

As of April 2020, Turkey ranked 26th out of 77 states contributing police personnel to 20 UN peacekeeping missions. Compared to its military contribution that has been limited to only a few states, Turkey's police personnel contribution is more extended. For example, as of September 2019, Turkish troops have been mandated solely in UNIFIL, Lebanon, while Turkish police are in 5 countries -Mali, Congo, Darfur (Sudan), South Sudan, and Yemen-under the auspices of the UN. Broadly, between 2000 and 2019, Turkish police have participated in several missions in Africa, with most police personnel serving in South Sudan (UNMISS), Darfur (UNAMID), Congo (MONUSCO), Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI), and Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). This perhaps corresponds with the growing ties between Africa and Turkey since 1998 when Turkey's foreign policy

[35]Türkmen, Füsun, 'Turkish–American Relations: A Challenging Transition', *Turkish Studies* 10, no. 1 (2009): 109–129.
[36]Aktas, Gülbahar Yelken, 'Turkish Foreign Policy: New Concepts and Reflections', *Ankara: METU Master Thesis* (2010).

Table 1. Turkey's police contribution peacekeeping missions 1999–2015.

No	*Mission*	*Start*	*Ending*	*Turkey Start*	*Turkey End*	*Total No. of Police*	*No. of Turkish Police Personnel*
1	UNPROFOR	1992	1995	1994	1995	86	1
2	OMIS	1992	0	1999			31
3	UNMIBH	1995	2002	1996	2002	10,986	177
4	UNPREDEP	1995	1999	1996	1999	76	16
5	MAPE	1997	2001	2000	2001	33	1
6	TIPH 2	1997	2014	1997	2014	1,183	44
7	MONUC	1999	2010	2002	2010	7571	137
8	UNAMSIL	1999	2005	2003	2005	238	13
9	UNMIK	1999	2015	1999	2015	29,443	1,294
10	UNTAET	1999	2002	2000	2002	3,976	58
11	UNAMA	2002	0	2009	2015	6	2
12	UNMISET	2002	2005	2002	2005	1,331	24
13	PROX	2003	2005	2003	2005	312	13
14	UNMIL	2003	2015	2003	2015	15,435	313
15	EUPM	2003	2012	2003		2,133	45
16	MINUSTAH	2004	0	2004	2014	27,371	309
17	UNOCI	2004	2015	2004	0	13,610	174
18	EUPOL KNSH	2005	2007	2005	2007	94	3
19	UNMIS	2005	2011	2005	2011	3,614	171
20	UNOTIL	2005	2006	2005	2006	60	4
21	UNIOSIL	2006	2008	2006	2008	40	3
22	UNIFIL	2006	0	2006	0	0	85
23	UNMIT	2006	2012	2006	2012	8,335	78
24	BNUB	2007	2010	2007	2010	34	5
25	MINURCAT	2007	2010	2009	2015	350	4
26	MONUSCO	2010	2015	2010	2015	7,616	64
27	UNMISS	2011	2015	2011	2015	3,936	91
28	MINUSMA	2013	2015	2013	2015	5,953	20
29	UNAMID	2015	0	2007	2015	26,885	106

Source: Yalçınkaya et al.,[37] (TÜBAKOV dataset).

Table 2. Turkey's PKO participation across continents.

Continent	1988–2000	2001–2015	Total
Africa	2	18	20
Asia	5	9	14
Europe	15	7	22
America	0	1	1
Total	**22**	**35**	**57**

Source: Yalçınkaya et al.[39] (TÜBAKOV dataset).

towards Africa gained momentum after the commissioning of the Africa Action Plan.[38] Increasingly, Turkish police personnel have participated in several UN missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. This geographical distribution of Turkish police personnel in UN police missions is consistent with Turkey's foreign policy which is increasingly prioritising relations with Africa and the EU since the beginning of 2000s (Table 2).

[37]Yalçınkaya, Haldun, Emre Hatipoglu, Dilaver Arıkan Açar, and Mitat Çelikpala. "Turkish efforts in peacekeeping and the introduction of the TUBAKOV dataset: An exploratory analysis", *International Peacekeeping* 25, no. 4 (2018): 475–496.
[38]Ozkan, Mehmet, 'Does "Rising Power" Mean "Rising Donor"? Turkey's Development Aid in Africa', *Africa Review* 5, no. 2 (2013): 139–147.
[39]See note 37 above.

Peacekeeping in Turkey's middle power ambitions

Similar to other rising powers, Turkey has emerged as a new peacekeeping and peacebuilding actor in the international arena[40] and this increasing interest towards international peace is essentially related with its ambition to emerge as a middle power. Indeed, humanitarianism is a core component of Turkey's foreign policy. Although a comprehensive definition for middle power states remains elusive, this debate is active in International Relations, particularly whether it is ideal to categorise states with fluctuating levels of resources and capabilities in such a way. A common ground of this debate is that a middle power state denotes a state which is neither great nor small.[41]

However, this definition is also problematic as several states can be potential candidates for this categorisation, it fails to give a comprehensive understanding of what a state that is neither small nor great resembles. This definitional struggle of the concept of middle power is perhaps demonstrated well by the dilemma of the Turkish state. Turkey has often been very critical to the Western-dominated global order because of its structural inequalities to other states and at the same time, recognised the benefits of having a greater influence in such an order. Turkey's President Tayyip Erdoğan, has on several occasions criticised the decision-making processes in international institutions such as the UN, while emphasising that, 'the world is bigger than five", in reference to the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council.

Whereas several studies associate countries in the IBSA category (India, Brazil, South Africa) as middle powers, this category has since expanded to include the more recently post-Cold War emerging MIKTA group (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, Australia).[42] These states have emerged to indulge the interests of both emerging and established middle power states in global politics. The ascension of these states to middle-powerhood draws significantly from a combination of their functional, behavioural and material distinctions in global politics.

Changes in the international system from events such as economic crises and reforms in global governance suggests that expectations and demands placed on middle powers have also changed. Pluralism in global governance has offered new avenues for middle powers to assume new roles even though these new opportunities have also witnessed interstate competitions as states are focused on establishing themselves as key and reliable actors in global politics. Consequently, middle power states such as Turkey have resorted to proactive foreign policies to meet this demanding criterion to justify its emerging position in the international system.

One of the strategies commonly adopted by middle powers to advance their influence is through their participating in formulation of policies particularly those that incorporate

[40]Sazak, Onur and Auveen Elizabeth Woods, 'Breaking with Convention: Turkey's New Approach to Peacebuilding', in *Rising Powers and Peacebuilding* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 93–106.
[41]Engin, Belma and Gurol Baba, 'Mikta: A Functioning Product of New Middle Power-Ism', *Rev. Int'l L. & Pol.* 11 (2015): 1.
[42]Mohan, C. Raja. 'IBSA to BRICSA: China Churns the New Alphabet Soup', *Indian Express* April 16 (2010); Flemes, Daniel, 'Emerging Middle Powers' soft Balancing Strategy: State and Perspectives of the IBSA Dialogue Forum' (2007); Sidiropoulos, Elizabeth, 'IBSA: Avoiding being BRICked Up', *Strategic Analysis* 37, no. 3 (2013): 285–290; Gök, Gonca Oğuz and Radiye Funda Karadeniz, 'Analyzing "T" in MIKTA: Turkey's Changing Middle Power Role in the United Nations', in *Middle Powers in Global Governance* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2018), 133–161.

moral dimensions so that they can be perceived as 'good powers'.[43] Actors in the formulation of Turkey's foreign policies have often emphasised this aspect by concentrating on building Turkey's image as a mediator in conflicts and humanitarianism. For instance, during its 2009–2010 UN Security Council membership period, Turkey sought to play an active role together with Brazil in 'nuclear' negotiations between the P5 + 1 (US, Russia, China, France, UK and Germany) and Iran.[44] As part of its middle power ambitions, Turkey has also transformed from an aid recipient to a donor state through its humanitarian diplomacy.[45] The concept of middle power therefore offers a plausible analytical perspective of Turkey's increasing role in international discourses and the domestic policies undertaken to pursue, achieve and maintain this status.

Peacekeeping provides an ideal avenue through which Turkey continues to advance its interests as a middle power state. Turkey's foreign policy has become more dynamic since 2000 when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) assumed power and steered Turkey into a decade of rapid economic growth and political stability not common with the immediate Cold War era. Turkey has since not only pursued regional hegemony but also a stronger position in global politics. Its proactive and multidimensional foreign policy can be highlighted as having played a role in influencing Turkey to participate in UN peacekeeping missions in order to develop its identity as a responsible middle power. Growing contributions of Turkey's police to international police peacekeeping missions is in tandem with the argument of Richmond and Tellidis that it is common for middle powers to develop preference for the guiding principles of sovereignty and as such, are less inclined to make independent decisions to engage in direct military interventions in other states.[46] International police peacekeeping missions are unique because they do not reflect intervention in the form commonly associated with military peacekeeping missions, thus, largely unconstrued as infringement on the sovereignty of states. Additionally, Turkey's membership to various regional organisations such as AU, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, NATO and ties with the EU has also influenced Turkey to contribute to these international police peacekeeping missions and advance its political goals.

Besides the political rationale of contributing to international police peacekeeping missions, there are other dimensions. From an institutional perspective, restructuring of the peacekeeping decision-making processes from an entirely military affair to restoration of civilian control has led to a more active policy towards the UN. Before 2000, security was largely conceived of as an internal affair because the UN was not conceived of as a reliable defence measure and priority for Turkey. Police peacekeeping missions are also perceived as useful for the purposes of training personnel and make them more dynamic and flexible to operate in different contexts. In other words, dedication to multilateral

[43]Wohlforth, William C., Benjamin De Carvalho, Halvard Leira and Iver B. Neumann, 'Moral Authority and Status in International Relations: Good States and the Social Dimension of Status Seeking', *Review of International Studies* 44, no. 3 (2018): 526–546.

[44]Barrionuevo, Alexei, and Sebnem Arsu, 'Brazil and Turkey near Nuclear Deal with Iran', *New York Times* 16 (2010); Süsler, Buğra, 'Turkey: An Emerging Middle Power in a Changing World?' *LSE Ideas Strategic Update*, May (2019).

[45]Ali, Abdirahman, 'Turkey's Foray into Africa: A New Humanitarian Power?' *Insight Turkey* 13, no. 4 (2011): 65; Davutoğlu, Ahmet, 'Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy: Objectives, Challenges and Prospects', *Nationalities Papers* 41, no. 6 (2013): 865–870; İçduygu, Ahmet, *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The Long Road Ahead* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

[46]Richmond, Oliver P. and Ioannis Tellidis, 'The Complex Relationship Between Peacebuilding and Terrorism Approaches: Towards Post-terrorism and a Post-liberal Peace?' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24, no. 1 (2012): 120–143.

institutions is therefore one of the primary hallmarks of a middle power foreign policy. In his study on 'Approaches to World Order', Robert Cox argues that the roles of middle powers have become linked to the development of international organisation. For Turkey, this can be more explicitly discerned through its behavioural goals and approach towards international institutions.

Decision-making mechanisms and Turkey's police contribution to international peacekeeping

Since 2002, Turkey has undergone extensive political transformation and key among the outcome of this process has been the end of the military tutelage regime.[47] The civilianisation of the military emerged as a result of two important dynamics. On the external level, Turkey was recognised as a candidate for European Union (EU) membership during the Helsinki Summit in 1999. At the domestic level, the JDP under the leadership of Erdoğan consolidated state power under civilian institutions ever since forming government on 3 November 2002 after the party garnered 34% of votes to win the national elections.

Regarding EU membership, negotiations with the Union commenced on 3 October 2005. During this process, primary importance was attached to institutional stability that could guarantee democracy, rule of law, and human rights. In this regard, Turkey was required to undertake key reforms in its security sector and reorganise its civil–military relations by establishing civilian control of the military as well as consolidate democracy in a manner that is consistent with the Copenhagen Criteria which outlines the guidelines required for a new state to fully join the membership of Union. Consequently, many legal and institutional reforms were implemented to structuralise military authority under civilian control. These reforms aimed at providing strong checks and balances particularly over the power and influence of the National Security Council (NSC), which had in the past, been a key mechanism of the military tutelage regime. On the internal level, the Turkish military had long been the guarantor of the secular regime and the major deterrent to rising political Islamism. However, the JDP, a pro-Islamist party, initiated a struggle against this military tutelage after consolidating the support of liberal cadres who were increasingly uncomfortable with the military's attitude towards ethnic minorities. These internal and external dynamics accelerated the civilianisation process and resulted in the appearance of a paradigmatic shift in the balance of power between civilian and military authorities.[48] Consequently, these EU-led reforms enabled the decision-making process to become a largely civilian-dominated sphere, and this has enabled the JDP to become more powerful to implement its decisions particularly in the domain of foreign policy.

Prior to the commencement of the civilianisation process, the army was the sole executor of foreign policy in Turkey. The main institutional mechanism of military tutelage, the

[47]Turkey's political regime was defined as a tutelage regime since 1960 as the military held political autonomy and various mechanisms to be involved in politics whenever it felt necessary to do so. See Cizre, Umit, 'Disentangling the Threads of Civil-military Relations in Turkey: Promises and Perils', *Mediterranean Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (2011): 57–75; Özbudun, Ergun, '15 Democracy, Tutelarism, and the Search for a New Constitution', *Turkey's Democratization Process* (2013): 293.

[48]Aydinli, Ersel, 'A Paradigmatic Shift for the Turkish Generals and an End to the Coup Era in Turkey', *The Middle East Journal* 63, no. 4 (2009): 581–596; Bardakçi, Mehmet, 'Coup Plots and the Transformation of Civil–military Relations in Turkey under AKP Rule', *Turkish Studies* 14, no. 3 (2013): 411–428.

NSC, was the main decision-making arena both for domestic and foreign policy and this influenced the decisions on peacekeeping contributions to be fundamentally dominated by the military. The Turkish military could for instance, block any request to participate in a UN mission through the mechanism of the NSC. Moreover, the participation of both the military and police in UN peacekeeping operations was often perceived as inconsequential by military authorities. Instead of UN-led peace operations, the military favoured participation in NATO operations as it was perceived as having greater value for military personnel. The choice of the military to work through NATO is understandable as it was oriented particularly by security concerns and gives primary importance to war against terrorism inside and outside its borders. Put differently, UN peacekeeping missions were perceived as having no strategic relevance for the Turkish military.

As such the dominant theme in the civil–military relations literature on Turkey, is that the civilianisation processes aimed at putting an end to the domination of the NSC on domestic and foreign policy issues of the state. As mentioned earlier, the NSC had extensive prerogatives in the decision-making processes and acted for a long time as a parallel government and it was until legal and institutional reforms instituted by the JDP that the primacy of the NSC over all other institutions came to an end. In 2001, constitutional amendments ensured that the voting majority of the NSC were civilian members and the Council was also downgraded to play an advisory role to the government. Further reforms in 2003 abolished the monopoly of its Secretariat on collecting information and documents, repealed its ballooned executive and supervisory authorities, and allowed a civilian to be appointed as the secretary-general.[49]

In other words, these reforms guaranteed that the Turkish military was no longer the primary actor in foreign policy decision making processes. Turkey's foreign policy shifted from a single-track diplomacy to multi-track diplomacy thereby enabling the diversification of actors involved in the foreign policy making processes.[50] A broader and civilian approach on peacebuilding emerged under the JDP characterised by a positive attitude towards UN-led PKOs as a consequence of the proactive and multidimensional foreign policy which became possible with the expanded role of the JDP as the civilian political party and the main executor of Turkey's foreign policy.

Indeed, it is this transformation of the civil–military relations in Turkey that created considerable impact on the characteristic of Turkish contributions to peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Turkey's approach to peacebuilding has transformed from the strategic state-centric security engagement of the 1990s to a more multifaceted conceptualisation that encompasses both state-building and social peacemaking.[51] Foreign policy decisions are now determined essentially and primarily by civilian authorities in power and this is reflected in the expanded civilian and police participation in peace operations as well as the increased and active engagement with multilateral organisations.

In regard to the type of contribution to international peace operations, the crucial question is why some countries choose to send troops while others choose to send

[49]Söyler, Mehtap, *The Turkish Deep State: State Consolidation, Civil-Military Relations and Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 81.

[50]Diamond, Louise and John W. McDonald, 'Multi-track diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace' (1996): 182; Akpınar, Pınar, 'Turkey's Peacebuilding in Somalia: The Limits of Humanitarian Diplomacy', *Turkish Studies* 14, no. 4 (2013): 735–757.

[51]Woods, Auveen and Onur Sazak, *Turkey's Approach to Peacebuilding: Principles, Policies, and Practices* (Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University, 2016), Retrieved 16.

police personnel. Turkey's police contribution to peace operations has been rising since the 2000s. This changing nature of contribution is essentially related with the transformation of internal security dynamics in the country. In his contribution to the literature on PKOs, Arturo Velazquez emphasises on military doctrines and their impact on the choice made by states to contribute or not to contribute to PKOs.[52] According to him, military doctrines have determined why various countries have shown different attitudes towards the decision to participate in PKOs. He contends that military institutions with prevailing national security doctrines are reluctant to send soldiers in support of UNPKO. National security doctrines give primary importance to the internal mission of national armies. Here, the military is responsible for domestic politics and has distinct responsibilities for the establishment of internal order.

Starting with the 2000s, Turkey shifted from the national security-centered doctrine solely based on the military. This transition was accelerated by a period of relative political and economic stability because of internal reforms that eased restrictions on various political, religious, and social groups. The retreat of the PKK terror organisation in the country minimised military dominance in the security sector especially after the cease-fire between the PKK and Turkey between 1999 and 2004[53] and the peace-process initiated by the JDP in 2005 contributed to the creation of a more civilian perspective on foreign policy.

Due to these changes on the internal level, in 2004, with its 338 police personnel all around the world, Turkey ranked third, after the US and Jordan, among police contributing countries to UN-led peacekeeping missions. In 2005, during the period of the peace process, Turkish police ranked fifth among contributing countries and was active in various countries all around the world (Kosova, Liberia, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Haiti, East Temor, Sierra Leon, Burundi and Sudan) in the context of UN-led peace operations (Figure 2).[54]

However, since 2008, Turkey's police contributions to UN-led peacekeeping missions have decreased significantly. This paper contends that this may have been as a result of both domestic and external factors. For instance, the 2009 global financial crisis put pressure on the budgets for international peacekeeping missions that resulted in significant reductions in UN peacekeeping forces. Secondly there has been increased threats to Turkey's national security that emerged from regional instability in countries such as Syria and the re-emergence of the PKK terror threat. Instability in countries such as Syria enabled terrorist organisations to once again regroup and conduct terror activities in the region. Turkey has been a victim of these terror groups and as such, there has been a greater demand for police personnel in the country. Thirdly, the 2016 attempted coup against the JDP government has also influenced police contribution to the UN police peacekeeping missions. In the aftermath of the coup attempt, the government resorted to conducting far-reaching police reforms especially after allegations that some of the coup

[52]Velazquez, Arturo C. Sotomayor, 'Why Some States Participate in UN Peace Missions While Others Do Not: An Analysis of Civil-military Relations and its Effects on Latin America's Contributions to Peacekeeping Operations', *Security Studies* 19, no. 1 (2010): 160–195.

[53]In 1991, Kurdish insurgencies offered to end the war, after 15 years of armed struggle for autonomy, following Turkey's capture of their leader Abdullah Öcalan. See, Marcus, Aliza, 'Turkey's PKK: rise, fall, rise again?' *World Policy Journal* 24, no. 1 (2007): 75–84.

[54]Hürsoy, Şiret, 'Civilian Contributions of the European Union and Turkey within the Framework of Restructuring the United Nations Peace Operations', *Ankara University SBF Journal* 61, no. 01 (2006): 201–222.



Figure 2. Turkish police contribution to international peacekeeping missions (2005–2020). Source: Authors' Analysis from UN dataset.

plotters had infiltrated the police as an institution. Moreover, as the country was barely emerging from the impact of the 2016 coup, the outbreak of the global Covid-19 pandemic has impacted on UN peacekeeping initiatives both in the form of budgetary and logistical constraints as well as the ability of any country including Turkey to contribute police personnel to UN-led peacekeeping missions. As of October 2020, Turkey had its second least number of police personnel (44) involved in international UN-led peacekeeping missions in over a decade.

Distinctive features of Turkish police and possible contribution to peacebuilding operations

In the context of UN peace operations, the first contribution of the Turkish police was in Bosnia Herzegovina as part of the International Peace Task Force (IPTF) in 1996. In recent times, Turkey's decision to participate in peacekeeping missions is essentially based on the official document entitled 'Concept on Turkey's Contribution to Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding Operations' which was signed by the then Prime Minister, Erdoğan on 15 March 2005. Previously, as the decision to contribute was essentially military dominated through the NSC, existing procedures for deploying military and police personnel outside the country were underdeveloped. The regulation which was enacted on 7 January 2012[55] stipulated the fundamental guidelines for Turkish police personnel to be considered for evaluation to participate in international peacekeeping missions. Among some of the fundamental requirements, the regulation stipulates that police personnel must be experienced for five years as a police officer, must pass the English Language exam, must pass the shooting and the use of vehicles tests, and must have

[55]Resmi Gazete No 28166, https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/01/20120107-4.htm. 7 January 2012.

the obligatory approval of his/her supervisor to participate in international police peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions.

With the rise of peacebuilding operations, the UN concentrates more on reforming national police systems of conflict-torn countries. Given the primary importance attached by the UN Police to the mission of training of local police in these countries, recruiting police personnel with high experience and skill has become a key requirement. Turkey with its precise and detailed selection requirements can contribute effectively to international police missions. Reforms in the Turkish police system such as better salaries and other terms of service, drew the attention of numerous university graduates facing problems of high unemployment rates. This manifested when the rate of police personnel with at minimum an undergraduate university degree increased from 21% in 2002–80% in 2013.[56] For example, a police officer declared that during his mandate in an UN-led peace operation he became aware that Turkish peacekeepers were more trained and capable compared to peacekeepers from less developed countries. He said that a police officer from a third-world country was even incapable of using a computer and typing on a keyboard.[57] Similarly, Ata Yenigün, the Chief of the United Nations Police Division's Selection and Recruitment Section, states that the contribution of Turkish police makes a difference by highlighting that the capacity and the skill of the Turkish police is immediately noticed and Turkey is the only contributing country which allows the UN to assign the Turkish police staff to the missions it wants.[58]

Moreover, Turkish police hold the necessary experience in domestic missions especially in the fight against terrorism and political unrest. Turkey's exposure to terrorist attacks by the PKK since 1984 has strengthened police as an institution in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency practices. In the context of peace operations, this presents a significant comparative advantage over northern troops without such experience. In turn, participation in UN peacekeeping operations equips Turkish police personnel with invaluable experience which can be used later in the fight against the PKK.

Turkey also has a gendarmerie force and its contribution to the security sector has proved to be an asset in filling the security gap between internal and external security during international missions,[59] and is increasingly being perceived as a perfect match for hybrid operations. For example, in 2007, European Gendarmerie Force (EGF) was established to deploy rapid reaction force to Bosnia–Herzegovina. According to Article 1 of the treaty that established EGF, only militarised police can participate in these operations. Within the same context, the UN started to give primary importance to formed police units that appear as paramilitary units capable of performing police functions. These units are composed of roughly 140 officers from a single country and specialised in riot control and the maintenance of law and order.[60] Additionally, they are composed of armed forces capable of executing coercive tasks and the comparative advantage of this unit is that they can be quickly deployed. The failure of UN missions in Rwanda

[56]'Üniversite mezunu polis sayısı arttı', Haberler, 23 January 2021. www.haberler.com/vali-oz-universite-mezunu-polis-memuru-sayisi-4270005-haberi/ (accessed at October 3, 2019).
[57]H.K., personal interview, 5 February 2019.
[58]'BM'de Türk polisinin farkı farkediliyor', *Haber7*. 21 October 2009. www.haber7.com/güncel/haber/446364-bmde-turk-polisinin-farki-farkediliyor (accessed at October 12, 2019).
[59]The public security gap appears as a significant problem within post-cold war operations, for a detailed examination of the problem, see Dziedzic, Michael and Christine Stark, 'Bridging the Public Security Gap', *USIP Briefing*, June (2006).
[60]Ciorciari, John D., 'Sharing Sovereignty in the Streets: International Policing in Fragile States', p. 733.

and Bosnia created a robust turn in peacekeeping approaches and the emerging role of the gendarmerie appears to reflect a doctrinal change in the use of force in UN-led peace operations.[61] For the UN's robust and hybrid operations, the police contribution through gendarmerie can be helpful.[62] It is becoming a common practice in several countries all around the world to try preventing crime by creating newly established security forces that bring into fusion police and military characteristics.[63]

In January 2020, the number of gendarmerie forces in Turkey was officially recorded as 196,863.[64] In the aftermath of the failed coup attempt in 2016, the General Command of Gendarmerie (*Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı,* henceforth JGK) has been put under the Ministry of Interior. Now, the JGK operates formally under the Ministry of Interior outside that of the police force and operates outside the urban peripheries. In other words, the decision to send gendarmerie forces to international missions rather than the military is now essentially civilian dominated. The JGK's paramilitary composition and its experience in counterinsurgency can become useful in UN-led international peacekeeping missions as exemplified by the participation of the Turkish gendarmerie in international missions led by the EU and NATO. For example, as of 2020, 61 gendarmerie personnel were involved in NATO mission in Afghanistan whereas another 4 personnel are engaged in an international mission led by NATO and EU in Bosnia–Herzegovina.[65]

Finally, Turkey is not just a contributor of police personnel to UN-led peacekeeping operations. Rather, it collaborates with the UN in the field of training and education of police personnel through several programmes put in place to train peacekeepers, and particularly peacekeepers coming from developing countries. This has transformed Turkey into a leading training centre for police personnel mainly from the less developed and fragile states. For example, in Sivas, there is a police training academy focusing on the training of women police officers. The training programme is multifaceted including law enforcement, computing, physical training, first aid, dispute resolution, community policing, and crime scene investigation. After graduating from this programme, 167 female officers joined the ranks of Afghan Police on 27 April 2019 while the total number of graduates from the Academy stood at 1152. The significant point is that the Academy contributes to the augmentation of women's representation in state coercive apparatuses in fragile and unstable regions of the world.

Conclusion

As peacekeeping operations have become more complex due to international developments in the aftermath of the Cold war, the need for police contributions is in high demand. This transformation of the international security environment was accompanied by changing internal dynamics of the Turkish state. Within this context, Turkey has

[61]Harig, Christoph, and Kai Michael Kenkel, 'Are Rising Powers Consistent or Ambiguous Foreign Policy Actors? Brazil, Humanitarian Intervention and the "Graduation Dilemma"', *International affairs* 93, no. 3 (2017): 625–641.
[62]Gowan, Richard and Megan Gleason, *UN Peacekeeping: The Next Five Years* (Middle East, Sub Saharan Africa: Center on International Cooperation, 2012).
[63]Lutterbeck, Derek, 'Between Police and Military: The New Security Agenda and the Rise of Gendarmeries', *Cooperation and Conflict* 39, no. 1 (2004): 45–68.
[64]For a detailed information about the institution, see, www.jandarma.gov.tr.
[65]For a detailed information about the contribution of gendarmerie personnel to the international missions, see, www.jandarma.gov.tr.

contributed significantly more police to UN-led missions in recent years than in the past. As of September 2019, Turkey was among the first 30 countries that contribute police to peace operations launched by the UN. A detailed analysis of the Turkish contribution demonstrates that whereas Turkish troop -military – contributions to peacekeeping missions has been limited to a few countries, Turkish police contributions has been extended to a greater number of different geographical regions.[66]

The contribution of Turkey to international police peacekeeping missions can still significantly increase in terms of quality and quantity. But this will be dependent on other factors. First, Turkey's relations with bilateral institutions such as the EU and NATO may influence how it responds in terms of police contributions. Although there had been a strong sense of cooperation with both the EU and NATO because of the strong alliance that these organisations offered to Turkey in the last decade, deteriorating relations with these two organisations may push Turkey towards the UN. Turkey is increasingly condemning Europe for the slow implementation of Turkey's ascension to the EU. Europe on the other hand has criticised Turkey for unilateral military operations in Syria and most recently in Libya. NATO members, on the other hand, particularly the US, have threatened Turkey with sanctions including its expulsion from the F35 fighter jet development programme because of the bilateral arms deals between Russia and Turkey. As such Turkey may increase its participation in UN peacekeeping activities as another framework for pursuing its foreign policy interests. Secondly, Turkey is still confronted with terror threats posed by the PKK, that is designated a terror organisation by Turkey, EU and the US. As such, fighting terrorism on the domestic front may affect the deployment of police personnel to serve in other international peacekeeping missions.

In recent years, paramilitary police units are increasingly in demand by the UN. So far, Turkish police has not engaged in such contribution to the UN missions and instead has preferred to send individual police officers to UN peace operations. Yet, this situation may change given that Turkey's experienced police and militarised gendarmerie can become significant assets to UN peacekeeping should such a need of boosting capacity arise. However, it is significant to recognise that there are growing views by security policy analysts and police personnel that whereas their contributions may meet international standards, those of their colleagues from the Third World do not. As such, under these circumstances, their participation does not create extra value and experience for their future career development.

Nonetheless, the practice of international policing has increased substantially particularly through the UN Police Division. The broadening mandate of UNPOL beyond peacekeeping to peacebuilding will continue to offer an alternative framework for establishing and sustaining international peace and security particularly in fragile states that have experienced erosion of key institutional structures such as law enforcement. Within this context, the reaction of Turkey to this transformation will need to be further discussed with reference to many unknown and imprecise dimensions such as the impact of the end of peace process, the reestablishment of a national security doctrine, and PKK terrorism inside state borders.

[66]For example, as of September 2019, Turkish troops have been mandated solely in UNIFIL, Lebanon while Turkish police were active in 5 countries -Mali, Congo, Darfur, South Sudan, and Yemen-under the umbrella of the UN.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Ayfer Genç Yılmaz is an Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations, at Istanbul Commerce University. Her main research interests are police-military relations and international policing. She holds a PhD in Political Science from Yildiz Technical University (2017) and a MA in Political Studies from Istanbul Technical University (2011). Her articles and reviews have appeared in many different journals such as *Scandinavian Journal of Military Studies, International Journal of Political Science and Urban Studies, European Journal of Turkish Studies* and *Journal of International Relations (Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi)*.

Billy Agwanda is pursuing a PhD at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Marmara University and holds a MA from the Department of International Relations and African Studies from Istanbul Commerce University. He has published with the *African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT); The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies*; *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance*; *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs- The Round Table*; and *Journal of Social Policy Conferences* amongst other international journals.

ORCID

Ayfer Genç Yılmaz http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4714-0639
Billy Agwanda http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8915-6057