Policing Peace Operations: Filling the security gap between military and police

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation explores the roles of gendarmerie, police and military forces in peace operations. The primary purpose of this study is to help strengthening criminal justice system of peace operations and understanding the potential role of law enforcement organizations with military status (gendarmeries) in peace operations. Existing literature indicates that military and police capabilities of gendarmerie-carabinierie type law enforcement organizations offer a unique skill for peace operations. These types of organizations perform a range of police functions such as traffic control, criminal investigations, and general policing activities in their home countries. Such forces can be deployed under the command of the military or can be deployed in police chain of command. In conflicts and peace operations, local law enforcement forces may be unable to maintain public order and security. Generally, until arrival of police units, first intervention units to deal with a security issue are international military forces. However, if regular armed forces do law enforcement duties, it is more likely that they may either fail to maintain basic law and order or use excessive force. Military units are responsible for area security. Their training doesn't fit for law enforcement duties. Order maintenance needs a different kind of expertise. On the other hand, civilian police forces may be insufficient to fight crimes or deal

with violent domestic disorder in hostile, complex and instable environments. Therefore, a new generation of security force is needed. Because they have great experience in performing their law enforcement tasks in their home countries, this experience ensures important roles for them in peace missions. They can perform duties in uncertain, complex and asymmetric environment.

This study utilized a mixed method approach in order to investigate the topic in question. The researcher of this study designed and conducted an online survey with 223 security experts, including army, police and gendarmerie peacekeepers, diplomats from UN and NATO, and academics whose expertise are policing and security studies. In addition to the survey, 15 interviews were conducted with 9 peacekeepers, 3 NATO and 3 UN officials. In order to explore the topic in a real world context, The United Nation Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the United Nation Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina (UNMIBH), in which gendarmeries were deployed and performed law enforcement duties, were analyzed in detail. Both qualitative and quantitative results indicated that gendarmeries can fill the gap between police and military since they have professional capabilities in both civilian and military affairs.

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To the peacekeepers who serve for the world peace

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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the problem

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the old world structure was bipolar. In the bipolar world structure and during the cold war period, the notion of security was constrained only to national security. In other words, when we were talking about security, it was about national security. The bipolarity of the world was causing tension, and the central threat to national security was nuclear proliferation. However, the notion of threat has changed overtime after the breakup the Soviet Union.

The work of Hampson et al. (2002) and Human Development Report (1994) reflect the international perspective about the changing nature of threat. Hampson et al. (2002) suggest that beginning in the 1990s, threats to people's security comes not only from potential military attacks but from such things as epidemics, global pollution, flows of refugees, transnational crimes and terrorism, violent crime, insurgency, climate change, economic instability…etc. These threats have become linked to national security since their consequences may be more serious than traditional military threats. In 1994, the UN Human Development Report emphasized the need of transition in thinking from preservation of state security or national security to individual or human security (UNDP report, 1994, p.22). In this sense, the new security paradigm focuses on threats to individuals or civilian populations. In other words, the human security concept focuses on threats to people and things that kill people. According to the Human Security Report (2005), the worries of daily life create more insecurity feeling than a nuclear war or terrorism threat in our day. The chance of being killed from a pandemic or a traffic

accident is greater than being killed in a war or a terrorist attack. That's why the human security concept mainly focuses on several threats and security areas. These security areas include (1) economic security, (2) food security, (3) health security, (4) environmental security, (5) personal security (e.g. security from physical violence, torture, crime), (6) community security (e.g. ethnic tension) and (7) political security (e.g. protection of basic human right violations) (UNDP report, 1994).

The Human Development Report (1994) emphasizes that the security concept must change "from security through armament to security through sustainable human development" (UNDP report, 1994, p.24). Hamspson et al. (2002) define human security as global public good which means that those human security problems, threats and their solutions are non-rivalrous or non-excludable like air and environment (p.38-40). For instance, the statement "if you are poisoning my water, you are also poisoning yours" explains this notion of non-excludability. In this regard, the human security paradigm argues that threats we face are non-rivalrous. In other words, nobody can be excluded from those threats. Security is positive sum which means "if I am more secure, you are more secure." From a human security perspective, the security of the individual is not simply contingent on building better military forces. Security of people is also predicated on the condition of failed and fragile states. In other words, people in the U.S can be more secure only if the people in failed and fragile states are more secure. For instance, people who have enough stability and safety would not get on boats and go to safer places or open themselves up to be exploited by terrorist organizations. From this perspective, in order to be more secure in New York, the U.S. and international

community should do something in conflict areas or where the source of threats might begin.

In addition to international perspective, the Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2006) by the Department of Defense reflects the American perspective regarding the changing nature of threats. According to this report, there is a shift "from a time of reasonable predictability to an era of surprise and uncertainty" (Quadrennial Defense Review Report, 2006, p.vi). This report acknowledges that the nature of the enemy has changed. In the new era, the U.S. military is not fighting with conventional armed forces but global terrorist networks and asymmetrical security challenges, including irregular warfare (conflicts in which enemy combatants are not regular armed forces of a country), terrorism, and threats that result from weapons of mass destruction (WMD). In addition, a report by the Congressional Research Service (2008) asserts that the majority of threats come from failed and fragile states. These threats include offering a safe place for terrorists and groups causing conflict and regional instability; the inability or unwillingness to prevent the proliferation of the world's most dangerous weapons; and organized crime. If the Quadrennial Defense Review Report (2006) had been written three decades ego, the major threat would be defined as the Soviet Union from the American perspective. However, this report emphasizes long-duration unconventional warfare, counterinsurgency, counterterrorism and the role of military in stabilization and reconstructing efforts rather than conventional warfare between nations.

Considering all these changes in the security paradigm, it is obvious that changes in the notion of threat have led to changes in the nature of warfare overtime. In the present era, wars are noticeably different form the wars of the past. In the past, wars were

shorter and there was a clear winner or loser. However, the majority of today's wars come to an end after many years of fighting (Quadrennial Defense Review Report, 2006). In the past, the great majority of enemies were nation states. In the present era, threat comes from dispersed non-state networks (Quadrennial Defense Review Report, 2006). In past wars, establishing allies and fighting enemies' conventional armed forces with a bigger military capacity were very critical issues in winning wars. In new wars, however, collaboration, building partnership capacity, integration of forces, and strategic communication are key elements in winning new wars (Quadrennial Defense Review Report, 2006). In other words, the security challenges of the 21st century have brought several shifts in the notion of warfare, including (1) from nation state threats to decentralized, non-state network enemies, (2) from conventional warfare to unconventional, irregular, asymmetrical warfare, and (3) from single military operation concept to joint operation concept (Quadrennial Defense Review Report, 2006).

The Human Security Report (2005) suggests that the majority of today's wars take place within states rather than between states. While conventional warfare has declined, low-intensity conflicts within nation states have increased since the end of the Cold War (Human Security Report, 2005). The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University has been monitoring the number of world conflicts. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program listed 32 armed conflicts in 2012. This was a considerable decrease compared to 37 conflicts in 2011. According to the UCDP's best estimation, there were 37,941 conflict-related deaths in 2012 with the highest number of deaths in the Syria conflict. In 2012, the Syrian conflict caused 15,055 fatalities (Themnér and Wallensteen, 2013). When the numbers of

refugees and internally displaced persons have been taken into account, the total numbers of victims caused by conflicts are quite high.

In addition to the Upsala Conflict Program Data, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) has been monitoring the number of world conflicts. IISS's armed conflict database listed 63 armed conflicts in 2008. In 2012, this number fell to 51. However, the number of fatalities increased from 55,715 to 109,219 between 2008 and 2012. Furthermore, the numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons have remained high.[1] Although battle-deaths have decreased overtime, targeting civilians, genocide and terrorist attacks have increased in recent years. New wars have become wars against civilians. In many cases, a terrorist or a militia group doesn't target a military objective. Instead, terrorists want to kill symbolic civilian targets. Most of the violence is not the result of militant groups fighting each other but violence perpetrated by individual groups on civilian populations (Human Security Report, 2005).

According to the Human Security Report (2005), there are two kinds of armed conflicts in our day. The first one is "low intensity civil wars" in which poorly armed groups fight against stronger forces. In this kind of war, the weaker side avoids military engagement with a stronger army but targets mostly civilians. The second one is called "asymmetric conflicts" in which high-tech forces fight against weaker opponents like the Gulf or Kosovo wars (p.34). These changes in the nature of warfare have also created new types of non-state actors, including child soldiers, paramilitary organizations and

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[1] Armed conflict database. Retrieved Oct, 25, 2015, from https://acd.iiss.org/news/2013-3e27/acd-makeover-371d

private military firms that offer consulting services, direct or tactical military assistance, logistics, intelligence and maintenance services (Human Security Report, 2005).

Considering all these developments, it is obvious that states are not fighting in conventional wars any longer. The security challenges of the 21st century need a completely different kind of security force since we are dealing with a completely different kind of threats. We need a new generation of security forces. In order to deal with new asymmetric security challenges effectively, these forces must be well trained, well armed but relatively light forces. The forces must be able to react rapidly in order to deal with new threats effectively.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In a peace operation framework, the first international intervention forces will often encounter an environment where public safety can be threatened by politically motivated violence. Moreover, there may be many criminal activities such as illegal weapons trade, drugs trade, theft, murder and contract killings, women and child trafficking, money laundering, fraud, counterfeiting, smuggling and other organized crimes (Hovens, 2011). As a result of security needs, international peace forces are deployed in such hostile environments. While the rule of law and crime control need an effective law enforcement system and robust police capabilities, local law enforcement forces often do not exist in a post-conflict environment or may be unable to maintain public order and security. Generally, the first intervention units to deal with a security issue are international military forces until arrival of police units. It is inevitable that the first military intervention units meet with weak public order that requires noncombatant and non lethal skills in an early post-conflict environment (Hovens H., 2011). However,

the training of military forces doesn't fit law enforcement duties. They may either fail to maintain basic law and order or use excessive or disproportionate force. Order maintenance needs a different kind of expertise. Therefore, the deployment of military units for the maintenance of public order may cause tension between the public and security forces (Lutterbeck, 2004). On the other hand, civilian police forces may be insufficient to fight crimes or deal with violent domestic disorder in hostile, complex and instable environments. An important reason is that civilian police units don't have special equipment, heavy weapons and armored vehicles, which are necessary for such an environment (Bingol, 2010).

The time between the arrival of armed forces and the arrival of police forces generates a deployment gap (Dziedzic, 2003). Military may provide an "outer shell" or area security. The "inner shell" of security, which is fighting crimes and small-scale disorder, should be provided by police forces. The need to perform functions between these inner and outer layers of public security generates an enforcement gap. Dziedzic (2003) states that the deployment gap is about timing, whereas the enforcement gap is about capabilities and function.

It is obvious that a special type of force is needed to address the enforcement and deployment gap. Law enforcement organizations with military status or gendarmeries have professional capabilities in both civilian and military affairs. These types of organizations perform a range of police functions, such as traffic control, criminal investigations, and general policing activities in their home countries. Such forces can serve in either a military or a civilian capacity and operate independently or in cooperation with other military or police forces. Currently, 56 countries (e.g., France,

Italy, Spain, and Turkey) have gendarmerie forces (Alpar, 2013). To illustrate, France's Gendarmerie and Italy's Carabinierie are accountable to the Ministry of Defense in times of war but perform domestic civilian law enforcement, including traffic control, public security, and judicial investigation, during peacetime under the command of Ministry of Interior. Since gendarmeries have great experience in performing their law enforcement tasks in their home countries; this experience may ensure important roles for them in peacekeeping missions. They can perform duties in uncertain, complex and asymmetric environments because their flexible law enforcement capabilities help to perform duties in that kind of environment (Gobinet, 2008).

There are many challenges regarding peace operations including, political will among the members of the international community to intervene for a certain situation, disagreements among the great powers, lack of clear rules of engagement in mandates, quality of leadership, late recruitment of competent security forces and complexities inherent in multi-national forces. This dissertation focuses only on one important challenge in peace operations: stability policing. This study will address the issue of whether law enforcement organizations with military status, in other words, gendarmeries, can fill the gap between police and military in performing law enforcement duties in peace operations.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to help to improve law enforcement service and security conditions in peace operations. In addition, this study will help understand the potential values of gendarmerie type (law enforcement organizations with military status) organizations in peace operations. The intent of this research is not only to

contribute to the literature on the subject of policing in peace operations and, the role of gendarmeries in peacekeeping and peace building, but to offer practical solutions to peacekeeping dilemmas in the light of gendarmeries' capabilities. Based on the results of this study, the researcher intends to provide recommendations to UN and EU executives about how to improve security conditions and quality of law enforcement work in peace operations.

1.4 Research Questions

This study intends to answer following two main research questions:

(1) Can gendarmeries perform law enforcement duties more effectively compared to traditional police forces and regular armed forces?

(2) Can gendarmeries deal with riot control, civil disorder, insurgency and asymmetric challenges more effectively compared to traditional civilian police forces and regular armed forces?

In addition to these two main questions, the present study will attempt to answer the following sub-questions:

(1) Can regular armed forces perform law enforcement duties effectively?

(2) Can traditional international civilian police perform law enforcement duties effectively?

(3) Can gendarmeries fill the security gap between military and police forces in peace operations?

1.5 Significance of the Study

In an interview conducted in 2012, Herve Ladsous, the Head of Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) for the UN, describes future challenges for UN peacekeeping as follows;

> *"UN peacekeepers are increasingly operating in contexts where risks and threats are higher. In Mali, for example, peacekeepers must be prepared for improvised explosive devices, suicide bombers, and other asymmetric threats. We will need improved capacities and innovation to respond. We must be ready to meet new challenges and to adjust to changing security situations. In coming years flexibility will continue to be our focus......., we must improve the effectiveness and performance of peacekeeping operations"* (2012 UN Peace Operations, 2012, p.3) [2].

In order to increase effectiveness and performance of peacekeeping operations, a new generation types forces which perform both military and law enforcement work are needed. In this regard, gendarmeries (law enforcement organization with military status) may be a feasible solution. Currently, 56 countries (e.g., France, Italy, Spain, and Turkey) have gendarmeries (Alpar, 2013). In Turkey, for example, the Turkish National Gendarmerie (TNG) perform law enforcement duties in 92% of Turkey geographically and for 41% of the total population. In terms of training and education, the Turkish Gendarmerie is a subordinate of the Turkish Armed Forces; in terms of law enforcement duties, it is a subordinate of the Ministry of Interior (Soylemez, 2005). This subordination is the same also in both Italy and France. France's Gendarmerie and Italy's Carabinierie perform law enforcement duties during peacetime under the command of Ministry of Interior. In times of war, however, they are accountable to the Ministry of Defense. Moreover, today, the French Gendarmerie and Italian Carabinierie respond to increasing

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[2] UN peace operation 2012. Retrieved Feb, 5, 2015, from
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/publications/yir/yir2012.pdf

international demand for their services. For example, these organizations serve as a law enforcement bodies in peace operations under the flag of NATO, EU and the UN. These gendarmeries may enhance the flexibility of intervention forces, which is very important in contexts where threats are ambiguous. Since the nature of gendarmeries is to provide professionalism in both civilian and military affairs, they can be useful in deal with complex issues.

In peace operations, regular armed forces can provide area security. But in order to achieve final success, effective law enforcement forces are essential. However, when the international intervention forces enter an operation area, they find either no local police or an ineffective one which can be part of the problem rather than the solution. In the beginning of the intervention, if regular armed forces try to provide law enforcement service, it is more likely that they may either fail to maintain basic law and order or use excessive or disproportional force. Their training doesn't fit law enforcement duties (Hoogenboom, 2010). Establishing a rule of law requires a different kind of expertise. On the other hand, a traditional police force may be inadequate to cope with civil disorder in the beginning of an intervention because complex environments require special training and equipment (Bingol, 2010). Since constabulary type forces or gendarmerie type forces are a mix of military and police, they may be immediately useful once they are deployed at any time during an intervention. They have the ability to enter an operation area with part of larger intervention of force or alone and they can begin to conduct law enforcement duties as soon as they are deployed. In order to establish a safe and secure environment, if international intervention forces include gendarmerie units, their ability to cope with crime, violent demonstrations, armed gangs and militias in complex and

harsh environments might increase. This study will be important endeavor for examining whether gendarmeries may be a viable solution to the need for seeking new generation forces to deal with low-intensity conflicts and other 21st century security challenges.

1.6 Definition of Terms

After the first UN peacekeeping mission began in 1948, the definition of peacekeeping has widened and developed (Oliver, 2012). The notion of conflict prevention, peace enforcement, peacemaking, peace keeping and peace building might seem similar, but there are slight differences that must be understood. Many nations and regional organizations, like NATO and the African Union, developed their own definitions (Oliver, 2012).

Although there is little agreement between governments and international organizations about definition of those terms,[3] some assert that all such operations should be called "peacekeeping" as a general term. Others argue that different types of operations have their own definition. Today, the UN uses the following terms in their literature.[4]

1.6.1 Conflict Prevention

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines (2008) define conflict prevention as "the application of structural or diplomatic measures to keep intra-state or inter-state tensions and disputes from escalating into violent conflict. Ideally, it should build on structured early warning, information gathering and a careful analysis of the factors driving the conflict."

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[3] Bellamy, A. J., & Williams, P. (2010). Understanding peacekeeping Polity.
[4] Major General Tim Ford. Commanding united nations peacekeeping operations. Retrieved Feb 19, 2015, from http://cdn.peaceopstraining.org/course_promos/commanding/commanding_english.pdf

1.6.2   Peacemaking

According to UN doctrine, peacemaking generally "includes measures to address conflicts in progress and usually involves diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement."[5]

1.6.3   Peace Enforcement

UN defines this term as "The use of armed force to maintain or restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. The authority for enforcement is provided for in Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Only employed when all other efforts fail."[6]

Article 41 off the Chapter states that "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations." Article 42 states that "Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include

[5] Operations, U. P. (2008). Principles and guidelines. United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
[6] Major General Tim Ford. Commanding united nations peacekeeping operations. Retrieved Feb 19, 2015, from http://cdn.peaceopstraining.org/course_promos/commanding/commanding_english.pdf

demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations."[7]

1.6.4 Peacekeeping

UN doctrine describes peacekeeping as "a technique designed to preserve the peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted, and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers. Over the years, peacekeeping has evolved from a primarily military model of observing cease-fires and the separation of forces after inter-state wars, to incorporate a complex model of many elements – military, police and civilian – working together to help lay the foundations for sustainable peace."[8]

1.6.5. Peace Building

According to UN doctrine, peace building involves "a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development"[9] According to the UN commanding peacekeeping operation guide, peace building is "action to identify and rebuild support structures which will promote and build trust and interaction amongst former enemies, in order to avoid relapse into conflict. The notion of peace building can incorporate efforts in all stages of a possible or present conflict to bring the parties to peace, and is critical in the aftermath of conflict"[10]

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[7] Charter of UN. Retrieved Jan 30, 2015, from http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter7.shtml
[8] UN Peacekeeping Operations, 2008. Retrieved Feb 19, 2015, from
http://cdn.peaceopstraining.org/course_promos/commanding/commanding_english.pdf
[9] UN Peacekeeping Operations, 2008. Retrieved Feb 19, 2015, from
http://cdn.peaceopstraining.org/course_promos/commanding/commanding_english.pdf
[10] Major General Tim Ford. Commanding united nations peacekeeping operations. Retrieved Feb 19, 2015,
from http://cdn.peaceopstraining.org/course_promos/commanding/commanding_english.pdf

CHAPTER-II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study examines the potential role of the gendarmeries in peace operations. In this chapter, the legal framework for UN peace operations will be examined first. Second, the historical evolution of peace operations in the context of the UN will be studied. Third, the historical evolution of a UN Police system and current UN policing activities will be described. Fourth, characteristics of gendarmerie type forces will be explained. Gendarmeries will be introduced by providing an example of Turkish and French Gendarmerie, Italian Carabinierie along with European Gendarmerie Force (EGF) and Association of European and Mediterranean Police Forces and Gendarmeries with Military Status (FIEP). Finally, characteristics and potential roles of the gendarmeries will be discussed.

2.1 The Legal Framework for UN Peace Operations

The justification for military interventions has changed overtime. Using military force has become less acceptable. Historically, Finnemore (2004) examines four systematic changes in military intervention behavior.

First, collecting debt was an acceptable basis for intervention. Before the early twentieth century, it was legitimate to intervene if a country was not willing or able to pay its debt. Between 1861 and 1863, for example, Spain, France and Britain sent military forces to Mexico in order to collect debt (Finnemore, 2004). After the agreement at Hague in July 1907, justification for intervention changed. While states stopped interventions for collecting depth, military intervention continued. The second

justification for intervention became protection of a nation's ethnic population living outside of its territory after the early twentieth century. In this justification, intervening countries claim that they have no claim on the intervened territory. They were claiming that they were just protecting the people who are ethnically close to them. For instance, Russia intervened in the Balkans in the pre-World War 1 period claiming that they were protecting ethnic Christian orthodox (Finnemore, 2004). Then, we saw another shift in justification for intervention. It was justified in terms of system stability. Unilateral use of force declined and the use of force become legitimate only when it is authorized by multilateral bodies in practice by the UN. The UN structure has limited the use of force and provides justification for the preservation of international peace and security (Finnemore, 2004). Finally, expansions of humanity have led to another shift. The rise of human right norms has expanded the definition of what it means to be human. The military intervention has begun to be labeled as humanitarian intervention. Interventions have become more humanitarian largely to support human rights. The only ground for intervening has become protection of human rights (Finnemore, 2004, p.72). In addition, multilateralism in the use of force has become a prerequisite of legitimacy or justification of a humanitarian military intervention (Finnemore, 2004, p.73).

After establishment of the United Nations following the Second World War, non-interventionism became the fundamental rule in international affairs and was guaranteed by the UN Charter.[11] Article 1 of the UN charter explains that the principle purpose of the UN is maintaining international peace and security.[12] Article 2 of the UN charter

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[11] *Charter of the United Nations*. Retrieved Jan 30, 2015 from https://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/
[12] İdem.

prohibits all members from using a "threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."[13] Under the UN charter, this prohibition of the use of force and treating another state indicates the principle of non-intervention and state sovereignty (Voon, 2002). However, military intervention can be legal according to international law only in the existence of threat to international peace. In such circumstance, any actions must be authorized by the Security Council of the UN.[14] Even though the Security Council may not usually authorize a state to take military measures, it has right to allow a state to do so (Article 51). According to article 53, regional organizations may also be authorized by the Security Council for taking military action (Voon, 2002).

Article 39 of the UN Charter assigns to the Security Council to determine "the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression."[15] In order to maintain or restore international peace and security, the Security Council is not constrained in determining the threat but also makes recommendations or decides "what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42."[16] According to article 41 the Security Council may decide to call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply sanctions including "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."[17] In the cases that non-forceful measures are insufficient, the

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[13] İdem.
[14] İdem
[15] İdem
[16] idem
[17] idem

Security Council may "take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security," including "demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations" under the article 42.[18] In essence, according to the UN Charter, it is obvious that in order to stop human right violations or restore international peace unilateral or multilateral military intervention in a target state is not compatible with international law without Security Council authorization.

The ability of the UN in taking forceful action is challenging for several reasons. First, the Charter is not clear on specifically what is a threat to international peace. According to the Charter, the duty of determining what creates a threat to international peace belongs to the Security Council. Therefore, the decision of the Security Council is law. However, the Security Council has some flexibility in determining what creates a threat to international peace (Voon, 2002). Macklem (2008) states that the decision of the Security Council "may be a just or morally correct— or an unjust or immoral—decision." (Macklem, 2008, p.376) Secondly, according to Article 27 of the UN charter, decisions to take military action against an existing international peace threat require "an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members" (Article 27). Macklem (2008) gives an extreme example to illustrate the challenges of decision making process of the Security Council. He explains that in the case of a despotic government committing crimes against humanity on its territory, after many nonmilitary measures, the international community may decide to use force. However, one permanent member of the Security Council may veto authorization of

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[18] idem

military intervention without any reason. In this illustration, even though justice may necessitate authorization of military intervention, the law authorizes not to intervene (Macklem, 2008). This scenario illustrates potential challenges in taking forceful action stemmed from the structure of the Security Council. In some cases, the international law may say one thing despite the fact that justice may require another. Macklem (2008) argues that "Security Council authorization is a prerequisite of legality does not necessarily mean that it is a prerequisite of legitimacy" (Macklem, 2008, p.384).

2.2 Evolution of Peace Operations

Definitions are important in order to understand the issue in question better. That's why it would be useful to define what a peace operation means. There is no consensus among scholars, governments and, intergovernmental organizations regarding what peace operations are. Many governments and international organizations tend to label their military interventions as peace operations to justify their actions. For instance, Senator Kent Conrad of the U.S., in his one speech, labeled the U.S. coalition force during the Iraq invasion in 2003 as peacekeeping forces ("What would war with Iraq cost?" 2003). *The United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines* defines peace operations as "field operations deployed to prevent, manage, and/or resolve violent conflicts or reduce the risk of their recurrence" (United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, 2008, p.98). Rather than defining the meaning of peace operations, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) official website explains peacekeeping operations as one of five activities. These activities are (1) conflict prevention and mediation, (2) peacemaking, (3) peace keeping, (4) peace enforcement, (5) peace building ("Peace and Security", NA). According to Williams (2010) peace operations

involves "the expeditionary use of uniformed personnel (police and/or military) with or without UN authorization, with a mandate or program to: (1) assist in the prevention of armed conflict by supporting a peace process, (2) serve as an instrument to observe or assist in the implementation of ceasefires or peace agreements; or (3) enforce ceasefire, peace agreements or the will of the UN Security Council in order to build stable peace" (William, 2010 as cited at Bellamy and Williams, 2010, p.18).

According to the UN website, the United Nations is an international organization that is committed to preserving international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, and promoting social process and human rights ("How the UN Works", NA). The UN Charter explains its goal by saying "succeeding generations from the scourge of war." Since its foundation, the UN has been invited to prevent disagreement from rising into war and has helped to hold back many conflicts from turning into wars through the implementation of peacekeeping operations.[19] The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), which was established as a separate department of the UN Secretariat in 1992, is coordinating UN peacekeeping operations. On behalf of the Secretary-General, this department is responsible for planning, managing, deploying and supporting all UN peacekeeping operations ("Department of Peacekeeping Operations", NA).

Peacekeeping operations are established by the Security Council which is one of six main organs under the UN Charter and the primary responsibility of this organ is

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[19] Handbook on united nations multidimensional peacekeeping operations (2003). Retrieved Feb, 11, 2015, from
http://www.peacekeepingbestpractices.unlb.org/Pbps/library/Handbook%20on%20UN%20PKOs.pdf

ensuring international peace and security. The UN forms troops and civilian police from member states since the organization doesn't have its own army or police force.[20]

Since the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 24 October 1945, the UN has conducted 69 peace operations. Since its foundation, the role of the UN peace operations has evolved overtime. There are three systematic changes in the UN peacekeeping behaviors. I will examine UN peace operations in three categories: (1) early year's peace operations (1945-1988), (2) post cold war period operations (1989-2009) and (3) present operations (2010-present).

2.2.1. Early Peacekeeping Operations (1945-1988)

Between 1945 and 1988, there were only 13 major peace operations. Generally, these operations were limited to maintaining cease fires and stabilizing targeted area until finding a peaceful political solution to end violent conflicts. Fundamentally, the UN Security Council assigned the following three groups of tasks in traditional peacekeeping operations between 1945 and 1988;

"(1) Observation, monitoring and reporting – using static posts, patrols, over flights or other technical means, with the agreement of the parties

(2) Supervision of cease-fire and support to verification mechanisms

(3) Interposition as a buffer and confidence-building measure" (United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, 2008, p.21).

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[20] Handbook on united nations multidimensional peacekeeping operations (2003). Retrieved Feb, 21, 2015, from
http://www.peacekeepingbestpractices.unlb.org/Pbps/library/Handbook%20on%20UN%20PKOs.pdf

Basically, traditional peacekeeping operations were intended to support peace without proposing or enforcing any particular political solution. In traditional method, Peacekeepers were working with consent of the parties and tried to build confidence in order to facilitate dialog (Bellamy and Williams, 2010). In other words, traditional peacekeeping operations between 1945 and 1988 were conducted by mutual agreement of conflicting parties. During this period, conflicting parties were no more willing to fight each other, so by mutual agreement lightly equipped peacekeeping forces were deployed in a targeted area. Peacekeeping forces were symbolic.

2.2.2 Peace Operation in Post Cold-War Period (1989-2009)

After the end of the cold war the whole ideology of monitoring changed. Since the end of the cold war, we have seen rapid expansion in the number of peace operations. The UN Security Council authorized 20 new operations between 1989 and 1994 where number of peacekeepers increased from 11,000 to 75,000 in the same period ("Post-cold War Surge", NA). Developments in the world's political structure have led to a new generation of "multi-dimensional" peace operations. According to the *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines* or "Capstone Doctrine" (2008), principle elements of multidimensional UN peace operations are as follows:

"(1) Create a secure and stable environment while strengthening the State's ability to provide security, with full respect for the rule of law and human rights;

(2) Facilitate the political process by promoting dialogue and reconciliation and supporting the establishment of legitimate and effective institutions of governance;

(3) Provide a framework for ensuring that all United Nations and other international actors pursue their activities at the country-level in a coherent and coordinated manner" (United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, 2008, p.21).

Jean- Marie Guéhenno, former under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, stated that multidimensional peacekeeping is composed of a range of components, including military, civilian police, political affairs, rule of law, human rights, humanitarian, reconstruction, public information and gender.[21]

2.2.3. Present Peace Operations

In the present era, the UN expects that demand for peace missions will be high and peacekeeping operations will be a most challenging and complex tasks of the UN in the following years ahead. UN official website states that:

> "Today's multidimensional peacekeeping will continue to facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants; support the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law" ("The Present", NA).

Since 1948, there have been 69 peace operations on five continents, of which 16 are still deployed. Table-2.1 illustrates the current peace missions in all around the world.

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[21] Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations (2003). Retrieved Feb, 17, 2013, from
http://www.peacekeepingbestpractices.unlb.org/Pbps/library/Handbook%20on%20UN%20PKOs.pdf

Table 2.1: Current Peace Operations

CURRENT PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS	
N.	**Mission Name**
1	UNTSO - UN Truce Supervision Organization
2	UNMOGIP - UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
3	UNFICYP - UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
4	UNDOF - UN Disengagement Observer Force
5	UNIFIL - UN Interim Force in Lebanon
6	MINURSO - UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
7	UNMIK - UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
8	UNMIL - United Nations Mission in Liberia
9	UNOCI - United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
10	MINUSTAH - United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
11	UNAMID - African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
12	MONUSCO - United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
13	UNISFA - United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
14	UNMISS - United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
15	MINUSMA - United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
16	MINUSCA- United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic

Source: Adapted from UN Peacekeeping Operations Fact Sheet: 31 January 2015[22]

Table-2.2 shows the numbers of particular type of personnel serving UN peacekeeping missions, fatalities since missions established, and 2014-2015 budgets of all 16 UN missions. According to 2015 statistics, the 122 countries have been providing uniformed personnel to 16 UN missions. The number of troops involved has grown rapidly: as of 31 January 2015, 104,235 uniformed personnel (90,023 troops, 12,433 police and 1,779 military observers) were deployed in 16 peacekeeping operations. The total budget for all peacekeeping operations has risen from $0.84 billion in 1998/1999 to $8.47 billion in 2014/2015 ("UN Peacekeeping", NA). The total number of personnel

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[22] *UN peacekeeping operations fact sheet. (2015). Retrieved Feb, 18, 2015, from http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/bnote0115.pdf*

serving in 16 peacekeeping operations is 123,122 including troops, police, local civilians,

international civilian, military observers, and UN volunteers as of 31 January 2015.

Table 2.2: Current Peacekeeping Operations

CURRENT PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS							
Mission Name	Established	Troops	Police	Military Observer	Total Personnel	Fatalities	Budget(US$)
UNTSO	May 1948	0	0	151	372	50	74,291,900
UNMOGIP	January 1949	0	0	42	111	11	19,647,100
UNFICYP	March 1964	859	68	0	1,075	182	59,072,800
UNDOF	June 1974	930	0	0	1,090	46	64,110,900
UNIFIL	March 1978	10236	0	0	11,121	308	509,554,400
MINURSO	April 1991	46	6	198	514	15	55,990,080
UNMIK	June 1999	0	8	8	366	55	42,971,600
UNMIL	Sept 2003	4299	1405	115	7265	190	427,319,800
UNOCI	April 2004	6076	1359	182	8806	126	493,570,300
MINUSTAH	June 2004	4658	2234	0	8531	176	500,080,500
UNAMID	July 2007	12574	3001	209	19972	214	1,553,611,300
MONUSCO	July 2010	19475	1101	484	25160	86	1,398,475,300
UNISFA	June 2011	3941	25	111	4291	17	318,925,200
UNMISS	July 2011	10304	1031	169	14119	33	1,097,315,100
MINUSMA	March 2013	8701	1053	0	10855	46	830,701,700
MINUSCA	April 2014	7924	1142	110	9474	2	628,724,400
	Total:	90,023	12,433	1779	123,122	1,554	About $8.47 billion

Source: Adapted from UN Peacekeeping Operations Fact Sheet: 31 January 2015

2.3 Evolution of UN Police

The UN has been deploying police officers as part of a UN peace operation since

the 1960s. First police officers were deployed for the UN Congo mission in 1960 and

first police component was deployed in the UN Cyprus mission in 1964 ("History of

United Nation Police", NA). Since its first deployment to the Congo and Cyprus, the UN

police have expanded dramatically. The number of UN police has considerably risen from 5,840 in 1995 to nearly 17,500 in 2010 ("United Nation Policing", NA). Currently, more than 12,000 police officers from various countries have been participating in 16 different peace operations across the globe. Traditionally, UN police were managed by the military structure. In 2007, "Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions" has been established under the DPKO to cover policing, correction and judicial system of peace missions (Bellamy and Williams, 2010).

Generally, we can observe three types of UN policing behaviors in UN-led peace operations: (1) traditional policing, (2) multidimensional policing and (3) executive policing (Bellamy and Williams, 2010). First, we can see the examples of traditional policing mandates in peace operations conducted from 1960s to the late 1980s. During this period, UN police activities included accompanying patrols, monitoring local policing and reporting human right violations to the head UN representative of that given peace operation. Basically, the tasks of UN police were limited to monitoring local police behaviors, observing and reporting human right abuses in traditional policing (Hansen, 2002). To illustrate, there were more than 1000 police peacekeepers in the United Nation Mission in Mozambique where the mandate of these police peacekeepers was only to monitor police activities and report human right violations. It was a traditional policing mandate with no authority to enforce law and order (Wood, 1998).

Second, the mandates of UN police moved from merely monitoring local police activities to multidimensional policing with added responsibilities including, advising, reforming and training local police forces. For instance, the UN deployed 300 police peacekeepers to Haiti in MIPONUH mission between 1997 and 2000. The mission of

these police peacekeepers was to train Haitian police, provide strategic advice and improve the capacity of the Haitian National Police (Annan, 1999 as cited in Bellamy and Williams, 2010).

Finally, the key shift in the UN policing activities came with the UN mission in Bosnia. In 1995, after the end of the war in Bosnia, the International Police Task Force (IPTF) was deployed and charged with conducting executive policing. More specifically, the IPTF was required to police Bosnia conducting the full range of policing activities including, detaining criminals, investigating crimes and controlling roads (Bellamy and Williams, 2010). Likewise, the UN established transitional administration missions in East Timor and Kosovo where the mandates for both also gave executive duties to the UN police in order to maintain law and order. In other words, UN police officers were responsible for all policing activities including arresting, apprehending and searching ("What the UN Police Do in the Field", NA).

According to one of the official UN document, *"UN Police on Duty for Peace",* in the modern era UN policing activities can be categorized as follows:

(1) "support for the reform, restructuring and rebuilding of host-state police and other law enforcement agencies;
(2) operational support to host-state police and other law enforcement agencies, including through the deployment of Formed Police Units
(3) interim policing and other law enforcement" (UN Police on Duty for Peace, 2012, p.13).

To sum, the role of UN police has been transformed overtime. In the initial UN missions, policing was not considered as a core activity of peace operations and was limited to monitoring activities of local police forces. However, as peacekeepers meet with complex circumstances such as organized crime, crowd control and riots for which

military peacekeepers are not equipped and trained, the international community has recognized the importance of effective policing skills in the context of peace operations. This has dramatically expanded the numbers of police in UN peace operations.

2.4 Understanding Gendarmeries

The notion of Gendarmerie is not known well by English-speaking countries and takes little attention from criminal justice scholars of the United States. In order to better understand the notion, Turkish Gendarmerie, French Gendarmerie and Italian Carabinierie forces will be examined in this section.

First gendarmerie organization was established by France during the time of the revolution. Later, some European countries including Italy, Ottomon Empire (present day Turkey) and Spain formed their own gendarmerie organizations in the 19th century. Fundamentally, these organizations had military personnel, however their primary duty was to maintain law and order in the rural areas of their countries (Lutterbeck, 2004). Hoogenboom (2010) states that "While gendarmerie-type forces can be found in all parts of the world, they are a typical feature of continental European states, and did not develop, at least in formal terms, in Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian countries (Bayley, 1985; Mawby, 1999).

A common definition of the gendarmerie is that it is, in principle, a military force charged with police duties among civilian populations ("Gendarmerie", NA). Gendarmeries are also associated with other descriptions, such as carabinierie or constabulary. Schmidl (1998) defines constabulary as a force that is "organized along military lines, providing basic law enforcement and safety in a not yet fully stabilized environment". Such a force can provide the nucleus for a professional law enforcement or

police force" (Schmidl, 1998 as cited in Perito, 2013, p.25). The term of paramilitary can be complicated with constabulary or gendarmerie. Perito (2013) states that "….. paramilitaries are normally non-state actors, illegitimate, poorly trained, lightly armed highly fragment, and politically motivated" (Perito, 2013, p.26). Since their organizational and administrative structure is constitutionally described, French Gendarmerie, the Spanish Guardia Civil, and the Italian Carabinierie, are not 'paramilitary' type forces (Gobinet, 2008).

For the purpose of the research project, "constabulary force" or "Gendarmerie" refers law enforcement forces with military status. These types of organizations perform a range of police functions such as traffic control, criminal investigations, and general policing activities in their home countries. They can operate with military or civilian ability and serve independently or in cooperation with other regular army or civilian police forces as in the case of gendarmerie forces of Turkey, France, Italy and Spain. These organizations have similar structure, competence and tasks in their home countries.

Another feature of gendarmeries is their ability of involvement to regular armed forces of their countries. In the times of war, gendarmeries can operate as part of the national army as mobile light infantry (Perito, 2013).

International community have begun to understand importance and added values of these forces. As a part of international intervention force, they can be assigned in either a military or a civilian capacity and perform both police and military function (Perito, 2013). Gendarmerie forces from many democratic countries including France, Italy, the Netherlands, and the Spain have participated in peace operations in Bosnia under the NATO, in Kosovo under the UN civilian police forces and in Haiti under the

UN civilian police forces (Perito, 2013). All the characteristics of gendarmeries may make them suitable instrument for policing activities in peace operations where flexibility and adaptability are vital needs.

2.4.1 Turkish Gendarmerie

The Turkish Gendarmerie was founded in 1839. According to the official Turkish Gendarmerie website, The Turkish General Command of the Gendarmerie is an armed, military security and law enforcement organization, which maintains security and public order in its responsibility area and executes the duties ascribed to it by other laws and regulations.[23] The Turkish Gendarmerie performs security and public order services in 92% of Turkey geographically and for 41% of the total population. Approximately 27 million people live in gendarmerie jurisdiction areas; this number increases to 43 million (65% of the population) in the summer months (Soylemez, 2005). In general, Gendarmerie is responsible for small towns and rural areas with fewer populations. The National Police and the Gendarmerie have specific zones of authority.

Subordination

While, in terms of training and education, Gendarmerie General Command is subordinated to the Turkish Armed Forces, it is subordinated to the Ministry of Interior in terms of maintaining public order.

Organizational Structure

Other than the headquarter, there are five main units in the organization structure of the Turkish Gendarmerie General Command. These main units are internal security

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[23] General command of gendarmerie. Retrieved Feb, 23, 2015, from
http://www.jandarma.tsk.tr/ing/start.htm

units, border units, school and training units, logistic support units and aviation units. In addition to these main units, there are special units established based on the nature of the duty. In terms of law enforcement issues, the gendarmerie internal security units maintain public order. Main internal security units are Gendarmerie Regional Commands, Provincial Gendarmerie Commands and District Gendarmerie Commands. There are (14) Gendarmerie Regional Commands in Turkey. There are (81) Provincial Gendarmerie Commands in each city named after the city. There are (920) District Gendarmerie Commands in the districts named after that district. Additionally, Gendarmerie Commando Units or Special Operation Units, Regional Criminal Laboratory, Prisons or Facility Protection Units, Crime Scene Investigation Units subordinate some of them based on feature of the duty need. Figure-2.1 illustrates the subordination of the internal security units.

Figure-2.1: Subordination of Turkish Gendarmerie Internal Security Units

Subordination of the Internal Security Units

- Aviation Units
- Commando Units
- Special Operation Teams

The Gendarmerie Regional Commands

- Crime Scene Investigation Teams
- Commando Units
- Organized Crimes Teams
- Narcotic Teams

- The Gendarmerie Coast Guard Teams
- Escort and Guard Teams
- Search and Rescue Teams

The Provincial Gendarmerie Commands

- Traffic Teams
- Public Order Commando Units

The City Center Gendarmerie Commands and The District Gendarmerie Commands

The Gendarmerie Station Commands

Source: A Qualitative Analysis of the Turkish Gendarmerie Assignment Process, Soylemez, 2005

Duties

According to "Law on Gendarmerie Organization, Duties and Authorities," duties of Turkish Gendarmerie are classified as administrative, judicial, military and other duties. Administrative duties; consist of preventive law enforcement measures taken before a crime is committed and the activities carried out in this regard. Judicial duties; cover to search, find, collect and send evidences of after the commitment of crimes to the competent authorities, to find out criminals and catch and deliver them to the justice in parallel with the instructions of Public Prosecutors. Military duties; cover duties which

are derived from the military laws and regulations and are assigned by the General Staff. As last, other duties consist of duties which assigned by the orders and regulations regarding the performing of other legislation provisions, facility guarding, protection of individuals and transfer security of prisoners apart from the administrative, judicial and military duties. In addition to the law-enforcement-related operations, the Gendarmerie is tasked to carry out various other types of operations, such as border security, antiterrorism, and peacekeeping.

As a result of this job diversity, the Gendarmerie personnel perform different tasks in different unit areas. This job diversity provides professionalism both military and civilian affairs to the Turkish Gendarmerie.

Training and Education Activities

The training and education activities are performed under the responsibility of the Gendarmerie Training Command. Gendarmerie Training Command trains officers and NCOs through Gendarmerie Schools Command, and sergeants and corporals through Gendarmerie Training Units.

The personnel of Turkish Gendarmerie consists from officers, non-commissioned officers (NCO), specialized sergeants, cadets, enlisted specialists and conscripts, and civil servants and workers. After graduating from Turkish Military Academy as 2nd lieutenant, gendarmerie officers are given professional training and education in judicial, administrative, military and other duties of Gendarmerie for a year at Gendarmerie Officer School. After the graduation from Gendarmerie Officer School they are offered a

four-month Commando Course in Commando School. Gendarmerie Officers who have successfully completed these courses assign to various Gendarmerie Units.

Gendarmerie NCOs are appointed to the units after they have graduated from Gendarmerie NCO Vocational School (it offers a two-year education) on completing the military, judicial and professional education successfully.

Gendarmerie specialized sergeants are specialized corporals and sergeants employed in order to meet the need for trained personnel in technical duties requiring continuity in the staff of Turkish Armed Forces.

The Minister of National Defense assign conscripts to the Gendarmerie General command in accordance with the Law on Military Service. These conscripts are trained by various kinds of gendarmerie training units which provide various kind of training such as commando, public order, border security.

Specially trained Gendarmerie commando units are primarily utilized in anti-terrorism operations and significant public order disturbances that exceed the capabilities of conventional security and public order units.

Contributions to the World Peace

Turkish Gendarmerie General Command provides support to peace operations under UN, EU and NATO in various part of the world. Today, there are 236 Gendarmerie personnel in various missions including, ALTHEA in Bosnia under the

flag of NATO and EU, KFOR in Kosovo under the flag of NATO, ISAF in Afghanistan under the flag of NATO and INMIC in Kosovo under the flag of UN.[24]

2.4.2 Italian Carabinieri

In terms of maintaining order and public security, there are two major forces, namely the police and the Carabinieri, in Italy. The Carabinieri national military police of Italy has been policing both military and civilian populations. The Carabinieri Force is subordinated to the Ministry of Defense for its military duties, and functionally on the Ministry of Internal Affairs for public order and security tasks. For the role played in the Judiciary Police, the Carabinieri report operational activities to the relevant Legal Authority according to the penal procedure.[25]

The Force provides education through Carabinieri Training School Command which consist the Carabinieri Officers' College, Warrant Officers and Brigadiers (Sergeants) Training School, Carabinieri Cadet Training Schools. These institutions train their participants to prepare performing their military and police duties. In addition, 2nd Mobile Brigade Training Centre provides basic training for the selection of personnel for international missions.

Carabinieri have various military-style equipments, including light-infantry weapons, aircraft, helicopters, patrol boats and armored vehicles. As a result of combination of member of the Armed Forces and police authority, the Carabinieri Force

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[24] *Barısı koruma ve destekleme harekatı.* Retrieved Feb, 2, 2015, from
http://www.jandarma.gov.tr/dis/bio.htm
[25] Carabinieri. Retrieved Feb, 23, 2015, from
http://www.carabinieri.it/Internet/Multilingua/EN/CoordinationPoliceForce/09_EN.htm

has military and police responsibilities. Military duties include defense of the nation, participation in military operations in Italy and abroad, policing operations abroad, and through international mandates and agreements, reconstruction of local police forces in areas where peacekeeping forces are present, function of security and military police for the Armed Forces, functions of judicial   military police for Military Justice bodies. Police duties contain functions of judicial and public order and security policing.[26]

Italian Carabinieri force participated in the past and has taken an active role currently in the most significant missions conducted by the United Nations, NATO, OSCE and in Multinational Forces such as KFOR in Kosovo, ISAF in Afghanistan, SFOR in Albania.   In these international organizations, Carabinieries perform traditional military roles, assistance and consultancy in the reconstruction of policing, the implementation of law and order duties. Carabinieri are still present in problematic areas of the world helping to defuse tension and provide secure living conditions. Currently there are over 1000 Carabinieri serving in overseas missions' duties.[27]

2.4.3   French National Gendarmerie

The French Gendarmerie Nationale was established in 1720. In 1950, the Gendarmerie was linked just to the Ministry of Defense. In 2002, the institution was also placed under the authority of the Ministry of Interior, regarding homeland security

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[26] Carabinieri: As a result of the particular combination of member of... Retrieved Feb,23, 2015, from http://www.carabinieri.it/Internet/Multilingua/EN/InstitutionalDuties/07_EN.htm
[27] *Carabinieri: Since the middle of the nineteenth century the carabinieri force. Retrieved Feb, 23, 2015, from http://www.carabinieri.it/Internet/Multilingua/EN/MissionAbroad/03_EN.htm*

missions. In terms of criminal investigations, Gendarmerie is responsible to follow guidelines of Ministry of Justices.

Based on the information gathered from France Gendarmerie's official website, the Gendarmerie is organized into 22 regions in France. Each regional commander is responsible for the units located in his region and is directly subordinated to the Gendarmerie Nationale general directorate. Today, the Gendarmerie Nationale provides public safety on 95 % of the national territory for 50 % of the population.

Basically, missions of the Gendarmerie can be categorized as follows; judicial missions which are related to criminal investigations and administrative missions which are related to prevent crime and carrying out military missions.

At the multinational level, the French Gendarmerie is also present in peace missions (both military and civilian) all over the world, at the request of the United Nations, EU and NATO. The French Gendarmerie Nationale participated in missions such as FINUL in Lebanon, MINUK in Kosovo, MINUSTAH in Haiti, MONUC in Democratic Republic of Congo under UN, MPUE and EUFOR in Bosnia, EUBAM Rafah in Palestine, EUPOL Kinshasa in DRC, EUPT in Kosovo under EU, ISAF in Afghanistan under NATO. The Gendarmerie deploys abroad approximately 1000 gendarmes permanently.[28]

2.4.4 European Gendarmerie Force (EGF)

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[28] French national gendarmerie. Retrieved Feb, 26, 2015, from http://www.fiep.org/member-forces/french-national-gendarmerie/

According to official website of the European Gendarmerie Force, it was founded on the 17th of September 2004 with the elements of the police forces with military status of six EU Member States - France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, Romania and Spain in order to perform all police tasks within the scope of crisis management operations. The European Gendarmerie Force offered cooperation between the *French Gendarmerie*, the Italian *Carabinieri*, the Spanish *Guardia Civil*, the Portuguese *Guarda Nacional* and the Dutch *Koninklijke Marechaussee*. Subsequently, The Polish *´Zandarmeria*, the Lithuanian *Viešojo Saugumo Tarnyba* and the Romanian *Jandarmeria* joined the EGF in 2007, 2008 and 2009. The Turkish *Jandarma* has been in the observer status since 2009 (Hovens, 2011).

EGF treaty states its aim as to strengthen international crisis management capacities and contribute to the development of the Common Security and Defense Policy. In another official document of organization named "Keynotes on EUROGENDFOR Identity and Tasks" aim of EUROGENDFOR is explained as "(1) to conduct police missions in the context of Crisis Management Operations (CMO); (2) to offer an operational instrument mainly at the disposal of the EU, in line with the conclusions of the European Council in S.M. da Feira (June 2000) and Nice (December 2000), and also of other IOs (UN, OSCE, NATO), or "ad hoc" coalitions (3) to fill, in said police missions, both the deployment and the security gaps."[29]

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[29] Keynotes on eurogendfor identity and tasks. Retrieved Jan, 12, 2015, from http://www.eurogendfor.org/eurogendfor-library/download-area/eurogendfor-key-notes/eurogendfor-keynotes

According to the Declaration of Intent and the Treaty, EUROGENDFOR is featured as an "Operational, pre-organized, robust and rapidly deployable" force contributing to the European Security and Defense Policy, even when deployed under non European Union structures.[30]

Structure

High Level Interdepartmental Committee represented by high representative of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Defense or the Minister of Interior, and the General Commander or Director-General of the respective gendarmerie force of each member state, is the primary decision-making body of the EUROGENDFOR. The Committee provides the political-military coordination, the political control and gives strategic directions to the EUROGENDFOR. Permanent Headquarters of the organization is in Vicanze, Italy and consist of the Commander and staff. It is the only structure working on a permanent basis. Because the EUROGENDFOR is formed depending on the type of mission, there is no permanently assigned force under EUROGENDFOR command. However, a force can be generated and deployed on an ad hoc basis, mobilizing maximum 800 gendarmes within 30 days.

International Missions

Since the EUROGENDFOR foundation in 2004, the organization participated two international missions and currently has been participating one mission in Afghanistan. The European Union EUFOR operation "ALTHEA" in Bosnia-Herzegovina was the first

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[30] The european gendarmerie force. Retrieved Jan 12, 2015, from
http://www.eurogendfor.org/organization/what-is-eurogendfor

participation between 2007 and 2010. From February until December 2010 EUROGENDFOR provided support to the United Nations Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) after the devastating earthquake that shook the Haitian Republic. Lastly, EUROGENDFOR have provided support to NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan since 2009.[31]

Participation to EU, NATO and UN led peace and international security operations have offered the EUROGENDFOR considerable knowledge and experience in execution of operations. Moreover, these operations help to improve its planning capabilities.

2.4.5 Association of European and Mediterranean Gendarmeries and Law Enforcement Forces with Military Status (FIEP):

Association of European and Mediterranean Gendarmeries and Law Enforcement Forces with Military Status (FIEP) is an organization formed to strengthen the cooperation among the Gendarmeries and Law Enforcement Forces with Military Status of European countries and the countries at the basin of Mediterranean. According to FIEP website the goal of the organization "is to broaden and strengthen the mutual relationships, to promote an innovative and active reflection on the forms of police co-operation, and to value its model of organization and structures abroad".[32] At present, FIEP has 8 members which they are *France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Netherland, Romania, Morocco and Turkey.*

Four commissions have been generated within FIEP with a view to diversifying and enriching the current relations among the gendarmerie organizations of the member

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[31] The european gendarmerie force. Retrieved Jan 12, 2015, from http://www.eurogendfor.org/organization/what-is-eurogendfor
[32] The Association. Retrieved Jan, 15, 2015, from http://www.fiep.org/about-fiep/the-association/

states. These commissions are (1) Human Resources Commission, (2) Service Organization Commission, (3) New Technologies and Logistics Commission and (4) European Affairs Commission. Member countries have exchanged information and experience by means of these sectors.[33]

2.5 Characteristics of Gendarmeries

Globalization created dynamic environment which involves uncertainty, complex and asymmetric security challenges. Within the scope of changing security perception, public order and security require dynamic and flexible law enforcement capabilities. In this perspective, gendarmeries can be considered suitable law-enforcement structures since they have the ability of performing a wide range of duties and tasks. The ability of functioning in both a civilian and military manner may enable gendarmeries to respond more effectively to complex or asymmetric challenges such as civil disorder, riot control, terrorism and insurgence activities than their civilian counterparts. Moreover, they may be suitable instrument for policing activities in peace operations. These security challenges require a strong response. In a peace operation context, if regular armed forces perform these duties, there might be an increased risk that excessive or disproportional amounts of force can be used. On the other hand, civil law enforcement organizations may be unable to produce solutions in complex and harsh environment (Bingol, 2010). In this case, an alternative type of force, gendarmeries can be viable solution filling the gap between the military and police.

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[33] Statutes. Retrieved Jan, 15, 2015, from http://www.fiep.org/about-fiep/statutes/

2.5.1   Rise of Gendarmeries

Lutterbeck (2004) suggests that gendarmeries have developed largely since the beginning of the 1990s (Lutterbeck, 2004). Table-2.3 shows the numbers of gendarmes in six European countries between 1980 and 2000. Generally, the number of gendarmes increased 30 percent, whereas, the number of soldiers in conventional armies in the same countries decreased dramatically.

Table-2.3: Numbers of Gendarmes Between 1980 and 2000

	1980	2000
Austria	11,000	15,751
France	78,000	94,950
Spain	64,000	75,000
Netherlands	3,900	5,200
Portugal	13,000	25,300
Italy	84,000	110,000

Source: Hoogenboom, B (2011). Policing the gap

The numbers above illustrate clearly that gendarmeries are on the rise in major European countries having gendarmerie type of forces.

2.5.2   Concerns Regarding Democratic Policing

Gendarmeries have received little attention from criminologists and police researchers (see Hoogenboom, 2011) since misconceptions exist about law enforcement organizations with military status in the existing Anglo-American academic literature (Gobinet, 2008). According to UN official documents, there are three main principles for democratic policing. These are (1) representative policing, which means police personnel must sufficiently represent the community they serve; (2) responsive policing, which means police must be responsive to public needs and expectations, especially in preventing and detecting crime and maintaining public order; and (3) accountable

policing, which basically means that police must be accountable to the law and to the public through the democratic and political institutions of government.[34] These three principles highlight features of democratic policing, regardless of whether the police service has adopted a military or civilian police structure. Many democratic countries like France, Italy, Spain and Turkey have adopted their gendarmeries based on these principles. These countries' gendarmeries represent their community they serve, responding public needs and accountable to their constitutional institutions. Considering these three principles, it can be argued that gendarmeries fit the notion of democratic policing.

Furthermore, according to Gobinet (2008), there is no authoritative study which analytically proves that gendarmeries are fundamentally incompatible with democracy and cannot meet the demands and expectations of modern policing (Gobinet, 2008). It should be noted that there is no solid study which also demonstrates that gendarmeries are indeed compatible with modern policing.

2.5.3   Flexibility and Capabilities of the Gendarmeries

One of the important skills of gendarmeries is flexibility. Gendarmeries can be used under either military command, in the circumstances of high intensity conflict environments, or civilian chain of command, in the case of low intensity conflict environments. Gobinet (2008) suggests that the military capabilities of these forces combined with their administrative and judicial police abilities offer a unique solution to crisis management in destabilized environments. Furthermore, this capacity and having

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[34] Handbook on united nations multidimensional peacekeeping operations (2003). Retrieved Feb, 18, 2015, from http://www.peacekeepingbestpractices.unlb.org/Pbps/library/Handbook%20on%20UN%20PKOs.pdf

robust equipment allows gendarmeries to perform police tasks in low-intensity post-crisis situations, which are difficult to handle with civilian police forces but do not quite require the deployment of regular armed forces (Gobinet, 2008).

Moreover, their military defense capabilities can also be used in wartime situations to reinforce national defense. Another possible area where gendarmerie forces fit is humanitarian aid operations in case of unsafe environments.[35]

Bigo (2000) suggests that the wide spectrum of activities of gendarmerie forces enables them to perform security related duties any place where the civilian police dare not go and where the military is reluctant or do not know how to intervene especially in the case of tasks that require controlling the opponents, not killing the enemy (Bigo, 2000).

2.6 Potential Roles of Gendarmeries

2.6.1 Policing the Security Gap in Peace Operations

Dziedzic (1998) defines three security gaps that international community should address effectively in order to establish law and order in post-conflict situations. These are the deployment gap, the enforcement gap, and the institutional gap.

Deployment Gap:

While the rule of law and crime control need police deployment, local law enforcement force often do not exist in post-conflict environment or may be unable to maintain public order and security. Many scholars emphasize importance and benefit of

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[35]The european gendarmerie force. Retrieved Jan 18, 2015, from
http://www.eurogendfor.org/organization/what-is-eurogendfor

having gendarmerie forces in a such situation (Lutterbach ,2004; Hovens, 1997; Bingol, 2010; Hoogenboom, 2010; Gobinet, 2008; Marczuk, 2010).

In peace operation framework, first international intervention forces will often encounter an environment where there are lots of criminal activities such as illegal weapons trade, drugs trade, theft, murder and contract killings, women and child trafficking, money laundering, fraud, counterfeiting, smuggling and other organized crimes. Moreover, public safety can be threatened by criminally and politically motivated violence (Hovens, 2011). As a result of security needs, international peace forces are deployed in such hostile environments. Generally, the first intervention units to deal with a security issue are international military forces until arrival of police units. It is inevitable that the first military intervention units meet with brittle public order that requires noncombatant and non lethal skills in an early post-conflict environment (Hovens, 2011).

Perito (2013) states that in the beginning of a peace operation, the role of the regular armed forces is separating local armed groups, restricting them and gathering their weapons (Perito, 2013). However, in order to establish well secure environment, there is more things that need to be done other than these tasks. Dealing with civil disturbances and ordinary crime needs special kind of skill. Dziedzic (2003) points out that since military forces neither trained nor equipped to control riots and investigate crimes, they are reluctant to struggle with civilians and unwilling to perform these duties. He also notes that local police forces are inadequate for solution and even part of the violence. Previous experiences prove that international police force can not be deployed rapidly (Dziedzic, 2003).

The time between the arrival of armed forces and the arrival of police forces generates a deployment gap (Dziedzic, 2003). In the CRS report for Congress, Serafino (2004) states that

> *"This was noted in the U.S. unilateral intervention in Panama in 1989, and subsequently in some of the earliest international missions of the 1990s, for example in Cambodia. There, the UNCIVPOL mission could not perform some of its mandated tasks because it took several months to deploy CivPol components and some 10 months for the mission to reach its authorized size. In Somalia, it took nearly a full year to deploy the first dozen UNCIVPOL. In other cases, such as Bosnia in the mid-1990s, the United Nations was able to recruit only about half of the number authorized for the mission (Serafino, 2004, p.8)."*

Many authors including Gobinet (2008), Hoogenboom (2011), Dziedzic (2002), Lutterbeck (2004) argue that gendarmeries can be viable solution in order to address the deployment gap and are better suited for law enforcement. The European Union has recognized importance of gendarmeries and developed the capacity to deploy 1,000 gendarmes on 30 days notice by the help of European Gendarmerie Force as mentioned above.

Enforcement Gap:

Dziedzic (2002) states that the deployment gap is about timing whereas the enforcement gap is about capabilities and function. Military provides "outer shell" or area security. "Inner shell" of security which is fighting crimes and small scale disorder should be provided by police. The need to perform functions between these inner and outer layers of public security generates an enforcement gap (Dziedzic, 2002). He explains enforcement gap as;

> *"an enforcement gap arises when there is a need to perform functions that fall between the lethal force at the disposal of combat units and the minimal level of force available to the individual policeman" (Dziedzic, 2003, p.2).*

Military units which are responsible for area security may either fail to maintain basic law and order or use excessive or disproportionate force. Moreover, the deployment of military units for the maintenance of public order may cause tension.

Order maintenance needs a different kind of expertise that can only be managed by law enforcement units. However, civilian police forces may be insufficient to fight crimes or deal with serious lawlessness and violent domestic disorder and to ensure public security in hostile, complex and instable environments. An important reason is that civilian police units do not have special equipment, heavy weapons and armored vehicles. Therefore, a special type of force that is armed, has strong law enforcement ability and is capable of performing executive law enforcement tasks in hostile environments is needed. Gendarmerie forces may be a feasible remedy. Law enforcement units with military status can fill this essential gap with their robust law enforcement capacities and non-lethal weapons. Hoogenboom (2010) states that while there are no studies comparing the performance of civilian police, the military, and gendarmeries in peace operations, many authors have argued that the enforcement gap that exists between military and civilian police can be filled by gendarmerie forces (Hoogenboom, 2010; Bingol 2010; Gobinet 2008). Since gendarmeries have professional capabilities in both civilian and military affairs, they can be the best instrument to bridge the gap between military forces and civilian police forces. They have great experience performing their law enforcement tasks in their home countries. This great experience may ensure important roles for them in peacekeeping missions and areas with intranational violence.

The conventional military can be suitable for area security in the first phase of peace-enforcement operations. However, Bingol (2010) argues that gendarmeries can be preferable instrument to help ensure public order and peace in the later periods of peace operations, from peace enforcement to peace building.

Institutional Gap:

While deployment and enforcement gap is related with the relationship between the military and civilian police components of a peace operation, the institutional gap is related with the inadequacy of the host government to establish and maintain the rule of law (Dziedzic, 2002). In places where peace operation taken place, local police is deprive of sufficient numbers of trustworthy and competent judicial and penal personnel. Moreover, there are no sound judicial and penal institutions. In order to address this gap, Dziedzic (2003) argues that the international stability law enforcement forces should continue their job until the rule of law is fully self-sustaining by local government (Dziedzic, 2003).

2.6.2 Suitable Tool for Various Phases of Peace Operations

Gendarmeries can be an effective tool during all phases of peace operations. In particular, gendarmeries can get in an area of operations together with a military force and they can perform law enforcement duties with close coordination with military forces in peace enforcement stage. In the peacekeeping phase, gendarmeries can continue their tasks independently or in close cooperation with international police forces and local police forces. During the peace building stage, gendarmeries and international traditional police forces may help to build local police forces under the civilian command.

Figure-2.2: Peace Operation Phases and Law Enforcement Responsibility

Source: Adapted from UN Peace Operations Principles and Guidelines, 2008
Figure-2.2 illustrates the relationship explained above.

In peace missions, police units should be able to perform their duties in close coordination with military units. Gendarmeries' ability to deploy either integrated with a military force or civilian authority and work closely with them may be another advantage of these forces. This advantage also can help them to facilitate coordination with various local units.

NATO tried to find a solution to eliminate challenges of Stabilization Force (SFOR) faced regarding the maintenance of law and order in 1998 in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a solution, NATO requested contributions from countries that had law enforcement forces with military status to fill the security gap resulting from largely unreformed Bosnia-Herzegovina police and the inadequate training of SFOR units for law enforcement tasks (Friesendorf and Penksa, 2008). For example, under Italian

leadership the first Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU) was established in 1998 in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Hovens and van Elk, 2011). The MSU consists of police forces with military status that perform duties including civil disturbance operations. The NATO website explains that MSU "unit was formed to bridge the gap between SFOR traditional military forces and 'civil police type' units because of this the specialized force was organized along military lines and equipped to carry out a wide range of police and military tasks".[36] Hovens (1997) states that the perceived positive contribution of the MSUs in Bosnia led NATO sending MSUs to Kosovo and Albania (Hovens, 1997).

2.6.3   Roles in Counter-Terrorism and Counter Insurgency

In his book, "Where is the lone Ranger? America's search for a stability force", Perito (2013) states that,

> *"Constabulary forces are trained to deal with civilians and are skilled at using the minimum amount of force necessary to control the situation. Constabulary can serve as a bridge between the military and civil police and can handle tasks that do not clearly fall within either camp. They have proven effective in the hold and build the phases of counterinsurgency operations, working in areas that military forces have cleared of main insurgent groups" (Perito, 2013, p-2).*

Fighting terrorism and insurgency are asymmetrical problems and dealing with them is a very difficult task, especially in complex environments with harsh weather and terrain conditions. Bingol (2010) suggests that "since gendarmerie organizations are equipped with armored vehicles, small aircraft, helicopters and light weapons, which other law-enforcement institutions do not have, they are able to counter asymmetrical threats more effectively".

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[36] SFOR Fact Sheet (2004), Multinational Specialized Unit. Retrieved Jan 17,2015, from http://www.nato.int/sfor/factsheet/msu/t040809a.htm

Controlling insurgencies and anti-terrorist efforts require a more vigorous, dynamic and tougher response than could be given by civil law-enforcement agencies. It may not be appropriate to deploy regular armed forces for these duties for the reason the great risk that they may use excessive force. In this sense, gendarmeries can be reliable instrument to deal with these problems.

2.7 Conclusion

In the early stages of contemporary peace operations, the role of law enforcement is fulfilled by military forces. However, law enforcement cannot be performed by soldiers since they are not routinely trained for law enforcement duties. Law enforcement requires that officers gather evidence for the judicial system. Crimes committed during the initial phase of a peace operation cannot be prosecuted accurately unless there is evidence. This vital task cannot be performed by an organization that is not trained for it. Unfortunately, the literature on this topic suggests that military forces performed the role of law enforcement in Kosovo until the arrival of international police forces and until local police were trained for law enforcement functions. Criminals were taken into custody and the military judicial system reviewed the cases. The perpetrators of crimes were put in prison and held for judicial processing during the first phase of the peace operation in Kosovo (Oliver, 2012). In order to establish a stronger criminal justice system, gendarmeries can enter an area under the command of military forces. While military forces ensure area security, police functions can be fulfilled by gendarmerie forces. After international police forces arrive or local police restart to function, gendarmeries can perform law enforcement tasks in close coordination with military forces, international and local police.

Other than peace operations, gendarmeries can be used effectively in humanitarian aid operations after natural disasters. Characteristics of gendarmeries may enable to serve in less favorable, less stable or less secure environments.

Changes in security environments require dynamic and flexible law enforcement capabilities. This unique model, skilled in both military and law enforcement work, can add considerable value to nations' ability to cope with 21st century security challenges. This study examines whether gendarmeries can fill the security gap between military and police.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodology of the study. First, the research design of the study will be explained. Second, research questions and hypothesis of the study will be presented. Third, the dependent and independent variables and research procedures will be expressed. Finally, measures and analysis of the study will be stated.

3.2 Research Design

The primary purpose of this study is to help to improve law enforcement in peace operations. It also makes an empirical contribution to the literature on the subject of policing in peace operations. Based on the results of this study, the researcher intends to provide recommendations to UN and EU executives about how to improve security conditions and quality of law enforcement work in peace operations. Based on the existing literature, it can be concluded that the role of security organizations (armed forces, law enforcement organizations such as traditional police or gendarmerie forces) may change according to security conditions of a conflict zone. For instance, the literature gives examples of peace operation cases in which international police forces enter a conflict zone after military forces provided area security (See Serafino, 2004)[37]. Therefore, the role of law enforcement organizations in the areas of policing, riot control, counter-terrorism and counter-insurgencies duties may be dependent on the security conditions of a conflict zone. More specifically, the role of gendarmerie forces or

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[37] In Cambodia, it took several months to deploy UN police components. In Somalia, it took nearly a full year to deploy the first UN police elements (Serafino, 2004, p.8).

responsibilities that should be given to gendarmerie type forces would be proportional to the security achieved in areas where peace operations have taken place. If security is not good in a conflict zone, the role and responsibility of the gendarmerie forces may be higher. As security conditions improve, the need for gendarmerie forces to provide law enforcement service may lessen.

The literature describes many problems regarding the security dimensions of peace operations. However, there is no definition of good or bad security. The existence of violent demonstrations, the presence of organized crime and gangs, and most importantly the breakdown of law and order illustrate lack of security. Thus, it is necessary to develop the security concept for this particular research intention. After review of many references, the author of this study determined that Oliver's categorization of various levels of security would be suitable for this study's research questions and hypotheses. Oliver (2012) takes into account several factors in describing five levels of security, including rule of law, freedom of movement and the presence of refugees and displaced persons. The author of this study developed three levels of security adapting from Oliver's five-level security scale to determine which organizations perform which tasks at different security levels. (see table-3.1).

Table-3.1: Description of Security Conditions

Level 3 – Security is not assured, but the lack of security does not affect the ability for all people to experience unlimited freedom of movement. Police and judicial systems exist and function, but lack some capacity to control violence. Some armed groups resist the existence of the established governing structure or fight among groups for control (**good security**).
Level 2 – Security is **moderate**. The national government is not capable of controlling the armed groups. Police and judicial systems exist, but have limited capability. Local people and foreigners have limited freedom of movement, and are subject to looting, and attacks for political purposes.
Level 1 – Security is **not present**. There many violent actions by local militia and armed groups. Only armed organizations have freedom of movement. Police and judicial systems do not exist. Many local people are either displaced or refugees.

Source: Adapted from Oliver, G. F. (2012). Breeding the phoenix: An analysis of the military's role in peacebuilding (Doctoral Dissertation) p.229. George Mason University, Fairfax, VA.

Johnson et al. (2007) defines mixed methods research as "the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration" (p. 123). In order to gain a thorough understanding of the topic, the researcher decided that it was appropriate to use such a mixed method approach.

According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), however, there are several weaknesses of mixed method research design. First, this design is more expensive and time consuming. Second, collecting and analyzing both qualitative and quantitative data may be very burdensome for a single researcher. Third, it may be very difficult learn multiple methods. Finally, it is very difficult to mix both qualitative and quantitative data appropriately (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Still, there are more advantages than disadvantages to using this a mixed method approach to this study. In their book,

Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research, Clarke and Creswell explain several advantages of using mixed methods. These are as follows:

(1) "Mixed methods research provides strengths that offset the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative research

(2) Mixed methods research provides more evidence for studying a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative research alone.

(3) Mixed methods provides a bridge across the sometimes adversarial divide between quantitative and qualitative researchers

(4) Mixed methods research encourages the use of multiple worldviews, or paradigms (i.e., beliefs and values), rather than the typical association of certain paradigms with quantitative research and others for qualitative research.

(5) Mixed methods research is practical in the sense that the researcher is free to use all methods possible to address a research problem. It is also practical because individuals tend to solve problems using both numbers and words, combine inductive and deductive thinking, and employ skills in observing people as well as recording behavior" (Clark and Creswell, 2011, p.12-13).

These potential benefits have led the researcher of this study to take advantage of using the mixed method approach. Furthermore, because mixed method study may provide a detailed picture of the topic and extend understanding on factors that might strengthen the criminal justice system of peace operations, the mixed method is the most appropriate approach for this particular study.

Thus, this study involves surveys, interviews and case studies to understand the role of the gendarmerie forces and improve security conditions of peace operations. This

particular research design involves four stages. In the first stage, two case studies in which gendarmerie type forces were deployed to perform law enforcement duties will be analyzed: the United Nation Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina (UNMIBH) and the United Nation Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). In the second stage, a questionnaire was created to test the main research hypotheses (see the Appendix-B). In order to test the hypotheses, the researcher conducted an online, cross-sectional survey of practitioners with peace operation experience, including army officers, police officers, gendarmerie officers, academics with expertise is policing and security studies, and diplomatic people from the UN and NATO. In the third stage, in addition to the surveys and detailed case analysis, face-to-face or phone semi-structured interviews were conducted with several current and past police peacekeepers, gendarmerie peacekeepers, army peacekeepers and diplomatic people from UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and NATO headquarters to explore problems of law enforcement and potential solutions in peace operations. Finally, the qualitative and quantitative analysis was integrated and interpreted.

Figure-3.1 illustrates the four phases of this particular research design.

Figure-3.1: Phases of Research Procedures

Detailed case analysis	1. UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) 2. UN Mission in Bosnia (UNMIBH)
Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis	Cross Sectional Online Survey Data
Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis	Individual Semi-Structured Interviews
Interpretation of Entire Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis	

3.3 Research Questions

Based on the review of existing literature and professional background of the author, this study answers the following two main research questions:

(3) Can gendarmeries perform law enforcement duties more effectively compared to traditional police forces and regular armed forces?

(4) Can gendarmeries deal with riot control, civil disorder, insurgency and asymmetric challenges more effectively compared to traditional civilian police forces and regular armed forces?

In addition to these two main questions, the present study attempts to answer the following sub-questions:

(1)   Can regular armed forces perform law enforcement duties effectively?

(2) Can traditional international civilian police perform law enforcement duties effectively?

(3) Can gendarmeries fill the security gap between military and police forces in peace operations?

3.4 Hypotheses

 Based on the research questions, the following hypotheses were tested.

Hypothesis H1: Perceived effectiveness of gendarmeries in performing law enforcement duties is higher than the perceived effectiveness of traditional police forces in low security conditions in peace operations.

Hypothesis H2: Perceived effectiveness of gendarmeries in performing law enforcement duties is higher than perceived effectiveness of military forces in peace operations.

Hypothesis H3: As the level of security in a conflict zone increases, the level of responsibility of gendarmeries in law enforcement duties decreases (See the table-4 for security levels).

Hypothesis H4: As the level of security in a conflict zone increases, the level of responsibility of traditional police in law enforcement duties increases.

Hypothesis H5: The level of responsibility of Gendarmeries in controlling riot should be greater than the traditional police riot control responsibility in peace operations.

Hypothesis H6: The level of responsibility of Gendarmeries in controlling riot should be greater than the military riot control responsibility.

Hypothesis H7: The level of responsibility of Gendarmeries in fighting insurgency should be greater than the traditional police counter-insurgency responsibility.

Hypothesis H8: The level of responsibility of Gendarmeries in fighting insurgency should be greater than the military counter-insurgency responsibility.

3.5 Population and Sample

The population of this study consists of army, police and gendarmerie peacekeepers who previously served or are currently working for peacekeeping missions throughout the world, diplomatic people from the UN and the NATO and, academics with expertise in policing and/or security studies. Peacekeepers are dispersed all around the world and have a unique position, thus randomized or probability sampling was not practical for this survey. As an alternative, this particular research used several non-probability, purposive sampling strategies. According to Maxwell (1997), purposive sampling is a kind of sampling in which, ''particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices'' (p. 87). Schutt defines purposive sampling as "a non-probability sampling method in which elements are selected for a purpose, usually because of their unique position" (Schutt, 2006). In this sense, the researcher used purposive sampling since the participants have occupied important positions and had a unique perspective. In other words, the participants of the survey were selected based on their expertise in order to ensure accuracy of the responses. Remler and Van Ryzin (2011) define convenience sampling as "a situation in which a researcher takes advantage

of a natural gathering or easy access to people they can recruit into a study" (p. 154). Since current peacekeepers naturally gather in areas where particular peace missions are taking place such as Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, etc, the convenient sampling strategy was also appropriate to recruit peacekeepers into the study. Furthermore, snowballing sampling, in which subjects are identified and asked to provide references to contacts they know, was utilized. The sample for this study consisted of 223 subjects from target population. Four groups of experts were surveyed: (1) army officers, (2) police officers, (3) gendarmerie officers and (4) academics and diplomatic people whose expertise was in policing and security studies. In addition to purposive sampling strategy, the researcher also used a stratified sampling strategy since there were four main sample groups. By doing so, the researcher aimed to get perspective of all four groups equally. The security experts were almost evenly represented. More specifically, there were 55 army peacekeepers, 55 gendarmerie peacekeepers, 56 police peacekeepers and 57 academic and diplomatic people in the sample.

The purposive sampling method is very useful in qualitative studies in which a study necessitates selecting individuals based on particular purposes related to answering the study's research questions (Teddlie and Yu, 2007). In this regard, for the qualitative part of this study, the researcher used a purposive sampling technique and conducted 9 interviews with peacekeepers who participated the survey as well. In addition to the 9 peacekeepers, 3 UN DPKOs and 3 NATO officials were interviewed.

3.6 Data Collection

The survey is the most widely used form of quantitative data collection technique in social science (Remler and Van Ryzin, 2011). In this study, quantitative data was gathered via a cross-sectional self-administered survey to volunteer peacekeepers in UN and EU peace missions where Turkish National Police (TNP) officers, Turkish National Gendarmerie (TNG) officers and Turkish Army officers are deployed. In addition, the researcher asked academics (security and policing experts) and diplomatic people to fill out the online survey. Table 3.2 shows the areas of expertise of the survey respondents and interviewees.

Table-3.2: Categories of the experts according to their status and fields

Academics	Practitioners
Criminal Justice	Army
Political Science	Police
Law	Gendarmerie
International Security	Diplomatic people (UN and NATO)
Terrorism	

The survey was a self-administrated online survey using Qualtrics software. There was no in-person interaction between the researcher and sample population. The Turkish translated version of the questionnaire was sent out to Turkish peacekeepers through e-mail as a hyperlink to the website. Other survey participants were sent an English version of the questionnaire via an email hyperlink. The researcher used his professional contacts to ask their colleagues to participate in the study voluntarily. In addition to the three groups of peacekeepers, the survey was administered to academics

and diplomatic people. The survey included the questions about participants' position, institutions and age, perceptions of the effectiveness of gendarmerie, military, and traditional police in peace operations.

Qualitative research contains several types of non-numerical data like interviews, case studies and observation of behaviors (Remler and Van Ryzin, 2011). In order to eliminate the limitations of quantitative research, qualitative data was gathered from two resources: (1) case studies and (2) interviews. The last question of the survey asked respondents who were willing to participate for interviews. Qualitative data was obtained from interviews in order to address the shortcomings of the survey and gain greater depth of respondents' opinions. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with several practitioner experts. Face-to-face and phone interviews were conducted with 9 peacekeepers who participated in the survey as well. Moreover, 3 UN and 3 NATO officials were interviewed.

Surveying and interviewing army, gendarmerie and, police officers present challenges and difficulties, especially, since there are many rules and procedures that protect military personnel. The armed forces are particularly reluctant to permit surveys of their officers. As a gendarmerie lieutenant, I was fortunate to have colleagues and connections in key positions that might facilitate surveying army, gendarmerie and police officers.

Simon (2009) defines a case study as "an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a real life context" (p. 21). For the purpose of this particular study, exploring the topic in a real-world context helps better understanding of the concept. In

this regard, the researcher explored two case studies: The United Nation Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the United Nation Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina (UNMIBH), in which gendarmeries were deployed and performed law enforcement duties, were analyzed in detail to determine the role of gendarmeries in peace operations. These two cases were selected for several reasons. First, I chose Bosnia and Kosovo missions primarily because, in both, executive policing mandates were given to the UN police. Secondly, there were large deployments of Italian Carabinierie and French Gendarmerie to perform law enforcement duties in both missions. Finally, the researcher selected these two missions since the deployment and presence of large groups Turkish military, gendarmerie and police officers in both missions would facilitate the data gathering process.

3.7 Survey Construction

Survey questions were drafted over several weeks with input from colleagues. Some questions and the structure of the survey were adapted from Oliver's (2012) Stability Operation Survey. Once the survey was drafted, a small numbers of upper level Turkish National Police managers which consisted of one police inspector, one police superintended, two 3rd degree police chiefs (Two PhD students in School of Criminal Justice and two PhD students in Global Affairs) in Rutgers University were selected to conduct a pretest. A draft of the survey was delivered to each person in the pretest group in February 2015. After the completion of the survey, the researcher discussed each question. In the meeting, clarity of questions and scale understanding were discussed.

Many constructive comments were obtained. The pretest survey took about ten minutes for respondents to complete on average.

3.8 Measures

The survey uses a five level strength of agreement scale (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree and 5=strongly agree). In addition, questionnaire uses three levels of security (1=No Security 2=Moderate Security 3=Good Security). There are five responsibility levels (1=No Role 2=Minor Support Role 3=Support Role 4=Major Support Role 5=Full Responsibility). And, finally, a five point effectiveness scale was used (1=Very ineffective 2=Ineffective 3=Average 4=Effective 5=Very effective).

3.8.1 Variables

The key independent variable is group assignment of security experts which has four categories: military experts=1, gendarmerie experts=2, police experts=3 and academic and diplomatic experts=4. The other independent variable is level of security which has three categories: no security=1, moderate security=2 and good security=3.

Control variables are age and ranks of the participants. Age is operationalized in categories as follows: 1=25-30, 2=31-35, 3=36-40, 4=41-45 and 5=46 or older. Rank is operationalized as 1= Staff (Non-commissioned Officer, First or Second Sergeant, Police officer), 2= First Level Manager (Captain, First or Second Lieutenant), 3= Middle Level Manager (Major, Superintendent, Third or Fourth Degree Chief Superintendent) and 4= Higher Level Manager (Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, First or Second Degree Chief Superintendent).

Dependent variables are the following: (1) general perceived effectiveness of gendarmerie in peace operations by security experts; (2) level of responsibilities of gendarmeries; (3) level of responsibilities of military; and (4) level of responsibilities of traditional police forces in law enforcement duties, riot control and counter-insurgency. In addition, other dependent variables include perceived effectiveness of military, gendarmerie and traditional police force in performing law enforcement duties.

General perceived effectiveness of gendarmerie type forces by security experts was operationalized by applying three key elements: flexibility, ability to serve in harsh environments, and ability to serve in low level of security. Accordingly, four survey items measured the general perception of effectiveness of gendarmeries. Specifically, the survey participants were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

(1) The ability to work under either military or civilian chain of command enhances gendarmeries' law enforcement skills in peace operations.

(2) Since gendarmeries are equipped with armored vehicles, small aircraft, helicopters and heavy weapons, which average law-enforcement institutions do not have, they can perform law enforcement duties more effectively.

(3) The characteristics of gendarmeries enable them to serve in less favorable, less stable or less secure and complex environments.

(4) Gendarmeries can fill the security gap between military and traditional police in peace operations.

Responses to these statements were measured by using a Likert-scale coded as follows: 1=Strongly disagree 2=Disagree 3=Neither agree nor disagree 4=Agree 5=Strongly agree.

The role of the military, police and gendarmerie organizations in peace operations may change according to the security conditions. This study defines three levels of security (see table-4). These security levels ranged from level 1—no security, to level 3—Good Security and coded as follows: 1=No Security, 2=Moderate Security and 3=Good Security. The respondents were asked to rate the responsibility level of gendarmeries, military and traditional police for law enforcement duties, riot control and counter-insurgency in a given security level (5=Full Responsibility 4=Major Support Role 3=Support Role 2=Minor Support Role 1=No Role). In the questionnaire, some items was designed to measure level of responsibility of these three organizations for law enforcement, riot control and counter-insurgency duties in a given security level (See Appendix-A: Peace Operation Surveys). Figure 3.2 illustrates one sample question that is operationalizing the relationship between the level of security and the level of responsibility.

In the **level of security at 1**–security is **not present**. Now how would you rate the Gendarmeries' role in following tasks?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	○	○	○	○	○
Riot control (Violent Demonstrations)	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-insurgency (using force against militias)	○	○	○	○	○

Figure 3.2: Item 7 in the questionnaire

Perceived effectiveness of gendarmeries, traditional police and military forces in performing law enforcement duties by security experts were operationalized by applying five key elements. Accordingly, five survey items measured the perception of effectiveness of gendarmeries, traditional police and military forces in performing law enforcement duties. Namely, the survey participants were asked in a given security level to what extent they think that these three types of organizations can be effective in performing the following tasks:

(1) Criminal investigations

(2) Crime scene management

(3) Police/criminal Intelligence

(4) Counter-organized crime

(5) Community based policing (Patrolling)

Likert-scale responses were coded as follows: 1=Very ineffective 2=Ineffective 3=Average 4=Effective 5=Very effective. The question in Figure-3.3 is an illustration of this operationalization:

In the **level of security at 2 –security is moderate**. Now to what extend do you think that **gendarmeries** can be effective in performing following tasks?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

Figure 3.3: Item 16 in the questionnaire

3.8.2 Reliability and Validity

Reliability is associated with the consistency of measures (Remler and Van Ryzin, 2011). If the same result can be obtained by measuring the same thing twice, the results can be considered reliable. However, it is very difficult and often not feasible to conduct the test again to determine reliability. In this study, the scales are composed of multiple items or indicators. In order to enhance reliability, mix research method was used to determine whether different methods produce similar results. In order to test the reliability of scales, Cronbach's alpha value was calculated.

Remler and Van Ryzin (2011) explain that "the validity of a measure refers to how well the measure actually represents the true construct of interest-the thing we are trying to measure" (p.106). The research design of this study primarily attempts to measure perceived effectiveness of gendarmeries, military and traditional police forces in performing law enforcement duties in peace operations. The environment and threats in

peace operations are complex, harsh and sophisticated. These characteristics of peace operations make it impossible to ensure people's safety with only one type of forces. For instance, it is not possible to deploy only military forces to conduct all security duties in one peace mission or deploy only gendarmeries for another similar peace mission, or only traditional police forces for different particular mission. For these reasons, it is difficult to measure and compare objective effectiveness of these types of organizations in performing law enforcement duties. Thus, the researcher preferred to measure perceived effectiveness of those forces by security experts. This measurement strategy can be regarded as valid to the extent that perceived effectiveness by law enforcement personnel and experts, with first-hand or close knowledge of security situations, corresponds to the actual performance of law enforcement duties in peace operations.

3.9 Data Analysis

In this study, data was analyzed in three stages: (1) detailed case analysis, (2) survey data analysis and (3) interview analysis. In first stage, the role of gendarmeries in peace operations conducted in Kosovo and Bosnia were analyzed using related post-event reports, other official documents and literature.

In the second stage, quantitative data was gathered through an online self-administered survey. After the survey data was transferred to a numerical format, the STATA 13.1 statistical software program was used to perform statistical analysis. For the quantitative data analysis, first, descriptive statistics of respondents was presented. Organizational affiliations, positions, ranks and age of participants were described along with peace missions served by respondents.

Second, as indicated earlier, construct of level of effectiveness in law enforcement duties was created by using 5 items (law enforcement tasks). A principle component factor analysis was conducted to test the reliability of items, to calculate the coefficient alpha for the scales and to create one composite measure from several items. In their book, Remler and Van Ryzin state that "Adding up ordinal items or indicators representing a scale . . . produces a composite score that researchers often view as quantitative. Even if the individual items or indicators remain ordinal, the sum of many such indicators produces a fairly continuous set of values that can be treated as a quantitative variable." (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2014, p. 130). Thus, composite measures were treated as continuous variables in this study.

Third, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was performed to examine four groups (1=military officers, 2=police officers, 3=gendarmerie officers and 4=academics and diplomatic people) of security experts' general perceived effectiveness of gendarmeries.

Fourth, a paired t-test was performed to investigate whether there was a mean difference among the security forces' effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties, riot control, counter insurgency and law enforcement responsibility.

Finally, in order to determine the significance and direction of relationships between the main independent variable (level of security) and the dependent variables (level of responsibility of the three forces and level of effectiveness three forces), OLS regression analysis was conducted. Long (1997) argues that "ordinal dependent variables are usually treated as if they were interval because the dependent categories are

numbered sequentially, and the intervals between adjacent categories are implicitly assumed to be equal" (Scott Long, 1997, p. 115). In this regard, all ordinal variables were treated as continues variables for ANOVA tests and OLS regression analysis.

In the third stage, interview data gathered from semi-structured interviews were analyzed. For analyzing interview transcripts, five main steps offered by Cresswell (2012, p.179) were followed:

(1) Organizing data

(2) Conducting preliminary read-through of the database

(3) Coding and organizing themes

(4) Representing the data

(5) Forming an interpretation of data

3.10   Ethical Issues

As a member of Turkish National Gendarmerie, the author's concern was to abstain from the certain presumptions imposed by his professional background. The author of this study did try to avoid any personal biases or opinions when discussing the topic as best as he can do and voluntarily presented the findings in a straightforward ethical manner. This study does not reflect his institution's views or goals.

On the first page of the web-based survey, participants were informed about the research and asked to continue if they give consent to take part in this study. Moreover, in the interviews, the consent forms were provided to participants for their information. The consent form explains that the research would not disclose identities and responses of the participants' in order not to harm them. All the collected data would not be used for

anything other than academic purposes. In order to conduct this study in an ethical manner, necessary approval has been received from the Rutgers Office of Research and Regularity Affairs.

CHAPTER IV

BOSNIA CASE

4.1 Historical Background

In terms of ethnicity and religion, Yugoslavia had never been a harmonic society. Until 1991, Yugoslavia was one nation comprised of six republics. These were Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. As a consequence of the end of the Cold War period, many of the Republics pushed for independence in the late 1980s. In 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence. The most ethnically mixed of the Yugoslav Republic was Bosnia and Herzegovina. Before the start of Bosnia War in 1991, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was 4.3 million. The majority of the population was Bosniac. Basically, there were three sub-ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (1) 43.7 percent Bosniac Muslims, (2) 31.4 percent Serb Orthodoxies and (3) 17.3 percent Croat Catholics. The remaining 7.6 percent named themselves as "Yugoslavs and others" (Burg and Shoup, 1999).

Figure-4.1: Six Republics of Yugoslavia, 1945-1991

Source: http://dinosadventures.blogspot.com/2010/12/dan-republike-jugoslavije-day-of.html

On 29 February and 1 March 1992, a referendum was conducted for independence. Despite the Serbs' boycott, the referendum could be carried out with strong support of Bosniacs and Croats. On 6 April 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence. This declaration was recognized by the U.S. and Europe (Friedman, 2004).

4.2 Bosnia War

Bosnian Serbs did not accept the results of the referendum and campaigned to establish their own independent territory called "Republika Srpska". The Bosnian Serbs, backed by Serbian paramilitary forces, controlled nearly two-thirds of Bosnia territory by the summer of 1992. During the war, nearly 200,000 people were killed and thousands of women were raped. Moreover, nearly 1.2 million people fled their homes during the war (Secretary General Report, S/2002/1314).

The international response to the conflict was extending the mandate of the United Nation Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which was initially established in Croatia in 1992, for Bosnia and Herzegovina in June 1992. The UNPROFOR was required to ensure security of the Sarajevo airport and deliver humanitarian assistance to the city of Sarejevo. As the conflict intensified, the UNPROFOR's mandate was enlarged to deliver humanitarian assistance throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina in September 1992. In addition, the UN banned all military flights in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The monitoring responsibility of this ban was given the UNPROFOR. Furthermore, the UN established safe areas in Sarajevo and five Bosnian towns, and authorized the UNPROFOR to use force against attacks to these areas. NATO also was authorized for using air power and

supporting the UNPROFOR's activities. The mandate of the force was further enlarged to monitoring ceasefire agreements between Bosnian Government and Bosnian Croat forces in 1994 and Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serb forces in 1995 (United Nations Protection Force, 1996).

The UNPROFOR was also deployed in Macedonia in December 1992. As of March 1995, the total strength of the force was 38,599 military troops and 803 civilian police in three different operation areas: (1) Croatia, (2) Bosnia and Herzegovina and (3) Macedonia (United Nations Protection Force, 1996).

Dayton Peace Agreement

After three and a half year conflict, the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended in October 1995. On 21 November 1995, the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, also to be known as Dayton Peace Agreement, was signed in Dayton, Ohio. This agreement created two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (1) Republika Srpska and (2) Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovine ("The General Framework Agreement", 1995).

Figure 4.2: Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Source:https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federation_of_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina#/me
dia/File:Bosnia_and_Herzegovina,_administrative_divisions_-_en_(entities)_-
_colored.svg

The Dayton Peace Agreement covered several issues including military aspects of

the peace settlement, creation of the International Police Task Force, performing

democratic elections, assisting refugees and promoting human rights. The parties agreed

to the deployment of a NATO-led Multinational Implementation Forces (IFOR) in order

to monitor the implementation of the military aspect of the agreement. Annex 11 of the

agreement gave responsibility to the UN for creating an International Police Task Force

(IPTF) ("The General Framework Agreement", 1995).

On 15 December 1995, the Security Council adopted the Resolution 1031and

welcomed the deployment of the NATO-led IFOR in Bosnia with one year mandate from

20 December 1995 to 20 December 1996. The IFOR relieved UNPROFOR with the same

resolution. On 21 December 1995, the Security Council authorized the establishment of a

United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) which had two main

structures: (1) an International Police Task Force (IPTF) and (2) a UN Civilian Office (UN Security Resolution 1035).

4.3 Components of Security Sector in Bosnia in Post-Dayton Period

4.3.1 Local Police Forces

Before the outbreak of the war, the nature of police forces in large municipals was fairly multiethnic. However, when the conflict arose, this multiethnic structure of the police quickly changed. The police ethnically segregated into three discrete forces (Dziedzic and Bair, 1998). According to the UN Secretary General's report released in December 1995, there were a total of 44,750 local police officers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was three times greater than prewar period. The "Republika Srpska" had 12,000 police officers and the Federation (Bosniacs and Bosnian Croats controlled areas) had 32,750 police officers. Within the Federation, 3,000 out of 32,750 were being deployed in regions controlled by the Bosnian Croat authorities (Secretary General Report, S/1995/1031). Dziedzic and Bair (1998) suggest that the number of police was worrying especially considering their paramilitary structure. After the arrival of international security forces, the Federation accepted to decrease their police amount to 11,500. However, such a normalization effort was declined by the Republika Srspka. Three discrete and autonomous police structure of Bosnia remained until February 1997, two years after the start of the peace mission (Dziedzic and Bair, 1998). In his final report on the UNMIBH, the context of the local police forces between 1996 and 1999 was summarized by the Secretary General as follows:

"police forces continued to discriminate against, harass and intimidate citizens who were not of their own ethnicity" between 1996 and 1999. Reinforcing the ethnic division, freedom of movement was non-existent, blocked by police checkpoints along the Inter-Entity boundary line and between communities in the Federation" (Secretary General Report, S/2002/1314).

4.3.2 International Police Task Force (IPTF)

In the Dayton Peace agreement, parties accepted the obligation of providing "a safe and secure environment for all persons in their respective jurisdictions, by maintaining civilian law enforcement agencies operating in accordance with internationally recognized standards and with respect for internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms" (Dayton Peace Agreement, Annex 11, Article 1). In order to reach this aim, the parties in Dayton Peace Agreement decided to establish an international police force. In this regard, by Security Council Resolution 1035 the UN authorized the establishment of International Police Task Force (IPTF) throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina (UN Security Resolution 1035). In the peace agreement, the duties of IPTF described as follows:

"(1) monitoring, observing, and inspecting law enforcement activities and facilities, including associated judicial organizations, structures, and proceedings

 (2) advising law enforcement personnel and force

(3) training law enforcement personal" (Dayton Peace Agreement, Annex 11, article 3).

As it seen, the mandate was not giving an executive policing authority to the IPTF to make arrests, conduct investigations and carry out policing duties. Moreover, the IPTF

monitors were not armed and they were dependent on the local police and IFOR/SFOR for their protection. Basically, the IPTF responsibility had included monitoring, advising and training local law enforcement agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with "internationally recognized standards". However, even though the Dayton Agreement used the term 'internationally accepted standards of policing,' there were no such widely accepted standards. There were internationally accepted human rights standards, but not standard of policing (Dziedzic and Bair, 1998, p.270). Another shortcoming of the IPTF's mandate was that the IPFT could only operate well if the parties gave the consent. Without such cooperation, the IPTF would not be able to have both authority and resources to maintain law and order independently (Dziedzic and Bair, 1998). The only thing that the IPTF could do in non-compliance of local police was that reporting the situation to either the High Representative or IFOR/SFOR commander (Dayton Peace Agreement, Annex 11).

In order to carry out its duties, the UN authorized 1,721 unarmed police officers, which represented an international police monitor to local police ratio of 1:30. Initially, the Secretary General planned to deploy the police monitors in each of Bosnia's 109 municipalities (Secretary General Report, S/1995/1031). However, after the reassessment of the IPTF commissioner, police monitor teams planned to be deployed in 50 to 60 municipalities, many of which were close enough to be monitored (Secretary General Report, S/1996/210).

4.3.3 IFOR/SFOR

On 20 December 1995, UNPROFOR transferred its authority and assets to Implementation Force (IFOR), after adaptation of Dayton Peace Agreement. There were huge differences between mandates of UNPROFOR and IFOR. As mentioned above, the mandate of UNPROFOR was mainly humanitarian such as delivering relief resources and protecting Bosniac Muslims surrounded by Serbs. The UNPROFOR commanders had to get approval from both the UN and the NATO before using force. In general, the UN authorities were reluctant to give permission to use forceful measures. This dual command structure was obstructing use of force when it was needed (Dziedzic and Bair, 1998). On the other hand, IFOR was under full authority and command of the NATO. The IFOR's mandate was a robust mandate and gave executive power to IFOR (Dayton Peace Agreement, Annex 1). The total authorized strength of IFOR was 60,000 military troops. Bosnia was divided geographically into three operational regions in which security responsibility of each region was given a Multinational Division (MND). The commanders of these three MNDs reported directly to IFOR commander. The MND based in Tuzla was commanded by a general from the U.S, the MND based in Mostar was commanded by a French general and the MND located in Banja Luka was commanded by a general from the UK (Cousens and Harland, 2006). In December 1996, the UN Security Council authorized the establishment of the multinational Stabilization Force (SFOR) following the termination of IFOR's mandate (Security Council Resolution 1088).

Table 4.1 illustrates the level of international military presence between 1996 and 2005. In March 1996, there were a total of 55,132 military troops (Cousens and Harland, 2006). The military presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina was reduced gradually. The number of military personnel reduced to 32,000 when SFOR took over from IFOR ("SFOR", NA). In January 2002, the international military presence downsized to 18,210 (See table 4.1).

Table 4.1: International Military Presence in Bosnia between 1996 and 2005

	Troops
March 1996 (IFOR)	55,132
August 1997 (SFOR)	32,000
August 1999 (SFOR)	33,338
January 2002 (SFOR)	18,210
January 2004 (SFOR)	11,386
August 2005 (EUFOR)	6,656

Source: Cousens and Harland, 2006

4.4 Policing Function in Bosnia and Herzegovina in Post-Dayton Period

Deployment Gap

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the deployment gap was apparent because the deployment of police officers for the IPTF was too slow. The authorized police strength was not reached until nine months after the beginning of the mission. The UN Secretary General reported to the Security Council that there were only 392 IPTF police as of 5 March 1996 which was two and half months after the authorizing of IPTF on 21 December 1995. Figure 4.3 illustrates the police numbers between the start of the mission which was 20 December 1995 and 13 September 1996 (Secretary General Report, S/1996/210). As it is seen from the figure, the UNMIB could only achieve to

approximate the authorized police number in 13 September 1996. There were 1697 IPTF

officers as of 13 September 1996 (Secretary General Report, S/1996/460).

Figure 4.3: Police Deployment Gap in Bosnia

In some cases, slow and insufficient deployment of international police officers

hindered the effectiveness and operational capability of the IPTF. The incidents during

the transfer of Sarajevo and its some surrounding towns from Serbs to Bosniacs and

Croats were an example of this circumstance. The Dayton Peace Agreement proposed the

transfer of some municipalities surrounding Sarajevo from the Bosnian Serbs to the

Federation. The transfer was scheduled on 4 February 1996, just one and half months

after the adaptation of the Dayton Peace Agreement. However, there were no sufficient

numbers of police officers in the IPTF. Even, the police commissioner could come to the

theatre in mid-February, two months after the start of the mission. Eventually, the transfer

was delayed because of the insufficient police numbers. Some 100,000 Bosnian Serbs were transferred from Sarajevo to the Republika Srspka territory between late January and mid-March. The commissioner had 150 police officers in the beginning of the transfer process and 350 by the end. During the evacuation process, Serbs gutted the buildings and set on fire various industrial facilities in the absence of effective policing capability (Secretary General Report, S/1996/210). As a result of the deployment gap, the international forces couldn't ensure the security of the Bosnian people.

Enforcement Gap

In some cases, international police forces may be deployed without executive and robust mandate. Since the military forces are generally reluctant to become involved in policing tasks, international traditional police forces can not intervene in severe security situations that require forceful measures due to insufficient police deployment and lack of equipment. This circumstance may lead to deterioration of the security and generate an enforcement gap. This enforcement gap was present in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The transfer of the municipalities and Sarajevo also revealed that there was a serious enforcement gap in Bosnia. On the one hand, since the disturbance caused by Bosnian Serbs during evacuation process didn't constitute an imminent threat to human life, the IFOR refused to engage in policing putting its mandate forward (Secretary General Report, S/1996/210). On the other hand, IPTF had neither authority nor the capability to apply forceful measures.

According to the assessment of Dziedzic and Blair (1998), the local police were either ineffective or prompter of the violence in situations where the implementation of Dayton Accords harmed one party's interest. In such incidents, the IPTF was not very

successful since it had no executive power and had no effective sanctions to punish noncompliance. For these reasons, the IFOR was pushed to intervene to the situation. However, the IFOR were neither keen nor trained to do policing in Bosnia. Diziedzic and Bair (1998) states that

> "While IFOR could provide area security or reinforces patrolling to deter lawlessness, its forces were not trained or equipped for riot control or law enforcement tasks. Nor was it considered prudent to engage in activity that smacked of policing. Thus, when the police force of one of the Parties refused to cooperate with the IPTF –because doing so would have damaged their vital interests- an 'enforcement gap' arouse" (Diziedzic and Bair, 1998, p.270).

This enforcement gap problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina was highlighted also in one of the Secretary General's Report as follows:

> "IFOR declined to undertake any task it considered would draw it beyond the limits of its mandate into policing or law and order functions, and IPTF, an unarmed, monitoring and advisory force, has no mandate to take action to maintain law and order" (Secretary General Report, S/1996/210).

As it is seen from secretary general report, the enforcement gap was apparent in Bosnia. IFOR was not willing to serve as a police force and neither the IPTF's mandate nor their equipment allowed them to provide effective law enforcement service. The announcement of an IFOR's spokesman in a press conference was also consistent with the Secretary General's report and the assessment of Dziedzic and Bair (1998). On 11 May 1996, the IFOR spokesman stated that "IFOR is not a police force, our troops do not have the training and equipment to resolve civil unrest, and it is not frankly, entirely our responsibility" ("Transcript of the Press Briefing", 1996).

Beginning from the initial stage of the peace mission, NATO officials continuality declared that the IFOR was not a police force and would not carry out police duties. In

one press meeting, the Secretary General of NATO answered a question regarding war criminal in Bosnia. He mentioned that NATO-led troops could maintain a secure environment but would not seek war criminals. He revealed that "IFOR is not a police force, therefore it is not going to be chasing war criminals" ("Press Conference", 1996). In another press meeting, the IFOR spokesman answered a question regarding a criminal incident by stating that "IFOR is not a police force, so the investigation into a shooting incident involving a civilian bus, clearly rests with the local police forces on the ground" ("Transcript of the Press Briefing", 1996). As it is clearly seen from the NATO officials' statements, military forces in Bosnia were reluctant to engage in policing.

On the other hand, the IPTF was not effective for every situation. In one incident, for instance, the Bosniac police chief arrested by Croat police officers on 18 July 1996 during an official coordination meeting in a territory controlled by Croat authorities. A judge started criminal procedures during the detention period. Regarding this incident, Somer and Reeves report that "IPTF was required to standby helplessly and attempt to negotiate his release from this ethnically motivated human right violation perpetrated upon a high ranking Bosniac police officer by high ranking Croat Criminal Justice Officials" (As cited in Diziedzic and Bair, 1998, p.285). As it is seen from this incident, the IPTF had no compelling force to persuade local police and was losing credibility due to the existent enforcement gap in Bosnia during carrying out its monitoring duties.

To illustrate the enforcement gap in Bosnai, Perito (2013) reports an interview conducted with a US envoy, Robert Gelbard. In one case, when Gelbard appealed to the IFOR forces to arrest Bosnian Serbs who were looting and setting buildings on fire in

March 1996, he was told by the IFOR soldiers that they could not do anything since their mandate did not allow it. In another case, Gelbard directly asked the Italian soldiers, who were at a checkpoint, to assist a Serb couple who were injured by violent demonstrators. The soldiers refused it and explained that assisting the civilians was not part of their mandate. After this incident, Gelbard directly reported this situation to Iqbal Riza, chief of the UNMIBH. However, Riza explained that the UN could not do anything since the IPTF's mandate was limited to monitoring and the IPTF was unarmed. Gelbard also reported this event to the IFOR commander. The commander also revealed that the IFOR could do nothing since its mandate did not include performing policing duties (Perito, 2013). As it is seen from these incidents, there was a serious enforcement gap in Bosnia which means that both the international police (IPTF) and military (IFOR) could not cope with civil disturbances.

The UN Secretary General reports and literature tell many incidents in which the IPTF was insufficient enough to deal with disorder. The local police was either inadequate in handling disturbance or contributed to violence and the IFOR/SFOR was reluctant to act. The incident in the Bosnian municipality in Drvar provides further evidence for the existing enforcement gap in Bosnia and the need for gendarmerie type police forces. After the murder of an elderly Serb Couple and burn of their houses by the ethnical Croat people in Drvar, senior UN officials (the High Representative, the UN's special representative of the secretary general, and the IPTF commissioner) asked for the resignation of the town's police chief, deputy mayor of Drvar and the cantonal interior minister from local authorities by sending a letter. The letter explained the failure of local authorities in preventing arson, harassment and attacks against returning the Serbs for

several months. In April 1998, a group of Croat rioters attacked the municipal building, the NGO offices, the IPTF station and an apartment complex accommodating Serbs returnees, and injured several IPTF officers. In addition, they damaged many UN vehicles and destroyed seven of them. In this event, the SFOR soldiers did not engage with the rioters because they claim that their engagement rule prohibited them from doing so. In this event, once again rioters attacked the IPTF station, once again the IPTF officers were forced to retreat and once again NATO-led military forces was forced to intervene violent demonstrators (Secretary General Report, S/1998/491; Perito, 2013).

4.5 Gendarmeries in Bosnia (Multinational Specialized Units)

NATO changed its firm attitude regarding not to engage with civil disturbances after the NATO's defense ministers meeting in December 1997. On 2 December 1997, the Secretary of Defense of the US Cohen, pointed out at the NATO's defense minister meeting that SFOR's training and equipment was not appropriate for policing duties. He also noted that this security gap was being exploited by local politicians and war criminals. At this meeting, Cohen highlighted the need for specially trained police forces and requested contribution from member states. Even though he did not specify countries, it was apparent that he implied French, Italy, Spain and other NATO member countries that have gendarmerie forces (Perito, 2013).

At the NATO's foreign minister meeting on 16 December 1997, the Secretary of State Albright suggested to support the IPTF with "capabilities that can be found in many countries, in the form of Gendarmes and Carabinieri" ("NATO Speech", 2002). She also noted that "such forces could increase SFOR's flexibility" ("NATO Speech", 2002).

Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU) Mandate, Command and Control

At the NATO's foreign minister meeting in May 1998, the establishment of a Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU), which would be constituted from police forces with military status (gendarmeries), was approved. The mandate of the MSU would be the same mandate of SFOR ("Statement on Bosnia and Herzegovina", 1998). The MSU would be located at a central location and report directly to the SFOR commander like the other three Multinational Divisions (MNDs). It would neither succeed the IPTF and local police nor conduct crime investigations (Perito, 2013). Several important tasks of the MSUs were include providing contributions to military operations, supporting the local police and the IPTF, conducting special information gathering and maintaining public order which includes using force in riot control ("Multinational Specialized Unit", 2004; Perito, 2013). According to NATO's official website, the MSU "was formed to bridge the gap between SFOR traditional military forces and 'civil police type' units, because of this the specialized force was organized along military lines and equipped to carry out a wide range of police and military tasks" ("Multinational Specialized Unit", 2004).

After failed recruitment efforts from countries which had gendarmerie forces including, France, Spain, Poland, Netherland and Portugal, the Italian Carabinierie took the lead in forming MSU for Bosnia. The first MSU units which had 350 well-equipped Italian Carabinieri with 100 vehicles, entered Bosnia on 2 August 1998 (Mersch, 1998). In addition to these three Italian Carabinieri companies, 76 Argentina gendarmes (members of Gendarmeria Nacional) and 25 Romanian gendarmes (members of

Jandarmeria Romana) arrived in 29 August 1998 (Brufau, 1998). A second battalion was planned to arrive in November 1998, however, it was never deployed as a consequence of unsuccessful recruitment efforts (Perito, 2013). Colonel Leso, the commander of the MSU, explained their goals and priorities as follows;

> "should the local police forces be unable or unwilling to quell civil unrest which may deteriorate into more serious public order crisis, the MSU units could intervene to restore public order in a gradual and selective way [...] Our main concern is to avoid as much as possible any kind of repressive action. Therefore, we give priority to the preventive services, patrol services and community policing in order to prevent, minimize, cool down any friction among the ethnic groups or any risky situation that may arise. Our actions will be coordinated by SFOR in perfect harmony with the MND's, IPTF as well as SFOR units" (Mersch, 1998).

As it is seen from the statement of MSU commander, the MSU didn't succeed the IPTF but planned to support the local police and the IPTF. Furthermore, the MSU's focus was declared as preventive service.

Challenges in Effective Use of the MSU

Before the deployment of the MSU in Bosnia, an advanced team from Italian Carabinierie, headed by Colonel Coppola, arrived to Bosnia in order to introduce the capabilities of constabulary forces to the SFOR commanders and IPTF officers. He noticed that there was a lack of familiarity and understanding regarding the ability of the Carabinieri-Gendarmerie type forces among the military officers of the U.S. and Northern European Countries, and senior American, German and British police officers who were holding high-level position in the IPTF. According to Coppola, "the unit would patrol widely, constantly interact with civilians, spot and defuse troubles before it could start" (Perito, 2013, p.91). In addition, "the MSU would have to engage in

information gathering" in order to operate effectively (Perito, 2013, p.92). However, senior SFOR commanders regarded the MSU as a "riot squad" that would stay in its barracks and only enter the operation field when it was needed and called. According to some senior military officers, the MSU was SFOR's "strategic reserve" for dealing with mob violence if the IPTF or local police were insufficient. Furthermore, there were no operational NATO doctrine regarding the relationship between the MSU and the SFOR command structure (Perito, 2013).

There were some misunderstandings and concerns on the side of the IPTF as well. The IPTF's concern was that the MSU could be a competitor for some of its function. In addition, Perito reports one of the senior IPTF officers' concerns as follows;

> "MSU personnel would wear their national police uniforms rather than military attire, which might make them indistinguishable from members of the IPTF. Senior IPTF officers feared that Bosnians would take revenge on unarmed UN Civilian Police (CIVPOL) officers for the actions of their armed MSU counterparts" (Perito, 2013, p.97).

In addition, there was also a problem with lack of communication among the MSU, IPTF and local police. The MSU was never introduced to local Bosnian police forces regarding its role and mission neither by SFOR nor the IPTF (Perito, 2013).

The MSU in Maintaining Public Order

Under the restrictions explained above, the MSU's initial operations focused on patrolling and information gathering. The MSU planned the patrolling and information gathering missions, coordinated with the MNDs and got approval from SFOR commander before performing them. During these missions, the MSU officers contacted the local people and developed relations with the Bosnian police. In order to collect

information on organized crime and local social conditions, the MSU followed normal police practice such as visiting local officials, talking and engaging with local people in roads, bars, restaurants and markets. Between 7 August 1998 and 25 January 1999, the MSU performed 87 information collection operations and 243 reconnaissance missions. Furthermore, small numbers of riot control operations were also conducted by MSU officers during the same period (Perito, 2013).

The first crowd control mission of the MSU was on 1 October 1998 when ethnic Croats blocked roads in Capljina to protest the return of some Bosniac families. In this incident, the MSU captain asked permission from the senior SFOR officers in the area of operation to talk with demonstrators and do his own reconnaissance. However, the SFOR officer did not give permission, instead, he directly ordered to attack the roadblock and clear the area. Finally, the MSU dispersed the crowd and opened the block by using force. This same night, the Italian captain requested to stay in Capljina to make sure that the demonstrators would not gather again. However, the SFOR officer ordered the MSU to go back its barracks. During the night of the same day, violent rioters were in the same theatre. A SFOR's spokesman announced that they used the MSU in this violent incident as a "last resort" since the local police was insufficient in performing the duty of protecting their minority (Perito, 2013).

This event was one of many examples of the SFOR's misuse of the MSU. After several misuses of the MSU, Italian commanders in MSU protested. Consequently, SFOR reconsidered its MSU doctrine in controlling civil disorders. According to the new doctrine, the senior MSU officer would command both his own forces and all other

SFOR forces within the immediate area of operation while dealing with a civil disturbance. SFOR created blue box and green box concept in order to coordinate the response. The immediate area of operation was defined as the blue box, whereas the rest of the operation area was defined as green box. The full operational command authority would be given to MSU senior officer in the blue box which represents the color of Italian Carabinieri uniforms. All the other SFOR troops that come back to blue-box also would enter the command of the MSU senior officer. All surrounding SFOR elements would stay under the command of the senior MND officer. According to this new arrangement, the MSU commanders would be able to determine own tactics and decide to use nonviolent efforts or use forceful measures in dealing with disorder (Perito, 2013).

A positive outcome of the revised doctrine was achieved in November 1998, one month after the first crowd control mission. The SFOR element in Mrkonjic Grad requested the MSU's support in dealing with a crowd. The crowd had blocked roads to protest their former factory. The former workers of the factory had protested to demand either compensation or the ability to return their jobs. Under the new doctrine, the MSU had full responsibility and authority in the immediate area of operation. A Carabinieri captain removed his forces to an out-of-sight area and approached the crowd with his interpreter. When he spoke with the leaders of the crowd, he discovered that even though the workers were promised compensation, they did not get it. While they had raised this issue to SFOR and Republika Sprska officials, the officials did not produce a solution. After a conversation with the leaders, the Italian captain offered the protestors that if they would quietly end their demonstration, he would invite the leaders to a close cafe to discuss their complaint. In response to this offer, the roadblock was removed and the

crowd dispersed peacefully. After the conversation in the café, the MSU captain made an effort on behalf of the workers. A couple of days later, the Republika Sprska officials announced that the workers would receive 200,000 dinars (Perito, 2013). As it is seen, this new revised doctrine allowed the MSU to operate as a police force. The MSU was able to prevent potential violence with using negotiation tactics as a standard police procedure.

The incident in the city of Brcko was only one of the many successful examples in which MSU could dissuade probable demonstrators. Brcko was decided to become as a neutral multiethnic self governing structure without being part of neither the Federation nor Republika Sprska in 1999. Before the announcement of this decision, the SFOR, the MSU and the IPTF elements were deployed as a precaution for violence. The town center was declared as a blue box. While SFOR provided security for surroundings of the town, MSU prevented violent demonstrations in the town center. In one week, demonstrations disappeared by the help of professional carabinieri riot control units. The SFOR troops were never called upon to deal with civilian protestors (Valpolini, 1999; Secretary General Report, S/1997/224). After many interviews with the SFOR, the MSU and the IPTF officers, Perito (2013) concludes that "although the MSU's primary mission was crowd control, its primary contribution was its apparent ability to deter civil disorder" (Perito, 2013, p.107). The MSU deployment for public events became a routine activity for SFOR operations. In some events, MSU officers entered within the public with civilian clothes. There were many public events and ceremonies in which MSU elements were deployed and ended without violence. It is impossible to argue that the only factor for this success was the deployment of the MSU. However, many SFOR officials

reported that presence of professional riot control units with full riot equipment was helpful in deterring violence (Perito, 2013).

The MSU Fighting Organized Crime

Organized crime was a common problem throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. All three ethnic groups relied on criminal groups to support their activities, and to acquire weapons and equipment during the war period. As mentioned, the IPTF's mandate was limited and insufficient to fight organized crime effectively. The intelligence producing the capacity of the MSU, with its hybrid police and military feature, was an important asset for the SFOR in combating organized crime. Especially, due to their experience with the Italian Mafia, the Italian Carabinieri was highly professional in tackling organized crime. In addition, the Carabinieri used their expertise in data analysis, crime mapping and link analysis to combat organized crime. However, the MSU's mandate did not give permission for crime investigation. Despite of the limited mandate, MSU's ability of gathering information, performing patrols, analyzing crime data, carrying out surveillance with civilian clothes made important contributions for combating organized crime in Bosnia (Perito, 2013). For instance, in one incident in January 1999, local police arrested a local organized crime boss with the support of the MSU. The MSU had been deployed in the town, conducted surveillance and collected information for some period before the start of the operation (Perito 2013).

4.6 Conclusion

In order to perform effective law enforcement duties, there were some obstacles related with mandate, command and control structure of the security forces in Bosnia. For

instance, unarmed IPTF monitors were not adequately coercive to convince the local police forces. Therefore, the IPTF was reliant on the IFOR/SFOR to ensure compliance. On the other hand, neither SFOR's mandate nor training was appropriate to perform effective law enforcement duties.

Experience in Bosnia revealed that appropriately trained, equipped and armed security forces are necessary in order to conduct successful peace operations. Many incidents were intractable for the IPTF and inappropriate for the IFOR/SFOR. The military forces led by NATO were trained for combat, not for dealing with civil disorder. On the other hand, the IPTF's role was advisory without enforcement authority. It was apparent that there was a gap between the capabilities of the IFOR/SFOR and, international and local police forces to maintain public order effectively.

In order to fill the gap between the military and police, the MSU which was composed of gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations were deployed in Bosnia for deterring politically motivated unrest, assisting local and international police forces in handling civil disorder. In the initial MSU deployment period, there was a lack of familiarity and understanding regarding the concept of the gendarmerie-carabinieri type police force among the senior leaders of both the SFOR and IPTF who came from countries that do not have gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations. The SFOR commanders considered the MSU as an additional infantry element in the initial deployment period. As the senior officials who don't have gendarmerie-type forces in their home countries become more familiar with the capabilities of these forces, they used the MSU more effectively. Many authors and SFOR officials reported that the MSU

fulfilled its duties successfully in Bosnia (Perito, 2013; Dziedzin and Bair, 1998; Blume, 2004). After positive outcomes of deploying gendarmerie-type police forces in Bosnia, this valuable concept was also transferred to Kosovo.

CHAPTER V

KOSOVO CASE

5.1 Historical Background of Kosovo

In the 1974 constitution, Tito, a Yugoslav revolutionary and statesman, declared Kosovo, an equal constitutional unit of the Federation, as an autonomous province of Yugoslavia (Jansen, 2008). After Tito's death in 1980, many of the Republics pushed for independence. Albanians in Kosovo struggled for the status of being a republic within the Federation. After Milosevic became the President of Serbia in 1989, the conflict reached a new stage. Milosevic forcibly altered the status of Kosovo. He removed its autonomy and took Kosovo under direct control of Serbia. Under the Milosevic administration, Albanians were fired from their governmental employment positions and denied education in their own language. Furthermore, they were exposed to human rights and civil liberty abuses. Although nearly 90 percent of the population in Kosovo was Albanian and only 10 percent of the population was Serbian, Kosovo became a province of Serbia (Wentz, 2002).

At the beginning of the conflict, Albanians mounted non-violent resistance. However, after Serbia committed widespread human rights abuses, the Albanian guerrillas formed the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and began attacks against the Serbian police and troops. The Milosevic regime's response was increasingly and violently repressing anyone who was not a Serbian. According to both NATO and the UN High Commissioner, over 250,000 Kosovo Albanians had been driven from their homes by September 1998 (Cordesman, 2001, as cited in Oliver, 2012). Furthermore, as a

result of the conflict between KLA and Serb forces, 400,000 people moved from their homes and more than 2,500 people were killed between February 1998 and March 1999 (Kim and Woehrel, 2008).

In order to persuade Milosevic and cease the conflict, Western powers imposed several sanctions and pressures. For instance, in 1998 after a defense minister level meeting, NATO announced that they could consider the use of military forces if the situation did not improve. This diplomatic effort was aimed to persuade Milosevic to withdraw his forces from Kosovo (Wentz, 2002). On 23 September 1998, the U.N. Security Council declared their deep concern about the excessive use of force by Serbian security forces and the Yugoslav army, and called for a cease-fire on both sides to end the conflict (UNSCR 1199).[38] In the spirit of the UN Security Council's attitude, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) established a Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM) and NATO established an aerial surveillance mission in order to monitor the Serbian forces. These two missions were approved by the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1203 (Wentz, 2002).

Despite these efforts, the situation in Kosovo escalated at the beginning of 1999 because of the provocative actions of both sides and the use of excessive force by the Serb forces. The "Contact Group on Kosovo", which was established by the 1992 London Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, included representatives from United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. In February 1999, the contact group invited parties to same table in order to reach a peace agreement that asked for a three year interim settlement that would ensure autonomy for Kosovo within Yugoslavia. With

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[38] The UN Security Council Resolution 1999. Retrieved March 14,2014 from http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1199

the purpose of helping with the implementation of the agreement, international military force led by NATO would be deployed in Kosovo. The ethnic Albanian delegation signed the agreement on March 1999, however, the Yugoslav delegation refused it (Kim and Woehrel, 2008; Wentz, 2002).

5.2 NATO's Intervention in Kosovo

During the meeting, the Serbian side did not sign the draft peace agreement because they considered the deployment of NATO forces as an assault on their sovereignty. After the failure of the peace agreement, Serbian forces launched a full scale offensive in Kosovo in which they moved extra troops and modern tanks into the region. This systematic offense galvanized thousands of Albanians to leave their homes in the attacked region. After years of violence and several warnings to stop further ethnic cleansing, NATO aircrafts started the bombing Serbian forces on March 24, 1999. Between March 24, 1999 and June 10, 1999, NATO aircrafts from 13 countries flew 38,400 sorties (Independent International Commission on Kosovo, 2000). NATO leaders anticipated that a few days of bombing would be enough to persuade Milosevic, but NATO continued to drop the air bombings for 78 days against the former Republic of Yugoslavia. NATO did not forecast Milosevic's will. During the air campaign, Milosevic increased the intensity of the destroying and cleansing of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. As revenge for the bombing, the Serbian army raped Albanian women and killed men (Oliver, 2012). During the 78 days of NATO's bombing, 850,000 ethnic Albanians were forced to move from Kosovo because of the intensified campaign of Serb forces.[39]

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[39] The Independent International Commission on Kosovo (2000) The Kosovo Report , Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned

According to a 1999 U.S. Department of State report, over 1.5 million people were displaced. The report expresses that Serb forces killed about 10,000 ethnic Albanians. Furthermore, many Albanians were raped, tortured, and abused (Kim and Woehrel, 2008).

After 78 days of NATO bombing and significant diplomatic pressure by the international community, Milosevic was forced to withdraw his troops and police from Kosovo. Milosevic agreed on deployment of an international peace force. The UN Security Council approved the Resolution 1244 on 10 June 1999 calling for the deployment of the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) and an UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). The UNMIK's responsibility was to provide an interim administration for Kosovo (Nevo and Megiddo, 2009). The main tasks of the UNMIK were:

1) to establish a functioning interim civil administration

2) to maintain law and order

3) to promote the establishment of substantial autonomy and self-government, including the holding of elections; and

4) to facilitate a political process to determine Kosovo's future status (Resolution 1244, 1999).[40] According to the UN Security Council resolution 1244, the UN was responsible for entire criminal justice system including courts, prisons and police in Kosovo.

5.3 Components of the Security Sector in Kosovo

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[40] UN Security Council Resolution 1244. Retrieved March 14, 2014 from http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/172/89/PDF/N9917289.pdf?OpenElement

There were three components of the security sector in Kosovo: (1) NATO-led Kosovo force (KFOR), (2) local police called as Kosovo Police Service (KPS) and (3) UN police. The UN police also was composed of three sub-units: (1) UN civil police units (2) UN formed police units (FPUs) and (3) UN border police.

5.3.1 The KFOR

The KFOR was charged with providing security. First NATO-led unit entered Kosovo on 12 June 1999. KFOR was a multinational force under the flag of NATO including both NATO and non-NATO countries. Its full strength was planned as 50,000 personnel (Wentz, 2002). The official KFOR website indicated that 30 different countries were participating in KFOR ("Kosovo Force", n.d.).[41] According to NATO's official website, the KFOR's mandate was to:

1. deter renewed hostility and threats against Kosovo by Yugoslav and Serb forces;

2. establish a secure environment and ensure public safety and order;

3. demilitarize the Kosovo Liberation Army;

4. support the international humanitarian effort; and

5. coordinate with and support the international civil presence ("KFOR's Objective", NA).

5.3.2 Kosovo Police Service

The Kosovo Police Service School (KPSS) was established in September 1999 by UNMIK. The eventual aim of establishing the Kosovo Police Service School was to

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[41] Kosovo Force. Retrieved March 15, 2014 from http://www.aco.nato.int/kfor/page75051718.aspx.

replace the UNMIK police with its graduates. The KPSS graduated nearly 4400 new police officers as of December 2001 (Perito, 2002; Perito, 2013).

5.3.3 UNMIK Police

According to the agreement between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and NATO, all Yugoslav security forces left Kosovo, including military and civilian police forces ("Military Technical Agreement", 1999). So, at the time of international security force deployment, there were no local police in Kosovo. The UN Security Council resolution 1244 for Kosovo is very important in the UN history since it was the first time that a UN mandate gave executive police authority to a UN mission where there were no local police, military and a host government. Moreover, the UN mandate gave duty of "establishing local police forces and meanwhile through the deployment of international police personnel to serve in Kosovo" (Resolution 1244, 1999). In other words, the responsibility of UNMIK was to establish a Kosovo Police while providing all necessary police functions and law enforcement services in Kosovo. The executive policing authority of the UNMIK police included conducting criminal investigation, using force, detaining suspects, arresting criminals, collecting evidence and submitting evidence to courts. The UNMIK police was organized with three components to fulfill its responsibility: (1) UN Civil Police Unit, (2) UN Border Police Unit and (3) UN Formed Police Unit (Kouchner, 2001).

Border Police Unit

Border control responsibility was belonging to KFOR. However, the UNMIK border police provided advice to KFOR in controlling border traffic, flows of good and transit of people (Friesendorf, 2012).

Civil Police Unit

The UN Civil Police Unit was responsible for day-to-day policing tasks such as traffic control, patrolling and investigations (Dziedzic, 2006). The Civil Police was organized in five sectors in Kosovo. The duty of the units was to provide law enforcement service, and maintain law and order within their sectors. In addition, the Civil Police Unit was also responsible for monitoring and training the Kosovo Police Service officers in the field (Dziedzic, 2006).

Formed Police Unit

The UN has two kinds of police sources: (1) individual police officers and (2) Formed Police Units (FPUs). The UN Civil Police Unit consists of individual police officers. On the other hand, FPUs are units in which police officers are deployed as a group from 120 to 140. The FPUs have more robust policing capacity of the UN policing system and provide support to the UN missions in public order management. The capacity of FPUs may change in accordance with the feature of missions, however, the minimum operational capacity of each FPU is approximately 120 police officers. In a FPU, there are three or four sub-units (platoon) that have 30 or 40 officers (Formed Police Units in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, 2009). The police contributor countries form approximately 120 groups of officers and provide all of their equipments, weaponry, transportation and communication system before deploying them in a UN mission. The police contributor countries can form a formed police unit from their traditional police forces or gendarmerie type forces.

In order to be a police officer in UN Police Unit, there are four main requirements: (1) five years experience, (2) ability to drive a police car, (3) proficiency in

the language of the mission and (4) ability to use a weapon ("UN Police Division Minimum Recruitment Requirements", 2015). In Kosovo, FPUs were accepted without examining these four main requirements of each individual officer in the FPUs. However, the UN pretested the FPU personnel with the help of special police assessment teams to ensure whether they have the proper training and skill before deploying them in Kosovo (Perito, 2013). The UNMIK was the first mission of which the UN had established and deployed Formed Police Units (FPUs) as component of UN policing system ("Formed Police Units", 2015). In Kosovo, the FPUs were under the command of the UNMIK police commissioner.

5.4 Policing Function in Kosovo

The UNMIK was the first UN experience with executive policing authority. There were many problems from the deployment of police officers to logistics. Comprehensive police service required all of the equipment that average police departments use. However, the UNMIK police were deployed in an environment in which there were no police stations, radios, desks, office furniture, telephone and nor applicable law to follow (Perito, 2013).

Deployment Gap

As it is discussed in second chapter, the time between the arrival of armed forces and the arrival of police forces generates a deployment gap. This circumstance was present in the Kosovo case. First NATO-led KFOR units entered Kosovo on 12 June 1999, just two days after passing of the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 on Kosovo. However, the deployment and preparation process of the UNMIK police was very slow. At first, Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, expressed the planned

police officers presence as total 2950 (1800 UN Civil Police and 10 Formed Police Units of about 115 officers each) on 12 July 1999 (Secretary General UN, 1999). However, the UN increased the authorized international police amount to 4718 at the recommendation of head of the UNMIK and the Secretary General.

As of 16 September 1999, the international community provided a total 1100 UN police officers, including 169 police officers transferred from Bosnia (Secretary General UN, 1999). The numbers of international police officers were far below the planned amount. Kofi Annan articulated his concern on 16 September 1999 regarding insufficient amount of police officers by stating that

> "…even at full deployment, the ratio of police to inhabitants will remain well below the norm of that in other countries. ….more international police are needed until sufficient numbers of newly trained Kosovo Police Service officers are available" (Secretary General UN, 1999).

Three months after the start of the peace mission, the UN only could achieve about one third of the planned police deployment. As stated in the Secretary General's Report, even this planned number was far less than the amount that was needed in Kosovo. In one interview in October 1999, the UN police commissioner revealed that the level of crime was at a totally unacceptable level (Smith, 1999). A Canadian police officer summarized the situation in Kosovo, as of October 1999 as "we are undermanned, underpowered and underequipped" (Smith, 1999).

Kofi Annan announced that there were only 1668 UN police officers in Kosovo as of 13 December 1999 *(Secretary General UN, 1999)*. The Secretary General's report on 23 December 1999 was stating that 70 percent of the Kosovo populations were living in areas where the UN police had law enforcement responsibilities. As it is seen, nearly 5.5

months after the start of the mission, the UN police could not take the entire responsibility in Kosovo. Even though the UN police undertook the responsibility of over more than half of the population, the security conditions were still bad. The UN reports stated that ethnic minorities still suffered from their lack of freedom of movement *(Secretary General UN, 1999)*. The security situation as of 23 December 1999 was reported by Kofi Annan as follows:

> *"There are signs that organized criminal elements are reinforcing their position and activities in Kosovo. These activities appear to include protection rackets, smuggling, extortion, gambling and sales of narcotics. There are also indication of prostitutions and trafficking in person and human organs. The presence of organized crime directly contributes to instability and undermines effort to establish the rule of law in Kosovo"* *(Secretary General UN, 1999).*

As it is seen from the Secretary General's report, the security conditions were severe and organized crime was one of the common problems in Kosovo, seven months after start of the mission.

In the report released in March 2000, Kofi Annan highlighted that the deployment gap still existed in Kosovo. He stated that there were only 2361 police officers, which constituted nearly half of the total authorized police strength which was 4718. The report explained that none of the ten planned Formed Police Units arrived to Kosovo even though nine months had passed. Furthermore, the report revealed that the UNMIK police could not take law enforcement responsibility in some areas. For instance, the KFOR was still the primary law enforcement agent in the Pec region (Secretary General UN, 2000). According to this report, the Kosovo Police Service School cadets were still receiving training. So, the local police resources as of March 2000 were not present, as 9 month after the start of the UNMIK.

The first Formed Police Unit, a unit from Pakistan, was available to come in April 2000. As of 29 May 2000, nearly one year after the start of the mission, there were 3604 UNMIK police officers including 204 UN Border Police officers and 5 Formed Police Units (1 from Pakistan, 2 from India and 2 from Jordan). This number constituted of nearly 77 percent of the total authorized strength of the UNMIK police, which was 4718 police officers. As it is seen in the numbers, even though the UN effort had continued for one year, the UN could not achieve to reach the authorized number, which was far less below compared to other nations' police amount. The UN Secretary General's report release in June 2000 states that there were still areas where the KFOR was the only responsibility agent for law enforcement services. As of June 2000, the UNMIK police could not take responsibility for the entire jurisdiction of Kosovo, one year after the mission began.

According to Secretary General's report on 18 September 2000, a total of 1692 Kosovo Police Service officers graduated from Kosovo Police Service School and deployed in UNMIK throughout Kosovo. The numbers of graduates of Kosovo Police Service School rose to 2516, which is more than half of Kosovo Police Service School's goal: 4000 police officers, by December 2000. However, only 500 of them qualified for independent patrolling. On 15 December 2000, Secretary General reported UNMIK police amount as nearly 4400 officers from 53 countries. This number represented approximately 90 percent of the total authorized UNMIK police strength. In July 2001, international police presence reached approximately 4500 throughout Kosovo. However, the UNMIK police numbers have never reached to the total authorized number of 4718 in its history. Figure 5.1 illustrates the deployment gap explained above.

Figure 5.1: Police Deployment Gap in Kosovo

As it is seen from Figure 5.1, it is obvious that the deployment gap existed in Kosovo. Although two years had passed, the UN could not achieve the deployment of authorized police strength, which is also far below from the average police strength in other nations. In addition, the deployment process of police officers was too slow. It took more than one year to deploy local police resources. KFOR, which is a military force, provided law enforcement services in the first stage of the peace operation. In the first couple of months, KFOR maintained law and order due to the both insufficient deployment of police officers and severe security conditions. KFOR transferred its law enforcement responsibility to the UNMIK police gradually. However, this process took nearly two years.

Enforcement Gap

As it is mentioned earlier, while the deployment gap is about timing, the enforcement gap is about capabilities and function. Military forces are unwilling to operate as the police force since they are not trained for policing tasks. Policing tasks should be provided by law enforcement agents. However, traditional police forces may be insufficient to deal with violent domestic disorder in a hostile environment. An enforcement gap was present in Kosovo mission.

In the nonexistence of local and international police, the KFOR had to maintain public order. According to literature and UN reports, KFOR was very helpful halting the widespread violence. However, the KFOR commanders were reluctant to provide the full scope of policing tasks, some of which include crime investigation, crime scene management, and police intelligence. General Jackson, the commander of KFOR, pointed out many times that KFOR was overloaded with policing duties. Under the command of General Jackson, the KFOR's engagement rule was to intervene only if human lives were in danger (Stodiek, 2004).

In one speech in mid-July 1999, just six weeks later of the beginning of the operation, General Henry H. Shelton, Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S, expressed his concern as "the longer NATO troops engage in 'police-type actions' -arresting lawbreakers and patrolling neighborhoods- the greater the risk that they will be perceived as taking one side or the other between Serbs and Albanians" (Graham, 1999).

Nine months after the start of peace operation, Secretary General Annan drew attention to both deployment gap and enforcement gap in his report to the Security Council in March 2000 as follows;

"The deterioration of the security situations in Mitrovica again highlighted the policing gap resulting from the insufficient number of UNMIK police officers and the absence of special police units [Formed Police Units]. Since no such units have yet arrived to the mission area, responsibility for the management of major incidents of public disorder and unrest has, of necessity, remained with KFOR" (Secretary General UN, 2000).

There were many incidents in which the UN Civil Police Units did not provide sufficient law enforcement service. In one incident in Mitrovica, the UNMIK police arrested several ethnic Kosovo Serbians. After this event, a Serb crowd gathered around police station and demanded to release the detainees. In March 2001, at the end of the violence, 21 UNMIK police officers were injured and 7 police vehicle were damaged. As a consequence of this event, the UNMIK police stopped the patrols in Northern Mitrovica. The UNMIK police could only resume their patrol in that region two months later, in May 2001, with the help of KFOR (Secretary General, 2001). This incident is an important illustration that the international police forces may be insufficient for general lawlessness and could not operate independently even at the end of the second year of a peace operation.

More than two years after the start of the UNMIK, the UN Civil Police Units were still showing signs of insufficiency. The UN Secretary General reported many violence incidents against the UNMIK police in his report in April 2002. In one incident, Kosovo Albanian protestors injured several of the UNMIK police and Kosovo Police Service officers following the arrest of three Kosovo Albanians who were charged for war crimes. In another event, 22 UNMIK police officers were injured by nearly 300 Kosovo Serb protestors who were armed with hand grenades and stones (Secretary General, 2002). From this incident, it can be seen that the UNMIK police continued to be attacked

by both Serbs and Albanians even though more than two and half years had passed. Perito suggests that there was no meaningful UN law enforcement in Mitrovica for more than 3 years after the UN mission began (Perito, 2013).

The UNMIK took the law enforcement responsibility slowly from KFOR. In the initial stage, there were no necessary basic equipments for police officers, enough forensic analysis resources and experienced experts for organized crime enforcement. Moreover, some useful criminal justice programs such as the witness protection program could not be implemented in the early stage of the peace support operation. In order to carry out investigative tasks, the UNMIK Police founded the Criminal Investigation Unit (CIU) to fight homicide and murder, Trafficking and Prostitution Investigative Unit (TPIU), Forensic Unit and a Missing Persons Unit (MPU) in November 1999. In February 2002, a Sensitive Information and Operations Unit was created to fight against organized crime, illegal border crossings activities and terrorism (Blume, 2004).

According to the KFOR's statistics, 1000 people were detained and 1100 armed weapons, nearly 1700 grenades and 170,000 ammunitions were seized throughout Kosovo between 31 May 2001 and 7 October 2001, two years after the start of the peace mission. These statistics shows that the security situation in Kosovo was still sensitive despite international security forces two years presence (Secretary General, 2001). Even though, some analysts reported that security situations had improved significantly in late 2001, the numbers of detained people and amount of weapons seized indicates that the security conditions were fragile and could again turn to widespread violence.

According to Secretary General's Reports in 2002, security situations improved and crime rates began to decline. The KFOR forces began to gradually reduce its

presence in cities throughout 2002. The KFOR began to remove its fixed checkpoints in cities. However, the KFOR forces continued their joint foot patrol with the UNMIK and the Kosovo Police Service.

Cooperation between the UNMIK Police and the KFOR

Since the well-armed former Kosovo Liberation Army fighters were still in place, during the first year of the peace operation in Kosovo, KFOR troops accompanied the UNMIK police. The police patrols without the KFOR's backup had no enforcement ability. In order to support UNMIK police and promote cooperation between the KFOR and the UNMIK, a Joint Operation Center was established. The UNMIK deployed 38 military liaison officers in KFOR headquarters. Despite all these efforts, cooperation between the KFOR and the UNMIK police continued to depend on personal contacts both in the local and Kosovo-wide level (Blume, 2004).

5.5 Gendarmeries in Kosovo

There were gendarmerie type law enforcement forces under the command of both the KFOR and the UNMIK police. The KFOR established Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU) by deploying Italian Carabinierie and French Gendarmerie. The UNMIK deployed eight out of ten Formed Police Units (FPUs) from countries that have gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations. The other two Formed Police Units were provided by India which does not have a gendarmerie type organization.

Gendarmeries in KFOR

NATO included gendarmerie type units in KFOR considering the beneficial experience in Bosnia in order to handle general lawlessness, widespread civil disorder,

criminal investigation and riots. NATO divided Kosovo into five sectors and deployed five multinational brigades to ensure security in Kosovo (Dziedzic, 2006). As an integral part of their military structure, four of the five brigades had constabulary units[42]. In the North Brigade (Mitrovica), 140 French gendarmes were deployed as part of the brigade; in the Central Brigade (Pristina), 140 British Royal Military Police were deployed as part of that brigade; in the East Brigade (Urosevac), the U.S Army military police were charged to perform constabulary function under the command of this brigade; and under the command of the Brigade in west, there were Italian Carabinierie and Spanish Guardia Civil forces to perform constabulary function. These units were suburbanites of the NATO generals in each sector. In order to maintain public order, the Sector Commanders primarily preferred to rely on their gendarmerie units.

In addition to these constabulary units under the command of each multi-national brigade, the KFOR force included another constabulary unit called the Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU), which was directly responsible to the KFOR commander and can carry out operations in all five sectors. There were 277 Italian Carabinierie, 51 French gendarmes and 23 Estonian military police in the MSU (Perito, 2013). According to Perito (2013) primary function of the MSU was;

> …to provide a security presence by conducting patrols in all Multinational Brigade areas; it was also assigned the task of maintaining public order, crowd control, information gathering, antiterrorism activities, and obtaining intelligence on organized crime (Perito, 2013, p.123).

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[42] Constabulary units are forces "organized along military lines, proving basic law enforcement and safety in a not fully stabilized environment." See Schmidl, E. A. (1998). Police functions in peace operations: an historical overview. *Policing the New World Disorder: peace operations and public security*, *22*.

Jakobsen (2002) states that the existence of these units enhanced the capability of each brigades to deal with situations that does not necessitate regular armed forces or infantry but need appropriately trained and equipped forces (Jakobsen, 2002).

Literature provides more specific incidents in which gendarmeries were useful in dealing with civil disturbances. In June 2000, a group of Serb protestors attacked the UNMIK police in Mitrovica. The French KFOR troops with their gendarmerie unit intervened the situation. Training and equipment of the French Gendarmerie and French military were well and they were totally compatible in language, communication devices and doctrine. In this incident, the presence of the French Gendarmerie within the French KFOR troops was very helpful for dealing with the crowd-control (Perito, 2013).

Overall, many analysts and UN reports argue that the inclusion of MSU under KFOR had a significant positive effect on the establishment of the security in Kosovo (Perito, 2003; Blume, 2004; Jakobsen, 2002; Secretary Generals Reports, 1999, 2000, 2001).

Gendarmeries in UNMIK Police

In Kosovo, the UN planned to deploy ten Formed Police Units from member states that have gendarmerie type forces. The UN's intention was to provide the FPUs from Western Europe countries that have gendarmeries. However, since these countries were also members of NATO, they preferred to deploy their gendarmeries in the KFOR, not in the UNMIK police. After unsuccessful recruitment efforts from Western European countries, the UN resorted to "countries in the Middle East, South Asia, Latin America, and the former Soviet republics" for FPU recruitment (Perito, 2003, p.143). However, the quality of these units was lower than the Western European countries' constabulary

forces such as French Gendarmerie, Italian Carabirineire, Spain Guardia Civil and Netherland Marechaussee (Ndulo, 2007).

The first FPU, a unit from Pakistan, took ten months to deploy after the start of the UN Mission in Kosovo. This unit entered Kosovo in April 2000. One month later, 2 FPUs from India and 2 FPUs from Jordan arrived to Kosovo in May 2000. Spain sent its FPU in September 2000. The UN Secretary General reported in December 2000 that another two FPUs from Poland and Ukraine joined the UNMIK police. According to the Secretary General's report in June 2001, Argentina's FPU began to operate in Kosovo. The final FPU, a unit from Romania, arrived in February 2002 (Secretary Generals Reports, 1999, 2000, 2001). Among these donor countries, India was the only country without having a gendarmerie type law enforcement organization. The other countries' gendarmerie forces have been providing law enforcement service in their home countries. Among them, Spain, Poland and Romania are also participating member states of European Gendarmerie Force (EGF) today.

There were some challenges in using these units effectively. The majority of the senior leaders of the UNMIK had come from Northern Europe and North America where there were no gendarmerie type organizations. These senior directors were not aware of the strength and weaknesses of these units since they did not have any experience in their home countries. In the initial stage, the UNMIK officials who were not familiar with gendarmeries did not want to use these forces in sensitive situations. Generally, they used the FPUs for escort duty, close protection duty and other duties that necessitate mobility since the FPUs had their own vehicles, communication devices and equipments (Perito, 2013). The UNMIK officials used the FPUs in a variety of duties, some of which

includes providing special protection to UNMIK facilities and courthouse, conducting patrols, providing security for major public events, assisting and reinforcing checkpoints, supporting UN Civil Police Units in conducting high-risk arrest, providing escort for high-risk persons such as international judges and prosecutors, and providing security in money transfers (Secretary General, S/2000/878; Perito, 2013). Even though the UN's primary purpose was to deploy these units for crowd control, the first riot control duty was given to the FPUs nearly two years after the arrival of the first FPU in April 2000. In February 2002, approximately 3000 Albanian demonstrators attacked UNMIK police headquarters. This was the first time the FPUs were deployed for a riot control.

5.6 Conclusion and Lessons Learned in Kosovo

There were three types of police forces in Kosovo: (1) MSU, (2) UN Civil Police Units and (3) FPUs. The full deployment of authorized UNMIK police strength (UN police + FPUs) was never achieved. Two years after the start of the mission, only 95 percent of total authorized international police strength could be deployed. However, the MSU, which is a gendarmerie type police force, was deployed in Kosovo only two days after the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution on 10 June 1999. In spite of the fact that the MSU elements had considerable knowledge in controlling crowd, and fighting organized crime and terrorism, they could not be used effectively because of the KFOR's rules of engagement. Unlike the UN Civil Police Units and FPUs, the MSU did not have executive policing authority as an integral part of the KFOR. Therefore, the MSU and the KFOR troops could not perform criminal investigations and gather evidence. This disharmony between capability and mandate caused underutilization of

the MSU. For these reasons, the MSU could not accomplish its potential of usefulness in Kosovo.

According to Gantz (2007), the differences in mandates, command and structure of all three police forces caused misunderstanding and conflict between these there police forces (Gantz, 2007). There was little incentive to cooperate between the UNMIK police (Both FPUs and UN Police Units) and the MSU because of the different engagement rules and challenges to communicate through a chain of command of both the KFOR and UNMIK (Janssens, 2015).

According to Perito, the FPUs in Kosovo were more able to operate independently than the UN Police Units. However, they were still in need of military backup in order to carry out operations. While FPUs were more capable to live in harsh environment than traditional UN police units, they were not as capable as the military units because the military troops were able to bring their own kitchens, electricity, barracks and laundry facilities, and find clear water resources. However, ten independent FPUs, constituted from just 120 officers, from different nations were not able to meet these requirements. In order to operate effectively, they needed basic component of a police headquarter such as barracks, office equipments, electricity and water.

Many scholars agree on that the UNMIK officials from the United States and European countries that do not have gendarmerie type organizations in their home countries commanded the FPUs ineffectively because of the lack of familiarity to the strengths and weaknesses of the gendarmeries (Perito, 2013; Ndulo, 2007; Blume, 2004). In one interview, one senior UNMIK police official reported that "In the beginning, UN

commanders did not know what to do with SPUs [Formed Police Units]. Now they cannot do without them" (Perito, 2013, p.143).

The gendarmeries are well trained for duties in which civilian casualties might occur. However, the senior UNMIK officers were reluctant to use the FPUs in such situations. Instead of it, FPUs were used generally for security duties that require mobility since they have their own vehicles and equipments. It was clear that FPUs were misunderstood, underutilized and sometimes ignored because of lack of familiarity to the gendarmeries.

Another challenge behind the effective use of FPU was that there was an uneven quality of law enforcement service among the different FPUs. For instance, Pakistanis' bad reputation of using violence against the crowd in their own countries might have affected the officials' trust to them in riot control duties in Kosovo. However, the Guardia Civil of Spain have proved its effectiveness in its own country. This is why a FPU constituted by Spain Guardia Civil officers might have been the best instrument in dealing with violent demonstrators in Kosovo. This uneven quality of law enforcement services among the FPUs might have affected the attitude of decision makers.

Oftentimes, the NATO commanders preferred not to call upon the FPUs as well. Even though in situations in which FPUs were more ready and prepared than KFOR forces, they preferred to use MSU and other gendarmerie forces within their brigade. An important reason was that they avoided use forces that were not integral command and control structure of KFOR.

Despite their many obstacles regarding mandate, command and control structure of the security forces, the gendarmerie units were able to successfully perform many

security duties in Kosovo. Many scholars argue that the gendarmerie forces in Kosovo, whether they are a part of the KFOR or UNMIK police, had an important role in maintaining law and order, fighting organized crime and dealing with civil disturbances (Janssens, 2015; Perito, 2013; Gantz, 2007; Blume, 2004). The UN Secretary General reported to the Security Council that "the deployment of those units has added substantially to the capacity of UNMIK to carry out tactical police function" (Secretary General, S/2000/878). In his another report, the Secretary General highlighted that "Their [FPU's] formed-unit capability made them particularly effective in joint operations with KFOR, such as weapon searches and seizures" (Secretary General, S/2000/1196).

As mentioned before, the Italian Carabinieri, French Gendarmerie, Spain Guardia Civil and other gendarmeries deployed in Kosovo were also performing law enforcement and crowd control duties in their home countries. This experience might help them in maintaining law and order in Kosovo.

Over all, the experiences both in Kosovo and Bosnia indicate the importance of better cooperation among security actors and better understanding of the capabilities of gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations.

CHAPTER VI

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter presents the analysis and findings of both qualitative and quantitative data. In the first part of this chapter, the result of the online survey data is presented and

the quantitative data is analyzed to answer research question and to test hypotheses. In the second part, the results of the interviews are presented in a narrative format in order to get broader perspective of the peacekeepers and diplomatic people. Finally, the results of both quantitative and qualitative data are discussed at the end of each part.

Findings and Results of Quantitative Data

This part of the chapter presents quantitative component of the study and is divided into eight sections. In the first section, the characteristics of the online survey participants are discussed. The second section presents the results of the principal component factor analysis (PCFA) and the analysis of the reliability of the constructs. In the third section of quantitative analysis, descriptive statistics of dependent and independent variables are presented. The fourth section includes the result of the one way ANOVA test. The fifth section consists of paired t-test results. The sixth section involves bivariate analysis. In the seventh section, the results of multiple OLS regression analysis are presented. Finally, hypothesis testing results are discussed.

6.1 Description of Sample

This section includes the characteristics of online survey participants. As already mentioned in the third chapter, the participants of the online survey are security experts including peacekeepers (military, gendarmerie and police), academics and diplomatic people. A total of 223 security experts filled out the online survey during the administration of online survey from mid-June 2015 to early August 2015. Table 6.1 indicates the characteristics of participants. The numbers of the security experts are almost evenly represented. More specifically, 24.7 % (55) of them were military peacekeepers, 24.7% (55) of those were gendarmerie peacekeepers, 25.1 % (56) of those

were police peacekeepers, and 25.5 % (57) of them were academics and diplomatic people (13 % NATO, 2 % UN and 10 % Academics).

Table 6.1: Characteristic of Participants

Variables		N	%	Min	Max	Total N
OrganizationalAffiliation				1	6	223
	Military=1	55	24.66			
	Gendarmerie=2	55	24.66			
	Police=3	56	25.11			
	University & UN & NATO=4	57	25.55			
	--------------------------------	---				
	University	23	10.31			
	UN	5	2.24			
	NATO	29	13.00			
Position				1	5	222
	Analysist=1	24	10.81			
	Police Executive=2	44	19.82			
	Professor=3	19	8.56			
	Director/leader=4	127	57.21			
	Senior Director/leader=5	8	3.60			
Age				1	5	222
	25-30=1	17	7.66			
	31-35=2	83	37.39			
	36-40=3	73	32.88			
	41-45=4	40	18.02			
	46 or older=5	9	4.05			
Rank						
	Staff=1	2	0.90	1	4	221
	First Level Manager=2	111	50.23			
	Middle Level Manager=3	81	36.65			
	High Level Manager=4	27	12.22			
Mission						218
	Bosnia	52				
	Kosovo	79				
	Afghanistan	52				
	Iraq	8				
	Haiti	5				
	East Timor	5				
	Sudan	5				
	Liberia	4				
	Other	8				

The researcher designed four group of rank level range from 1 to 4 (1=Staff, 2=First Level Manager, 3=Middle Level Manager, and 4=High Level Manager). The majority of the participants (50.2%) were first level managers (captain, first or second

lieutenant), followed by middle level manager (major, third or fourth degree Chief Superintendent) (36.7 %), and high level managers (Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, First or Second Degree Chief Superintendent) (12 %). Less than 1% of the participants were staff.

Majority of the participants served in Bosnia, Kosovo or Afghanistan. Out of 223 respondents, 79 people served in Kosovo, 52 people served in Bosnia and 52 of them served in Afghanistan. In addition, 8 people served in Iraq and 4 people served in Liberia. There were 5 people who reported that they served in Sudan, Haiti and East Timor for each country. Furthermore, there were respondent who served in Lebanon (2), Congo (2), Palestine (1), Georgia (1), Macedonia (1) and Somalia (1).

The age of the participants ranged from '25-30' years of age to a group who were '46 years of age and older." More than two third of the participants (70.3%) were in the ages of '31-40', followed by '41-45' (18.1%) and '25-30' (7.7%). Only 4% of them were "46 or older" years old.

6.2. Principal Component Factor Analysis (PCFA) and Scale Reliability Testing

The latent variables including gendarmerie, police and military effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties are composed of multiple items. These latent variables are created for three security levels, which make a total of 9 latent variables. The PCFA was performed for data reduction and to confirm that the latent variables are measured reliably by relevant items. The polychoric correlation matrices are used rather than Pearson correlation matrices because Polychoric correlation is more appropriate to

get accurate results for ordinal variables that have likert-scale (Holgado-Tello, Chacon-Moscoso, Barbero-Garcia, & Vila-Abad, 2010; Maguire & Mastrofski, 2000).

The PCFA results are shown in Table 6.2

Table 6.2: Factor Loadings for items, Cronbach's alpha value, and the Eigenvalues for Latent Variables (N=223)

Latent Variables	Items	Securiy Level-1			Securiy Level-2			Securiy Level-3		
		Factor loading	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	Factor loading	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	Factor loading	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue
Gendarmerie Effectivenes		-----	0.92	4,08	----	0.94	4,39	-----	0.95	4,46
	1. Criminal Investigations	0.92	----	-----------	0.96	-----------	-----------	0.97	-----------	-----------
	2. Crime Scene Management	0.92	----	-----------	0.95	-----------	-----------	0.97	-----------	-----------
	3. Police/criminal Intelligence	0.90	----	-----------	0.95	-----------	-----------	0.95	-----------	-----------
	4. Counter-organized Crime	0.92	----	-----------	0.95	-----------	-----------	0.95	-----------	-----------
	5. Community based policing	0.86	----	-----------	0.87	-----------	-----------	0.88	-----------	-----------
Police Effectivenes		----	0.94	4,32	----	0.94	4,43	-----	0.94	4,52
	1. Criminal Investigations	0.95	----	-----------	0.93	-----------	-----------	0.97	-----------	-----------
	2. Crime Scene Management	0.94	----	-----------	0.95	-----------	-----------	0.97	-----------	-----------
	3. Police/criminal Intelligence	0.94	----	-----------	0.96	-----------	-----------	0.97	-----------	-----------
	4. Counter-organized Crime	0.94	----	-----------	0.95	-----------	-----------	0.94	-----------	-----------
	5. Community based policing	0.89	----	-----------	0.93	-----------	-----------	0.89	-----------	-----------
Military Effectivenes		----	0.90	3,9	----	0.92	4,04	-----	0.95	4,38
	1. Criminal Investigations	0.94	----	-----------	0.94	-----------	-----------	0.98	-----------	-----------
	2. Crime Scene Management	0.95	----	-----------	0.95	-----------	-----------	0.97	-----------	-----------
	3. Police/criminal Intelligence	0.87	----	-----------	0.91	-----------	-----------	0.94	-----------	-----------
	4. Counter-organized Crime	0.92	----	-----------	0.94	-----------	-----------	0.94	-----------	-----------
	5. Community based policing	0.72	----	-----------	0.75	-----------	-----------	0.84	-----------	-----------

The correlations among variables are greater than .70 except for community base policing item which is greater than .50. The eigenvalue for each factor is greater than 1, which exceeds the Kaiser Criterion (Kaiser, 1960) and all factors loading were in excess

of .70. The Cronbach's alpha for each grouping is greater than .70 which indicates that the scales are highly reliable. Overall, the PCFA yields 9 latent variables which have large factor loadings and high internal consistency.

6.3 Descriptive Statistics of the Dependent Variables

This section examines the perceptions of the respondents regarding the survey items. The effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties was measured with a five-point Likert-type scale which is ranged from one to five (1=very ineffective 2=ineffective 3=average 4=effective 5=very effective). The riot control, counter-insurgency and law enforcement responsibility are measured with another five-point Likert-scale (1=No role 2=minor support role 3=support role 4=major support role 5=full responsibility)

The results of the descriptive statistics of dependent variables are provided in Table 6.3. The perceived effectiveness of security forces in performing law enforcement duties vary by security level. At the security level 1 (No security), the participants reported highest score for gendarmerie (M=4.03; SD=.97), followed by police (M=3.54; SD=1.06) and military (M=2.59; SD=.99). At the security level 2 (Moderate security), the participant also perceived gendarmerie as the most effective security force (M=4.13; SD=.82), followed by police (M=3.91; SD=.84) and military (M=2.72; SD=.95). However, at security level 3 (Good security), the participants reported that the police was the most effective security force (M=4.66; SD=.63), followed by gendarmerie (M=4.33; SD=.83) and military (M=2.56; SD=1.02).

Table 6.3: Descriptive Statistics (N=223)

Variable	Security Level-1					Security Level-2					Security Level-3				
	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Effectiveness															
Gendarmerie	218	4.03	.97	1.11	5.53	216	4.13	.82	1.27	5.34	217	4.33	.83	1.06	5.29
Police	218	3.54	1.06	1.08	5.38	216	3.91	.84	1.06	5.31	218	4.66	.63	2.32	5.26
Military	222	2.59	.99	1.13	5.64	222	2.72	.95	1.11	5.54	218	2.56	1.02	1.07	5.33
Law Enforcement Responsibility															
Gendarmerie	222	3.53	1.12	1	5	221	3.95	.77	1	5	221	4.12	.84	1	5
Police	222	2.96	1.13	1	5	220	3.59	.83	2	5	222	4.38	.72	1	5
Military	222	3.13	1.23	1	5	221	2.66	1.01	1	5	222	2.53	1.10	1	5
Riot Control Responsibility															
Gendarmerie	222	3.73	1.01	1	5	220	4.01	.74	1	5	221	4.10	.85	1	5
Police	221	2.96	1.00	1	5	220	3.45	.88	2	5	222	4.29	.79	1	5
Military	222	3.51	1.02	1	5	219	3.10	.98	1	5	222	2.81	1.10	1	5
Counter-Insurgency Responsibility															
Gendarmerie	222	3.58	1.13	1	5	221	3.84	.90	1	5	221	4.10	.88	1	5
Police	221	2.41	.98	1	5	218	2.99	1.00	1	5	221	3.72	1.00	1	5
Military	222	3.89	1.05	1	5	220	3.55	1.00	1	5	222	3.21	1.15	1	5

Note1: Effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties measures; 1=very ineffective 2=ineffective 3=average 4=effective 5=very effective

Note2: Law enforcement, riot control and counter insurgency responsibility measures;

1=No role 2=minor support role 3=support role 4=major support role 5=full responsibility

The participants reported different scores for security forces in terms of law enforcement responsibility. At the security level 1, the participants reported highest score for gendarmerie (M=3.53; SD=1.12), followed by police (M=2.96; SD=1.13) and military (M=3.13; SD=1.23). At the security level 2, the participant also perceived gendarmerie as the most effective security force (M=3.95; SD=.77), followed by police (M=3.59; SD=.83) and military (M=2.66; SD=1.01). However, at security level 3, the participants reported that police should be given the highest law enforcement responsibility (M=4.38; SD=.72), followed by gendarmerie (M=4.12; SD=.84) and military (M=2.53; SD=1.10).

The results for riot control responsibility of security forces vary by security level. At the security level 1, the participants reported highest score for gendarmerie (M=3.73; SD=1.01), followed by military (M=3.51; SD=1.02) and police (M=2.96; SD=1.00). At the security level 2, the participant also perceived gendarmerie as the most effective security force for riot control (M=4.01; SD=.74), followed by police (M=3.45; SD=.88) and military (M=3.10; SD=.98). However, at security level 3, the participants reported that the police was the most effective security force for riot control (M=4.29; SD=.79), followed by gendarmerie (M=4.10; SD=.85) and military (M=2.81; SD=1.10).

Finally, the participants reported different scores for security forces in terms of counter-insurgency responsibility. At the security level 1, the participants reported highest score for military (M=3.89; SD=1.05), followed by gendarmerie (M=3.58; SD=1.13) and police (M=2.41; SD=.98). However, at the security level 2, the participant perceived gendarmerie as the most effective security force for counter-insurgency (M=3.84; SD=.90), followed by military (M=3.55; SD=1.00) and police (M=2.99; SD=1.00). At the security level 3, the participants reported that the gendarmerie should be given the highest counter-insurgency responsibility (M=4.10; SD=.88), followed by police (M=3.72; SD=1.00) and military (M=3.21; SD=1.15).

6.4 ANOVO test

This section presents the findings of one-way analysis of variance test (ANOVO). A one-way analysis of variance test (ANOVA) was conducted to test the effects of respondents' organizational affiliations on survey items. Since there were more than two groups (1=army peacekeepers, 2=gendarmerie peacekeepers, 3=police peacekeepers, and 4=diplomatic and academic people), the ANOVO was the appropriate test.

Table 6.4 shows the results of the ANOVA test for gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties.

Table 6.4: Gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties by organization affiliation of the respondents

	Security level-1				Security level-2				Security level-3			
			Std.				Std.				Std.	
Variables	N	Mean	Dev	F	p	N	Mean	Dev	F	p	N	Mean	Dev	F	p
Organizational Affiliation															
1= Military	54	4.33	.80			54	4.25	.72			54	4.52	.63		
2= Gedarmeri	55	4.37	.82	32.86	0.000	54	4.37	.75	15.15	0.000	54	4.71	.66	15.58	0.000
3= Police	53	3.09	.72			54	3.55	.70			53	3.77	.87		
4= Diplomatic and Academic people	56	4.34	.89			54	4.37	.81			56	4.31	.83		

			Std.					Std.					Std.		
Contrast test	Contrast	Er.	t	p		Contrast	Er.	t	p		Contrast	Er.	t	p
2 vs 1	.05	.16	0.29	0.991		.12	.14	0.85	0.830		.19	.15	1.30	0.562
3 vs 1	-1.24	.16	-7.95	0.000		-70	.14	-4.87	0.000		-.75	.15	-5.17	0.000
4 vs 1	.016	.16	0.10	1000		.13	.14	0.89	0.813		-.22	.14	-1.51	0.431
3 vs 2	-1.28	.16	-8.21	0.000		-82	.14	-5.72	0.000		-.94	.15	-6.46	0.000
4 vs 2	-.03	.16	-0.20	0.997		.01	.14	0.03	1000		-.41	.14	-2.83	0.026
4 vs 3	1.25	.15	8.12	0.000		.83	.14	5.75	0.000		.54	.14	3.71	0.002

Note 1: Security level 1 (no security), level 2 (moderate security) level 3 (good security)
Note 2: 1=very ineffective, 2=ineffective, 3=average, 4=effective and 5=very effective

At the security level 1, there is a statistically significant mean differences among the four group of respondents (1=army peacekeepers, 2=gendarmerie peacekeepers, 3=police peacekeepers, and 4=diplomatic and academic people) on their perception of gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties (F=32.86 p=.000). Following the control for F values, a post hoc test was performed to examine which groups differed. The post-hoc test results indicated that the police (M=3.09, SE=.72) and gendarmerie (M=4.37 SE=.82) means, the police (M=3.09, SE=.72) and military means

(M=4.33 SE=.80), and the police (M=3.09, SE=.72) and fourth group (academics and diplomatic people) (M=4.34 SE=.89) means differed significantly at the 1% level (p<.000). The police peacekeepers reported significantly lower score of gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties than the other group of respondents' score. The mean of the gendarmerie peacekeepers was 4.37, the army peacekeepers mean was 4.33, the police peacekeepers mean was 3.09, and the academics and diplomats mean was 4.34. (A Likert scale was used in the survey with 1=very ineffective, 2=ineffective, 3=average, 4=effective and 5=very effective). That is, gendarmerie officers, army officers, academics and diplomatic people rated gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties between effective and very effective, whereas police peacekeepers rated the gendarmerie between average and effective at the security level 1 in peace operations.

At the security level 2, the mean differences among the four groups of respondents on their perception of gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties are statistically significant (F=15.15 p=.000). According to the post-hoc test results, the police (M=3.55, SE=.70) and gendarmerie (M=4.37 SE=.75) means, police (M=3.55, SE=.70) and military means (M=4.25 SE=.72), and police (M=3.55, SE=.70) and fourth group (academics and diplomatic people) (M=4.37 SE=.81) means differed significantly at the 1% (p<.000). The results were consistent with the findings of security level 1. The police peacekeepers reported significantly lower gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties than the other groups of respondents. The mean of the gendarmerie peacekeepers was 4.37, the army peacekeepers mean was

4.25, the police peacekeepers mean was 3.55, and the academics and diplomats mean was 4.37.

Finally, there is a statistically significant mean differences among the four group of respondents on their perception of gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties at security level 3 (F=15.58 p=.000). The post hoc test results showed that the police (M=3.77, SE=.87) and gendarmerie (M=4.71 SE=.66) means, police (M=3.77, SE=.87) and military means (M=4.52 SE=.63), and police (M=3.77, SE=.87) and fourth group (academics and diplomatic people) (M=4.31 SE=.83) means differed significantly. The results were consistent with the findings of security level 1 and security level 2. The police peacekeepers reported significantly lower gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties than the other group of respondents. The mean of the army peacekeepers was 4.52, the gendarmerie peacekeepers mean was 4.71, the police peacekeepers mean was 3.77, and the academics and diplomats mean was 4.31.

In addition to gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement, the ANOVA test was conducted to explore the effects of respondents' organizational affiliations on 7 single items. The results show that 64.7 % of the respondents agreed (39.5% agree, 25.2% strongly agree) with the statement that "military should not perform law enforcement duties in peace operations since they are not trained for law enforcement service and might use disproportional amounts of force." For this question, the mean of the army peacekeepers was 3.24, the gendarmerie peacekeepers mean was 3.98, the police peacekeepers mean was 3.68 and the group four (academics and diplomatic people) mean was 3.34 (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree 4=agree and 5=strongly agree). These mean differences were statistically significant (F=

4.23 p=0.006). Following the control for F values, a post hoc test was performed to examine which groups differed. Test results indicated that the mean score for army peacekeepers (M = 3.24, SD= 1.24) was significantly different from the gendarmerie peacekeepers' mean (M = 3.98, SD = 1.08) (t=3.17, p=.010). The findings of the post-hoc test also showed that the mean score for the group four (Academics and diplomatic people) (M = 3.34, SD= 1.25) was significantly different from the gendarmerie peacekeepers' mean (M = 3.98, SD = 1.08) (t=-2.79, p=0.029).

In addition, seventh question of the questionnaire involved four different items regarding the gendarmeries' ability. Table 6.5 illustrates the descriptive statistics of these four items.

Table 6.5: Descriptive statistics of the seventh question

Items	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	SD
The ability to work under either military or civilian chain of command enhances gendarmeries' law enforcement skills in peace operations.	13 (5.94 %)	23 (10.50%)	17 (7.76%)	103 (47.03%)	63 (28.77%)	3.82	1.14
Since gendarmeries are equipped with armored vehicles, small aircraft, helicopters and heavy weapons, which average law-enforcement institutions do not have, they can perform law enforcement duties more effectively in peace operations.	11 (5.02%)	23 (10.50%)	19 (8.68%)	106 (48.40%)	60 (27.40%)	3.83	1.10
The characteristics of gendarmeries enable them to serve in less favorable, less stable or less secure and complex environments.	2 (0.91%)	27 (12.33%)	27 (12.33%)	111 (50.68%)	52 (23.74%)	3.84	.96
Gendarmeries can fill the security gap between military and traditional police in peace operations.	5 (2.28%)	25 (11.42%)	10 (4.57%)	99 (45.21%)	80 (36.53%)	4.02	1.04

Note: 1=Strongly Disagree 2= Disagree 3=Neither agree nor disagree 4=Agree 5=Strongly Agree

When asked whether the ability to work under either military or civilian chain of command enhances gendarmeries' law enforcement skills in peace operations, 75.8 % of the respondents agreed with the statement. In order to explore whether the different four groups of respondents think consistently, an ANOVA test was conducted. For this item, the mean of the army peacekeepers was 3.77, the gendarmerie peacekeepers mean was 4.24, the police peacekeepers mean was 3.32 and the group four (academics and diplomatic people) mean was 3.96. These means significantly differed (F= 6.89 p=0.000). A post hoc test was performed to examine which groups differed. Test results indicated that the mean scores between the police peacekeepers and gendarmerie peacekeepers, and the police peacekeepers and fourth group respondents were statistically significant at the 5% level (p<.05).

To the statement of "Since gendarmeries are equipped with armored vehicles, small aircraft, helicopters and heavy weapons, which average law-enforcement institutions do not have, they can perform law enforcement duties more effectively in peace operations," 75.8% of the respondents agreed. For this statement, 76.5 % of the military officers (with a mean of 3.77), 90.9% of the gendarmerie officers (with a mean of 4.35), 55.4 % of the police officers (with a mean of 3.18) and 80.7% of the fourth group of the respondents (with a mean of 4.02) agreed with the statement. The mean differences between four groups were statistically significant (F=13.06, p=0.000).

When the participants were asked the question of "The characteristics of gendarmeries enable them to serve in less favorable, less stable or less secure and complex environments," almost 75 % agreed. For this question, the mean of the army

peacekeepers was 3.73, the gendarmerie peacekeepers mean was 4.16, the police peacekeepers mean was 3.50 and the group four (academics and diplomatic people) mean was 3.97. There was a statistically significant mean differences among the four groups (F= 5.33 p=0.002). In other words, 66.7 % of the military officers, 85.5% gendarmerie officers, 66.1 % of the police officers and 78.9% of the fourth group of the respondents agreed with this statement.

The respondents to the survey were asked whether the gendarmeries can fill the security gap between military and traditional police in peace operations. The results were positive: 81.7% agreed with the statement (45.2% agreed and 36.5% strongly agreed). 78.9 % of the military officers, 85.5% gendarmerie officers, 58.9 % of the police officers and 80.4% of the fourth group of the respondents agreed with that statement. The mean differences between groups also were statistically significant (F=6.89, p=.000).

In the questionnaire, two items in the 28th question directly asked to the participants whether gendarmeries can perform law enforcement duties more effectively than police and military forces. Table 6.6 illustrates the frequency distribution of these items.

Table 6.6: Descriptive statistics of the 28th question

Items	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	SD
In peace operations, gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations perform law enforcement duties more effectively than military force	4 (1.82 %)	7 (3.18%)	18 (8.18%)	97 (44.09%)	44 (42.73%)	4.23	.87
In low security conditions (Security is not present), gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations perform law enforcement duties more effectively than traditional police forces.	3 (1.18%)	18 (8.26%)	27 (12.39%)	81 (37.16%)	89 (40.83%)	4.08	.99

Note: 1=Strongly Disagree 2= Disagree 3=Neither agree nor disagree 4=Agree 5=Strongly Agree

Almost 87% of the respondents supported (44.09% agreed, 42.73 strongly agreed) the idea that "gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations perform law enforcement duties more effectively than military force in peace operations." The means differences between groups were statistically significant (F=12.39, p=0.000). The results of the post-hoc test indicate that the mean differences between the military peacekeepers (M=4 SD=.90) and the gendarmerie peacekeepers (M=4.76 SD=.64), between police (M=3.91 SD=.92) and gendarmerie officers (M=4.76 SD=.64), and between the fourth group of the respondents (M=4.23 SD=.74) and gendarmerie peacekeepers (M=4.76 SD=.64) are statistically significant at the 5% level (p<.05). Even though the mean of gendarmerie peacekeepers is significantly differed from the other three groups of respondents, the means of police officers, army officers, academics and diplomatic people show that their responses are in the range of agree and strongly agree, which means the means ranged from 4 to 5. In other words, 79.2% of the military officers, 98.2% of the gendarmerie officers, 87.5 of the police officers and 82.1% of the fourth group of the participants (academics and diplomatic people) agreed with the statement.

Finally, respondents were asked whether "gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations perform law enforcement duties more effectively than traditional police forces in low security conditions (Security is not present)". The results were positive: almost 80% agreed with the statement. The results of ANOVA test showed that there were statistically significant mean difference among the four groups (F=18.88, p=.000). The results of the post hoc test indicated that the mean of police peacekeepers significantly differed than the mean of other three groups of respondents (p<.000). For this item, the mean of the army peacekeepers was 4.23, the gendarmerie peacekeepers mean was 4.42, the police peacekeepers mean was 3.48 and the group four (academics and diplomatic people) mean was 4.2. In other words, 90.4% of the military officers, 87.3 % of the gendarmerie officers, 58.9 % of the police officers and 76.4% of the fourth group of the participants (academics and diplomatic people) agreed with the statement.

6.5. Paired t-test

Paired t-test was performed to investigate mean difference among the gendarmerie, police and military effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties, riot control responsibility and counter insurgency responsibility. Pair t-test is a statistical technique used to test mean difference for a single sample of respondents (Proctor & Badzinski, 2002). The results of effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties of the security forces (Gendarmerie, Police and Military) are provided in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: The results of Paired t-test for the effectiveness in law enforcement duties of security forces

Variables	Security Level-1						Security Level-2						Security Level-3					
	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p
Effectiveness																		
Gendarmerie	4.03	.07	.98	.49	6.04	0.000	4.13	.06	.82	.21	3.28	0.001	4.34	.06	.82	-.33	-5.10	0.000
Police	3.54	.07	1.07				3.92	.06	.82				4.67	.04	.63			
Effectiveness																		
Gendarmerie	4.03	.07	.97	1.46	16.13	0.000	4.13	.06	.82	1.43	17.50	0.000	4.32	.06	.83	1.76	21.00	0.000
Military	2.57	.07	.98				2.70	.06	.95				2.57	.07	1.02			
Effectiveness																		
Police	3.54	.07	1.06	.95	9.62	0.000	3.91	.06	.84	1.20	13.13	0.000	4.66	.04	0.63	2.12	25.18	0.000
Military	2.59	.07	.99				2.72	.07	.96				2.54	.07	1.02			

Note1: Security Level 1= No security; Level 2= Moderate Security; Level 3= Good Security
Note2: 1=very ineffective 2=ineffective 3=average 4=effective 5=very effective

The results show that there is a statistically significant mean difference between police and gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties at all three security levels. More specifically, the respondents reported that the gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties is higher than the police effectiveness at the security level 1 (No Security) ($M_{Gend.}$= 4.03; M_{Pol}=3.54) and level 2 (Moderate Security) ($M_{Gend.}$= 4.13; M_{Pol}=3.92) whereas the police effectiveness is higher than gendarmerie effectiveness at the security level 3 (Good security) ($M_{Gend.}$= 4.34; M_{Pol}=4.67). That is, gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties in low security conditions is perceived as being higher than the effectiveness of traditional police.

When comparing the mean differences between military and gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties, the results indicate that the mean

differences between military and gendarmerie is statistically significant and gendarmerie mean is higher than the military mean at all three security levels (p<.001). That is, respondents reported that gendarmeries are more effective in performing law enforcement duties than military forces in peace operations at all security levels.

Table 6.7 also shows that there is a statistically significant mean differences in performing law enforcement duties between police and military at all three security levels (p<.001). The police effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties is greater than the military effectiveness at all three security levels.

Table 6.8 illustrates the results of riot control responsibilities of security forces.

Table 6.8: The results of Paired t-test for riot control responsibilities of security forces

Variables	Security Level-1						Security Level-2						Security Level-3					
	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p
Riot Control Responsibility																		
Gendarmerie	3,73	.07	1,01	.77	9.61	0.000	4,01	.05	.74	.56	7,83	0,000	4,10	.06	.85	-0,19	-2,52	0,006
Police	2,96	.07	1,00				3,45	.06	.87				4,29	.05	.79			
Riot Control Responsibility																		
Gendarmerie	3,73	.07	1,01	.23	2.31	0.011	4,02	.05	.75	.92	11,77	0,000	4,10	.06	.85	1,30	17,10	0,000
Military	3,50	.07	1,02				3,10	.07	.98				2,81	.07	1,09			
Riot Control Responsibility																		
Police	2,96	.07	1,00	-0,54	-5.11	0.000	3,45	.06	.88	.35	3,79	0,000	4,29	.05	.79	1,49	16,23	0,000
Military	3,50	.07	1,02				3,11	.07	.98				2,81	.07	1,09			

Note1: Security Level 1= No security; Level 2= Moderate Security; Level 3= Good Security
Note2: 1=no role 2=minor support role 3=support role 4=major support role 5=full responsibility

The results show that there is a statistically significant mean difference between police and gendarmerie riot control responsibility at all three security levels. More specifically, the respondents reported that the gendarmerie riot control responsibilities is higher than the police riot control responsibility at the security level 1 ($M_{Gend.}$= 3.73;

M_{Pol}=2.96) and level 2 ($M_{Gend.}$= 4.01; M_{Pol}=3.45) whereas police riot control responsibility is slightly higher than the gendarmerie's at the security level 3 ($M_{Gend.}$= 4.10; M_{Pol}=4.29). That is, gendarmerie riot control responsibility in low security conditions is higher than the traditional police's riot control responsibility whereas the police riot control responsibility is greater than the gendarmerie's in good security conditions.

The mean difference between gendarmerie and military for riot control responsibility is statistically significant and the means of gendarmerie riot control responsibility is higher than the military means at all three security levels, meaning that security experts gave more riot control responsibility to gendarmeries than military forces at all security levels in peace operations.

There is also statistically significant mean difference between the police and military for riot control responsibility ($p<.000$). Table 6.8 shows mix results for the police and military at three security levels. At the security level 1, which means that there is no security in a peace operations, the military mean is greater than the police mean (M_{Pol}=2.96, M_{Mil}=3.50). However, at the other security levels which are security is moderate and good, the police mean is higher than the military mean in terms of riot control responsibility. In other words, respondents believe that police forces should be given more riot control responsibility than military forces at moderate and good security levels whereas military forces should be given more riot control responsibility then police when there is no security in a peace operations.

The results for counter-insurgency responsibility of the security forces are shown in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: The results of Paired t-test for counter-insurgency responsibilities of security forces

Variables	Security Level-1						Security Level-2						Security Level-3					
	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p	Mean	SE	Std. Dev.	Mean diff.	t	p
Counter-Insurgency Responsibility																		
Gendarmerie	3,57	.08	1,12	1,16	14,38	0,000	3,84	.06	.91	.85	11,06	0,000	4,10	.06	.88	0,40	4,82	0,000
Police	2,41	.07	.98				2,99	.07	1,00				3,71	.07	1,00			
Counter-Insurgency Responsibility																		
Gendarmerie	3,58	.08	1,13	-0,32	-2,90	0,002	3,85	.06	.90	.29	3,18	0,001	4,10	.06	.88	0,89	10,31	0,000
Military	3,89	.07	1,05				3,56	.07	.99				3,21	.08	1,15			
Counter-Insurgency Responsibility																		
Police	2,41	.07	.98	-1,48	-14,12	0,000	2,99	.07	1,00	-0,56	-5,24	0,000	3,71	.07	1,00	0,50	4,36	0,000
Military	3,89	.07	1,06				3,56	.07	1,00				3,22	.08	1,15			

Note: 1= No role 2= Minor support role 3= Support role 4= Major Support Role 5= Full responsibility

The results reveal that there is a statistically significant mean difference between gendarmerie and police for counter-insurgency responsibility at all security levels ($p<.001$). The gendarmerie means is higher than police means at all three security levels. In other words, the respondents gave more counter-insurgency responsibility to the gendarmerie than the police at all three security levels in peace operations.

When comparing mean differences for counter-insurgency responsibility between gendarmerie and military, the results show that there is a statistically significant mean difference. The respondents reported mixed results for various security levels. In the security level-1 (No security), the military mean is greater than gendarmerie mean. ($M_{Gen}=3.58$ $M_{Mil}=3.89$). As the security conditions improve, the gendarmerie mean increase whereas military mean decrease. In security level-2 (moderate security) and

security level-3 (good security), the gendarmerie means are greater than the military means, which suggests that the gendarmeries should have more counter-insurgency responsibility than the military forces in moderate and good security conditions in peace operations.

The results also indicate that the mean differences between police and military for counter-insurgency responsibilities is statistically significant (p<.000). As the level of security gets better, the military mean decreases whereas the police mean increases. In low security conditions (Security level-1 and level-2), the military mean is greater than the police mean. When the security is good in a peace operation (Security level 3), the police mean is higher than the military mean (M_{Pol}=3.71, M_{Mil}=3.22).

6.6 Bivariate Regression Analysis

Bivariate OLS regression was used to test the effect of security level on gendarmerie, police and military law enforcement, riot control and counter insurgency responsibilities. The results are shown in Table 6.10.

The regression results indicate that there is a statistically significant relation between the security level and law enforcement responsibilities of security forces. As the security level increases, from no security to good security, the perceived law enforcement responsibilities increase for gendarmerie (b=.30, t=6.31, p=.000) and police (b=.71, t=15.78, p=.000) but decrease for military law enforcement (b=-.30, t=-5.42, p=.000).

Table 6.10: The effect of Security Level on Law Enforcement, Riot Control and Counter-insurgency Responsibility

		Law Enforcement Responsibility•							
		Gendarmerie			Police			Military	
Variables	b	Robust SE	t	b	Robust SE	t	b	Robust SE	t
Security Level	.30	.05***	6.31	.71	.05***	15.78	-.30	.06***	-5.42
Constant	3.28			2.22			3.37		
	F(1, 661) = 17.34			F(1, 662) = 249.07			F(1, 663) = 29.33		
	Prob > F = 0.000			Prob > F = 0.000			Prob > F = 0.000		
	R-squared = 0.0290			R-squared = 0.2892			R-squared = 0.0458		
		Riot Control Responsibility•							
		Gendarmerie			Police			Military	
Variables	b	Robust SE	t	b	Robust SE	t	b	Robust SE	t
Security Level	.19	.04***	4.16	.67	.04***	15.54	-.35	.05***	-6.96
Constant	3.58			2.23			3.83		
	F(1, 661) = 17.34			F(1, 661) = 241.42			F(1, 658) = 193.35		
	Prob > F = 0.000			Prob > F = 0.000			Prob > F = 0.000		
	R-squared = 0.0290			R-squared = 0.2704			R-squared = .2257		
		Counter-Insurgency Responsibility•							
		Gendarmerie			Police			Military	
Variables	b	Robust SE	t	b	Robust SE	t	b	Robust SE	t
Security Level	.26	.05***	5.50	.65	.05***	13.91	-.34	.05***	-6.50
Constant	3.31			1.73			4.23		
	F(1, 662) = 30.21			F(1, 658) = 193.35			F(1, 662) = 42.22		
	Prob > F = 0.000			Prob > F = 0.000			Prob > F = 0.000		
	R-squared = 0.0466			R-squared = 0.2257			R-squared = 0.0634		

*p<.05,**p<.01, ***p<.001

• Dependent Variables

The results also show that there is a statistically significant association between the security level and riot control responsibility. As the security condition get better, from no security to good security conditions, the perceived riot control responsibilities of gendarmerie (b=.19, t=4.16, p=.000) and police (b=.67, t=15.54, p=.000) rise, whereas military riot control responsibility reduces (b=-.35, t=-6.96, p=.000).

Finally, the findings reveal that the security level is significantly associated with the counter-insurgency responsibility. As the security condition improve, from security level 1 to security level 3, the counter-insurgency responsibilities of gendarmerie (b=.26, t=5.50, p=.000) and police (b=.65, t=13.91, p=.000) increase, while military counter-insurgency responsibility decreases (b=-.34, t=-6.50, p=.000).

6.7. Multivariate Regression Analysis

For the multivariate analysis, three different OLS regression models were estimated for each dependent variable-. The regressors were the same in all models. Before performing the multiple OLS regression for each model, graphical methods and numerical tests were performed to test whether OLS regression assumptions were met. The graphical results of OLS regression assumptions were provided in Appendix E. A correlation matrix including regressors is provided in table 6.11. The results show that there was a high correlation between rank and age (r=.79) and Variation Inflation Factors (VIF) was in excess of 2 (see table 6.12). Thus, age was omitted from the model.

Table 6.11: Bivariate correlation among independent variables

Variable	1	2	3
Security Level	1		
Age	0	1	
Rank	0	**0.7936**	1

Table 6.12: VIF table for multi-collinearity

Variable	VIF	1/VIF (Tolerance)
Rank	2.65	0.377104
Age	2.65	0.377104
Security Level	1.00	0.999986
Mean VIF	2.10	

The results show that all models violated OLS assumptions including normality, non-collinearity, homoscedasticity whereas the assumption for linearity and model specification were met. The leverage versus squared residuals in all models illustrates that there might be potential unusual and influential (See appendix E). The distributions of three dependent variables are not perfectly distributed. Indeed, Shapiro-Wilk test for normality of each distribution are easily rejected (See Table 6.13). Plotting residuals against fitted values illustrated that error variances are not constant around the regression line except for model 3, which is military law enforcement responsibility (See appendix E). In addition, Breusch-Pagan test for heteroskedasticity is easily rejected except for the model 3. The scatter plots illustrates that the relationship between security level and law enforcement responsibility, and between rank and law enforcement responsibility in all models are sufficiently linear (See appendix E). Finally, the results of Ramsey test for model specification indicates that all models are specified correctly except for the model 3 (see Table 6.13).

Table 6.13: The results of numerical tests for OLS assumptions

Dependent Variable	Shapiro-Wilk W test for normal data				Breusch-Pagan / Cook-Weisberg test for heteroskedasticity		Ramsey RESET test for model specification	
	W	V	z	p	Chi2	p	F	p
Law Enforcement Responsibility								
Gendarmerie (Model 1)	.97	12.40	6.13	0.000	38.01	0.000	.62	0.603
Police (Model 2)	.99	5.27	4.04	0.000	44.20	0.000	.67	0.572
Military (Model 3)	.99	4.63	3.73	0.000	3.03	0.082	3.62	0.013

Table 6.14 shows the results of the multiple OLS regression for the all three models.

Table 6.14: The results of OLS regression for three models

	Law Enforcement Responsibility•														
	Gendarmerie					Police					Military				
		Robust					Robust					Robust			
Variables	b	SE	t	p	Beta	b	SE	t	p	Beta	b	SE	t	p	Beta
Security Level	.29	.05	6.27	0.000	.25	.71	.05	15.63	0.000	.54	-.3	.05	-5.64	0.000	-.22
Rank	-.22	.05	-4.29	0.000	-.16	.07	.05	1.33	0.185	.05	.07	.06	1.13	0.257	.04
Constant	3.86					2.05					3.19				
	F(2, 655)	=	27.17			F(2, 655)	=	122.69			F(2, 656)	=	16.56		
	Prob > F	=	0.000			Prob > F	=	0.000			Prob > F	=	0.000		
	R-squared	=	0.0885			R-squared	=	0.2889			R-squared	=	0.0481		

• Dependent Variable

Model 1: Gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility:

The results indicate that model 1 explains about 9% of the variation in perceived gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility. The security level and rank are significantly associated with the gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility. The coefficient for security level indicates that security level significantly increases the law enforcement responsibility of gendarmeries (b=.29, t=6.27, p=.000), controlling for the rank. In other words, as the security level gets better from security level 1 (no security) to security level 3 (good security), gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility also increases.

Model 2: Police law enforcement responsibility:

Table 6.14 explains that model 2 explains 29% of the variation in perceived police law enforcement responsibility. The security level is statistically significant predictor of the police law enforcement responsibility. The coefficient for security level reveals that

as the security conditions improve, the police law enforcement responsibility also increase (b=.71, t=15.63, p=.000), controlling for the rank.

Model 3: Military law enforcement responsibility:

Finally, OLS results show that model 3 explains 5% of the variation in perceived police law enforcement responsibility. There is a statistically significant negative relation between the security level and military law enforcement responsibility. The security level coefficient indicates that as the security level improve from no security to good security, the military law enforcement responsibility decrease (b=-.30, t=-5.64, p=.000), controlling for the rank.

6.8. Quantitative Findings and Hypotheses Testing

This section of the quantitative component of the dissertation tests the 8 hypotheses of this study.

Hypothesis H1:

The first hypothesis stated that "Perceived effectiveness of gendarmeries in performing law enforcement duties is higher than the perceived effectiveness of traditional police forces in low security conditions in peace operations." According to the results of the paired t-test, Hypothesis 1 was accepted. At the security level 1, which means there is no security in peace operations, the mean for gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties is higher than the police effectiveness (M_{Gen}=4.03, M_{Pol}=3.54) and this mean difference is highly significant statistically (p<.000). Furthermore, the analysis of a single item also indicated similar findings. Almost 80% of the respondent supported the idea that "gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations

perform law enforcement duties more effectively than traditional police forces in low security conditions (Security is not present)". It should be noted that more than half of the police respondents (58.9%) agreed with the statement.

Hypothesis H2:

H2 of this study suggest that "Perceived effectiveness of gendarmeries in performing law enforcement duties is higher than perceived effectiveness of military forces in peace operations." The results of paired t-test show that Hypothesis 2 was accepted. At all three security levels, the mean for gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties is higher than the military effectiveness mean and the mean differences is highly significant statistically ($p<.000$). At the security level 1 (no security), the mean for gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties is $M_{Gen}=4.03$ and the mean for military effectiveness is $M_{Mil}=2.57$. At the security level 2 (moderate security), the mean for gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties is $M_{Gen}=4.13$ and the mean for military effectiveness is $M_{Mil}=2.70$. Finally, at the security level 3 (good security), the mean for gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties is $M_{Gen}=4.32$ and the mean for military effectiveness is $M_{Mil}=2.57$. In addition to paired t-test results, an analysis of a single item survey question presented similar findings. Almost 87% of the respondents agreed (44.09% agreed, 42.73 strongly agreed) that "gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations perform law enforcement duties more effectively than military force in peace operations." It should be also noted that 79.2% of the military officers supported the statement. Figure 6.1 illustrates the relation between the security level and effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties of the security forces.

Figure 6.1: Effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties of the security forces

*1=Very Ineffective 2=Ineffective 3=Average 2=Effective 1=Very Effective

Hypothesis H3:

H3 of this study states that "As the level of security in a conflict zone increases, the level of responsibility of gendarmeries in law enforcement duties decreases." According to the results of both bivariate and multivariate analyses, H3 was rejected. Both simple and multiple OLS regression results showed that a significant positive relation exists between the security level and the gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility, which means as the security level increases from no security to good security level, the gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility increases. The coefficient in multiple OLS regression shows that one level increase in the security leads .29 increase in gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility (b=.29, t=6.27, p=.000), controlling for the rank. The respondents believe that gendarmeries should continue to carry out law enforcement duties even though the security conditions improve in peace operations. A closer look at the gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility means

indicated that the gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility increases as the security levels get better. More specifically, the means for the gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility at three different security levels from level 1 to level 3 are 3.53 (SD=1.12), 3.95 (SD=.77) and 4.12 (SD=.84), respectively.

Hypothesis H4:

The fourth hypothesis suggested that "as the level of security in a conflict zone increases, the level of responsibility of traditional police in law enforcement duties increases." The results of both bivariate and multivariate analyses indicated that H4 was accepted. The simple and multiple OLS regression results showed that there is statistically significant positive relation between the security level and the police law enforcement responsibility. That is, as the security level improve from no security to good security condition, the police law enforcement responsibility rises. The security level coefficient in the multiple OLS regression analysis explains that one level increase in the security leads .71 increase in police law enforcement responsibility (b=.71, t=15.63, p=.000), controlling for the rank. The police law enforcement responsibility means are 2.29 (SD=1.13) at security level 1, 3.59 (SD=.83) at security level 2 and 4.38 (SD=.72) at security level 3. A closer look at the police law enforcement responsibility means revealed that the police law enforcement responsibility at the security level 1 is between minor support role and support role. At the security level 2, the police law enforcement responsibility ranged between support role and major support role. Finally, at the security level 3 which is good security situations, respondents rated police law enforcement responsibility between major support role and full responsibility. Figure 6.2 illustrates the relation between security level and law enforcement responsibilities of the

security forces. As mentioned above, as the security level increase the police and gendarmerie responsibility increases whereas the military responsibility decreases. Overall, gendarmerie responsibility is higher than the responsibility of police and military.

Figure 6.2: Law enforcement responsibility of the security forces

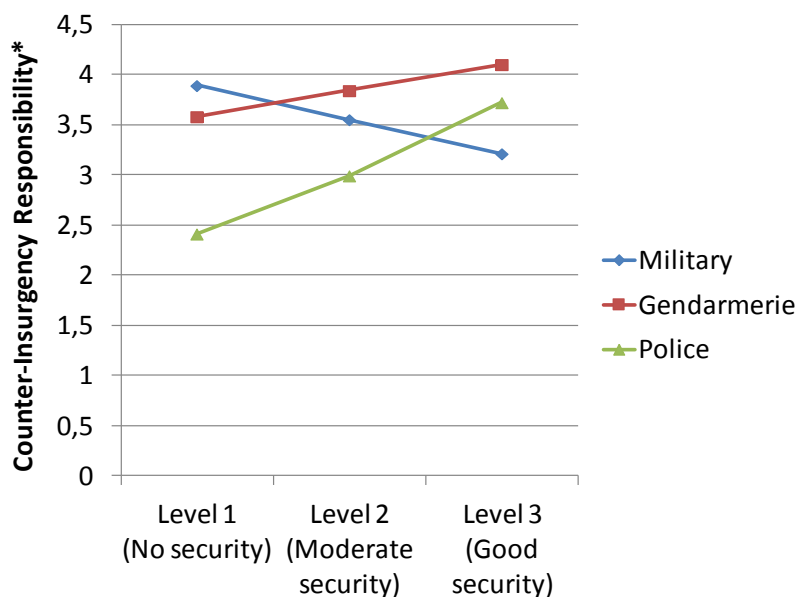*5=Full Responsibility 4=Major Support Role 3=Support Role 2=Minor Support Role 1=No Role

Hypothesis H5:

The fifth hypothesis argued that "The level of responsibility of Gendarmeries in controlling riot should be greater than the traditional police riot control responsibility in peace operations." According to the results of the paired t-test, Hypothesis 5 was true for the security level-1 and level-2 whereas the results for security level-3 didn't verify the Hypothesis 5. At the security level 1 (No security), the mean for gendarmerie riot control responsibility is higher than the police riot control responsibility mean (M_{Gen}=3.73, M_{Pol}=2.96). At the security level 2, the mean for gendarmerie riot control responsibility is also higher than the police riot control responsibility mean (M_{Gen}=4.01, M_{Pol}=3.45).

However, at the security level 3, the police riot control responsibility mean is slightly higher than the mean for gendarmerie riot control responsibility (M_{Gen}=4.10, M_{Pol}=4.29). All the mean difference is statistically significant. More specifically, respondents rated gendarmerie riot control responsibility between support role and major support role at the security level-1. At the security level 2 and level 3, the gendarmerie riot control responsibility ranged between major support role and full responsibility. On the other hand, police riot control responsibility ranged from minor support role to full responsibility at various security levels.

Hypothesis H6:

H6 of this study stated that "The level of responsibility of Gendarmeries in controlling riot should be greater than the military riot control responsibility." The results of paired t-test revealed that Hypothesis 6 was accepted. At all three security levels, the gendarmerie riot control responsibility mean is higher than the military riot control responsibility mean. The findings of the paired t-test showed that the mean differences are statistically significant. At the security level 1 (no security), gendarmerie riot control responsibility is M_{Gen}=3.73 and the military riot control responsibility is M_{Mil}=3.50. At the security level 2 (moderate security), the mean for gendarmerie riot control responsibility is M_{Gen}=4.02 and the mean for military riot control responsibility is M_{Mil}=3.10. Finally, at the security level 3 (good security), the mean for gendarmerie riot control responsibility is M_{Gen}=4.10 and the mean for military riot control responsibility is M_{Mil}=2.81. The means indicated that as the security level get better gendarmerie riot control responsibility increases whereas military riot control responsibility decreases.

Figure 6.3 illustrates the relation between security level and riot control responsibility of the security forces.

Figure 6.3: Riot control responsibility of the security forces

*5=Full Responsibility 4=Major Support Role 3=Support Role 2=Minor Support Role 1=No Role

Hypothesis H7:

H7 of the study stated that "The level of responsibility of Gendarmeries in fighting insurgency should be greater than the traditional police counter-insurgency responsibility." Based on the pair t-test results, H7 was accepted. The results showed that the gendarmerie means is higher than the police means at all three security levels and the mean differences are statistically significant (p<.000). In other words, the respondents supported the idea that gendarmeries should be given more counter-insurgency responsibility than police forces in peace operations. At a closer look at the means of gendarmerie and police counter-insurgency responsibility indicated that as the security conditions get better, the counter-insurgency responsibilities of the both forces also increase (M_{Gen1}=3.57 M_{Gen2}=3.84 M_{Gen3}=4.10; M_{Pol1}=2.41 M_{Pol2}=2.99 M_{Pol3}=3.71).

Hypothesis H8:

Final hypothesis stated that "The level of responsibility of Gendarmeries in fighting insurgency should be greater than the military counter-insurgency responsibility." According to the result of the paired t-test, H8 was true for the security level 2 and level 3. However, the results for security level 1 didn't confirm the H8. The results indicated that gendarmerie counter-insurgency responsibility mean is significantly lower than the military counter-insurgency responsibility mean at the security level 1 (M_{Gen1}=3.58 M_{Mil1}=3.89). However, the means for gendarmerie counter-insurgency responsibility is significantly higher that the military mean at security level 2 (M_{Gen2}=3.85 M_{Mil2}=3.56) and level 3 (good security) (M_{Gen2}=4.10 M_{Mil2}=3.21). In other words, respondent reported that gendarmeries should have more counter-insurgency responsibility than military forces in moderate and good security conditions whereas military should have more counter-insurgency responsibility than gendarmeries when there is no security in peace operations. The mean scores suggest that as the security conditions increase from level 1 to level 3, the gendarmerie mean increase whereas military mean decrease.

Figure 6.4 illustrates the relation between security level and counter-insurgency responsibility of the security forces.

Figure 6.4: Counter insurgency responsibility of the security forces

*5=Full Responsibility 4=Major Support Role 3=Support Role 2=Minor Support Role 1=No Role

Findings and Results of the Qualitative Data

6.9   Sample

This study was conducted using a mixed methods approach that consisted of quantitative and qualitative analyses. Qualitative data obtained from interviews was used to provide contextual understanding of the issues relating to the various actors. During the survey period, interviews were conducted with various security experts, including army, gendarmerie and police peacekeepers, and diplomatic personnel from the UNDPKO and NATO headquarters. The interviews provided a more comprehensive understanding of the role of the security forces, including military officers, the police and other gendarmeries in peacekeeping operations. Fifteen interviews were conducted with security experts. Nine interviewees (three gendarmerie peacekeepers, three army peacekeepers, three police peacekeepers) were peacekeepers who served in previous

peacekeeping missions. Of these nine peacekeepers, three served in Afghanistan, three served in Kosovo, two served in Bosnia and one served in the Congo. All nine peacekeepers held middle or high-level supervisory positions in their peace missions. In addition to the peacekeepers, three UNDPKO officials and three NATO officials were interviewed.

6.10 Perspectives of Officers

The criminal justice system in the context of peace operations

Peacekeepers operate in various environments and within various criminal justice systems. The characteristics of the operating environment and the existing institutions may change from one mission to another. Every peacekeeping mission has its own unique features and characteristic. One of the police peacekeepers that served in Kosovo explained that, "I participated in two different peace operations. First, I participated in the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) mission between 2006 and 2007 under the CIVPOL (Civil Police). I worked in the IT (information and technology) department on this mission. Second, I served in the Europe Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) as an adviser for a police station commander between 2010 and 2012." In terms of the criminal justice system of these two missions, he reported "In my first mission, the UN police were present in the theatre for law enforcement tasks, but in my second mission, the Kosovo Police was doing law enforcement work. I was advising one of the Kosovo police departments as an adviser of the police chief."

Another police peacekeeper who also served in the UNMIK Kosovo mission between 2002 and 2003 explained that:

"I served in several departments. My first duty was in a training department. We were training the local police forces. Second, I served in the department of community policing as a community policing coordinator. Both the local police and UN police were responsible for law enforcement duties. We were working together for crime prevention with local police. However, the command was in the hand of the UN."

When the questions of "Can you explain the law enforcement system in your peacekeeping mission? And who was responsible for law enforcement duties?" were asked, one of the gendarmerie officers explained that:

"I served in Afghanistan as a police adviser in 2014 under the command of ISAF (International Security Assistance Forces). There were units from 27 different countries under the ISAF. ISAF elements were advising both the Afghan police and Afghan armed forces. The Afghan police was responsible for law enforcement. As advisers, we were not performing duties in the operation field. We were just advising local police elements."

Another high-level army peacekeeper who was a battalion commander in Afghanistan under the command of ISAF revealed that:

"The policing responsibility belonged to local Afghan law enforcement agencies. However, their technological and technical capacity was extremely insufficient. International security forces were supporting and advising local Afghan police. As a battalion commander, we were conducting operations to ensure freedom of movement. We were just providing area security. If necessary, we were also providing security to the local police when they were carrying out their duties."

Military involvement in law enforcement duties

Some scholars suggest that it is not appropriate to use military forces to undertake law enforcement because they are not trained for policing and could not effectively perform law enforcement tasks. (Perito, 2013; Bingol, 2010; Dziedzic and Bair, 1998). This sentiment is matched by many of the interviewees who have served as peacekeepers. One security expert pointed out that "the main duty and responsibility of the army is protecting the national security not fighting against crime and criminals." A police

peacekeeper in a supervisory position spoke to this issue. He said "I don't think they [soldiers] can provide law enforcement work effectively when I consider their training and equipment. They may not provide proportional law enforcement with their power. They cannot deal with delinquency and crime since they are not trained for that." Similarly, one army peacekeeper that held a high-level position in a peacekeeping mission said "Serving as a law enforcement agent cannot be a duty of the army." He added, "Such a task cannot be given to army because their training is not appropriate."

Law enforcement duties range widely from crime scene management and police intelligence to riot control and crime investigation. One army peacekeeper felt "The army cannot know specific policing topics such as crime scene management." One NATO official who also served in Afghanistan said "We [soldiers] do not understand policing duties." He also explained his experience in Afghanistan. "Since local police could not operate effectively, some policing duties remained in NATO personnel, which were not appropriate. It was not accurate for soldiers to be involved in policing. Stability policing is separate expertise. It was troublesome for us since our leaders were not trained for stability policing." The same NATO official also emphasized "From my perspective, police and gendarmeries were getting along with local people better than us [soldiers]. Since they were more knowledgeable and trained in policing, they were operating more effectively than us."

A NATO official who served in the department arranging engagement rules at a NATO headquarter explained that the training of the army is always considered before adopting engagement rules for peacekeeping missions. Regarding the ability of military forces for crowd control, the same NATO official shared:

"In the headquarter [NATO headquarter], when we discuss [whether] to give authorization to subordinate units regarding the rule of engagement for crowd control, it is always being discussed that military units are deprived from training for that. They neither have crowd control equipments such as gas mask, gas bomb and baton, nor know how to use them."

Another army peacekeeper revealed similar views, commenting, "The training of the army is to fight with the enemy not to fight with crime and criminals. That's why I don't believe that the military can deal with crime and perform law enforcement duties." Likewise, another peacekeeper pointed out that military forces don't have the ability to perform law enforcement tasks. He explained why the military can not carry out policing duties:

"There are two dimensions of policing duties. The first one is preventing crime. The other one is investigating a crime that has already occurred. In regard with crime investigation, military forces don't have any experience listening to a victim's complaint, taking a victim's statement, and gathering evidence since they are not trained for that. So, in a case when a victim comes to a peacekeeping force to report a crime, if there are only military forces that know nothing about policing, military personnel would not be able to help a victim of crime effectively."

A NATO official explained that military forces don't have the ability to conduct crime investigation. He added, "Beyond the crime investigation for ordinary crimes, army officers don't know how to query a terrorist even though they do know what terrorism is. The querying of a criminal or a terrorist is completely different expertise. They don't have the qualifications for that."

One gendarmerie peacekeeper highlighted the different mentality between army officers and law enforcement officers. He explained why military forces cannot perform law enforcement duties effectively:

"There are several reasons. First, military forces differentiate people as either enemies or allies. Whereas, there is no notion of enemy or ally in the mind of a law enforcement officer. Instead, there is the notion of criminal. Second, armies operate in accordance with the laws of war instead of operating according to criminal law. Third, they don't have law enforcement experiences. Law enforcement duties should be carried out under the supervision of judges and prosecutors. However, soldiers don't recognize them. They are used to getting order from their commanders, not civilians. Finally, since soldiers might lose their friends in a war environment, their point of view toward criminals would be affected negatively. This emotional aspect of wars may lead them to use excessive force when they are conducting policing (duties.) There is a huge professional and cultural difference between soldiers and police."

When asked if military forces perform law enforcement duties effectively, one security expert answered, "Military forces certainly cannot be effective in performing law enforcement duties. In order to perform law enforcement duties, there is a need for organizations that are trained for law enforcement work and performing law enforcement duties in their country of origin." One police peacekeeper spoke of his experience in Congo and explained why military forces cannot perform law enforcement duties effectively. "The main reason why they could not effectively fight crime is that they were not competent, and they did not have all skills to gather intelligence, collect evidence from crime scene, or prevent ordinary and organized crime." He also added "especially the intelligence gathering requires you to be in the social life among people and to find reliable informants. In fact, this runs counter to the way military forces are structured and function."

Some of the peacekeepers explained incidents in which the army used excessive and disproportionate force while they were maintaining public order. A police peacekeeper that served in the Congo stated "There were two 'militaries' in the country

where I served. One was the national military forces, and the other one was the UN`s military component. I think that the two militaries resorted to the use of force more than they helped in conducting crime investigations and fighting against crime."

Another police peacekeeper that was also an adviser to a Kosovar police chief revealed his experience as follows:

> "One time, I saw that there were soldiers at the city's check point where I am responsible for advising the chief of the police department. There were 20 or 30 soldiers with snipers and heavy machine guns on the building next to the check point. Also, there was a tank. I called the police chief. He told me that he didn't know anything about it. Can you believe that soldiers were stopping cars and people at a heavily fortified check point and the police chief of the city and I, as his adviser, didn't know anything? They didn't even inform us…I stopped in the check point and introduced myself. When I asked them what they were doing there, they told me that they were just doing their regular and routine control. Even though there had not been an ethnic conflict in the city for 10 years and the district was not a problematic area for crime, an international army force established a control point in our area of responsibility without our knowledge and coordination."

When asked if they ever encountered a situation in which the army used disproportionate force or failed to maintain basic law and order, one police officer that had served in Kosovo revealed:

> "When I was in Kosovo, soldiers were establishing check points in order to prevent crime. I saw that establishing check points with heavy machines and tanks was scaring the general public. I think some Kosovo people were thinking that there was a war. Doing law enforcement work with a excessive power didn't create a good impression among the local people. In my opinion, there was no need to use tanks and heavy machines at a regular check point. In addition, establishing a checkpoint with tanks and heavy machines produced the fear among the local people that there might have been a security threat or some new conflict. However, there was nothing unusual happening. Crimes happen everywhere."

Another peacekeeper who served in the Congo answered the same question as follow:

"Yes. I did. I arrived in the mission area just after the presidential elections in the country. There were two candidates for presidency, and both were generals in the national army. Joseph Kabila was the winner and Jean-Pierre Bemba lost the elections. In March 2007, government troops and forces loyal to opposition leader Jean-Pierre Bemba clashed in the very middle of Kinshasa. In the same hour when the clash started, there were more than 130 deaths including civilians. On the same day, lootings, burglaries and other types of crime were widely committed in the city. I can say that the military intervention was very harsh in these events."

Even though many respondents believe that armies should not serve as a primary law enforcement agency, some of them support the idea that armies have important role in providing security. One NATO official said "I don't think that the army can be effective in performing law enforcement duties such as crime scene management and crime investigation" but he added, "however, these duties cannot be performed by police without protection of the army in a high risk conflict environment." Another NATO official added, "Military forces are important elements in preventing widespread armed fighting. However, they are inadequate for fighting ordinary crime and in crime investigation." One security expert revealed similar views: "Police can function in secure environments. However, if they are not supported by NATO forces [military troops], they cannot operate in a complex environment." A NATO official revealed his opinion:

"For instance, crime scene management entails a comprehensive training. They receive training for several months or years to become a crime scene expert. You cannot train a soldier on this topic. On the other hand, training and equipping police for battle and providing area security is not realistic. In my view, it is not realistic to expect police to ensure safety and also manage a crime scene. And it is also not *realistic* to expect armies to do crime scene management. In high risk environments, we have the army to provide area security and we have the police to conduct crime scene management. So we need to use both of them. The army provides security; the police and/or gendarmerie come and do their job."

Cultural differences among the international army forces may be an important factor to examine when assessing the hypothesis that armies may use disproportional force in peace operation if they perform law enforcement duties. A NATO official who also served in Afghanistan mentioned that there was a different understanding of the notion of security among the various nations' armed forces:

> "I think there was security paranoia among some nations' army personnel, especially among military personnel from Anglo-Saxon countries. When I was in Afghanistan, they perceived every approaching person and thing as an enemy. This was reflected in the field. For instance, they were driving very fast in city centers with a speed of 60-70 mph where the speed limit was 30 mph since they thought that they could be shot. When they entered a neighborhood, I observed that they were very nervous and wanted to get out as soon as possible. They tried to stop and search everybody approaching them. They didn't want to talk or engage with local people. All these things had a very bad impression among the local people. Even in some cases, some of army personnel killed local people claiming that his/her security was in danger."

Consistently, another peacekeeper who served in Afghanistan noted that "any Afghan civilian vehicle was afraid to cross in front them [international military vehicles]".

In sum, these observations indicate that police, gendarmerie, and military peacekeepers do not believe that military forces can perform law enforcement duties effectively. However, some army peacekeepers and NATO officials pointed that law enforcement duties cannot be performed without military support. It should be noted that the reactions of army peacekeepers indicate that they are reluctant to serve as a police force.

Local Law Enforcement Capacity

It is understandable that most international security forces find local policing capacity to be inadequate. Consistently, security experts felt that local police forces were unable to maintain public order and security in their peacekeeping missions. One peacekeeper who served in Bosnia stated that "It was obvious that local police couldn't provide effective law enforcement service independently." One peacekeeper who served in Afghanistan said "local police could not enforce anything…" Another peacekeeper noted, "Corruption among the local police officers was a huge problem when I was serving in the peacekeeping mission." A similar view was shared by one of the peacekeepers: "Since there was no state and social security system, local police officers were resorting corruption when they find opportunity." He added, "The basic instinct to engage in corruption may be their need to feed their family in the absence of social security system." A police peacekeeper that served in the Congo between 2007 and 2008 evaluated the local police capacity as follow:

> "The local police were trying their best, but there were three problems. First, the laws were very recent, and police were still in the phase of adaptation to the new system. Second, most of the members of the national police were coming from ex-military forces. They were well disciplined, but they had limited knowledge and practice on crime prevention and investigation. Third, I can say they had limited capacity, as they did not have enough technological tools to fight crime. As you know, even the crime scene investigation requires the use of different technological devices."

Some of the peacekeepers reported that local police didn't obey the law and used excessive force in some situations. A peacekeeper who served in Afghanistan reported that

"In Afghanistan, local police forces were insufficient in performing law enforcement duties. Both Afghan army and Afghan police forces were extremely emotional. International peace forces educated the Afghan police and Afghan army about human rights, armed conflict law and proportionate use of force. However, these Afghan officials thought that while we say "surrender" to someone we encounter, he or she could kill us. Additionally they thought that even if we shoot at the feet as a warning not to hurt them, they can kill us later. That's why the local police don't want to obey the law and rules and they tend to kill without warning."

While the local police can be uneducated and fail to maintain basic law and order, they can be helpful to the international police forces since they know the region's culture and the geography. One of the peacekeepers who served in Kosovo explained, "The local police were being educated by the UN. These educated local police forces were helpful in maintaining order since they knew the local language, people, and the environment. However, their overall capability for law enforcement duties was unsatisfactory."

Filling the security gap

It is obvious that maintaining order and crime control need effective law enforcement deployment. However, local police often do not exist or may be unable to maintain the rule of law in the first stage of a peacekeeping operation. Therefore, it is inevitable that first international military forces will often encounter an environment where there are crimes such as selling illegal weapons and drug trade, killings, human trafficking, smuggling and other organized crimes. Until the arrival of international police units, the first intervention units, which are generally international military forces, have to deal with these issues. The respondents were asked, "What should be done in order to fill the deployment gap between the arrival of international army forces and international police forces concerning law enforcement duties?" One respondent proposed a solution to address the deployment gap problem: "There must be gendarmerie

officers in the first arriving military forces to advise military personnel on policing issues. Later, gendarmerie units should be deployed and full responsibility of policing duties should be given to these gendarmerie elements until arrival of international police."

Likewise, according to another police peacekeeper:

> "The first arriving units in the region are military forces since there is no security in the conflict zones. Local people try to save their lives and properties during this period. More trained units for law enforcement duties would probably be useful. In terms of crime prevention and crime investigation, there is a need for specially trained units in the first stage of the peacekeeping operations. Since law enforcement organizations with military status [Gendarmeries] provide law enforcement service in their home countries, these organizations can be useful in the first stage. Gendarmerie-type force can fill the deployment gap between the arrival of military force and international police force."

One UN official emphasized the importance of international cooperation to address the deployment gap. He said "...member states should provide police officers to the request of the UN as quickly as possible."

Military forces can be very useful in providing area security. However, it is inevitable that there will be criminals and rioters in a peacekeeping environment. Even though international police arrive at the conflict zone, they may fail to provide successful law enforcement service in a high-risk, complex environment. One gendarmerie peacekeeper said, "Traditional police elements cannot ensure even their own security in the first stage of a peacekeeping operation, so how can they ensure the security of general public?" A high-level NATO official suggested, "The police forces operating in the post conflict environment should be more powerful and have superior skill than normal police forces." On the other hand, military forces are not capable of dealing with ordinary or organized crime even though they can be effective in fighting with or separating armed

groups. In order to fill this enforcement gap, one gendarmerie peacekeeper proposed two alternative solutions:

> "In some the situation where the armed conflict is still going on or has just ended, the armed activity ability of local groups may be far greater than the capacity of traditional police forces to fight them. In such situations, there may be two solutions: (1) we can use gendarmerie type structures, or (2) we can establish extremely intense coordination between the army and the police."

A high level police peacekeeper who served in a supervisory position revealed similar opinion and acknowledged:

> "The army should prevent armed conflict and break up the armed groups. However, gendarmeries are certainly important in performing law enforcement in peacekeeping operations because gendarmeries are both police and soldiers. The gap between the arrival of the first international military forces and the arrival of international police force can be filled in two different ways. First, there must be people in the military forces who know law and law enforcement duties. Second, there must be gendarmerie units under the command of international military forces. Gendarmeries can advise military forces. This can minimize violations of the rule of law."

One of the respondents argued that the enforcement gap can be filled with gendarmeries. He commented:

> "How can a soldier, who is trained for killing enemies, catch a thief or fingerprint a   criminal in a house? I do believe that in order to provide qualified law enforcement   service in a peacekeeping operation, either gendarmeries should serve as a different   unit under the international security forces or advise military officers about law   enforcement duties."

One police peacekeeper also opposed that gendarmerie could fill the enforcement gap. He said, "I do not think that they [gendarmeries] would carry out a different task than what military and police forces would do."

One problem that has been acknowledged by NATO officials is the lack of a clear doctrine for stability policing in conflict zones. NATO has now established the Stability

Policing Centre of Excellence in Italy to not only develop a doctrine but to also engage in analysis and training. When asked "Can gendarmeries fill the gap between military any police?", the a NATO official answered: "gendarmeries can fill the gap…However, a good concept should be developed to determine which type of forces do what kind of work. Now, NATO is doing it. A centre of excellence [Stability Policing Centre of Excellence] has been established. The primary duty of this centre is theorizing, experimenting and finally developing a doctrine…and training of this doctrine should also be given to the relevant elements."

Another NATO official answered the question regarding whether the gendarmeries can fill the gap between military and police as follow:

> "Gendarmeries, with their hybrid structure, criminal and military skill can certainly bridge the enforcement gap. If there is a gendarmerie or a carabinieri force, the gendarmerie commander can give an order to his/her one element (let's say to a battalion) to ensure area security while his crime scene management team is doing their job. So, law enforcement tasks can be done from one hand."

There are also efforts in the UN to fill the security gap between the military and the police. A high level UN official explained, "We were asked to provide advice to both, under the secretary general, in terms of the gaps that exist for the uniform personnel." From the UN perspective, another high level official who serve in the UNDPKO emphasized training of gendarmerie and said, "My knowledge about their [gendarmeries] training system runs pretty deep, my knowledge about their police system, police capacities and capabilities including high-level policing runs very deep. Gendarmerie type organizations are very important asset for us. We can deploy them under the command of the military or we can deploy them in the police chain of

command. We can also use them as formed police units (FPU). So we welcome gendarmeries." Another senior UN official acknowledged the importance of the gendarmeries by saying that "We will need gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations, when the military is too much; the civilian police are not suitable for those situations." Likewise, a senior UN police in the UNDPKO suggested that "I am sure gendarmerie contribution would be very valuable to the organization [UN]".

Security experts explained why the gendarmeries can fill the enforcement gap. One respondent suggested that "gendarmerie type forces can be more effective than traditional police forces because they are equipped with armed vehicles, helicopters, heavy machine guns and night vision devices". A NATO official highlighted that gendarmerie can fill the enforcement gap not just because of their equipments but their training. He revealed his opinions as follow:

> "We can give the same devices and equipments to traditional police forces as well. However, the main point is the training of gendarmeries. In addition [to having] such equipment, there is serious training. If we give the same training to traditional police, it means making police [into] gendarmerie. Having military discipline, being aware that the person who needs to be dealt with can be transformed [into] an enemy and knowing the fact that using disproportional amount force may lead new enemies make gendarmeries the proper tool. Gendarmeries have both training and skill to fill the enforcement gap, not just equipments."

In addition to their training and equipments, one gendarmerie peacekeeper pointed out:

> "Gendarmeries are powerful enough to protect themselves without military back up while carrying out their duties and have policing experience in their home countries, which is very important characteristic that cannot be gained through only training. This feature of gendarmeries makes them valuable tool for stability policing"

Another responder emphasized that human rights violations resulting from excessive use of force may generate more complex challenges. He suggested, "The reality behind the fact that 'we are killing one, but 10 new appear in place of the one' is caused by human right violations. Killing innocent civilians creates bigger problems. Gendarmeries, with their training and skill, can be effective in dealing with this issue." Similarly, A NATO official pointed out that the consequences of initial wrongs caused by excessive use of force are incredibly problematic. He commented, "Local people may become hostile to intervention forces due to misbehaviors of military forces. In order to prevent such hostility, acting positively from the beginning is crucial. In this sense, in my view, if the policing responsibility is given to gendarmeries at the very beginning, such mistakes would not occur."

A NATO official highlighted the importance of winning hearts and minds:"Soldiers spill blood when they enter somewhere. Since soldiers only concentrate security aspects, they don't focus on winning the hearts and minds. Training and raising awareness of every soldier on winning the hearts is very hard. It is very difficult to say to the soldiers that you will not be shot but you will win hearts and minds." He also suggested that "gendarmeries can fill this gap with their community policing skill"

A UNDPKO official responsible for police recruitment complained about finding logistic experts for police organization for the UN missions and highlighted another advantage of gendarmeries:

> "An advantage for the gendarmerie is gendarmeries have everything like the military. Whereas, I worked for the New York police department and we don't have police officers doing logistics. We don't have police officers doing budgets. There are civilians for these types of tasks. But in a military type of

organizations, there are still military or police people doing this. I know that gendarmeries are sending logistic advisers to Afghanistan. They are doing this and they are police [law enforcement officers]. It could be very valuable for us."

When a question whether gendarmeries were a valuable tool for filling the security gap between military and police, a senior UNDPK official suggested :

"That's why we deploy formed police units. We do not think that military should be involved in law enforcement.... I was never in military but military are trained to kill. They go out there they have the enemy and their goal is this... the most important thing that the police officers bring to a peacekeeping mission is not the weapon... if we have officers that are properly skilled we can go into situation and deescalate the situation by communicate. So we don't like to see the military involvement in police role and we don't want to see police involvement in military role... Gendarmeries are capable of doing both. It is absolutely great."

He also added that "I am always trying to get French gendarme into car, -but putting is difficult-"

During combat operations

In the beginning of a peacekeeping operation, the regular armed forces are responsible for breaking up local armed groups and restricting their activities. Nonetheless, this is not enough to create a secure environment. As discussed in the previous section, there are more tasks that need to be done, including dealing with civil disturbances and ordinary crime, which require a special set of skills. Since armed forces are not trained to deal with these issues and their equipment is not appropriate for these tasks, military forces generally tend to be reluctant to do this work. Generally, as mentioned before, there is not effective local police or international police forces in the peace enforcement stage. In this sense, an experienced peacekeeper stated that gendarmeries may be viable solution:

"Gendarmeries can enter a conflict area under the command of the military forces. If there is still presence of fighting between armed groups, the military forces should intervene. However, if the situation doesn't need strong army power as in the case of crime investigation, crime prevention or gathering evidence, gendarmerie units, under the command of military forces, can be deployed for these tasks. I believe that there is a need for gendarmerie forces in law enforcement work while combat operations continue in a conflict area."

Similarly, one high level peacekeeper revealed that, "If the combat operations continue, the gendarmeries should perform law enforcement work while the military forces try to stop armed conflict." On the contrary, a NATO official suggested "we need to think case by case considering the nature of the threat. If tanks, war planes and war ships are being used in a conflict zone, only military forces should intervene and reduce the threat to a reasonable level before deployment of gendarmeries and police forces." One police peacekeeper revealed similar view and described the environment when he was serving in the Congo:

"Once the conflict starts on the streets, it is not easy for either police or military forces to stabilize the violence. This is what I experienced in the mission: People were being killed, and there was armed conflict in the city. Everyone was looking for a shelter. We were about to be evacuated from the mission area. All groups had their small and heavy arms that they were resolutely using. To me, this situation is more a war environment than a mere conflict. In fact, the primary concern is usually not the traditional crimes in such an environment. The primary concern was the disarmament of these insurgent groups, and it was not easy to know what the crime was and how successful the criminal justice system was."

One of police peacekeepers explained that although gendarmeries may be effective in some certain types of crime, they may not be effective in all crimes. He responded:

"If there are still armed groups in the region, there is definitely a need for specially trained forces for law enforcement duties. However, when life returns to normal, traditional police forces should deal with crime…I believe

that gendarmeries can be effective in specific crimes such as dealing with armed activities but I don't believe that they can be effective in all types of crime."

One senior NATO official commented:

"I believe that the presence of gendarmeries from the beginning would be more helpful. Gendarmeries and military should enter a conflict area at the same time in low level of security situations. In the first stage of a peace operation, there may be some problems caused by military forces' lack of familiarity to community policing strategies and lack of understanding of international and criminal law. I believe that gendarmeries can fill this gap."

End of combat operations

All respondents agreed that military footprints should be reduced gradually after military objectives are achieved. A NATO official emphasized this by giving an example of a checkpoint used by military forces and law enforcement forces after accomplishment of military objectives:

"Think about such a checkpoint: The army establishes a checkpoint with armed vehicles resembling tanks, surrounded by sandbags and reinforced with L type concrete wall. In addition, soldiers are waiting, equipped with crash helmets and steel vests at the checkpoint, while the barrel of the armed vehicles is aimed at on- comings. It is impossible that a person approaching such a checkpoint would think that life is normal. Even if the security conditions are not too bad. And now think about another checkpoint in which there is a normal police car with a head- lamp and the police are standing in their patrolling uniforms. In the first case, the situation is not usual. However, in the second case, the life is as normal as in an ordinary European city… As soon as the military objectives are accomplished, the footprint of the military forces should be removed or reduced."

Many of the security experts supported the idea that when the common armed violence ends, gendarmeries can continue their duties in close cooperation with military forces and international police forces. On this issue, a peacekeeper said:

> "If there are international security forces in a peace operation, this means that there is still lack of security. That's why the gendarmeries should serve as a law enforcement body in all phases of the peace operations. They should enter the region with military forces. Then they should continue to serve with local police and international police forces."

Another high-level supervisor in the Kosovo mission and police chief likewise admitted:

> "The major reason for a peace operation is the presence of ethnic conflicts in a problematic area. Even though combat operations end, there are asymmetrical threats and the environment is still complex. The absence of ethnic violence after a combat operation ends does not mean that there will not be a return to widespread violence in the near future. Although the conflicting groups may announce that they have stopped the violence, there is still tension in the region. Hence, there is always risk of the violence resuming. That's why the presence of a gendarmerie structure would be useful."

Military power can be excessive and traditional police may be insufficient for some incidents. One of the peacekeepers explained his experience as follows:

> "There was no war or general violence anymore when I was serving in Afghanistan. However, 5 terrorists attacked the civil airport with rockets when I was there. Even though the level of security was not too bad, there was always potential for these kinds of attacks. On one hand, traditional international police forces cannot intervene to these type incidents with light weapons. On the other hand, the army can use force disproportionately and kill innocent civilians. There is a need for special units that have military and police capability. In this sense, gendarmeries can be effective even after the combat operations end."

However, in contrast to these views, another police officer disputed the need for gendarmerie forces after the arrival of international police forces: "Since gendarmeries get military training, they can deal with only serious crimes, not all types of crimes. In addition, the local people don't see them as police due to their uniforms. I don't think that there would be a need for gendarmeries after arrival of international police forces."

One of the respondents emphasized the geographical features of the region where a peacekeeping operation takes place. He reported, "The geographical conditions are an important factor. For instance, Bosnia and Kosovo have harsh, mountainous and forested geographical features. The presences of these geographical features in a conflict zone increase the need for gendarmerie forces when I consider their mobility capabilities."

Level of security vs. security forces

The environment in peacekeeping operations will always be challenging and less than ideal. One respondent stated, "normalization of the environment and vacating of international security forces would take maybe more than 20 years." He also added, "As the security conditions improve, the military forces should be minimized while the gendarmerie and police presence be increased."

In comparing the effectiveness of the gendarmeries with traditional police forces, one NATO official stated, "I believe gendarmeries can be a more effective tool than traditional police in low security conditions." He continued, "However, traditional police would be more effective in good security conditions." He explained the reason. "Seeing military-like uniforms worn by gendarmerie officers in the local neighborhoods may produce negative reaction toward gendarmes. As the security situations improve, local people may begin to see gendarmes as invaders due to their military-like uniforms."

Respondents were asked "What do you think about the relationship between the level of security and the level of responsibility of the security forces?" One respondent answered:

> "Even though military forces stop the initial violence and conflict, there is no guarantee that there will not be any further armed conflict. That's why there

should always be armed forces in a conflict zone especially in the first stage. Later, after risk assessment, we need to keep proportional armed forces for potential future conflicts. However, this doesn't mean that military forces should be in every part of the area and show their presence every time. The presence and visibility of armed forces creates fear among the local people and the local people may think that violent conflict is still going on… After good risk analysis, it would be useful for the gendarmerie forces to be increased while army forces decreased…I believe that gendarmerie forces can minimize security and law enforcement problems in the area of peace operations."

One experienced high-level army peacekeepers revealed, "If there is no local law enforcement capacity, an element that is capable of serving as a law enforcement agent should enter the operation area until the local police forces begin to function. In this regard, if the security situation doesn't allow for international police forces to enter, gendarmeries are the best option."

A police peacekeeper that held a supervisory position in Kosovo revealed his opinion as follows:

I believe that there is a need for gendarmerie organizations in low security conditions. When the level of security is low in a conflict area, you cannot operate everywhere. The conflict area is not always a traditional battlefield. There are cities in a conflict area. You cannot enter a city with a tank. Since gendarmerie forces know the jobs of both military and police, it would be useful to deploy gendarmerie forces in low security conditions.

Another respondent added, "I believe that as the security level decreases, the level of responsibility of the gendarmeries and the need for gendarmeries increases. On contrary, as the level of security increase, the traditional police forces should be more involved."

Training local police

Some respondents revealed that gendarmeries might be helpful in training local police forces as well. One UN official suggested, "…when it comes to gendarmerie type

organizations, activities either EUGENDFOR [European Gendarmerie Force] or the UN's Stability Policing Centre of Excellence may be helpful for training African stability police units." Another UNDPKO official also supported the idea and said "SPCE could be an effective tool for stability policing training."

One senior UN police officers pointed out that other gendarmeries can be used to train local gendarmerie forces. He said:

> "We are currently running an operation Africa, including Mali and Congo, and most of those countries in Africa do have gendarmes. My personnel view is that while the police could continue to do training for the police personnel in peace operations, you need to have similar type of organizations who would be training gendarmes. What I have observed is, we do have gendarmes training police or police training gendarmes. I think something has to be harmonized."

Coordination between military forces and law enforcement agencies

For security reasons, in peace operations, law enforcement units should be able to perform their tasks in close coordination with military forces. However coordination between traditional police and military forces is not easy. One gendarmerie peacekeeper reported, "Their [Traditional Police and Military Force] rank systems, culture and communication systems are not compatible with each other. Whereas, gendarmeries are compatible with all these issues with military forces, so the coordination between military and gendarmerie forces would be much easier."

Gendarmeries' ability to serve either as integrated part of a military force or under the command of civilian authority and work closely with them is an important feature of these forces. This characteristic of gendarmeries can facilitate the coordination among various security actors. A peacekeeper that had worked in several missions in the past stated:

"The mentality of the army and police officers is not same in terms of risk analysis and risk assessment. Gendarmeries know both police and military affairs. That's why I believe that presence of gendarmeries would facilitate coordination and strengthen the communication between the military and police."

One UNDPKO official suggested that the nature of the treat is an important factor in deciding command structures of security forces in a peace mission. He revealed a case in which how military and police coordinate: "In Central African Republic right now, we have a Bangui Task Force. For the first time ever, we have military under the command of police. It is never happened in a peacekeeping mission before. So the police would naturally go first, [then] if the situation escalates to a certain point, the military will come in behind to take over."

From the UN perspective, a senior UN official recommended, "Ideally, the first responders in a peacekeeping mission should always be local law enforcement, if they are there, then supported by our formed police units and then by the military component. That is the way it should be. It should never be the military as the first."

Current Challenges for Peacekeeping Operations

All senior UN officials acknowledged that the operating environment of the peacekeeper has evolved substantially over the last decade. UN peacekeepers are operating in different situations, different environments and tackling new challenges. One senior UN official said, "The current environment we are operating is in different than it used to be in the beginning of 1990s and 2000s." Another UN official commented, "In the field, actors are not the state anymore but they are groups and sometimes [they have a] weak command of chain." In order to deal with new challenges in peacekeeping

operations, one senior UN official said, "The Division of Military Affairs and the Office of UN Police work together to establish the best way of working in peace missions."

In addition to the efforts being made to adapt to the new operating environment, the recruitment of police has also evolved considerably. A UNDPKO official said, "The demand for the UN police has increased quite dramatically. We deploy a numbers of different types of police. We deploy individual police officers. We deploy formed police units… They [FPUs] bridge the gap between individual police officers and military."

UN officials expressed several challenges for current peacekeeping operations. First challenge is the sheer number of peacekeepers that are currently serving. A UNDPKO official said: "We deploy police officers from 88 countries. It is an amazing number, especially   when you think about [how] they come from different types of police organizations. They come from different backgrounds and different police cultures and we put these   police officers from 88 countries to a mission to implement the mandate. It is quite challenging, as you can imagine."

Second, the task of police has changed dramatically since 1990s. The same UNDPKO official suggested:

> "We were basically monitors. We now expect police officers to do executive policing. They need to be able to mentor local police; they need to be able develop local police institutions. So the roles are quite complex. When we recruit individuals, we are focusing on skills. We have basic skills depending on the mandate and we require basic skills that police officers need to have. In order to advise, they need to have maybe an investigation background; it could be a community policing background or it could be as a border policing expert, or it could be forensic."

Developing local capacity is extremely complicated and presents another challenge for UN operations. One UNDPKO official said:

> "We are involved in terms of law enforcement operational support, reforming and restructuring. If you look at Central African Republic mission right now, we have a dual-track mandate there. We have executive law enforcement, but there is also no local police. We need to rebuild the entire structure. So we are going to be enforcing the law. Also, we are going to be developing local capacity and developing local capacity is extremely difficult."

A third challenge described by a UNFPKO is finding appropriately skilled personnel for peacekeeping missions. He mentioned the necessary skill sets, "If you look at a police institution, we require everything. We are requiring police with the investigative [skills], community policing experts… logistic experts, [which are] very hard to find for police organizations. We always have difficulties in recruiting thematic experts." Identifying people for leadership positions is also very problematic. The same official added, "We have difficulties in identifying [personnel for] leadership positions. Identifying the commissioner or deputy commissioner or the chief of operations always present a challenge." Furthermore, recruiting police officers with the right language skill is not easy. A UNDPKO official suggested, "French speaking missions present another challenge."

Fourth, recruiting formed police units has its own challenges. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, FPUs are self-sustaining units. They live in camps and work as a unit. They come to a mission with their own equipment and weapons. The UN also provides some things but most of their equipments come from their country of origin. A UNDPKO official expressed the challenges regarding FPU deployment. "It is very complicated to

deploy a form police unit. We have countries where we have been doing this for a very long time and they still struggle. Sometime it takes more than a year for countries to deploy a FPU."

Fifth, pre-deployment training is another challenge. A senior UNDPKO official complained: "pre-deployment training is the responsibility of the country. But we find many our contributors don't do this. They gather their people and deploy their people. So there is no pre-deployment training." He also added "You know it is very beneficial for all to know where they are going and what their task and responsibility is gonna be in this country. That is the responsibility in the sending country. When we finally get them we give induction training."

Finally, female recruitment is also a great challenge. A senior UNDPKO official said, "It is the challenge for everybody. It is not just challenge for countries of the north and south. Everybody faces that challenge. We want to undertake a number of exercises to increase female representation. We set a goal, 12 percent, as a requirement of the Security Council." He also explained why it is a great challenge. "You are talking about deploying somebody for a year in a mission and the environment is difficult. I just came from a mission. I was out for two years. I was living away my family and it is not ideal situation. It was quite difficult. My wife had two children. For a woman, it is probably even harder."

6.11 Summary of qualitative findings

A series of interviews were conducted with security experts in order to obtain a broader and deeper perspective that couldn't be obtained using quantitative analysis

alone. The varying perspective of the security experts shows that there is no cookie-cutter solution for every scenario. The peacekeepers are operating in different environment and various cultural contexts. For instance, the situations facing people from African, Asia, and the Balkans are not the same. Cultural, social, and political features of host countries where peacekeeping operations take place are important factors that need to be considered.

Many experts interviewed pointed out that local people often see international intervention forces as invaders. If there are other national security forces in the forefront, this may produce a negative reaction among the local population. Local people may think that they are under invasion. Most experts agree that local police officers should be in the forefront when responding to violent conflicts. If the local police forces are insufficient, the international security forces should support them. The role of the international forces should be rebuilding and supporting the local security force.

All the interviewees, including army peacekeepers, agree that army cannot function well as a police force since they are not trained and equipped for policing. All peacekeepers, including police peacekeepers, agree that traditional police forces may be insufficient in low security conditions in which there is always extreme violence. Interview findings indicate that most experts involved in peacekeeping operations agree that gendarmeries are a valuable asset for peace operations and can fill the gap between police and military.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study explored the roles of three kinds of security forces in peace operations: (1) military forces, (2) gendarmerie forces and (3) traditional police forces. In order to explore the research questions of this study, cases from Bosnia and Kosovo were used to examine the topic in a real word context and an online questionnaire was designed and sent to security experts, including military, police, gendarmerie peacekeepers, academics and diplomats. Furthermore, 15 interviews were conducted with these security experts who also completed the online survey. Even though the main purpose of this dissertation was to explore the roles of security organization with a focus to gendarmeries, this study also provided an opportunity to understand challenges of the peace operations and offered a picture of the environment in which peacekeepers operate.

The relevant literature on policing peace operations suggests that gendarmeries can be a useful tool and fill the security gap between military and police. (Perito, 2013; Hoogenboom, 2011, Hovens 2011; Gobinet, 2008; Lutterbeck, 2004). However, no empirical research evidence exists on the role of gendarmeries in peace operations. To the author's best knowledge, this study is the first empirical study that examines the potential roles of gendarmeries in a peace operation context. Therefore, it is believed that this dissertation has made a significant contribution to the peace studies literature by providing empirical evidence on how the military, police and gendarmeries should provide security in peace operations. This last chapter of the dissertation presents an analysis of the research findings instead of solely summarizing the findings of the qualitative and quantitative data, which were broadly explained in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapter. Conclusions drawn from the study are described. Policy recommendations for future peace operations and suggestions for future studies are also made.

7.1 Summary and Discussion of Key Findings

There are many problems with regard to peace operations including, political will among the members of the international community to intervene for a certain situation, disagreements among the great powers, lack of clear rules of engagement in mandates, quality of leadership, late recruitment of competent security forces and complexities inherent in multi-national forces. This study focuses only on one important challenge in peace operations: stability policing. The researcher's main interest was whether gendarmeries could fill the deployment and enforcement gap in peace operations. It is necessary to state that the results of this study are based on invaluable expert opinions and as well as in-depth analysis of Bosnian and Kosovar cases. This dissertation research yielded several important findings on policing peace operations. The findings can be discussed under three categories: (1) the roles of military forces, (2) the functions of traditional police forces, and (3) the potential roles of gendarmerie type police forces.

One of the principle findings of the present study is that military forces cannot adequately perform law enforcement duties in peace operations. Security experts rated military effectiveness in peace operations as somewhere between ineffective or average effective based on a five-level Likert scale. The preceding statistical analysis found the mean for military effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties ranged between 2.56 and 2.72 for three different security levels. Consistent with these findings, the military law enforcement responsibility was rated between providing a minor support role and support role for three security levels. Furthermore, a large majority of the experts agreed to the statement "military forces should not perform law enforcement duties since

they are not trained for law enforcement service and might use disproportional amounts of force."

According to interview results, almost all respondents stated that military forces do not practice law enforcement tasks effectively. The security experts suggested several reasons for this. First, some of the respondents reported that military training is not suitable for law enforcement tasks. They explained that the army is trained for fighting against armed combatants not criminals. It was also noted that military forces don't know how to gather evidence and take victim's statements effectively. Second, some experts pointed out the mentality difference between military and law enforcement officers and suggested that it is more likely that the military would use excessive force because they see criminals as enemies. Third, some respondents claimed that their equipment was not appropriate for law enforcement tasks. Several peacekeepers complained that establishing check-points with tanks and heavy machines created fear among the local people. Moreover, in-depth analysis of Bosnian and Kosovar cases revealed that military forces were reluctant to perform as a police force. Senior military officials both in Kosovo and Bosnia continually acknowledged that their training wasn't fit for policing duties. Based on both qualitative and quantitative analysis, it is obvious that military forces should not serve as primary law enforcement agency in peace operations. However, it is also admitted by many security experts that military forces should support law enforcement forces while carrying out their duties.

Another important finding of this dissertation was that traditional police forces might be insufficient to maintain law and order, especially when there is serious violent domestic disorder in a peace operation framework. The mean for police effectiveness in

performing law enforcement duties at Security Level-1 (No Security) was 3.54 in five-level Likert scale. In other words, the experts didn't believe that police forces could be very effective in performing law enforcement duties at Security Level-1. However, as the security level increased, the police effectiveness means also increased. The police effectiveness mean at Security Level 3 (Good Security), which is 4.66, indicated that the experts rated police effectiveness between effective and very effective. In addition to the online survey results, the interview findings showed that traditional police forces might be insufficient to fight crimes or handle violent domestic disorder in a hostile, unstable and less secure environment (Level 1-No Security). The security experts believed that neither their equipment, nor their training, were suitable for such an environment. They pointed out that the equipment of traditional police forces was not adequate for a low security condition of peace operations in which there are always asymmetrical threats. Traditional police forces might not provide effective law enforcement with their light weapons and unarmed vehicles in a complex and hostile peace mission environment. Moreover, the harsh geographical conditions (e.g. mountainous and forests) of a conflict zone often decrease the mobility of traditional police forces and prevent them from providing effective law enforcement. It should be noted that respondents suggested that traditional police forces should be given more responsibility as the security conditions improve in peace operations. In addition to both online survey and interview analysis, examining the Kosovar and Bosnian cases provided similar finding. The UN Secretary General reported and relevant literature cited many specific events in which traditional police forces failed to carry out their duties and were attacked by opposing groups, causing injury to police officers and damage to police vehicles.

Finally, this study examined the possibility that gendarmeries could fill the security gap between police and military in performing law enforcement duties in peace operations. The statistical analysis indicated that the mean for gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties was higher than the police and military mean at low security conditions in peace operations (Level-1 No Security – Level-2 Moderate Security). At the Security Level-3 (Good Security), the participants' perception of gendarmerie effectiveness in performing law enforcement duties was higher than the military's effectiveness but slightly lower than the police's effectiveness.

Consistently, respondents gave more law enforcement responsibility to gendarmeries than police and military at low security conditions in peace operations (Level-1 No Security – Level 2 Moderate Security). At the Security Level-3, however, even though gendarmerie law enforcement responsibility is higher than the military responsibility, it is lower than the police law enforcement responsibility. A majority of security experts agreed to the statement "Gendarmeries can fill the gap between military and traditional police forces in peace operations." Moreover, a large majority of security experts agreed that gendarmeries could perform law enforcement duties more effectively than military and traditional police forces in peace operations (see survey question 28).

In accordance with the survey results, interviews also confirmed that gendarmeries could fill the both deployment and enforcement gap. The security experts reported several reasons for this. First, since gendarmeries know both military and law enforcement work, they could be a feasible solution to the deployment gap, which is the time between the arrival of armed forces and the arrival of international police forces. Second, gendarmeries' training and their ability to function in both a civilian and military

manner help them to perform law enforcement duties in harsh, complex, and hostile environments. Third, interview findings suggested that the police forces operating in peace operations should be more powerful and have superior skill than normal police forces. In this sense, the experts stated that gendarmeries' equipment, including armored vehicles, small aircraft, helicopters, and heavy and light weapons, increase the capability of gendarmeries to deal with asymmetrical threats in peace operations. In addition to the survey and interview analyses, an in-depth exploration of the Bosnian and Kosovar cases provided similar findings. As discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, many scholars, and UN and NATO documents suggested that gendarmerie type police forces in Bosnia and Kosovo were very helpful in maintaining public security and filled the security gap.

Based on the qualitative and quantitative findings, it is obvious that gendarmeries can fill the security gap between military and police. In addition to that, gendarmeries can be useful for fighting almost every type of violence on the violence continuum showed in the Figure 7.1.

Figure-7.1: Type of Force in Violence Continuum

Figure-7.1 illustrates the relation between types of violence and suitable responses of force. The primary responsibilities of a traditional police are maintaining public order and security by preventing and fighting both individual and organized crimes internally within a state. On the other hand, the primary responsibilities of military forces are defense of states from external threats and protection of that nation's interest. Gendarmeries' ability to be able to operate both as a military and police organization ensures that these types of forces can be useful all points within the violence continuum. In many countries, gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations are subordinate to the Ministry of Interior during peacetime, and perform domestic law enforcement tasks including, traffic control, crime investigation and crime control activities. However, they are subordinate to the Department of Defense of their native country during times of war. This characteristic of gendarmeries may help decision makers to deploy these type forces in a situation which does not require robust military deployment but cannot be controlled by traditional police force. For instance, fighting terrorism and insurgency is very difficult, complex and sophisticated issue and necessitates special kinds of skills and capabilities. Especially, it can be very difficult to distinguish combatants and civilians in the context of insurgency and peace operations. We can see a lot of news on the media announcing that some civilians were killed accidentally by international coalition forces. According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, which is a Britain based network of activists on the ground, more than 500 ISIS militants and 32 civilians have been killed since the beginning of the U.S.-led airstrikes ("US-led air strikes on Syria have killed more than 500 Isis and al-Nusra fighters," 2014). Military forces are trained for killing the enemies. In the context of post-conflict situations which sometimes necessitate

fighting an insurgency, there is an increased risk for military forces that they may not be able to distinguish the distinction between enemy and criminals. On the other hand, traditional police forces are trained for dealing with criminals. They don't have special equipments and heavily armed weapons to fight with guerillas. In this sense, gendarmeries can be suitable forces. Since they are trained for both fighting with enemy and criminals, they can distinguish a criminal and an insurgent better than military forces.

7.2 Policy Recommendations

The findings of this dissertation contribute to our understanding of stability policing by providing empirical evidence about the effectiveness of gendarmerie type police forces in peace operations. The study's findings have important implications for how gendarmeries can strengthen the criminal justice system of peace operations. Furthermore, the findings of this research can be used to improve the interaction among police, gendarmerie, and military forces in peace operations. Specifically, the study may inspire practitioners to develop new strategies and provide them with ideas on how to increase law enforcement effectiveness in peace operations. Nevertheless, the study suggests obvious implications for stability policing practices.

It should be noted that the security condition in a peace operation is not static; it changes over time. The security condition in the first phase of a peace operation is generally much worse than later stages of the peace operation. Thus, this study developed three security levels in order to gain security experts' opinions for all phases of a peace operation. As discussed in the first chapter, there are several stages of peace operations. Figure 7.1 illustrates these stages of a peace operation.

Figure 7.2: Life cycle of a peace operation

Note: Adapted from Lund, M. S. (1996). Preventing violent conflicts

The peacemaking phase involves diplomatic efforts to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement. If it fails, the international security forces arrive in a conflict zone in peace enforcement stage. There are three steps in the conflict de-escalation process: (1) peace enforcement, (2) peacekeeping, and (3) post-conflict peace building. Considering these three step in the de-escalation process, this study defined three levels of security ranging from Level-1—No Security to Level-3—Good Security (see table 3.1). Security Level-1 (No Security) represented the peace enforcement stage. Security Level-2 (Moderate Security) represented the peacekeeping stage and Security Level-3 (Good Security) represented the peace building stage of peace operations. The researcher's policy recommendation about the policing peace operations is developed using the results of the present study, which considers three security levels in accordance with the three steps of de-escalation process.

Prior research on policing peace operations used case studies and interview data to examine and evaluate the effectiveness of criminal justice system on peace operations (Perito, 2013; Bellamy, 2010; Dziedzic and Bair, 1998). However, these studies did not test the practitioners' perception on the functions of military, police, and gendarmerie forces in peace operations. This present study, in contrast, tested the perception of security experts on whether gendarmeries, traditional police and military forces can be effective in performing law enforcement, riot control and counter-insurgency duties by conducting a survey with peacekeepers, diplomats, and academic experts. While operationalizing the key components of policing tasks in peace operations, the study provided clear findings for decision makers about how security forces should be used in a peace operation environment. The quantitative findings, observations of the security experts, and in-depth case analyses confirmed that gendarmeries could be an effective tool in bridging the deployment and enforcement gap in peace operations. Policy makers need to consider the potential roles of gendarmeries before deciding to implement an intervention. This research may help policy and decision makers when they are developing intervention plans.

This study also revealed that peacekeepers are operating in a multitude of different environments. There is no cookie-cutter solution for every scenario. While political, cultural, and social aspects of peace operations are not within the scope of this research, it should be noted that these three factors are important elements that should be considered when planning an intervention. It is obvious that whether countries that have gendarmerie type-forces contribute to a peace mission, or whether the mandate is traditional, multidimensional, or an executive policing mandate, the conflicted parties'

level of acceptance of international intervention forces and the characteristic of people in the host country are important elements to take into account in planning peace operations.

This study proposes recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of the law enforcement system of peace operations for three stages of the de-escalation process. These policy recommendations are discussed below.

Peace Enforcement Stage (Security level 1- no security)

In this first phase of a peace operation, there are generally many violent actions conducted by armed groups. Local people don't have freedom of movement and there is no effective local police and judicial capacity. In short, there is no security, and local people act to save their lives and property. In such an environment, only international military forces are in a peace operation theatre. However, soldiers should not conduct law enforcement since they are not routinely trained for law enforcement duties. Law enforcement requires that officers gather evidence for the judicial system. Crimes committed during the initial phase of a peace operation cannot be prosecuted accurately unless there is evidence. This vital task cannot be performed by an organization that is not trained for it. Unfortunately, the literature identifies that military forces performed the role of law enforcement in Kosovo until the arrival of international police forces and until local police were trained for law enforcement functions. Criminals were taken into custody and the military judicial system reviewed the cases. The perpetrators of crimes were put in prison and held for judicial processing during the first phase of the peace operation in Kosovo (Oliver, 2012). However, it was not ideal situation. It was clear that the military was not capable of properly dealing with law enforcement issues.

Examining both Kosovar and Bosnian cases showed that the full deployment of authorized international police forces can take more than one year. During the deployment gap period, an international military body should necessarily be responsible to ensure public safety and order as long as civilian organizations are not able to do so. Since gendarmerie type police forces can be deployed rapidly under the command of military forces, the international military forces should involve gendarmerie units. These forces are also logistically self-sustainable and able to cooperate successfully with both the police and military elements in a peace operation. The Kosovar intervention showed that gendarmerie forces were in theatre under the command of the NATO just two days after the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution. However, the deployment of an authorized international police component took more than two years. Until the authorized police deployment strength is sufficient, gendarmerie units under the command of the international military component should be responsible for performing law enforcement tasks while military forces provide area security. During the early stages of peace missions, gendarmeries are more able to survive in the anarchic conditions than traditional police forces.

In some cases, the recruitment and deployment of gendarmerie-carabinieri type forces under the command of military forces might not be possible. Countries that have gendarmerie type police forces may not be willing to send their forces to peace missions for political or other reasons. In such situations, military forces should involve law enforcement officers, and either gendarmerie or civilian police officers should advise military forces on policing matters.

Peacekeeping Stage (Security level 2- moderate security)

During the peacekeeping phase of a peace operation, local people have generally limited freedom of movement. They are subject to looting and attack for political purposes. The host countries have limited capability in controlling armed groups. In this second phase, once an international police component has taken over responsibility for law and order from international military forces, police forces should carry out normal policing duties. During the peacekeeping period, the military should not primarily engage in policing duties but support the police forces. The international police component should be under one direct command and involve gendarmerie type police forces. Since the security situation is still uncertain in this period, it is inevitable that international security forces would face some situations in which the capacity of traditional police forces will be insufficient to handle the situation. In such incidences, the presence of gendarmerie structures would be beneficial to de-escalate the situation. At that time, any gendarmerie-carabinieri type police units previously under military command should be transferred to the international police authority to avoid confusion in command in the same theatre. Gendarmerie units' primary focus should be conducting public order functions that require robust policing capacity, such as riot control and counter-insurgency. In addition, gendarmeries should support traditional police forces in carrying out policing tasks, some of which includes patrolling, crime investigation, preventive measures, and traffic control. If the recruitment of gendarmerie type police forces is not possible, military and traditional police forces should establish intense operational coordination through liaison officers. Overall, military forces should focus on providing general area security and the military should continue to support police and gendarmerie

forces in this peacekeeping stage if these forces could not implement their mandates because of severe security conditions.

In order to ensure effective interface between international police forces and the population, local people should be employed under the command of police forces. These local people with no police powers but limited basic skills would also demonstrate early local engagement with policing tasks. In the meantime, international peace building organizations should establish a police academy to train local police. International police elements should train, advise, and monitor local police officers that have graduated from the academy. It is important that all ethnic communities be represented among those serving on the local police force to ensure that all members of the community feel they have a voice in matters affecting their community and that it is critical to a successful transition from a low security situation to an improved one.

Peace-building Stage (Security level 3- good security)

In the third or peace-building stage, as soon as appropriately trained local police strength are adequately available, the international police force should transfer responsibilities for maintaining law and order to the local police. However, this transfer should be actualized in four steps. In the first step, patrolling responsibility should be transferred. In the second step, tactical function should be transferred and local police officers should be first-line supervisors. The thirds step should involve a transition of operational functions and the local police officers should function as middle level management. Finally, senior management positions should be transferred to the local police officers.

During the peace-building period, the security might not be well established, but the lack of security should not affect to freedom of movement of the local people. Local governments usually continue to function, but often lack the capacity to fully control violence. There might be some groups continuing to resist the existing local governing structure. For these reasons, gendarmerie forces might still be needed to backup the local police. At that time, international traditional police force should only focus on training, advising, and monitoring the local police. The visibility and footprint of the military forces should be completely removed from the cities. The military forces should remain in their barracks and only be called on for emergencies.

Other than policy recommendations for various phases of peace operations, there are also general issues that should need to be addressed. In order to ensure effective public safety, a clear mandate should be given to the security forces in peace operations. The mandate in the Bosnian case, for instance, involved a vague definition. The mandate authorized the police forces to carry out their duties in accordance with "internationally recognized standards of law enforcement." However, there were no "internationally recognized standards of law enforcement." Furthermore, the mandate was not giving executive policing to the international police structure. The role of the international traditional police force was only monitoring and advising the local police officers. That is, the international police were not able to punish in the case of non-compliance. The only thing that the international police force could do was to report incidents of non-compliance. The mandate giving responsibility to police forces should also give power and authority.

Inter Governmental Organizations (IGOs) conducting peace operations, including the UN, NATO and EU, should develop a joint doctrine in order to incorporate security force structures for post-conflict policing. It would be beneficial for all allied forces to operate according to a common post conflict policing doctrine. The training and operational practice of the doctrine should also be implemented at least once a year.

Filling the security gap with gendarmerie type police forces would be the best solution since gendarmeries know both military and police work. Furthermore, gendarmeries' ability to operate in accordance with innovative policing strategies, including problem oriented policing, community policing, hot spot policing, and compstat policing would increase the effectiveness of the law enforcement system of peace operations. On the other hand, it would be very difficult to operate using innovative policing strategies for international police forces that are formed individually by recruiting police officers from different nations and different policing cultures. It may be very challenging to recruit and deploy gendarmeries in sufficient numbers for large-scale operation. Therefore, IGOs should consider how they could develop partnerships with gendarmerie organizations such as European Gendarmerie Force (EUGENFOR) and FIEP (Association of European and Mediterranean gendarmeries and police forces with military status) or countries that have gendarmerie type police forces. It should be noted that gendarmerie forces from non-democratic countries could have a greater destabilizing effect instead of filling the gap.

7.3 Limitations

There is no study without its limitations. First, it is not possible to explain the real effectiveness of security forces in peace operations solely through experts' perceptions.

Since this was not an experimental study, it was not possible to generate a causal relationship. Nevertheless, it was neither practical nor possible to design an experimental study to compare real effectiveness of military, police, and gendarmerie organization in peace operations.

Secondly, another limitation stems from the fact that the literature does not reveal any agreed upon definition of law enforcement organizations with military status. Even though the characteristics of such forces are the same, some countries call their law enforcement organizations with military status gendarmeries (e.g., Turkey and France), some use the term carabinierie (e.g. Italy), while others refer to them as Guardia Civil (e.g. Spain). Some countries that do not have "gendarmerie-carabinieri-type police" forces call them constabularies (e.g. United States). Even though the researcher tried to clarify this issue, the lack of agreed upon terminology may have caused confusion when filling out the online survey.

Thirdly, nation states develop, structure, train and deploy their gendarmerie forces according to their domestic security needs. There is no standard "gendarmerie-carabinieri-type police" force. The usefulness, success, and reliability of these forces vary substantially with their nationality. In other words, while the gendarmeries of many European countries have proved their effectiveness in previous peace missions, gendarmerie forces from countries with a non-democratic background have left negative impression on the peacekeepers and diplomatic people who served in peace missions. This situation might have affected the responses of respondents.

Also, because it was an online survey and there was no control of respondents, it was difficult to get higher response rates. Therefore, the online survey questions and

answers were limited. As is true in any study, although the latent variables were comprehensive, it is impossible to argue that all possible variables were included to explain the construct.

The other limitation of this study was about the method of gathering questionnaire data thorough a web-based technology. Although the online questionnaire provided all possible essential instructions, it cannot be argued that participant shared their truthful perceptions and filled out the survey seriously. Generally, it is very difficult for researchers to gather data from other countries' military and law enforcement forces because they are reluctant to give permission to survey their military and law enforcement officers. This was the case for this study. Although there were some peacekeepers, diplomatic people and academics from other nations, the majority of the security experts were from Turkey. Therefore, generalizability of the present study is also limited since the majority of the sample participants were from Turkey.

The last question of the survey asked for participants' general comments. These comments showed that some of the police peacekeepers stated their concern that the results of this study may affect their missions abroad. Considering the same concern, peacekeepers may have concealed their frank perceptions about the organizations other than their own and rated the effectiveness of other security forces in an unfavorable manner. In addition, some peacekeepers might have over-reported their perception on effectiveness of their organization while underreport the effectiveness of other security forces.

Finally, the survey and interview questions were developed in English. The questions were then translated into Turkish. Although the survey question were translated

appropriately, some perceptional problems may have appeared, considering cultural and language differences.

7.4 Conclusion

Since the end of the Cold war, the numbers of internal conflicts have dramatically increased. The post-Cold War conflicts are a blend of war, crime, targeting of civilians and human right violations. In this sense, the new conflicts' law enforcement elements should be a mixture of soldiers and policemen (Kaldor, 2013). The changes in security environments require dynamic and flexible law enforcement capabilities. This unique gendarmerie model, skilled in both military and law enforcement work, can be very helpful in handling 21st Century security challenges.

The international community has recognized the importance of peace operations over the past decades. Building a sustainable peace requires strengthening internal security and criminal justice systems along with establishing effective law enforcement structures. In order to manage conflicts, help people affected by war or conflicts, and assist in the reconstruction of their societies, gendarmeries are a highly suitable tool for a range of crisis management operations, contributing to peace and international security.

An important issue in peace missions is the relationship between the civilian police and the military. Civilian police and the military are natural partners in a peace operation but coordination between the two is sometimes a challenge in the field. In order to succeed in this purpose, gendarmeries, with their unique ability to serve under both military and civilian command, can facilitate coordination between military, police, and local law enforcement.

Characteristics of gendarmeries enable them to serve in less stable or less secure environments. Gendarmeries can bridge the security gap between the military, whose troops are not equipped or trained to manage the problems of public order maintenance, and the civilian police forces, who are untrained and inexperienced in dealing with public order in complex environments. This capability of intervening in different situations makes gendarmeries a unique instrument. In particular, many characteristics of gendarmeries help them in gathering criminal intelligence on organized crime, fighting insurgency and terrorism, dealing with civil disturbances, conducting patrols, and handling hostage situations in peace operations.

In present day, gendarmeries maintain public order, control riot and perform criminal investigations in many European democracies when they are not deployed abroad. These practices of performing policing tasks on a routine basis are greatly helpful preparation for deployment in stability operation. It is impossible to get such experience only with training.

In the future, asymmetric threats will require and increase the number of joint operations in which military and civil organizations work together. In this regard, gendarmeries remain a viable and professional solution to deal with contemporary security issues.

Gendarmeries, with their law enforcement capabilities and military status could be an attractive model for the United States due to its engagement in various international campaigns. The U.S. could partner with the European Gendarmerie Force or design its own special stabilization tool for post-conflict environments.

Gendarmeries are not a fourth army. They are not a second police force. Gendarmeries have their own specific institutional system and are a valuable solution to fill security gaps (Dieu, 1993). They are situated between civilian police and the military and are able to cope with new challenges both nationally and internationally.

The concept of gendarmeries is not well known by modern criminal justice and security study scholars. Policy makers and practitioners should be made aware of the unique role and added value of gendarmeries regarding policing capabilities in more challenging situations. Therefore, gendarmeries must be taken into more account in police, security, conflict studies, and criminology.

7.5 Recommendations for Future Research

Previous research on policing peace operations mostly focused on case study analysis. Researchers should focus on acquiring primary data exploring to what extent gendarmerie, military and traditional police forces can be effective and what roles should be given to these security forces in the field of peace operations.

This research demonstrated that gendarmerie could be an effective tool in filling the deployment and enforcement gap in peace operations. However, future researcher should include more empirical research on this topic in order to better understand the potential roles of security forces in peace operations.

The majority of the participants for the online survey were Turkish peacekeepers. However, future research should expand the sample to other nations' peacekeepers, peace mission headquarters, and IGOs headquarters to explore more sites. In short, future researcher should try to obtain more international perspectives.

The security conditions are not stable during a peace operation. In order to explore the topic for particular situations, this study has developed three security levels for each stages of de-escalations process. Future studies can use these three security levels.

Finally, even though this study used a mixed methods approach, further research may rely more on interviews in order to discern the in-depth opinions of the both diplomats and practitioners who have served in a peace missions. In addition to interviews, official documents can be examined to develop comprehensive narrative data.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A: Informed Consent Form for Questionnaire

You are invited to participate to this survey research developed by Gultekin Topaktas, a PhD student from Rutgers University in Newark, New Jersey, USA. The purpose of this study is to understand the role of gendarmerie organizations (Law enforcement with military status) and improve the security conditions of peace operations.

The questionnaire should take approximately 10 minutes to complete. Researcher will ask almost (200) respondents including, army officers, gendarmerie officers, police officers, academics, and officials from the NATO and UN.

There are not any foreseeable risks or benefits for you associated with this project. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate in the survey, or not to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable. Furthermore, you can withdraw from the survey at any point without any penalty to you. You indicate your voluntary agreement to participate by completing this questionnaire.

Your survey responses will be strictly confidential and data from this research will be reported only in the aggregate, and the data will only be used for academic purposes. Your information will be coded and will remain confidential.

Should you have questions at any time regarding this study or the procedures, please feel free to contact Gultekin Topaktas at 201 888 5796, or email me at: gultekin.topaktas@.rutgers.edu or you can contact my study advisor Dr. Norman Samuels by email at: samuelsn@andromeda.rutgers.edu

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, you can contact the Institutional Review Board Administrator at Rutgers University at 848 932 0150 or humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

Thank you very much for your participation and time.

Please start with the survey now by clicking on the Continue button below.

APPENDIX B: Peace Operation Survey

Q1 Please indicate your organizational affiliation.
- ❍ Military
- ❍ Gendarmerie
- ❍ National Police
- ❍ University (Academic)
- ❍ UN
- ❍ NATO

Q2 Please indicate what best describes your position your organization (best one please)?
- ❍ Analyst
- ❍ Police executive
- ❍ Professor
- ❍ Director/leader
- ❍ Senior director/leader

Q3 What is your age?
- ❍ 25-30
- ❍ 31-35
- ❍ 36-40
- ❍ 41-45
- ❍ 46 or older

Q4 What is your rank?
- ❍ Staff (Non-commissioned Officer, First or Second Sergeant, Police officer)
- ❍ First Level Manager (Captain, First or Second Lieutenant)
- ❍ Middle Level Manager (Major, Superintendent, Third or Fourth Degree Chief Superintendent)
- ❍ Higher Level Manager (Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, First or Second Degree Chief Superintendent)

Q5 Is there a gendarmerie type law enforcement organization in your home country?
- ❍ No
- ❍ Yes

Display this paragraph if the Q5 "No" is selected

The definition of a "Gendarmerie" is law enforcement forces with military status. These types of organizations perform a range of police functions such as traffic control, criminal investigations, and general policing activities in their home countries. Such forces can serve in either a military or a civilian capacity. Currently, 56 countries (e.g., France, Italy, Spain, and Turkey) have gendarmeries. To illustrate, France's Gendarmerie and Italy's Carabinierie, are accountable to the Ministry of Defense in times of war but perform domestic civilian law enforcement including traffic control, public security, and judicial investigation during peacetime under the command of Ministry of Interior.

Q6 In the next question, please select the answer on a five point scale that most closely approximates your reaction to the statement:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Military should not perform law enforcement duties in peace operations since they are not trained for law enforcement service and might use disproportional amounts of force.	○	○	○	○	○

Q7 In the next series of questions, please select the answer on a five point scale that most closely approximates your reaction to the statement:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The ability to work under either military or civilian chain of command enhances gendarmeries' law enforcement skills in peace operations.	○	○	○	○	○
Since gendarmeries are equipped with armored vehicles, small aircraft, helicopters and heavy weapons, which average law-enforcement institutions do not have, they can perform law enforcement duties more effectively in peace operations.	○	○	○	○	○
The characteristics of gendarmeries enable them to serve in less favorable, less stable or less secure and complex environments.	○	○	○	○	○
Gendarmeries can fill the security gap between military and traditional police in peace operations.	○	○	○	○	○

Security conditions may change during a peace operation so let us look at different levels of security. In the next series of questions, the survey will use following three levels of security.
Level 1 - **no security**
Level 2 - security is **moderate**
Level 3 - security is **good**

For the next few questions, use the following definitions of security.
Level 1 – Security is **not present**. There many violent actions by local militia and armed groups. Only armed organizations have freedom of movement. Police and judicial systems do not exist. Many local people are either displaced or refugees.

Q8 In the level of **security at 1** –security is **not present**. Now how would you rate the **Gendarmeries'** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Riot control (Violent Demonstrations)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Counter-insurgency (Using force against militias)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q9 In the level of **security at 1** –security is **not present**. Now how would you rate the **Traditional Police's** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Riot control	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Counter-insurgency	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q10 In the level of **security at 1** –security is **not present**. Now how would you rate the **Military's** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Riot control	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Counter-insurgency	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q11 In the level of **security at 1** –security is **not present**. Now to what extend do you think that **Gendarmeries** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

Q12 In the level of **security at 1** –security is **not present**. Now to what extend do you think that **Traditional Police** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

Q13 In the level of **security at 1** –security is **not present**. Now to what extend do you think that **Military** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

For the next few questions, use the following definitions of security.

Level 2 – Security is **moderate**. The national government is not capable of controlling the armed groups. Police and judicial systems exist, but have limited capability. Local people and foreigners have limited freedom of movement, and are subject to looting, and attacks for political purposes.

Q14 In the level of security at 2 –security is **moderate**. Now how would you rate the **Gendarmeries'** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Riot control (Violent Demonstrations)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Counter-insurgency (Using force against militias)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q15 In the level of security at 2 –security is **moderate**. Now how would you rate the **Traditional Police's** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Riot control	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Counter-insurgency	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q16 In the level of security at 2 –security is **moderate.** Now how would you rate the **Military's** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	○	○	○	○	○
Riot control	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-insurgency	○	○	○	○	○

Q17 In the level of **security at 2** –security is **moderate**. Now to what extend do you think that **Gendarmeries** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

Q18 In the level of **security at 2** –security is **moderate**. Now to what extend do you think that **Traditional Police** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

Q19 In the level of **security at 2** –security is **moderate**. Now to what extend do you think that **Military** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Crime scene management	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Police/criminal Intelligence	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Counter-organized crime	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Community based policing (Patrolling)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

For the next few questions, use the following definitions of security.
Level 3 – Security is not assured, but the lack of security does not affect the ability for all
people to experience unlimited freedom of movement. Police and judicial systems exist and function, but lack some capacity to control violence. Some armed groups resist the existence of the established governing structure or fight among groups for control (**good security**)

Q20 In the level of **security at 3** –security is **good**. Now how would you rate the **Gendarmeries'** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	○	○	○	○	○
Riot control (Violent Demonstrations	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-insurgency (Using force against militias)	○	○	○	○	○

Q21 In the level of **security at 3** –security **good**. Now how would you rate the **Traditional Police's** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	○	○	○	○	○
Riot control	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-insurgency	○	○	○	○	○

Q22 In the level of **security at 3** –security is **good.** Now how would you rate the **Military's** role in the following tasks in peace operations?

	No Role	Minor Support Role	Support Role	Major Support Role	Full Responsibility
Law Enforcement Duties	○	○	○	○	○
Riot control	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-insurgency	○	○	○	○	○

Q23 In the level of **security at 3** –security is **good**. Now to what extend do you think that **Gendarmeries** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

Q24 In the level of **security at 3** –security is **good**. Now to what extend do you think that **Traditional Police** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

Q25 In the level of **security at 3** –security is **good.** Now to what extend do you think that **Military** can be effective in performing following tasks in peace operations?

	Very ineffective	Ineffective	Average	Effective	Very effective
Criminal investigations	○	○	○	○	○
Crime scene management	○	○	○	○	○
Police/criminal Intelligence	○	○	○	○	○
Counter-organized crime	○	○	○	○	○
Community based policing (Patrolling)	○	○	○	○	○

Q26 At what level (lowest) would you expect agencies to arrive in a conflict zone?

	No security (Level 1)	Moderate (Level 2)	Good (Level 3)
Military	❍	❍	❍
Gendarmerie	❍	❍	❍
International Traditional Police	❍	❍	❍

Q27 What is the lowest level of security that you would you expect the following organizations to begin to provide law enforcement service?

	No security (Level 1)	Moderate (Level 2)	Good (Level 3)
International Traditional Police	❍	❍	❍
Gendarmerie	❍	❍	❍

Q28 In the next series of questions, please select the answer on a five point scale that most closely approximates your reaction to the statement:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
In peace operations, gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations perform law enforcement duties more effectively than military force.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
In low security conditions (Security is not present), gendarmerie type law enforcement organizations perform law enforcement duties more effectively than traditional police forces.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q29 Please describe your participation in a peace operation mission: Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and/or Iraq? (Check all that apply)
- ❑ Bosnia
- ❑ Kosovo
- ❑ Afghanistan
- ❑ Somalia
- ❑ Iraq
- ❑ Haiti
- ❑ I did not participate in a peace operation
- ❑ Other _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS PROJECT. YOUR ANSWERS WILL HELP TO IMPROVE SECURITY CONDITIONS OF PEACE OPERATIONS.

If you would like to provide me any comments, I would appreciate your insight. Also, if you would like to be interviewed, I would very much like to talk with you about this in more detail. Also, after reviewing your questions would you mind if I called you. If the answer is yes to any of these, please put your name and email address below or contact me at gultekin_topaktas@yahoo.com or 201-888-5796.

Thank you for your participation

Gultekin Topaktas

 Comments:

APPENDIX-C Interview Consent Statement Form

You are invited to participate in a research study that is being conducted by Gultekin Topaktas, a PhD student at Rutgers University in Newark-New Jersey, USA. The purpose of this study is to understand the role of gendarmerie organizations (Law enforcement with military status) and improve the security conditions of peace operations.

Approximately 10 officers who have peacekeeping experience including, army officers, gendarmerie officers, police officers and nearly 5 UN and NATO officials will participate in the study, and each individual's participation will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes. Participation means providing certain information about your experience when you were serving as peacekeeper and responding to semi-structured questions which are related to the objectives of this research. Your oral consent grants the investigator named below permission to interview with you regarding the aforementioned subject matters.

All information will be confidential. Confidential means that I will keep this information confidential/private by limiting any individual's access to the research data and keeping it in a secure location. The Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University and I are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated. All study data will be kept until the research is officially approved by Rutgers University.

There are no foreseeable risks to participation in this study. You may not have any direct or indirect benefits from this study. Participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate, and you may withdraw at any time during the study procedures without any penalty to you. In addition, you may choose not to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable.

If you have any questions about the study or study procedures, you may contact me by email at gultekin.topaktas@rutgers.edu , or you can contact my study advisor Dr. Norman Samuels by email at: samuelsn@andromeda.rutgers.edu

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator, at Rutgers University at:
Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey

Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

ASB III, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 848 932 0150
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

APPENDIX-D: Audiotape Addendum to Consent form

You are invited to participate in a research study that is being conducted by Gultekin Topaktas, a PhD student at Rutgers University in Newark-New Jersey, USA. The purpose of this study is to understand the role of gendarmerie organizations (Law enforcement with military status) and improve the security conditions of peace operations.

You are asked for your permission to allow me to audiotape (sound), as part of that research study. You do not have to agree to be recorded in order to participate in the main part of the study. The recording will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes.

Participation means providing certain information about your experience when you were serving as peacekeeper and responding to semi-structured questions which are related to the objectives of this research.

All information will be confidential. Confidential means that I will keep this information confidential/private by limiting any individual's access to the research data and keeping it in a secure location. The Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University and I are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated. All study data will be kept until the research is officially approved by Rutgers University.

There are no foreseeable risks to participation in this study. You may not have any direct or indirect benefits from this study. Participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate, and you may withdraw at any time during the study procedures without any penalty to you. In addition, you may choose not to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable.

The recording(s) will be used for analysis by the researcher. The recording(s) will be stored in a locked file cabinet and linked with a code to subjects' identity; and will be destroyed after three years of completion of this research.

Your oral consent grants the investigator named above permission to record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study. The investigator will not use the recording(s) for any other reason than that/those stated in the consent form without your written permission.

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

APPENDIX-E: IRB Approval

June 3, 2015

Gultekin Topaktas   P.I. Name: Topaktas
33A Garden Terrace   Protocol #: 15-717M
North Arlington NJ 07031

Dear Gultekin Topaktas:

X				
Initial	Amendment	Continuation	Continuation w/ Amend	Adverse Event

Protocol Title: "Policing Peace Operations: Filling the Security Gap between Military and Police"

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date:	5/26/2015	**Expiration Date:**	5/25/2016
Expedited Categories:	6,7	**Approved # of Subject(s):**	215

This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

- **This Approval**-The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. **This approval is valid ONLY for the dates listed above;**
- **Reporting**-ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications**-Any proposed changes MUST be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)**-Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review**-You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;

Additional Notes:	• Expedited approval per 45 CFR 46.110
	• Approval of Waiver of Documentation of Informed Consent per 45 CFR 46.117(c). There is an oral consent for the interview and an information sheet for the questionnaire associated with this study.

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.
Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.
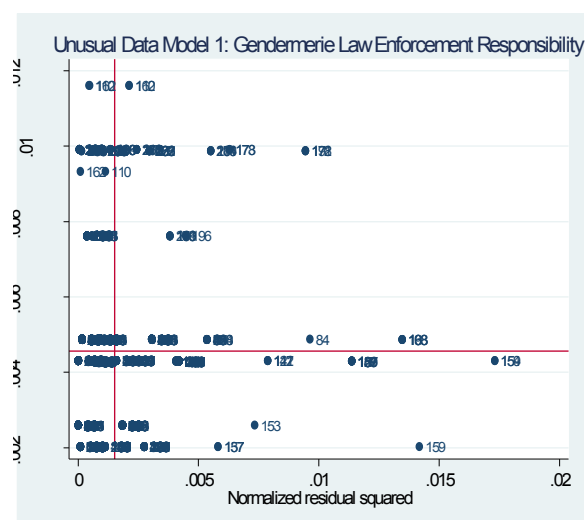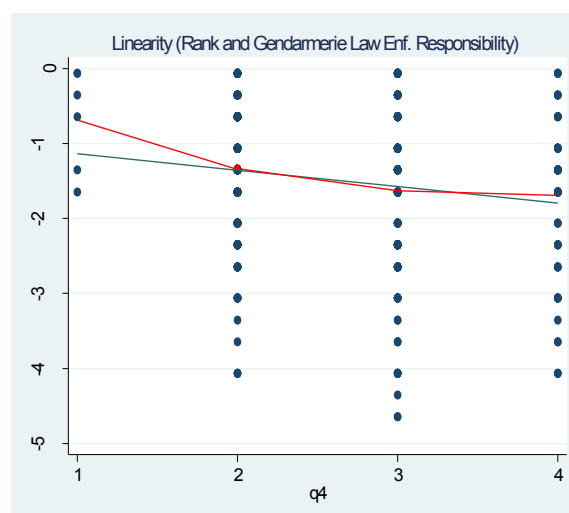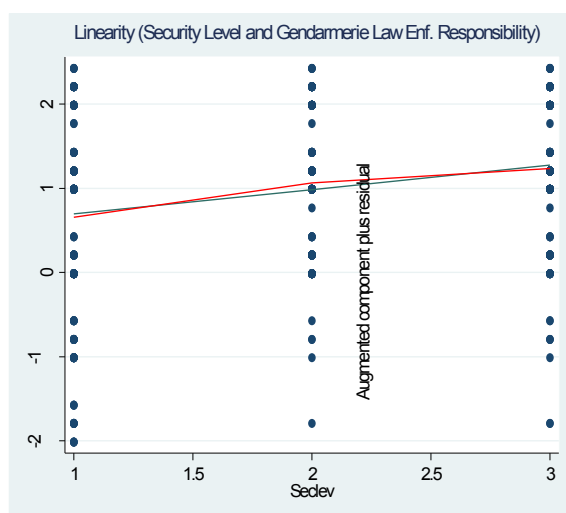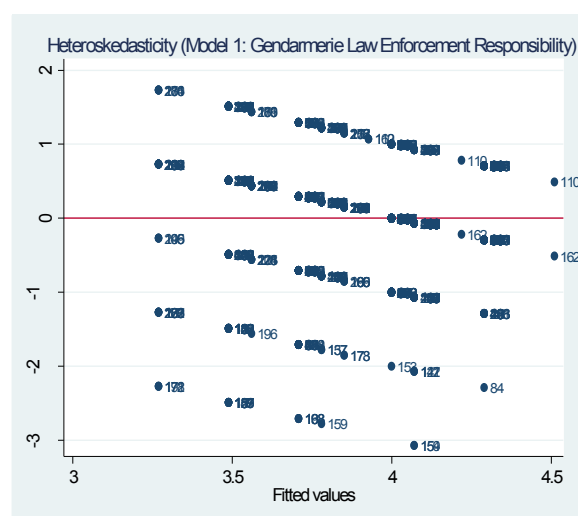
Respectfully yours,

Acting For--
Beverly Tepper, Ph.D.
Professor, Department of Food Science
IRB Chair, Arts and Sciences Institutional Review Board
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

cc: Dr. Norman Samuels

APPENDIX-E: OLS Regression Assumptions

MODEL-1

Histogram of Residuals (Model 1: Gendarmerie Law Enf. Responsibility)

Heteroskedasticity (Model 1: Gendarmerie Law Enforcement Responsibility)

Linearity (Security Level and Gendarmerie Law Enf. Responsibility)

Linearity (Rank and Gendarmerie Law Enf. Responsibility)

Unusual Data Model 1: Gendermerie Law Enforcement Responsibility

MODEL-2

MODEL-3

Histogram of Residuals (Model 3: Military Law Enforcement Responsibility)

Heteroskedasticity (Model 3: Military Law Enforcement Responsibility)

Linearity (Security Level and Military Law Enf. Responsibility)

Linearity (Rank and Military Law Enf. Responsibility)

Unusual Data (Model 3: Military Law Enf. Responsibility)

APPENDIX-F: List of World Gendarmeries

Nu	Counrty	English Name	Native Name
1	Turkey	Turkish Gendarmerie General Command	Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı
2	France	National Gendarmerie	La Direction Générale de la Gendarmerie Nationale
3	Italy	Corps of Carabineers	Arma dei Carabinieri
4	Spain	Guardia Civil	Dirección General de la Policia y de la Guardia Civil
5	Portugal	National Republican Guard	Guarda Nacional Republicana-GNR
6	Netherlands	Royal Marechaussee	The Royal Netherlands Marechaussee
7	Morocco	Royal Gendarmerie	La Gendarmerie Royale Marocaine
8	Romania	Romanian Gendarmerie	Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei Române
9	Jordan	Jordanian Gendarmerie	Jordanian Darak Forces
10	Chile	Carabiniers of Chile	Dirección General de Carabineros de Chile
11	Argentina	Argentine National Gendarmerie	Gendarmeria Nacional Argentina-GNA
12	Qatar	Qatar Internal Security Forces	Qatar Internal Security Forces
13	Poland	Military Gendarmerie	Zandarmeria Wojskowa-ZW
14	Lithuania	Public Safety Service	Viešojo saugumo tarnyba
15	Vatican	Corps of Gendarmerie of Vatican City	Corpo della Gendarmeria della Stato della Citta del Vaticano
16	Serbia	Gendarmerie	Zandarmerija
17	San Marino	Corps of Gendarmerie of San Marino	Corpo della Gendarmeria della Repubblica di San Marino
18	Monaco	Prince's Company of Carabiniers	Monaco Carabiniers Du Prince
19	Moldova	Carabinier Troops	Trupele de Carabinieri
20	Ukraine	National Guard	Natsionalna hvardiya Ukrayiny
21	Azerbaijan	Department of Internal Troops	Daxili Qoşunların Baş İdaresi
22	Kazakhistan	Kazakhistan Gendarmerie	-
23	Mongolia	Gendarmerie of Mongolia	-
24	Kyrgyzstan	Kyrgyzstan Gendarmerie	-
25	Turkmenistan	Turkmenistan Gendarmerie	-
26	Russia	Internal Troops	Vnutrenniye Voiska
27	China	People's Armed Police	Zhongguó Rénmín Wuzhuang Jingchá Bùdu
28	Pakistan	Pakistan Rangers	Punjab
29	Bangladesh	Bangladesh Ansar	Ansar & Village Defence Party
30	Cambodia	Royal Gendarmerie of Cambodia	-
31	Bhutan	Royal Bhutan Police	-
32	Iran	Islamic Republic of Iran Gendarmerie	Zhandarmeri
33	Israel	The Israel Border Police	Mishmar Hagvul

34	Lebanon	Internal Security Forces	Internal Security Forces
35	Algeria	National Gendarmerie	Gendarmerie Nationale
36	Tunisia	National Guard	Garde Nationale
37	Gambia	Gambia National Guards	Gambia National Guards
38	Burkina Faso	National Gendarmerie	L'Etat-Major de la Gendarmerie Nationale de Burkina Faso
39	Senegal	National Gendarmerie	Le Haut Commandement de la Gendarmerie Nationale
40	Madagascar	National Gendarmerie	National Gendarmerie
41	Djibouti	Gendarmerie	National Gendarmerie of Djibouti
42	Chad	National Gendarmerie	National Gendarmerie
43	Ivory Coast	Gendarmerie	-
44	Gabon	National Gendarmerie	Gendarmerie Nationale
45	Guinea	Gendarmerie	-
46	Cameroon	National Gendarmerie	Gendarmerie Nationale
47	Comoros	Gendarmerie	-
48	D. R. Congo	Gendarmerie	-
49	Mali	National Gendarmerie	La Direction Generale de la Gendarmerie Nationale
50	Mauritania	National Gendarmerie	Gendarmerie Nationale R.I.M)
51	Niger	National Police of Niger	Gendarmerie Nationale Nigérienne
52	Togo	National Gendarmerie	Gendarmerie Nationale
53	Benin	National Gendarmerie	Gendarmerie Nationale
54	Canada	The Royal Canadian Mounted Police	The Royal Canadian Mounted Police
55	Brazil	Military Police	Polıcıa Mılıtar
56	Venezuela	Venezuelan National Guard	Guardia Nacional de Venezuela