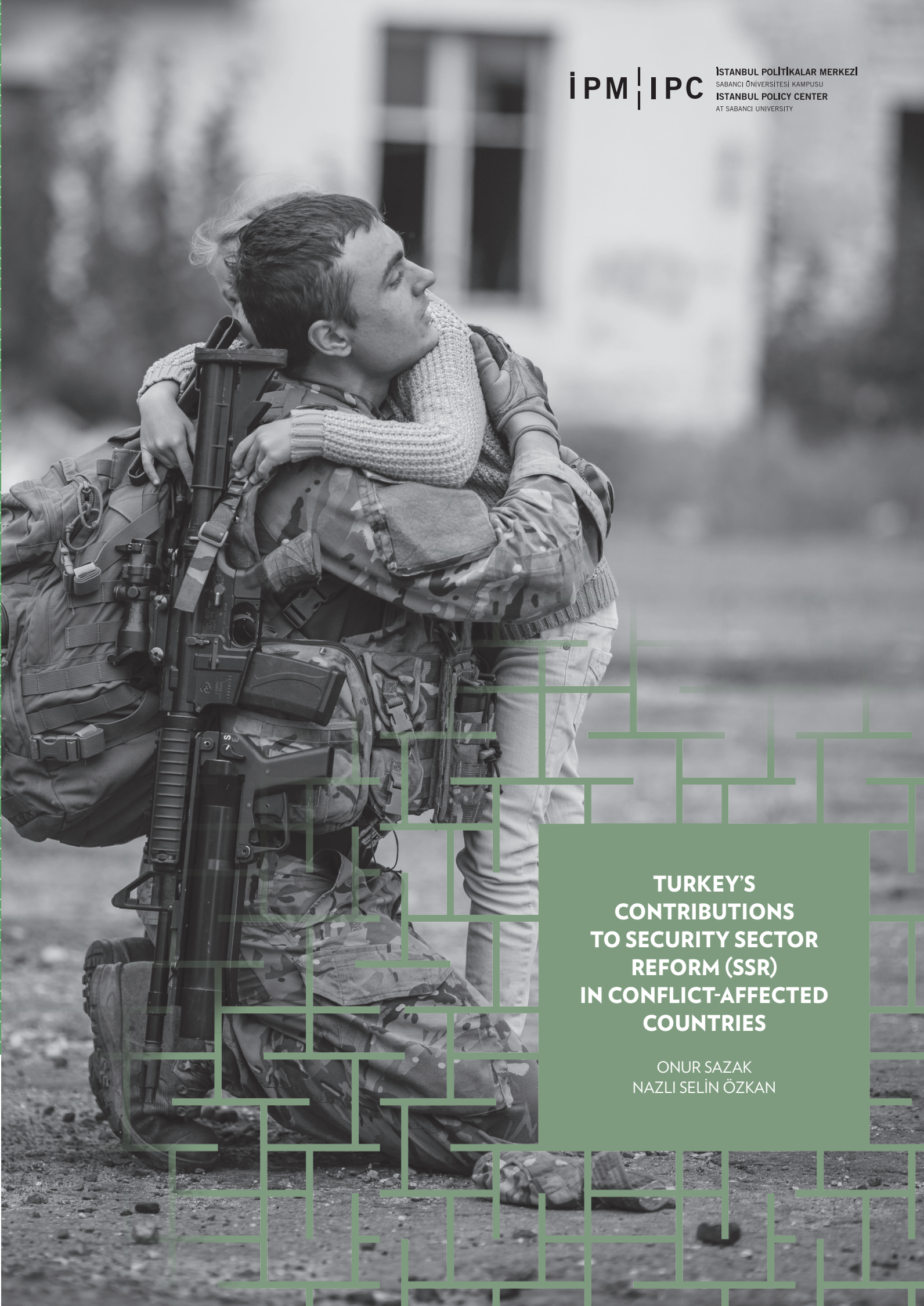


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TURKEY'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SECURITY SECTOR REFORM (SSR) IN CONFLICT-AFFECTED COUNTRIES

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INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1990s, Turkey has been a prominent contributor to peace operations around the world. From the UNOSOM missions in Somalia between 1992 and 1994 to its comprehensive involvement in peacekeeping operations in the Balkans at the turn of the millennium, Turkey provided numerous military personnel, expertise, and technical assistance to several United Nations (UN) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) peacekeeping missions. Whilst Turkey's support to peacekeeping operations in that period had been limited to troop and personnel contributions, several international and domestic developments in the early 2000s stimulated Turkey to expand its vision on its overall peace operations, both in security and humanitarian spheres. Specifically, the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the global scale and the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) victory in the 2002 general elections on the domestic level changed Turkish foreign policy irreversibly—and along with it Turkey's approach to peace operations. The U.S. invasion of Afghanistan immediately after 9/11 marked an important turn in Turkey's peace operations. Turkey suddenly became a key actor in the UN-mandated NATO mission in Afghanistan, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), assuming both the leadership of civilian and military representation on the ground a number of times throughout the mission (2003-2014). Turkey's ISAF contributions can be interpreted as the state's initial step to a comprehensive approach on peacekeeping, which for the first time included security sector reform. On the inside, the AKP administration's promotion of a proactive foreign policy—built on the tenets of humanitarian diplomacy, development aid, exportation of good governance institutions, and robust commercial ties and cultural exchange with neighboring countries—increased Turkey's contributions to the sphere of short-term humanitarian assistance and long-term development aid.[1] Since 2006, Turkey's humanitarian and development aid to conflict-affected countries has grown steadily.[2] While Afghanistan, South Sudan, Somalia, and recently Syria have been the main recipients of Turkish assistance, Turkey's official and private assistance has penetrated almost all continents, covering a vast range of countries from Myanmar to Haiti.[3]

This study is specifically concerned with Turkey's security sector reform (SSR) contributions to conflict-affected countries. SSR in the Turkish peacekeeping context is a relatively new phenomenon, and to a certain extent, Turkey is still thriving to internalize the new thinking on and new principles of SSR advocated by international stakeholders. SSR's formation in the Turkish context is part of a long process that started with Turkey's involvement in NATO's peace operations in Bosnia and Kosovo and transformed with Turkey's peace operations in Afghanistan and Africa. In this period, Turkey's contributions to security and justice sectors of conflict-affected countries in the areas of training and expertise-sharing increased steadily. As will be further illustrated in the following sections, Turkey's assistance has traditionally targeted conventional actors such as armed forces, local police, and public safety and border control agents. The new thinking, which prioritizes national ownership, civilian oversight, democratic governance, and inclusiveness of security and justice sectors on a broader global scale, has been slow in making an impact on Turkish SSR initiatives in conflict-affected countries. Turkey certainly stands to benefit from the new approaches to SSR, especially by those expressed in the Brahimi report, *OECD DAC Guidebook on Security System Reform*, and the findings of the recent High Panel on Peacekeeping Operations. By reorienting its SSR principles around the priorities of democratic governance, local ownership, inclusiveness, and increased civilian participation in oversight and implementation, Turkey can maximize its SSR assistance to conflict-affected countries.

The objectives of this study are therefore fourfold. First, it will introduce the inception and transformation of SSR as a new component of Turkey's broader peacebuilding operations. In tandem with this objective, the study will provide a baseline for Turkey's inputs to SSR in conflict-affected countries. Second, it will briefly chronicle the advent of civilian oversight, democratic governance, inclusiveness, and national and local ownership as fundamental pillars of a new

1 Fuat Keyman and Onur Sazak, *Turkey as a 'Humanitarian State'* (Istanbul: Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University, 2014).

2 *Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2013* (Bristol, UK: Development Initiatives, 2013), 25.

3 Bülent Aras and Pınar Akpınar, "The role of humanitarian NGOs in Turkey's peacebuilding," *International Peacekeeping* 22, no. 3 (2015): 230-247; See also, Bülent Aras and Pınar Akpınar, *International Humanitarian NGOs and Health Aid* (Istanbul: Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University, 2015).

thinking on SSR. This part especially stresses the necessity of integrating these pillars of democratic and civilian governance for sustainable, long-term, and inclusive reforms in security and justice sectors of beneficiary countries. Third, in tandem with the preceding objectives, the study analyzes Turkey's own success or shortcomings vis-à-vis the implementation of new guidelines in its SSR assistance schemes for beneficiary countries. Last, it will introduce a number of recommendations that Turkey should consider to ensure the sustainability and effectiveness of its SSR programs in conflict-affected countries.

THE INCEPTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF TURKEY'S SSR INITIATIVES IN CONFLICT-AFFECTED COUNTRIES

Confronted by a myriad of internal and external security challenges today, Turkey continues to provide support for numerous peacekeeping operations around the world. While Turkey's involvement in peacekeeping operations still overwhelmingly revolves around personnel, technical, and logistical assistance through bilateral agreements,[4] the reformation of security sectors of conflict-affected and post-conflict states is more commonly observed among Turkey's recent peacebuilding initiatives. Although Turkey has increased its SSR missions abroad, its expertise and technical assistance continue to flow largely into the improvement of conventional security actors. Nevertheless, exceptions to this pattern have been on the rise since the late 2000s. A closer look at Turkish involvement in a diverse range of countries from Afghanistan to Somalia, Kosovo to Kyrgyzstan, reveals a concentration of knowledge and resource transfers to traditionally-overlooked SSR components, such as the justice sector, civilian oversight mechanisms, democratic governance structures, and promotion of national and local ownership.[5]

Then Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's pledge last year at the Leader's Summit on Peacekeeping within the 70th session of the UN General Assembly to send training personnel to MINISMA and MINISCAR[6] is the latest addition to a strand of Turkey's incipient SSR engagements since the late 1990s and early 2000s. Between Turkey's first comprehensive peacekeeping mission in Kosovo (KFOR) and the recent multidimensional, integrated approach to the provision of security and stability in fragile states from Afghanistan to Somalia, a transition from conventional peacekeeping assignments into SSR-oriented tasks is visible.

SSR's inclusion in core peacebuilding operations may be new, but Turkey's active support to peace operations around the world is not. Since the launching of the UNITAF and UNOSOM II missions[7] in Somalia over two decades ago, the Turkish Armed Forces has lent a considerable volume of personnel, technical assistance, and equipment to bilateral and multilateral peacekeeping/peacebuilding operations around the world. Turkey made a significant contribution to the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), NATO Implementation Force (IFOR/NATO), and NATO Stabilization Force (SFOR) peace operations by providing a regiment of mechanized units between 1993 and 1995 in Bosnia. Turkey's deployment to Bosnia would sizably increase to a full brigade capacity with due expertise and training personnel.[8] Turkish peacekeepers' deployment to Kosovo within the UN-mandated NATO mission (Kosovo Force—KFOR) in 1999 points to another milepost in Turkey's transition from conventional peacekeeping to a comprehensive peacebuilding. KFOR was Turkey's entry point into Kosovo; Turkey contributed nearly 400 military personnel to the 5,000-strong mission in 1999.[9] Turkey's role in KFOR differed from its earlier peace operations in terms of the size of its deployed forces and the depth of the issues in which Turkish peacekeepers were involved. For the first time in its peacekeeping history, Turkey surpassed traditional peacekeeping roles and vested significant manpower in "Civilian-Military Cooperation (CIMIC)."[10] In this regard, the military communications and monitoring teams deployed with the Turkish headquarters in Kosovo were subsequently utilized to execute essential CIMIC missions, ranging from force protection to logistical support, from delivery of health care to school and infrastructure construction.[11] Turkey's contact with local authorities, primarily security actors and other local government functionaries, would later inspire one of Turkey's earlier on-site police and military training endeavors to take place in Kosovo.[12] Turkey's earliest monitoring

4 An off-the-record phone interview with a member of the Turkish parliament, who served as a Turkish military officer in various peacekeeping missions, in correspondence with the authors, June 21, 2015.

5 Teri Murphy and Onur Sazak, *Turkey's Civilian Capacity in Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (Istanbul: Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University, 2012), accessed October 6, 2016, http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/IPM-Turkish-CivCap.pdf.

6 Then Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's Remarks at the High-Level Discussions on Peacekeeping Operations, September 29, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ElRNNGa-dTM.

7 United Task Force was a UN-mandated peacekeeping and assistance mission in Somalia; UNOSOM II is the UN Operations in Somalia, integrating UNITAF. Both missions were executed between 1993-1994.

8 "Türkiye'nin Barışı Destekleme Harekatına Katkıları (Turkey's Contributions to Peace Support Operations)," The Official Website of the Turkish General Staff (no posting date indicated), http://www.tsk.tr/6_uluslararasi_iliskiler/turkiyeninbarisidesteklemeharekatinakatkilari.html.

9 Ibid.

10 A background interview with an active duty officer, NATO Rapid Deployable Corps – Turkey, Istanbul, February 5, 2016.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

mission in Kosovo extends as far back as UNMIK-CIVPOL, in which Turkey contributed 128 civilian police officers and 79 monitoring officers.[13] Turkey today runs yearly mobile training modules for Kosovo Security Forces under its NATO-mandated Partnership for Peace training program.[14] In both 2014 and 2015, approximately 30 KSF officers were reported to have participated in the mobile training program in Kosovo.[15]

The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan between 2002 and 2014 represents another critical point of transition for Turkish peace operations. Turkey's contributions to ISAF were more SSR-oriented than any other peace operation that Turkey had undertaken in the past. As will be elaborated further in the next section, Turkey's peacebuilding initiatives in Afghanistan had a strong component of training for the Afghan National Security Forces.[16] In that regard, Turkey's training and expertise assistance was comprehensive. Turkey not only renovated and refurbished cadet schools and military academies in strategic northern towns such as Kabul and Mazar-i Sherif, but it also sent instructors, designed curricula, and provided educational materials.[17] Turkish military academies in Ankara and Istanbul, as well as police academies and excellence centers in Anatolia, have admitted and trained thousands of young Afghan military and police officers since the beginning of the ISAF.[18]

A more important attribute of Turkey's peacebuilding activities in Afghanistan has been the inclusion of good governance and an inclusive civilian oversight of the Afghan security and justice sectors. Both the courses offered in Turkey and the modules developed and taught by Turkish security experts in Afghanistan have dedicated considerable amount of time and space to trainings on the rule of law, upholding the Afghan constitution, gendered approaches to security, diversity within security forces, and sensitivity for minorities.[19] Although a modest number of cadets and officer candidates might have benefitted from these specific courses, Turkey's initiative to integrate them into the core curricula represents a sea change in Turkey's new thinking on SSR.

Somalia represents another signpost that marks Turkey's departure from traditional peacekeeping and embrace of an SSR-driven, holistic, and long-term approach to peacebuilding. Somalia differs significantly from Turkey's prior peace operations and demonstrates a significant transformation between Turkey's peacebuilding discourse in the 90s and today. Turkey's reengagement with this war-ridden country began purely on humanitarian grounds immediately after the 2011 famine. While Turkey's entry point into Somalia was the delivery of food and other emergency aid to alleviate the famine's toll on the Somalis, in two years' time, Turkey's operations on the ground grew in size and sophistication. Shortly after the establishment of the Turkish Embassy in Mogadishu and several Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) offices in the country, Somalia became "the" destination for Turkey's development aid and charity work by faith-based organizations.[20] Hospitals, schools, dormitories, clean water and sanitation projects, agriculture, and fishery programs have mushroomed.[21]

Since 2013, however, Turkish peace operations in Somalia have adopted a visible military presence. Turkey's pledge of financial and military training assistance to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) heralded that Turkey's activities in Somalia would no longer be limited to humanitarian and development assistance. Turkey, at the time, had committed 1 million USD financial support for AMISOM and undertook the training of a modest number of Somali troops and policemen in Turkey.[22] Furthermore, the Turkish Armed Forces announced that it was building a training facility for the Somali Forces in Mogadishu.[23] Reportedly to be run by Turkish Armed Forces personnel, the academy is

13 Siret Hürsoy, "Birleşmiş Milletler Barış Operasyonlarının Yeniden Yapılandırılması Çerçevesinde Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'nin Sivil Katkıları," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 61, no. 1 (2006): 208.

14 Kosovo Mobile Training Website, Turkish Armed Forces, http://www.bioem.tsk.tr/eng/icra_kurslar/kosova_MET.htm.

15 The PfP training manual suggests a broad curriculum that covers R2P, RwP sensitive topics such as "The Law of Armed Conflict," "Tactical Civil-Military Cooperation," and "UN Military Observer"; "Course Guide 2015," Turkish Partnership for Peace Training Center, Ankara, Turkey, 2015, http://www.bioem.tsk.tr/images/yayinlar/course%20guide%202015.pdf.

16 Skype interview with an Afghan liason for NATO, Brussels, June 21, 2015.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.; also see "Afgan Polisler Sivas'ta Eğitiliyor," *Sabah,* June 11, 2015, accessed December 21, 2015, http://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/06/11/afgan-polisler-sivasta-egitiliyor.

19 *IPTA – International Police Training in Afghanistan: 1st year Evaluation Report*, International Police Training Academy, Sivas, Turkey, 2012.

20 Onur Sazak, Thomas Wheeler, and Auveen Woods, "Turkey and Somalia: Making Aid Work for Peace," *SaferWorld Briefing*, March 2015.

21 Kathryn Achilles, Onur Sazak, Thomas Wheeler, and Auveen Woods, *Turkish Aid Agencies in Somalia: Risks and opportunities for building peace* (Istanbul: Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University, March 2015), 18-21.

22 Ibid., 22.

23 "First Turkish military base in Africa to open in Somalia," *Daily Sabah*, January 19, 2016, accessed February 4, 2016, http://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2016/01/19/first-turkish-military-base-in-africa-to-open-in-somalia.

expected to train 1,500 Somali troops and to host 200 Turkish officers a year.[24] The academy is envisaged as a center for excellence for training missions encompassing the entire continent.[25] The academy serves as an important facilitator for Turkey's other training missions in Somalia that fall within the security—not justice—pillar of SSR. These programs will be further elaborated on in the proceeding segments.

In sum, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Somalia represent vital turning points for Turkey's peacekeeping and peacebuilding endeavors abroad. All three cases represent how Turkey was able to provide more than basic peacekeeping duties and offer training modules for principal security actors of each conflict-affected country. While Kosovo offered an early pretext for civilian-military cooperation as the backbone of advanced SSR missions, Afghanistan set a precedent for Turkey's SSR support for conflict-affected countries. Somalia, on the other hand, could be the first country that would receive comprehensive SSR assistance from Turkey. Turkey's SSR preparations with respect to Somalia indicate that the primary focus will again be on the principal security actors. Preparation in Ankara,[26] nonetheless, signals that its personnel will consult with key government institutions, civilian experts, and local representatives not only to better understand the lacking reforms in the areas of justice and democratic governance, but also to address the needs of civilians in an inclusive manner. The next segment will demonstrate how the current dominant discourse on SSR prioritizes good and democratic governance, civilian oversight, national and local ownership, as well as inclusiveness of security and justice systems in conflict-affected countries. Then, the study will illustrate to what extent these principles penetrated Turkey's approach to SSR.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 The authors attended a plennary session held in the Turkish General Staff on "Strategic Approaches to East Africa on the particularity of Somalia," February 8, 2016.

PUTTING CIVILIANS AND GOOD GOVERNANCE FIRST IN SSR: THE BRAHIMI REPORT, THE OECD DAC SSR HANDBOOK, AND THE HIPPO REPORT

Three occasions over the last decade and a half have challenged the international community's preconceived and security-intensive thinking on SSR. These were the "Report of the Panel on the United Nations Peace Operations" (also known as the "Brahimi Report"), *OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform*, and the "Report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations" (also referred to as the "HIPPO Report"). The Brahimi Report in 2000, the *OECD DAC Handbook on SSR* in 2007, and the latest Report of the UN High Independent Panel on Peacekeeping Operations in 2015 are counted amongst the essential declarations that called for increased attention to the democratic and civilian oversight of security and justice systems of conflict-ridden countries. The benchmarks, methods, and objectives set up by these reports encourage partner countries/donors to invest their resources more towards best practices that address democratic and accountability deficits in security and justice sectors. In the same vein, pushing for reforms on democratic governance of security institutions, local ownership, inclusivity, and accountability demonstrates the donor country's forward-looking vision on reconstruction of security and justice sectors of conflict-affected countries.

The Brahimi Report

The Brahimi Report in 2000 laid the groundwork for a comprehensive peacebuilding approach that emphasized protection of civilians by erecting long-term, strategic, and durable institutions.[27] The report marked an important discourse change in peacekeeping by acknowledging the shortcomings of the old approach in protection of civilians and alleviation of their suffering. It advocated a long-term and sustainable peacebuilding approach to conflict prevention or resumption. In other words, the novel thinking that the Brahimi Report promoted acknowledged the vitality of civil society and nongovernmental institutions in checking the security sector. Furthermore, thanks to the report, the term "civilian" entered the peacekeeping vernacular and was recognized as a central actor within the clauses of "responsibility to protect" (R2P) and "responsibility while protecting" (RwP).[28]

The Brahimi Report set a precedent by recognizing the indispensability of addressing civilian needs for an effective security sector reform in conflict-affected countries. It is one of the earlier UN reports that recognizes alleviating civilians' plight and ensuring their protection as an invaluable attribute of any serious, holistic approach to lasting peacebuilding. The report saw the emergence of widely used terms such as R2P and RwP. With the Brahimi Report, for the first time the necessity of engaging with local governments, local stakeholders, and civilian casualties of war in the peacebuilding process came to the fore. Even though the report was not directly concerned with security sector reform—as we understand it today—it did plant the seeds for a more comprehensive reconstruction of security systems in conflict-affected countries in two ways: First, it identified that both the UN's own civilian police practices and, more importantly, local police practices needed significant improvements. Earlier cases documented in conflict-affected countries had demonstrated frequent abuses and violation of fundamental human rights by local police forces. The cases had pointed to a principal lack of democratic policing, as well as having the capacity to respond effectively to civil disorder and for self-defense.[29] Second, the report noted the lack of respect for rule of law and a partial justice system—especially with respect to trials of political dissidents/prisoners. The report further stressed the need for international specialists/expertise in areas like international human rights law, effective civilian governance of the security system and penal system, and reconciliation and transitional justice in the majority of post-conflict countries. The panel underscored "the importance of training military, police and other civilian personnel on human rights issues and on the relevant provision of humanitarian law."[30] Although this finding directly addresses the training and knowledge that should be primarily available to the UN peace operatives in a post-conflict setting, indirectly their training would contribute to the improvement of security and justice provision via knowledge transfer.

Another contribution of the Brahimi Report to the development of SSR as a concept in ensuing years was to highlight the disarmament, demobilization, and

27 *Report of the Panel on the United Nations Peace Operations* (New York: UN General Assembly Security Council, August 21, 2000), http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

reintegration (DDR) of former combatants. The panel established DDR as an indispensable factor in immediate post-conflict stability and reduced the likelihood of conflict recurrence. DDR was deemed essential as a direct contribution to public security and law and order in post-conflict peacebuilding.

In sum, the Brahimi Report recommends "doctrinal shift in the use of civilian police, other rule of law elements and human rights experts in complex peace operations to reflect an increased focus on strengthening rule of law institutions and improving respect for human rights in post-conflict environments."[31] These recommendations broke the ground for serious considerations to be made throughout the decade and well into the 2010s.

OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform

Seven years after the Brahimi Report, another breakthrough in the SSR discourse occurred with the "DAC Handbook on SSR." The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee published a comprehensive handbook that not only set new, civilian-oriented oversight standards for SSR but also suggested comprehensive inception, implementation, and evaluation stages that put local ownership, inclusivity, and beneficiary interests first.

The *Handbook*'s contribution to SSR discourse stemmed from its donor orientation. It was the first comprehensive body of instructions and recommendations for the donors that were sincere about supporting security and justice sector reform initiatives taken by conflict-affected and post-conflict countries. The *Handbook* thus urged the donors to be mindful of three ultimate objectives with a view to enhancing security and justice sectors of their partner countries: 1) the improvement of basic security and justice service delivery, 2) the establishment of an effective governance oversight and accountability system, 3) the development of local leadership and ownership of a reform process to review the capacity and technical needs of the security system.[32] The document, however, did much more than issuing the aforementioned marching orders or reiterating the importance of civilian ownership of these reforms. It urged donor countries to immerse themselves, and train their personnel accordingly, in the nature of security system reforms in a particular beneficiary country. Donor support to SSR processes in conflict-affected countries must be centered on the following principles: 1) people-centered and locally owned, 2) competent and integrated to the extent that the assistance addresses diverse security challenges facing states and their populations, 3) multi-sectoral approach based on a broad assessment of the range of security and justice needs of people, 4) adherence to basic governance principles such as transparency and accountability, 5) concern for the enhancement of institutional and human capacity needed for effective functioning of security policy and equitable delivery of justice.[33]

OECD DAC Handbook went a step farther by flagging the attention of potential donors to the challenges they might experience in advising and implementing SSR programs. A multitude of obstacles that may originate from both donor and beneficiary countries include: 1) a lack of coherent strategy to support SSR on donors' part, 2) a lack of capacity to support SSR on beneficiaries' part, 3) the lack of necessary skills from the deployed personnel,[34] 4) facilitating local ownership, 5) resistance to change, 6) donors' inclination to pursue self-interested goals.[35] The document calls attention to the importance of a comprehensive design and effective methodology to offset the repercussions from these challenges. A functional design must feature a political survey with a view to identifying key actors in security and justice sectors and to understanding/promoting/and supporting local owners, champions of reform, as well as pilot projects.[36] Methodology is as equally important as the design; donor countries are henceforth encouraged to pursue a thorough and integrated approach that will help them understand a range of issues from police-military relations to the interaction among formal security actors, justice providers, and non-state actors. It must also have comprehensive information gathering and consultation phases with the entire landscape of stakeholders, which encompass state justice and security providers, non-state justice and security providers, and other actors with an impact on security system governance (i.e., legislatures, local elected bodies, politicians, ethnic leaders, other traditional structures).[37]

All in all, donor countries can ensure the delivery of professional security and justice services, strengthen

31 Ibid.

32 *OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform: Supporting Security and Justice* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2007), 10.

33 Ibid., 21.

34 These may include an understanding of institutional reform, managment skills, financial management, strategic planning, human resources, and training.

35 *OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform*, 16 -17.

36 Ibid., 28-34.

37 Ibid., 41-75.

the democratic governance and civilian oversight of the related institutions, enhance local leadership, and increase sustainability in conflict-affected countries by staying true to the aforementioned DAC principles and sensitivities. In other words, any donor country that is resolute about providing support for SSR initiatives in a conflict-affected or post-conflict country ought to advance a strategically-integrated, problem-solving oriented, review-based, and institutional approach.

The HIPPO Report

Fifteen years into the post-Brahimi peacebuilding discourse, new consultations and review processes have noted improvements in certain sectors and discovered that business has been as usual in others. The High Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO), which completed and disseminated its report in 2015, observed that the problems haunting the security and justice sectors of conflict-affected countries persisted to date. In tandem with this conclusion, HIPPO identified a comprehensive security and justice sector reform as one of the four essential shifts that is required for "a stronger, more inclusive peace and security partnership [...] in the future."[38]

In addition to the aforementioned recommendations made throughout the last decade and a half, the HIPPO Report recognizes "national and local ownership," "inclusivity," "diversity," and "gendered approach" as indispensable values for the next generation of SSR.[39] Article 150 of the Report specifically draws on the importance of national ownership: "Peace operations should ensure respect for national ownership of the host country and for the perspectives of its people in all efforts to sustain peace."[40] Similarly, Article 134 calls for strengthening the resilience and promotion of reconciliation processes of local communities.[41] More important, the High Independent Panel advises that "civil society, women, and religious leaders should come to the forefront" in all reform processes, "encouraging both communities and leaders to look to the future and engage in dialogue, reconciliation and healing."[42] In summary, the HIPPO report generates important missing pieces of the SSR puzzle, which the previous initiatives had recognized but not made full use of, by stressing national/local ownership, inclusivity, and gender mainstreaming.

38 *Report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations* (New York: General Assembly Security Council, June 17, 2015), http://www.un.org/sg/pdf/HIPPO_Report_1_June_2015.pdf, 10.

39 Ibid., 48-50.

40 Ibid., 52.

41 Ibid., 48.

42 Ibid., 50.

AN INVENTORY OF TURKEY'S SSR ASSISTANCE

The Afghan and Somali cases illustrate that Turkey's incorporation of SSR into peace operations is a fairly new step. Consequently, Turkey has recently begun to integrate some of these reform ideas into its peace missions. As was illustrated by the Afghan and Somali cases, Turkey has made significant leeway in extending the scope of its training and good governance assistance to cover justice and other non-security actors. Turkey can still maximize the benefits of its SSR assistance by implementing some of the recommendations above—especially with respect to pre-deployment analyses and building a conflict-sensitive approach. Nevertheless, the increasing number of justice academies, police and military trainings on the rule of law, heightened sensitivity, and care for gender mainstreaming and local ownership are observed in recent Turkish SSR assistance—especially in Afghanistan and Somalia.

Mapping Turkish SSR Assistance

The official language ties Turkey's SSR contributions first and foremost to establishing its legitimacy as a rising actor committed to the facilitation of peace and stability around the world. Turkey associates the security of its region with its own security and stability. The Turkish foreign policy vision is such that the building of sustainable institutions within third parties is vital for not only resolving their domestic problems but also playing a constructive role in fostering peaceful and cooperative relations between the third country and the rest of the world: "A mismanaged and dysfunctional security sector can significantly challenge sustainable development, stability and peace... a comprehensive, coherent and coordinated approach to security sector reform will help form functional, effective and economically viable states."[43] While the official language fashions Turkey's SSR assistance policy in these terms, concentration of Turkey's SSR activities on certain countries may also imply that prestige and strengthening old cultural and ideological ties may also be factors in Turkey's SSR engagements.

Turkey's SSR support has mainly targeted the following conflict-affected countries (although there are other states that have received discrete or one-off assistance in this area): Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Somalia, Cote d'Ivoire, Libya, and Sudan. As in other peace operations and civilian capacity deployment missions, Turkey commits its SSR support through both multilateral frameworks and bilateral agreements. Military training, police training, and justice training constitute the three essential modes of Turkey's assistance to SSR in these conflict-affected countries.

Turkish Armed Forces, Police Academies, and TİKA emerge as the primary providers of SSR assistance to conflict-affected countries. Turkish Armed Forces-led military training programs have been mostly implemented through the initiatives of NATO and the UN. However, there are also multiple Military Training Cooperation Agreements signed with many countries. Some of these agreements are also established through the involvement of NATO and the UN; however, some are made in order to establish stronger ties between the Turkish military and the militaries of the other states. Research revealed that the agreements go back as far as 1996 when the Turkish Armed Forces, through NATO and the Dayton Accords, agreed to provide military training for several former Yugoslavian countries. Some of these military training activities include Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1996, Pakistan in 2001, Syria in 2002 and again in 2011, Afghanistan in 2003, Libya in 2011, and Somalia in 2012.[44]

Some more recent trainings provided by the Turkish Armed Forces include:

- The training of nearly 17,000 Afghan military personnel;[45]
- Approximately 200 military guest personnel from the Somalian Armed Forces received the Language Course and the Officer Basic Indoctrination Training from the Turkish Armed Forces (2013);[46]
- "In the academic year 2013-14, a total of 3,000 Libyan personnel in groups of 500 in the area of Internal Security Training for 14 months in Isparta";[47]

43 Statement by Levent Eler, Deputy Permanent Representative of the Permanent Mission of Turkey at the Security Council Open Debate on Security Sector Reform, April 28, 2014, http://turkuno.dt.mfa.gov.tr/ShowSpeech.aspx?ID=5258.

44 "Türkiye'nin Barışı Destekleme Harekatına Katkıları [Turkey's Contributions to Peace Support Operations]," The Official Website of the Turkish General Staff (no posting date indicated), http://www.tsk.tr/6_uluslararasi_iliskiler/turkiyeninbarisidesteklemeharekatinakatkilari.html.

45 *TİKA Annual Report 2013* (Ankara: Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, 2013), http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/publication/KYR_FRAE_2013_uyg9.pdf, 43.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., 44.

- In 2015, 800 Iraqi fighters were trained by 20 Turkish officers.[48]

The National Police Department of Turkey conducts a more extensive and comprehensive police training program that aims to establish and maintain strong cooperation with the national police organizations of other countries. The program first began with the intentions of providing training to the national police forces of the new Turkic Republics and the former Yugoslavian countries. The program provides basic, as well as specialized, training to multiple countries including Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Palestine, Haiti, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Kosovo, Libya, Macedonia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somali, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Jordan.

The majority of police training missions of late focus on Afghanistan, with the number of Afghan police trained in Turkey since 2011 reaching nearly 3,000. Last summer, the police cadet training academy in the Sivas province of Turkey graduated over 300 Afghan female police officers. The most comprehensive data from 2013 reveal the following training accomplishments:[49]

- 18 participants from the Albanian Police Organization. "Leadership and Administration Course."
- 39 participants from the Bosnian Police Organization. Two courses. Curriculum not available. In Turkey and Bosnia.
- 48 participants from the Palestinian Police Organization. Curriculum not available. In Turkey and Palestine.
- 65 participants from the Montenegro Police Organization. Four courses. Curriculum not available. In Turkey and Montenegro.
- 55 participants from the Kazakh Police Organization. Three courses in Turkey and Kazakhstan. Curriculum not available.
- 58 participants from the Kyrgyz Police Organization. Five courses in Turkey and Kyrgyzstan. Curriculum not available.
- 28 participants from the Libyan Police Organization. Three courses in Turkey and Libya. Curriculum not available.
- 16 participants from the Macedonian Police Organization. Course on "Advanced and Safe Driving Techniques."
- 34 participants from the Maldives Police Organization. Three courses in Turkey and Maldives. Curriculum not available.
- 20 participants from the Mongolian Police Organization. Course on "Strategic Management and Planning."
- 217 participants from the Tunisian Police Organization. 13 courses in Turkey and Tunisia. Curriculum not available.
- 67 participants from the Turkmen Police Organization. Two courses on "Riot Police Basic Training" and "Combating Narcotics."
- 40 participants from Kosovo Police Organization. Curriculum not available.
- 57 participants from Tajikistan Police Organization. Two courses. Curriculum not available.

In the same vein the Turkish Justice Academy was established in 2003 to help Turkey become compatible with the judiciary values of the EU countries during its period of candidacy to become a European Union member. In that capacity, the academy was tasked with providing additional education in the field of law and justice. Today, it offers courses for judges and prosecutors from a number of conflict-affected countries. In 2013, 76 participants from Kosovo (including the administrators of the Kosovo Justice Institute, candidate judges, senior members of the judiciary, judges, and prosecutors) received training programs on "juvenile justice, fighting organized crime and corruption."

TİKA conducts several projects in the field of SSR. In cooperation with the Turkish Justice Academy, TİKA organizes training programs for judges and prosecutors. Participants of the program receive training on the structure and functioning of the judicial institutions. Various topics such as combating terrorism and organized crime, methods of investigating terrorism and organized crime, and evidence collection and assessment constitute the training program. The project provides assistance to participants from

48 "Iraq: fighters receive training for Mosul operation," World Bulletin, April 14, 2015, http://www.worldbulletin.net/iraq/157870/iraq-fighters-receive-training-for-mosul-operation?utm_medium=twitter&utm_source=twitterfeed.

49 *TİKA Annual Report 2013.*

many countries, including Albania, Kosovo, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tunisia, and Afghanistan.[50]

In 2007, TİKA, in cooperation with the Security General Directorate, initiated the program "International Police Cooperation Project" to provide in-service training to policemen and policewomen with the purpose of supporting law enforcement in allied brother countries. Albania and Kyrgyzstan were selected as pilot countries. The program was further developed to include Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Mongolia, and Palestine in 2008-2009; Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2010; Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan in 2011; Macedonia and Tunisia in 2012; and Montenegro, the Maldives, South Sudan, and Libya in 2013. The project aims to "promote international standards of policing, foster coordinated understanding of addressing regional security issues,"[51] and to fasten development in these countries.

Afghanistan and Somalia as Changing Facades of Turkish SSR Assistance

Both Afghanistan and Somalia illustrate a more comprehensive Turkish assistance to SSR in conflict-affected countries. Turkey's recent engagement with Afghanistan appears to have given special consideration to national ownership, inclusivity, and gender mainstreaming as part of its training modules. The International Police Training for Afghanistan has graduated over 3,000 cadets, 300 of whom are women, since 2012.[52] The academy's training guidelines stress that "modules are professionally administered, technically and tactically correct, moreover relevant to current security situation in Afghanistan. Moreover they are developed after conducting training needs assessment."[53] The courses taught on the rule of law, protecting and defending the Afghan constitution, rules and regulation regarding policing, human rights, and police ethics are almost equal to the rudimentary training modules in terms of class hours dedicated to these areas.[54]

A similarly multidimensional and integrated approach to SSR can be traced to Turkey's recent military assistance to Somalia. In addition to partnering with AMISOM, following the completion of the new military academy in Mogadishu, Turkish military expertise will be deployed to other key areas of security, such as maritime security capacity building in Mogadishu and Kismayo. Turkey has so far, and will continue to, implement(ed) professional military education and operations training with a view to advancing Somalia's maritime security. Turkish training courses have also been projected to benefit 20-40 Mogadishu Port Police personnel.[55] The Turkish Navy is further expected to initiate a mentoring program for the Somalian Coast Guard and Navy.[56] In fact, the Turkish Navy has conducted and partnered with other international stakeholders to assess Somalia's maritime security needs. In that regard, it has followed a very similar pattern advocated by the *OECD DAC Handbook on SSR*. The navy's initial assessment revealed that training assistance was most needed in the areas of maritime administration, interagency cooperation, and sharing assets and intelligence between the ministries of defense, transportation, and interior, as well as between military and police agencies. Other areas that Turkey identified to include within training assistance were legal issues, fundamentals of anti-piracy and armed robbery, and the establishment of information sharing centers.[57]

Today, the new generation of Turkish multidimensional and integrated peace operations in Afghanistan and Somalia demonstrate Turkey's progress from basic peacekeeping operations to a holistic, SSR-oriented peace assistance to conflict-affected countries. From the UNITAF mission nearly three decades ago to the construction of the Turkish military academy in 2016 in Somalia, the evolution of Turkish peace operations has nearly come full circle. The lessons learned in the meantime through Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan helped Turkey expand its take on SSR, which today prioritizes the rejuvenation of democratic and civilian oversight capacities of conflict-affected countries. Furthermore, the benchmarks that we highlighted in the communiques of high-level platforms, such as the Brahimi and HIPPO reports, as well the *OECD DAC Handbook on SSR*, provide Turkey with important reference points as Turkish peace operations continue to align with the fundamental R2P and RwP principles. The overlapping of these principles with the drivers of Turkish post-conflict assistance, which are fundamentally ending human suffering and restoring human

50 Ibid., 123.

51 Ibid., 30.

52 "Afgan Polisler Sivas'ta Eğitiliyor," *Sabah*, June 11, 2015, accessed December 21, 2015, http://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/06/11/afgan-polisler-sivasta-egitiliyor.

53 *IPTA – International Police Training in Afghanistan: 1st year Evaluation Report*.

54 Ibid.

55 Presentation at a plennary session held in the Turkish General Staff on "Strategic Approaches to East Africa on the particularity of Somalia," February 8, 2016.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

dignity, is particularly conducive to Turkey's adoption of civilian tenets of SSR.

As the progression of Turkey's comprehensive approach to peacebuilding through Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Somalia illustrates, Turkey is on a trajectory to consolidate its SSR assistance as a fundamental tenet of its peacekeeping operations. Turkey has certainly taken the right steps in that direction, yet it still has more to do. Incorporation of national/local ownership, democratic governance, civilian oversight, inclusiveness, and gender sensitivity of SSR assistance to conflict-affected countries should no longer be limited to discrete, one-off course modules, but they should be treated as indispensable norms of Turkish SSR aid to beneficiary countries. Turkey shall also stand to benefit from pre-deployment analyses, political assessment, and conflict sensitivity. These are important tools to develop and utilize especially in complex conflict settings like Afghanistan and Somalia. Due to historical links and shared heritage and cultural backgrounds with these nations, Turkey can devise and deploy these instruments rather quickly and effectively. Implementation of such practices in future SSR assistance will not only make Turkish contributions more durable, but it will immensely elevate Turkey's reputation as a reliable actor in peacebuilding.

Over the last 25 years, Turkey has been on its way to becoming a complex provider of SSR. However, the journey ahead is equally long and requires commitment to the principles that have helped Turkey become a reliable actor of peacebuilding. As it stays the course and is confronted by new challenges, Turkey will benefit much from heeding the following advice by Dr. Kani Torun, Turkey's former Ambassador to Mogadishu, member of the Turkish parliament, and a veteran NGO chief: "State building is very important, because I have seen the kind of destruction that can happen to a society without a functional state... One area we worked with the government closely was the security area. Turkey worked with the police and army to build strong security forces... If you invest, security will improve; and if you have security, investment and other things will come. [In the end] [e]ven aid is related to security."[58]

58 Ambassador Kani Torun's remarks at the conference "Rising Powers and Peacebuilding: Innovative Approaches to Preventing Conflict and Sustaining Peace," Istanbul Policy Center, Istanbul, May 23, 2016.

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