

## **BOOK REVIEW**

Beth K. GREENER, *The New International Policing*  
(Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

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# The New International Policing

**Beth K. GREENER**

Basingstoke, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, 192 pages, ISBN: 978-0-230-57390-1  
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The modern police, as an institution, is the creation of nineteenth-century nation-states and empires. According to the liberal point of view, the police are involved in domestic politics while the military fights against external enemies. This functional separation between two coercive apparatuses formed the very foundation of the modern state. Yet, in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War, the blurring of boundaries between the police and the military accelerated. One of the consequences of this convergence was that the role of the police in international operations has grown in an exclusive way. Now, it is contended that the police have become an international actor. In other words, the role of the police is not limited to law enforcement on a domestic level; rather the police are responsible for assuring global order. The increasing role of the police as an international actor has raised many questions and challenges. Greener's book *The New International Policing* conducts a theoretical debate on the emerging role of the police, sets forth a general overview of international policing from a historical perspective, and questions the new international policing by focusing on case studies from Kosovo to Afghanistan.

In the first section, Greener defines the term "new international policing", which she uses to explore three dimensions that make visible the rise of police deployment in international operations: (i) an increase in the number of police personnel involved in peace operations, (ii) a growth in the number of actors who contribute police to these operations, and finally (iii) a broadening and deepening of police tasks within international peace operations.

In the next section, Greener analyzes the participation of police in international operations from a historical perspective and explores how international policing has developed since World War II. She contends that the police contribution to international operations was very limited in scope and scale during the Cold War. Here, for two reasons, she puts a special emphasis on the U.N. mission in Cyprus. The first reason is that, during this mission, a distinction was made between civilian and military police units, and following the mission, the U.N. Civilian Police Force (CIVPOL) was tasked with ensuring civilian police missions in U.N.-led international missions. The second reason, according to the author, is that the U.N. Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) that was deployed in 1964 and

had significant contributions from numerous police personnel from various states (Australia, New Zealand, Austria, Denmark etc...) has since led the police to play a much more important role in U.N. peace missions. In short, from this mission on, the use of police force abroad began to grow.

Later, in the context of the U.N.-led UNTAG mission to Namibia, the police reached a wider presence when compared to that of the military. The crucial point is that this mission replaced the control of the police personnel under the control of the special representative of the U.N, rather than that of the military. With the beginning of the 1990s, the number of police personnel began to increase in a significant way, and the police personnel deployed in these missions started to assume more responsibilities and tasks. The real international policing missions started with the policing mandates undertaken in Kosovo and East Timor. In particular, the international police mission of the U.N. in Kosovo (UNMIK) undertook executive policing roles and participated actively in reforming the police in Kosovo. In the following section on the Solomon Islands, the U.N.-led mission entitled "RAMSI" also had a particular importance, as it was the first police-led U.N. mission. The military, in this mission, was for the first time the secondary component of the deployment.

In the case study on Afghanistan, Greener lays out the fundamental problems of international police missions. The main problem is that there were various players on the ground, all of whom were responsible for reforming the Afghan police. The United States, Germany, U.N., and NATO participated in the reconstruction of the security sector in Afghanistan. The U.N.-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was deployed in Afghanistan in 2002. Later, NATO took over control, command and coordination of ISAF in 2006. Here, Germany directed the police mission and was essentially responsible for rebuilding the National Police Academy and training police personnel. Later the United States got involved in the process. In short, the ISAF, Germany, and the USA have had differing levels of responsibility for reforming the Afghan police.

The rise of international policing has had many attendant problems and questions, the most important among which have related to the blurring boundaries between the police and the military. In particular, the international police missions conducted in a war-context, such as those in Afghanistan and Iraq, further confuse police and military functions, as the police mission has to take on military-related responsibilities such as counter-insurgency. In theory, the military should provide a secure environment in international operations, into which the police can then be deployed. In Kosovo, for example, the KFOR (NATO-led military mission) provided a secure environment where the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) could safely realize its efforts for reforming the local police. Yet, in dangerous and insecure regions, internal conflicts continue to exist, making it impossible for the military to create a safe place where the police can concentrate on law-enforcement tasks. Additionally, one of the main points about international policing is that these missions aim at spreading liberal democratic values. It is generally undemocratic developing countries, however, that contribute to international police missions. Also, these forces do not benefit from any pre-deployment training. International policing must still be considered a newly emerging phenomenon, as it has taken quite some time for the U.N. to call on professional police from member states to facilitate peacekeeping operations.

Now, international policing is an integral part of operations deployed abroad. Yet, the literature on the international deployment of the police remains scarce. Greener's book is an exclusive contribution, which makes it kind of a guide book for scholars studying international policing. The exclusive point

about the book is that it provides both theoretical and empirical background for international policing studies. On the other hand, the book lacks critical analysis of international missions. The perception that these international deployments are new forms of social and political engineering was mentioned on several pages by the author. Greener states that “the new international policing is part of a larger normative project that seeks to spread liberal values across the globe.” Nevertheless, she does not further explore these critiques. This is understandable, as the book is thought of as a guide for future studies. In conclusion, it seems like problems concerning the distinction between *police service* and *police force*, and the blurring boundaries between the police and the military will be ongoing problems in the context of international police missions that should be further explored by scholars.