

**AN ANALYSIS OF TURKEY'S PARTICIPATION TO UNITED
NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS BETWEEN 1990 AND
2017**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

BY

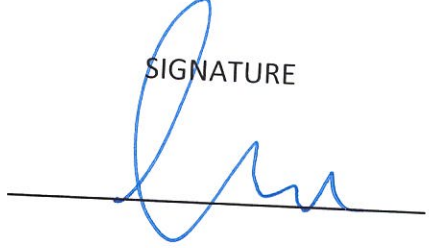


NESLİHAN TEZCAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

JUNE 2019

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and International Relations

Examining Committee Members:

| | DECISION | SIGNATURE |
|---|-----------------|---|
| Assist. Prof. Şirin Duygulu Elcim (Thesis Advisor) | <u>Accepted</u> |  |
| Assist. Prof. Hüseyin Alptekin | <u>Accepted</u> |  |
| Assist. Prof. Habibe Özdal | <u>Accepted</u> |  |

This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences of İstanbul Şehir University.

Date

23/07/2019


Seal/Signature

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and standards of ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and standards, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

First Name, Last Name: Nestihan TEZCAN

Signature: Nestihan

ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF TURKEY'S PARTICIPATION TO UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS BETWEEN 1990 AND 2017

Tezcan, Neslihan

MA in Political Science and International Relations

Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Şirin Duygulu Elcim

June 2019, 194 Pages

It is argued in recent literature that Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations, especially UN peacekeeping operations has risen between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Thanks to collected data, this thesis aims to find whether Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations, especially UN peacekeeping operations really increased, and if there is such an increase, what the reasons for it could be. In the light of collected data, this thesis advocates there is an increase in Turkey's participation in UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

In the literature, some authors explain this rise with domestic factors, while some others claim international factor. Domestic reasons are demonstrated as follows: More proactive foreign policy which stresses soft power, the rise of neo-Ottomanism, neo-Islamism and Turkism; International factor is that middle powers' willingness to participate in peacekeeping operations after the end of the Cold War. I compared all these arguments with the data I collected, and analyzed which arguments can be supported. Then, the study showed that more proactive foreign policy which emphasizes soft power could be impacted on Turkey's increased role in UN peacekeeping operations. Additionally, the rise of Neo-Ottomanism and Neo-Islamism could not explain the reasons behind the rise in Turkey's participation to UN peacekeeping missions. Also, due to lack of findings on whether Turkism affected or did not affect on Turkey's increased attendance to UN peacekeeping operations, the thesis did not comment anything on this issue. Lastly, it is claimed since Turkey is also

a middle power, the rise in Turkey's attendance to UN missions could be associated with the middle powers' voluntarism to contribute to UN missions, but since Turkey did not take active role in missions like other middle powers, this was not given as an actual reason for this issue.

Key words: UN peacekeeping operations, Foreign Policy, Hard-Soft Power, Middle Power, Neo-Ottomanism, Neo-Islamism and Turkism



ÖZ

1990 VE 2017 YILLARI ARASINDA TÜRKİYE’NİN BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLER BARIŞ GÜCÜ OPERASYONLARINA KATILIMININ İNCELENMESİ

Tezcan, Neslihan

Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Şirin Duygulu Elcim

Haziran 2019, 194 Sayfa

Son zamanlardaki literatür Türkiye’nin barış gücü operasyonlarına katılımının özellikle de Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından düzenlenen barış gücü operasyonlarına katılımının 2003 ve 2017 yılları arasında 1990 ve 2002 yılları arasına kıyasla arttığını tartışmaktadır. Bu tez bu yıllar arasında gerçekten böyle bir artışın olup olmadığını, şayet böyle bir artış varsa bu artışın nedenlerinin neler olabileceğini bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Toplanan data ışığında, bu tez Türkiye’nin BM barış gücü operasyonlarına katılımının 2003 ve 2017 yılları arasında 1990 ve 2002 yılları arasına göre arttığını savunmaktadır. Literatürde bu artışın nedenleri bazı yazarlar tarafından ülke içindeki nedenlerle, bazıları tarafından ise uluslararası bir nedenle açıklanmıştır. Ülke içindeki nedenler şu şekildedir: daha aktif dış politika, artan yumuşak güç kullanımı, artan Yeni -Osmanlılık, Yeni-İslamcılık ve Türkizm asıl nedenlerdir. Uluslararası neden ise orta güçteki devletlerin, özellikle Soğuk Savaş’tan sonra meydana gelen barış gücü operasyonlarına artan gönüllü katılımlarıdır. Ben bu çalışmada, bütün bu argümanları kendi oluşturduğum datamla kıyasladım ve datamın bu argümanlardan hangilerini doğrulayıp doğrulamadığını analiz ettim. Buna göre, bu çalışma Türkiye’nin son yıllarda artan BM barış gücü operasyonlarındaki rolü ile daha aktif dış politikası ve artan yumuşak güç kullanımı arasında ilişki kurulabileceğini gözlemlenmiştir. Ayrıca, artan Yeni-Osmanlılık ve Yeni-İslamcılık ile bu durumun açıklanamayabileceğini öne sürmekle beraber, Türkizm ile ilgili yeterli data olmadığı için bu konuda bir yorum yapılmamıştır. Son olarak, Türkiye de orta güçte bir devlet olduğu için, BM operasyonlarındaki artan rolü ile orta güçteki devletlerin barış gücü

operasyonlarına katılımı arasında bir bađ kurulabilse de diđer orta g¼cteki devletler kadar aktif katılım sađlanmadıđı için asıl nedenin bu olmayabileceđi ifade edilmiřtir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Birleřmiř Milletler barıř g¼c¼ operasyonları, Sert-Yumuřak G¼c¼, Orta G¼c¼ (Middle Power), Yeni Osmanlılık, Yeni İřlamlık ve T¼rkizm



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the forefront, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor Assist. Prof. Şirin Duygulu Elcim for her patience, motivation, and priceless encouragement through this thesis. Without her devotion and guidance, it would have been unfeasible to write this thesis. Also, I owe my deepest gratitude to Assist. Prof. Hüseyin Alptekin for his sincere guidance, essential analysis and help while collecting the data.

I must express my deepest gratitude and appreciation for my mother and father as well. I am heartily thankful to my sisters Nagehan and Ümmühan, my brother Ahmet Ali and all my friends, for their encouragements and supports in each step of the thesis. Lastly, I would like to thank İstanbul Şehir University's Political Science and International Relations Department and its valuable professors for the well-qualified education and supports.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| Abstract | iv |
| Öz | vi |
| Acknowledgements..... | viii |
| Table Of Contents | ixx |
| List Of Figures | xii |
| List Of Tables | xiii |
| CHAPTERS | |
| 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1. Research Question And Significance Of The Problem | 1 |
| 1.2. Method And Data..... | 4 |
| 2. Literature Review | 8 |
| 2.1. Introduction..... | 8 |
| 2.2. Domestic Factors for Turkey’s Increased Contribution to UN Peacekeeping Operations..... | 9 |
| 2.3. Turkish Foreign Policy Between 1990 and 2002 | 10 |
| 2.4. Turkish Foreign Policy Activism in 2003 and 2017..... | 15 |
| 2.5. UN Peacekeeping Operations and Turkey’s Proactive Foreign Policy | 16 |
| 2.6. Three Policies (Neo-Islamism, Neo-Ottomanism And Turkism) in Recent Turkish Foreign Policy And Peacekeeping Operations..... | 19 |
| 2.7. Neo-Ottomanism..... | 20 |
| 2.8. Neo-Ottomanism and Peacekeeping Operations | 21 |
| 2.9. Neo-Islamism..... | 22 |
| 2.10. Neo-Islamism and Peacekeeping Operations | 23 |
| 2.11. Turkism | 23 |
| 2.12. Turkism and Peacekeeping Operations | 24 |
| 2.13. Soft Power Through Peacekeeping Operations | 24 |
| 2.14. Turkey’s Soft Power and UN Peacekeeping Operations | 27 |
| 2.15. Perceived International Responsibilities..... | 28 |
| 2.16. International Factors for Turkey’s Increased Contribution to UN Peacekeeping Operations | 31 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 2.17. Changes in the International System | 31 |
| 2.18. Middle Powers' Volunteerism and Peacekeeping Operations | 32 |
| 3. Measuring the Change in Turkey's Participation | 37 |
| 3.1. Introduction | 37 |
| 3.2. Analyzing the Data | 37 |
| 3.3. Peacekeeping Operations in Africa | 51 |
| 3.4. Peacekeeping Operations in Asia | 55 |
| 3.5. Peacekeeping Operations in Europe | 58 |
| 3.6. Peacekeeping Operations in South America..... | 60 |
| 4. Understanding the Reasons Behind Turkey's Participation to UN Missions | 64 |
| 4.1. Introduction | 64 |
| 4.2. Proactive Foreign Policy and Soft Power Of Turkey?..... | 64 |
| 4.3. Which Operations and Which Strategy?..... | 70 |
| 4.3.1. Neo-Islamism?..... | 70 |
| 4.3.1.1. Peacekeeping Operations in Muslim Countries in Africa | 71 |
| 4.3.1.2. Peacekeeping Operations in Muslim Countries in Asia..... | 74 |
| 4.3.1.3. Peacekeeping Operations in Muslim Countries in Europe | 78 |
| 4.3.1.4. South America..... | 81 |
| 4.3.2. Neo-Ottomanism?..... | 82 |
| 4.3.2.1. Africa | 83 |
| 4.3.2.2. Asia..... | 87 |
| 4.3.2.3. Europe..... | 90 |
| 4.3.2.4. South America..... | 92 |
| 4.3.3. Turkism? | 93 |
| 4.4. Trend Among Middle Powers?..... | 94 |
| 5. Conclusion | 100 |
| 5.1. Recommendations for Future Studies | 103 |
| References..... | 105 |
| Appendices..... | 112 |
| Appendix 1 | 112 |
| Appendix 2 | 137 |
| Appendix 3 | 148 |

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Appendix 4 | 152 |
| Appendix 5 | 154 |
| Appendix 6 | 156 |
| Appendix 7 | 157 |
| Appendix 8 | 159 |
| Appendix 9 | 160 |
| Appendix 10 | 161 |
| Appendix 11 | 162 |
| Appendix 12 | 163 |
| Appendix 13 | 164 |
| Appendix 14 | 165 |
| Appendix 15 | 169 |
| Appendix 16 | 171 |
| Appendix 17 | 173 |
| Appendix 18 | 174 |
| Appendix 19 | 176 |
| Appendix 20 | 177 |
| Appendix 21 | 178 |
| Appendix 22 | 179 |
| Appendix 23 | 180 |
| Appendix 24 | 181 |
| Appendix 25 | 185 |
| Appendix 26 | 187 |
| Appendix 27 | 189 |
| Appendix 28 | 190 |
| Appendix 29 | 192 |
| Appendix 30 | 193 |
| Appendix 31 | 194 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | | |
|-------------|---|----|
| Figure 3.1. | Total Mission Numbers that UN and Turkey Contributed Year by Year (1990-2017) | 38 |
| Figure 3.2. | Total personnel numbers sent by UN and Turkey Year by Year (1990-2017)..... | 41 |
| Figure 3.3. | Total Police, Observer and Troop sent by Turkey Year by Year | 43 |



LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|------------|---|----|
| Table 3.1. | Total number of personnel sent by UN and Turkey to UNPROFOR mission year by year..... | 46 |
| Table 3.2. | Total number of personnel sent by UN and Turkey to UNIFIL mission year by year | 47 |
| Table 3.3. | Total number of personnel sent by UN and Turkey to UNMIK mission year by year | 49 |
| Table 3.4. | African countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey..... | 54 |
| Table 3.5. | Asian countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey... | 57 |
| Table 3.6. | European countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey..... | 60 |
| Table 3.7. | South American countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990 and 2017, and qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey. | 61 |
| Table 4.1. | The name of missions, mission countries, mission continents, mission regions and the total number of police, observers and troops sent by Turkey..... | 65 |
| Table 4.2. | Total composition of UN missions for the missions that Turkey attended symbolically. | 67 |
| Table 4.3. | African countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries. | 73 |
| Table 4.4. | Asian countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries. | 77 |

| | | |
|-------------|--|----|
| Table 4.5. | Europe countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries. | 80 |
| Table 4.6. | South American countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries. | 82 |
| Table 4.7. | African countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past..... | 86 |
| Table 4.8. | Asian countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past..... | 90 |
| Table 4.9. | European countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past..... | 92 |
| Table 4.10. | The most troop promoter countries to UN peacekeeping operations, between 1990 and 2016..... | 96 |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Question and Significance of the Problem

Peacekeeping operations under the United Nations' umbrella is one of the most crucial devices for world security. As Bellamy and Williams (2010) assert peacekeeping can be seen as one of the most substantial devices that UN utilizes with the aim of prohibiting and soothing the conflicts in all around the world. It is not obligatory for states to take part in peacekeeping operations; therefore, countries' decision to take part tells us about their foreign policy choices and strategic calculations behind them.

UN peacekeeping operations were first launched in the Middle East, during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, since then it is accepted as a substantial tool for crisis management and conflict prevention. For this purpose, until now UN has performed over 70 peacekeeping operations in the world and more than 120 countries have attended to them ("Our History, "n.d., "Introduction"). Korean War was the first peacekeeping operation that Turkey contributed and Turkey kept contributing to these operations since then ("Turkey's Approach and Contributions to the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations", n.d.).

It is discussed in the literature that Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations both under the roof of the United Nations and other international organizations increased, specifically in post-cold war era (such as Koçer, 2006, p.49; Yalçinkaya, Hatipoğlu, Açar and Çelikpala, p. 480; Keyman and Bayer, 2012, p. 85) Also, in the literature, it is advocated that Turkey started to be more active in peacekeeping operations between 2001 and 2015 than during the Cold War era (Yalçinkaya, et. al., p.480).

However, the number of analysis of Turkey's peacekeeping operations are very insufficient and few or they are either qualitative with a very general overview of the

issue, or they are case studies (Yalçinkaya, et. al., 2018, p.476-7). Additionally, there is no study which focuses only Turkey's activism or lack of activism specifically in UN peacekeeping operations, after the cold war.

So, this thesis will test and analyze whether Turkey's participation to UN peacekeeping operations increased between 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002, and what the reasons for such an increase could be. In the literature, 2002 is accepted as a breaking point for Turkey's active participation in UN peacekeeping operations, since after this time, Justice and Development Party started to rule the country, and aimed a more proactive and multidimensional foreign policies necessitate Turkey's contribution to UN peace operations more actively (Satana, 2012, p.3; Aras, 2009, p.41; Kasapoğlu, 2009). Before 2002, Turkey followed similar policies, but after 2002, the government of Justice and Development Party achieved to practice them more effectively. So, it can be claimed that there is a progression between the periods of 1990-2002 and 2003-2017 on this issue, but more effectiveness after 2002 (Öniş, 2011, p.49; Jung, 2011, p.26-7). Furthermore, some authors claim this is not a particular situation for Turkey, there is a tendency among middle powers on this issue after the cold war, especially in 2000s (Meiske and Ruggeri, 2017; Yalçinkaya, et.al., p.476). Therefore, this thesis also accepts 2002 as a turning point for Turkey's participation in UN peacekeeping operations and compares its activism the years between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017.

In recent literature, there is no consensus on the possible factors that affected Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations, especially UN peacekeeping operations and whether Turkey's participation rate increased, due to the increase in the rate of initiated missions and personnel who were sent by United Nations or whether Turkey aimed some other special purposes with this increase between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. In the literature, some scholars explain this rise with domestic factors, while some others mention international reasons. Domestic factors are listed as follows: More proactive foreign policy which stresses soft power, the rise of neo-Ottomanism, neo-Islamism, Turkism and Turkey's perception about its international responsibilities; International factors can be lined

up as follows: middle powers' willingness to participate in peacekeeping operations and changes in international systems after the end of the Cold War. I will compare all these arguments with the data I collected, and will analyze which arguments hold, after examining whether there was such an increase for Turkey between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Additionally, similar with other countries, Turkey's movements, behaviors and choices in contributing to UN peacekeeping operations are limited, due to the changes in international system. Therefore, participating to UN peacekeeping operations does not depend completely on Turkey's preferences. In this thesis, Turkey's active participation to UN peacekeeping operations will be explained with the assumption that Turkey makes strategic choices when it participates to UN peacekeeping operations within the realities of the international system.

Based on the collected data, this study arrived at the conclusion that more proactive foreign policy which emphasizes soft power could have impacted Turkey's increased contribution to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 in contrast to 1990 and 2002. However, similar with some arguments in my literature, the rise of Neo-Ottomanism, Neo-Islamism could not be given among the reasons behind Turkey's increased contribution to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002. Also, along the same line with other middle powers, Turkey demonstrated increased attendance to UN peacekeeping missions between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002; however, Turkey preferred to send less amount of personnel to UN missions which cannot compete with the number and quality of other middle powers' personnel. Therefore, it is inferred that trends among middle powers on contributing peacekeeping missions voluntarily could not be illustrated as one of the essential reasons behind Turkey's increased activism in UN peacekeeping missions between 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002. Lastly, due to the fact that there is lack of proof whether Turkism affected Turkey's increased role, the study did not conclude anything on this issue.

1.2. Method and Data

There are two main stages in answering this thesis' questions. To begin with, it needs to be tested and found whether there is indeed an increase in Turkey's attendance to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 than 1990 and 2002, as literature asserts. Then, if there is an increase, it should be stated what can be the possible factors for it. In order to find whether there is an increase or decrease in Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations following questions should be answered: How many operations were done, how many personnel were sent to these operations by the UN on a regional basis, how many operations were attended and how many personnel were sent by Turkey on a regional basis between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. Then, the number of deployed missions by the UN, participated missions by Turkey, and personnel who were sent to missions by UN and Turkey should be compared with each other. In Chapter 3 I present these data which I collected from International Peace Institute¹.

The data which was used in this thesis demonstrates all the missions' dates, names, countries, regions, continents that UN initiated; also, total number of troops, police and observers who were sent to the missions month by month, by the UN starting from 1990 to 2017. Furthermore, in the data, total number of troops, police, observers are given for every single month in years between 1990 and 2017. In order to demonstrate shorter and more clear information, I created two excel files for the UN and Turkey, and arranged all the information over again by using the data. I searched all months' highest number of police, observers and troops in a given year between 1990 and 2017, then accepted those highest numbers as a total number of police, observers and troops who were sent by UN in a specific year. So, I demonstrated all missions launched by UN year by year, instead of month by month. In this way, I organized all the missions that were performed by the UN which were eighty-three in total between 1990 and 2017. (see Appendix 1)

¹ IPI Peacekeeping Database (<http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/contributions>) (accessed in 12 May 2018).

Additionally, I organized another excel file which reveals all the mission names, dates, regions and continents that Turkey participated which were forty in total. Total number of police, observers and troops who were sent by Turkey between 1990 and 2017 were also listed. Moreover, Turkey's total number of police, troops and observers in years between 1990 and 2017, were put in order year by year instead of month by month similar with the UN which was mentioned above. Lastly, when I do my analysis, I investigated all missions' continent by continent, in order to find whether Turkey's activism increased or decreased in a specific continent between 1990 and 2002 compare to 2003 and 2017. (see Appendix 2)

As a result, I compared and observed all the numbers of launched missions by the UN, participated missions by Turkey, and the number of personnel who were sent to missions by the UN and Turkey; also, found the rate of contributed missions and personnel who were sent by Turkey compare to the UN between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017.

Secondly, with the aim of what the reasons for this increase could be, I compared the reasons claimed in my literature review and the data. In order to understand whether more proactive foreign policy and rising use of soft power could explain the increase, I analyzed whether Turkey's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations were more symbolic between 2003 and 2017 compare to 1990 and 2002, since the more symbolic attendance means the more use of soft power which is associated with a more proactive foreign policy in the literature. In other words, symbolic attendance means that Turkey did not aim to show its military (hard) power in the missions, rather it wanted to show and fortify its soft power.

Meanwhile, in order to find whether the rise of Neo-Ottomanism could clarify the reasons of the increase, I analyzed both the rate and number of missions that were started by the UN in former Ottoman² lands and non-former Ottoman lands; also,

² All Information about whether the mission country located in former Ottoman land or not. Retrieved from https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmR1gzPYUwxEUWHbeRggZzfYy5Fxsd8Qc7hXUUnJQwxrZq/wiki/Eski_Osmanl

both the ratio and the number that were contributed by Turkey in these lands between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. Additionally, I observed all operations continent by continent, in order to find whether Turkey's activism in former Ottoman lands increased in specific continent. Then, I analyzed whether Turkey was more active peacekeeping missions in former Ottoman lands continent by continent between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Similarly, with the intend of finding whether the rise of Neo-Islamism could be attributed to the increased participation, I investigated both the rate and number of missions that were initiated by UN in Muslim³ and non-Muslim countries; also, both the ratio and the number that were contributed by Turkey in these countries between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. In addition, in an attempt to show whether the rate of Turkey's activism in Muslim countries increased in specific continent, I elaborated all operations continent by continent. Then, I reached a conclusion about whether Turkey participated more actively peacekeeping missions in Muslim countries between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Furthermore, in order to see whether the rise of Turkism could unclothe the causes of the increase, I checked both the rate and number of missions that were performed by UN in Turkic Republics⁴; also, both the ratio and the number that were contributed by Turkey in these countries.

Lastly, with an effort to find out whether there was such a trend among middle powers on attending voluntarily to UN peacekeeping operations especially after the cold-war, I benefited from the table which was demonstrated by Meiske and Ruggeri

[%C4%B1_topraklar%C4%B1nda_%C5%9Fu_an_bulunan_devletler_listesi.html](#) (accessed in 8 February 2019)

³ All information about countries' religion in this thesis retrieved from <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2001/5533.html> (accessed in 8 February 2019)

⁴ Information about which countries are included in Turkish Republics retrieved from [Türki Cumhuriyetler https://www.turkcebilgi.com/t%C3%BCrki_cumhuriyetler](https://www.turkcebilgi.com/t%C3%BCrki_cumhuriyetler) (accessed in 8 March 2019)

(2017), in an article titled *Peacekeeping as a Tool of Foreign Policy*. The table illustrates the countries with highest number of contributions of UN peacekeeping operations between 1990 and 2016, and it is discerned from table how the middle powers started to take active role in UN peacekeeping operations after the cold war especially after 2000s. Then, I discussed whether the extent and the nature of the increase that Turkey had mimiced that of middle powers.

In the following chapter I will review all the arguments on the literature about the possible explanations on Turkey's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002. Then, in the light of my collected data, in Chapter 3 I will test and demonstrate whether the rate of participated UN missions by Turkey has risen as my literature asserts between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Then, in Chapter 4 I will test and discuss which of the theories in the literature can be supported, and whether my literature review and the data overlap with each other. The last chapter will conclude all of my findings on the subject and discuss the ways in which this study can further be developed.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

According to recent literature, Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations both under the roof of the United Nations or other international organizations increased in 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002. However, there is no theoretical agreement on the following topics: what are the possible reasons behind Turkey's increased participation to these operations, specifically United Nations peacekeeping operations and whether this increased attention meant or translated into substantial change in Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations. In other words, whether Turkey's participation to UN peacekeeping operations has increased, just because the number of UN operations increased or whether there is a substantial increase in Turkey's participation which would make it necessary to analyze the reasons behind such an increase.

The arguments that try to give explanations on the questions above can be divided into two categories. One focusing on domestic factors and the other one suggesting a more international trend among middle powers. Those who focus on domestic factors emphasize more proactive foreign policy which emphasizes soft power, the rise of neo-Ottomanism, neo-Islamism, Turkism and Turkey's perception about its international commitments. On the other hand, international one sees middle powers' willingness to participate in peacekeeping operations and changes in the international systems after the end of the cold war. I will review these arguments and try to find whether there are some common denominators in them. In the next chapters, I will closely examine the relevant data to discuss which of these theories can be supported on Turkey's increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations between 2003-2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002 period.

2.2. Domestic Factors for Turkey's increased Contribution to UN Peacekeeping Operations

Some scholars argue that Turkey's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations increased due to some domestic factors. The reason they present for their argument is Turkey's changed foreign policy visions (more proactivism) which is linked mostly with soft power, international responsibilities of Turkey and the rise of neo-Ottomanism, neo-Islamism and Turkism.

First line of argument that discusses the reasons behind increased role that Turkey play in UN peacekeeping operations links it to Turkey's changed foreign policy principles and discourses between 2002 and 2017. Kösebalaban (2011) claims due to ongoing socioeconomic transformation in Turkey that started in 1990s, new political elites have come to power in 2000s and they supported liberal economy, globalist vision and conservative views. These politicians thought that Turkey should have to establish and pursue a more pro-active and multilateral foreign policy vision as a 'central country' which have settled within different identities. In order to do this, Turkey first should cooperate with its neighbors, since only in this way Turkey could assure its security and use its soft power, properly (Davutoğlu, 2008, p. 78-9). So, by analyzing conceptual changes, discourses, continuities and discontinuities, 'new' Turkish foreign policy can be figured out (Balci and Yeşiltaş, 2013, p.6). Among these concepts Strategic Depth which is the title of Ahmet Davutoğlu's book at the same time, has very crucial place, since it demonstrates the theoretical part of new Turkish foreign policy vision in early 2000s (Murinson, 2006, p.947). This theory mainly points that Turkey has substantial geopolitical, geohistorical, geo-cultural and geo-economic place in order to convert and change world politics as well as international system (Davutoğlu, 2001). Also, it refers that Turkey has cultural, historical and geographical "centrality" both in the region and the international system, because of its Ottoman legacy (Davutoğlu, 2001). So, Turkey should engage actively in all regional systems in its vicinity (Murinson, 2006, p.948). According to Davutoğlu (2001), before this time, there was no foreign policy discourses which tried to get benefits from Turkey's rich historical and geopolitical roots or depths which came from the Ottoman times.

2.3. Turkish Foreign Policy Between 1990 and 2002

In order to explain the reasoning behind the argument about Turkey having a more proactive foreign policy vision between 2002 and 2017, I will provide a general overview of inactiveness of Turkish foreign policy between 1990 and 2002, as discussed in the literature. In this way, we can compare Turkish foreign policy in two period of time and understand the links drawn between the importance of Turkey's more active foreign policy and its current activism in UN peacekeeping operations.

Some scholars argue that Turkish foreign policy in 1990s, until the beginning of 2000s was very inactive, passive and inward-oriented, since there were domestic political instability, economic crises and terror attacks; so, this period was called as interregnum (Sözen, 2006, p.12; Köse, 2011, p. 625; Kaya, 2015; İnat, Aslan, Duran, 2017). There was political instability, since, seven government was established and nine different foreign policy ministers were performed a duty between 1993 and 1999 which is a very short period time. It is argued that one of the most essential results of this rapid changes were that bureaucracies in Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and General Staff (GS) have involved both in decision making and policy making process of Turkish foreign policy (Koçer, 2002, p.125). Hosepyan (2012) asserts that in 1990s, Turkish foreign policy was grounded by the concern of national security, due to "Sevr Seyndrome" which refers to Turkey's profound apprehension and insecurity toward its neighbors, it can also be labeled as "fear of dismemberment" (p.4-29).

Furthermore, it is pointed out that when one looks at Turkish history, it can easily be visible that since 1960 coup d'etat, Turkish General Staffs were very influential on both domestic and foreign policy (Balci, 2017). They could determine⁵ the direction and the boundaries of Turkish Foreign Policy (Aloudah, 2016, p. 150; Cizre-Sakallioğlu, 1997, p. 151; Tayfur and Göylen, 2002, p. 106). Things that differ in 1990s from other

⁵ Balci (2017) claims that General Staff designated Turkish foreign policy with three mechanisms; firstly, they shaped the National Security Council's judgments and decisions, all advices from them on the subject of Turkish foreign policy were implemented as if rule by civil organs. Secondly, 'Red Book' which was arranged by General Staff, specified Turkey's foreign policy practices. Despite the fact that Red Book was not a law book, it has been enforced 'as if law' and no government has taken any foreign policy decisions that will contradict with this text. Lastly, army or their delegates gave speeches on almost every topic about Turkish foreign policy through 1990s. In this way, both public opinion and civil governments were directed in order to pursue certain foreign policy vision.

years that General Staffs made some explanations to public, signed mutual treaties with Israel, the U.S., the E.U. and so on (Koçer, 2002, p.151; Balcı, 2017). Besides, they have published reports and realized mutual visits with different countries by undertaking the governance role (Koçer, 2002, p.151; Balcı, 2017). In 1989, General Staffs started to work and involved into Turkish foreign policy by declaring that threats came from the South (Iraq, Syria and Iran), rather than the North (SSCB) (Balcı and Kardaş, 2012, p.105). Especially in the second part of 1990s, military almost had the monopoly on determining sources of threats for Turkey and its security priorities (Koçer, 2002, p.151; Balcı and Kardaş, 2012, p. 104-5). Civilian politicians were not able to control the army's interference to Turkish Foreign Affairs in the 1990s which is the most contradicting thing for a democratic country (Cizre-Sakallıoğlu, 1997, p.151). So, it can be inferred that civil-military relations were confused in Turkey, during that period of time.

Furthermore, it is argued that due to generals' control on Turkey's foreign and domestic policies in 1990s, Turkey did not have new and big strategic plans and existential strategies did not serve Turkey's regional interests (Kramer, 2001). Similarly, Turkey did not have authentic and original strategic vision, political legitimacy, forceful diplomatic apparatus and knowledge accumulation in order to solve conflicts both inside and outside of the country (Köse, 2011; Sözen, 2006, p.12). In addition to these, after the Cold War, Turkey was perceived as the follower of the U.S.A in the Middle East, since Turkey has evaluated security issues within the frame of NATO (Robins, 2003). Erhan (2010) claims that Turkish foreign policy principle of peace at home, peace in the world committed with quiescently and Turkey endeavored to cope with conflicts around its vicinity. On the subject of interstate relations, Köse (2011) acknowledges that Turkey has depended on classic diplomatic instruments and the principle of impartiality; however, impartiality was implemented as an inactivity and disinterest by politicians. So, two things can be deduced from last two passage; firstly, government had not got substantial strategic plans; secondly, existing strategies or principles were not implemented influently in Turkish foreign policy, in 1990s.

Meanwhile, it is claimed that economic crisis is another reason for passive Turkish foreign policy in 1990s (İnat, Aslan, Duran, 2017). Since it was almost unfeasible to prepare and perform consistent, manageable and quality economic programmes, due to political instability in Turkey (Hale, 2000). Öniş (2000) acknowledges that there was very high inflation rate and acute economic crises through 1990s (p. 95-115). The financial crisis in 2001 was more harsh compare to 2000 (Sözen, 2006, p.14). The ruling coalition government did not cope with this crisis and Turkish lira lost its value approximately 50 percent overnight and roughly 65 percent by the end of 2001 (Sözen, 2006, p.14). For this reason, Turkey borrowed from IMF; as a result of this, all parties' images weakened in the eyes of the public and the election in 2002 was affected by this negative environment significantly (Balci, 2017). Kemal Derviş has initiated the reform process in 2001 and AKP government maintained to practice these reforms, when it won the election in 2002 (Oran, 2013). Köse (2011) argues due to this kind of harsh economic cirisis, Turkey did not have required and essential economic resources; therefore, Turkish civil societies and entrepreneurs did not have required savings, human capital and experience. As a consequence, Turkey did not play vital and crucial role in international community through 1990s (Aloudah, 2016). In 2002, the argument is that elections not only led to period of changes in Turkey, but also it caused to implementation of foreign policy principles based on economy and good relations with neighbors (Balci, 2017).

Finally, it is asserted that severe terror attacks and Turkey's fight against PKK during 1990s have led to inactive foreign policy in 1990s, since these exploited Turkey's motivation, energy and capital (Ed. Özcan and Kut, 2000). Between 1992 and 1995, PKK killed three times more Turkish security forces compared to between 1984 and 1991 (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). 1,600 people were killed in Turkey by PKK between May 1993 and October 1993, the number was immense (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). Maybe because of that kind of vicinity which was "facts on the ground" Turkey had worried about its national security; so, it may have had to pursue severe, dominant and military-diplomatic strategies (Balci and Kardaş, 2012, p. 106; Sözen, 2006, p.21). For this reason, it tried to overcome its own security problems, and could not take more important roles in peacekeeping operations through 1990s.

Moreover, on the issue of the relationship between the government and the military on peacekeeping operations before 2000s, Satana (2013) acknowledges that Turkey's decision-making process on peacekeeping was dominated by Turkish military (p.361). Additionally, Turkish government (which was dominated by military) and the army behaved "as two separate actors in peacekeeping matters", while the government made all decisions about peacekeeping operations including where to send its personnel, the military "remained relatively autonomous in deciding how to handle the job on the ground"(Satana, 2013, p.361). She adds in contrast to 1990s, after 2002, Turkish politicians controlled the military and all decisions about UN peacekeeping operations (Satana, 2013, p.361).

Furthermore, the financial crisis in Turkish economy affected negatively Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations, because Turkish economy was worse in 1990s than 2000s, and protecting the country's security was more essential than to contributing to peacekeeping operations through 1990s (Satana, 2013, p.367). However, after 2001, Turkish economy demonstrated important improvements and as a result of this, the country's contribution to peacekeeping operations increased. For instance: its "financial contribution to UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations has increased more than five times from 2006 to 2012" (Satana, 2013, p. 367). As a consequence, due to the fact that Turkey tried to overcome different crucial domestic problems in 1990-2002 and Turkish foreign policy was inactive, inward oriented and tried to overcome its own security problems, Turkey did not take important roles in UN peacekeeping operations between these years, in comparison to 2002 and 2017. There are some opinions that demonstrate and advocate positive side of Turkish foreign policy through 1990s. Karpas (2012) who is one of the most famous historians in the world, acknowledges that after the end of the Cold War, specifically after 1991, Turkish foreign policy has progressed. After this war, Turkey had to leave its settled Turkish foreign policy, and this led to troubles for some enemies of it in an official arena. Thanks to this new foreign policy, Turkey gained vital opportunities in order to promulgate its penetration to Caucasus, The Balkans and the Central Asia by using its historical and cultural ties and prosperities in those domains. However, some scholars oppose Karpas by saying even if, Turkey was one

of the first countries that recognized breakaway of Turkic Republics in the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Central Asia and initiated diplomatic, cultural, political and economic relations with these countries, Turkey behaved very carefully and prudently towards them (Şimşir, 1993; Sönmez; 1996; Sözen, 2006, p. 12). Sözen (2006) asserts due to both post-Cold War's suspense and disorder environment and Turkey's own complex and complicated vicinity, Turkish foreign policy did not fully benefit from these new opportunities (p.12). Turkey preferred to follow status quo oriented, defensive and passive foreign policy strategies in relations with its neighbors in the Middle East, the U.S. and the E.U. during the post-cold war period (N.A.S., 1996). Also, due to these reasons, Turkey did not take substantial responsibilities in UN peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2002.

Furthermore, according to some scholars, foreign policy activism has started with Turgut Özal's presidency; they also add that İsmail Cem who was the Foreign Minister of the coalition government between 1997 and 2002, tried to apply a more pro-active and multilateral foreign policy vision (Öniş, 2011, p. 49; Tuğtan, 2016, p. 6-7). Hence, Yeşilyurt and Akdevelioğlu (2013) advocate enhanced relations with the Middle Eastern countries which took an important place during the AKP government, has started in this period (p.385-6). For this reason, it is possible to say that the foreign policy activism of AKP can be seen as a follow-up of previous period of foreign policies and gained speed with AKP (Öniş, 2011, p.49; Jung, 2011, p.26-7). However, some scholars claim due to Turkey's instable economy and politics, previous attempts for foreign policy activism were not permanent, persistent and influential (Kaya, 2015; Köse, 2011; Jung, 2012, p.26-7). In addition, Telatar (2015) asserts in previous period of time (before AKP), Turkey's international role was restricted by being a bridge between the West and the East; however, AKP government aimed that Turkey should move necessities of being a central country in the region and it should be global power, at the end (p. 495). As a result, AKP government continues to follow pro-active foreign policy approach compared to previous time and tries to make foreign policy more pro-active. Also, it is asserted because of this pro-activism after 2002, Turkey's visibility in international organizations and its contribution level to UN peacekeeping operations has increased.

2.4. Turkish Foreign Policy Activism in 2003 and 2017

It is discussed that Turkish Foreign Policy between 2003 and 2017 was more proactive, multidimensional and multidirectional compared to years 1990-2002. It is argued that there are two substantial causes for this activism; these are: environmental reasons and new politicians' attitude on Turkish foreign policy strategies throughout 2000s (Kara and Sözen, 2016, p.48; Aras, 2009, p.4). Political and economic stability in 2000s were other reasons for this activism, since Turkey was ruled by one government of AKP through seventeen years starting from 2003 and economic capabilities were enhanced within these years (Aras, 2009, p.4). Before this government, Turkey was governed by coalition governments through twelve years, between 1991 and 2003; also, there were severe economic crises (Sözen, 2016, p.12-5). Another essential factor for having more active foreign policy in 2000s is that the army's impact on decision making process of Turkish foreign policy was reduced during this time (Aksu, 2012, p.442). Because of the fact that AKP government demonstrated important success and development on economy and being member of the E.U., doubts were impaired towards it and Generals impacted on politics and their privileged position started to be questioned through 2000s (Aksu, 2012, p.456). So, retired force commanders started to be judged, due to assertion of attempted coup (Demirel, 2010, p.8-9).

On the other hand, it is advocated that Turkish foreign policy activism has started in the past, but it has been improved, "crystallized" and developed, currently (Keyman and Bayer, 2012, p.84). Moreover, Oğuzlu (2018) claims that "into a post-unipolar era, Turkey has accelerated its efforts to pursue a more multi-dimensional and multi-directional foreign approach" (p.1). In addition to these, Martin and Keridis (2004) claim that Turkish foreign policy has been evaluated generally as "proactive and constructive" after the end of the Cold War. It has been become more proactive and increasingly institutionalized, as it visible in Turkey's rising relations and deals in the Middle East, the Balkans, and the Caucasus (Keyman and Bayer, 2012, p.84). The aim of Turkey has been establishing good and peaceful relations with all countries in those regions through making economic and cultural collaboration. Also, Turkey started to give more importance and focus on humanitarian aid and assistance in

order to make globalization constant, humane and fair (Keyman and Bayer, 2012, p.84).

According to Kanaş (2014), Turkish foreign policy tried to be changed from its restricted and weak position to a more flexible and multilateral one, with the help of the new principles of Turkish foreign policy which came with Ahmet Davutoğlu. Additionally, based on the new principles Turkey tried to overcome its psychology of surrounded with enemies and former passive foreign policy reflections, in order to arrange good and active relations with its neighbors and all countries in the world (Davutoğlu, 2004). It tried to move to the center of zone of energy, economy and human activism (Balci, 2017). Besides, social and economic relations were developed between Turkey and the regional countries. Visas were taken away mutually, and cooperations and coordinations were supported with the regional countries. Thus, mutual trust and dialogue process between these countries began (Yeşiltaş, 2013, p. 662). Also, Turkey took initiatives in lots of crises. It was the mediator actor between the Sunnites and the Shiites in Iraq (İnat, Aslan, Duran, 2017). Moreover, it tried to eliminate the conflict between Iran and Western countries (Gürevin, 2014). Meanwhile, Turkey has indicated its efforts in order to be mediator actor in conflicts between Arab and Israel, Syria and Israel, Iran and the West, Bosnia and Serbia, Iraq and Lebanon (Kalın, 2011, p. 13; Yeşiltaş and Balci, 2011, p.15). Moreover, based on the new principles, Turkey tried to enroll to international organizations as much as possible and be very active in them. According to Davutoğlu (2008), Turkey hosted lots of essential meetings and summits; thus, it became the center of the international congresses and forums (p.82).

2.5. UN Peacekeeping Operations and Turkey's Proactive Foreign Policy

It is advocated that Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations has increased considerably, especially with the end of the cold war (Koçer, 2006, p.49). Yalçinkaya, Hatipoğlu, Açar and Çelikpala (2018) also claim that Turkey's role in peacekeeping operations increased by 61 percent (61%) between the years 2001- 2015 (p.480). Additionally, in the past, Turkey's contribution to PKOs were mostly focused on Europe, especially in the Balkans. After 2001, the focus was expanded through Africa

and Asia (Yalçınkaya et. al, 2018, p.485). More specifically, Wheeler (2011) lists Turkey's accelerating peacekeeping contributions in Africa and gives two reasons for this increase; first, Turkey's 1998 opening up to Africa and the effect of Davutoğlu's current foreign policy toward Africa (p.50-69).

It is advocated that Turkey's growing contribution to UN peacekeeping operations could be associated with Turkey's new proactive foreign policy vision by some researchers. They assert due to the fact that Turkey has increased political willingness to contribute to "keeping peace regionally and globally" and accepts peacekeeping operations as important tool for providing more stable environment, Turkey has been volunteering to taking an active role in post-conflict areas (Aras, 2009, p.41; Kasapoğlu, 2009). Also, Öniş (2011) also makes connection between Turkey's proactive foreign policy and its increased contribution to peacekeeping operations by saying that Turkey has started to take an active role in peacekeeping operations, humanitarian aid and conflict resolution processes as a result of its new foreign policy vision (p.62-3).

Furthermore, Bağcı and Kardaş (2004) also relate Turkey's increased attendance to peace operations with more active Turkish foreign policy, after 2002. In addition to this policy, they list Turkey's other participation policies as follows: "Turkey's self-perception as a contributor to the world peace, Turkey's contribution to Western security architecture; outside-US-Demand on Turkey and the promotion of Turkey as a regional peacekeeper, and credible military preparedness demanded by new peace operations" (p.125).

Lastly, Koçer (2006) asserts that Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations has increased, due to Turkey's new quests of interests in foreign policy and contribute to international security for its own national security (p.58-63). He lists other possible reasons for Turkey's participation in these operations. These are as follows: Turkey's principle of peace at home, peace in the world; International responsibilities: "Pacta Sund Servanda"; Necessities of being an international actor; Being a part of Western

security system (NATO); Having an experience; Being a neutral country and Being a Muslim country (Koçer, 2006, p.58-63).

On the other hand, Bağcı and Kardaş (2004) acknowledge that Turkey did not participate in UN peacekeeping operations launched within its region during the Cold War period, because regional states were not included in UN peacekeeping operations in that time, due to the UN's principle of participants' impartiality (p.141). They add, because of that principle, Turkey has taken special permission to attend missions like UNIIMOG, UNPROFOR and TIPH (Bağcı and Kardaş, 2004, p.141). After a while, this rule was broken and other political problems were also solved; thus, Turkey has started to deploy its forces to Croatia and to other nearby regions as well (Bağcı and Kardaş, 2004, p.141). However, Turkey's low-level of contribution to peacekeeping operations during the cold war period, cannot be explained only with this claim, Turkey's changed domestic politics and changed conditions in the world have also impacted on this issue. According to Yalçınkaya et. al. (2018), Turkey's involvement in peacekeeping operations has risen after the cold war, especially starting from 2001 and 2015, because of Turkey's relatively increasing power, opportunities (i.e economic development) and volunteering to attend to PKOs has increased (p.480). Besides, Öniş and Yılmaz (2009) relate this rise with the changes in Turkish foreign policy by advocating that after 2001 AKP government came to the throne and Turkish foreign policy makers started use different foreign policy tools. For instance: Turkish foreign policy makers use "sustained pro-activism in the field of diplomacy, trying to achieve a more active role in international organizations, and opening up to new areas where Turkish contacts have been limited in the past" (Öniş and Yılmaz, 2009, p.12).

As it was stated, the literature argues that Turkey's involvement in PKOs increased in years 2003-2017 and Turkish foreign policy activism is demonstrated among one of the reasons of this rise. Since Turkey does not attend all peacekeeping operations in the world, it is seen that Turkey has strategic aims when it contributes them. So, in which areas and domains Turkey participated more is an essential question that needs to be addressed. According to some scholars three policies which refers to neo-

Ottomanism, neo-Islamism and Turkism have an impact on Turkey's decision to participate in some specific areas with larger amount of personnel. Below, I will briefly discuss them and illustrate their relations to Turkey's increased participation in peacekeeping operations as argued in the literature.

2.6. Three policies (Neo-Islamism, Neo-Ottomanism and Turkism) in Recent Turkish Foreign Policy and Peacekeeping Operations

Three policies (Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset) in Turkish foreign policy is defined by Somun as follows: "Turkey prefers to stress their common religion, when they establish relations with Arabs and Iran rather than Ottoman heritage. On the other hand, they prefer to emphasize on their ethnic origins in the Caucasus and the Middle East"⁶ (Somun, 2011, p.36).

Three policies (Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset) which was named by Yusuf Akçura, were tried to be implemented by different actors, in different times, in Turkish foreign policy. These three policies were applied both in 1990s and 2000s; however, in 2000s, these policies were enforced by the same actors, simultaneously; that's why, they are argued and discussed a lot in that period of time (Kanaş, 2014).

In 2000s, Turkey aimed to be more active in the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus by consolidating cultural, economic and political ties with those regions. Kanaş (2014) argues due to the fact that primary areas that Turkey intended to be more active through the discourse of historical and cultural ties coincides with former Ottoman lands, Turkish politicians called as Neo-Ottomans. In addition, due to Turkish politicians' notion of common identity for all Muslims and ruling party's prominent politicians' Islamic past, the discourse of Neo-Islamism has risen toward the ruling elites (Kanaş, 2014). About Central Asia, discourses, politics and actions were mostly grounded on Turkishness. So, Turkishness or Neo-Turkishness gained currency in that period of time (Kanaş, 2014).

⁶ Translated to english by the author

2.7. Neo-Ottomanism

The concept of Neo-Ottomanism was brought to the literature by Cengiz Çandar. He said that Turkey should go and be more active beyond its national pact (Misak- Milli) boundaries (Somun, 2011 p.36; Aras, 2009, p.131).

Darko Tanasković identifies Neo-Ottomanism as the ideological mixture of Islamism, Turkism and Ottoman imperialism (Somun, 2011, p.37). McDonald (2012) makes different definition from imperialism by saying Neo-Ottomanism can be described as Turkey's struggle for being more active in former Ottoman lands (p.102). He says from this definition, relating Neo-Ottomanism with imperialism is a kind of exaggeration (McDonald, 2012, p. 102). Emintan uses the term of "pseudo-Ottoman" for Neo-Ottomanism and he asserts that there are very weak relations with Neo-Ottomanism and Ottoman (as cited Somun, 2011, p.37). Murinson (2006) made similar comments on the discourse of Neo-Ottomanism with McDonald. He adds that Neo-Ottomans see Turkey both as a central power in Eurasia and the leader of Turkish and the Muslim World (Murinson, 2006, p.946).

The styles of speaking of Davutoğlu and Erdoğan led to increase the comments of Neo-Ottomanism toward them and their foreign policy visions. For instance: Davutoğlu pointed out that "Istanbul is yours" and "Sarajevo is ours" in his Bosnia trip (Somun, 2011, p.38). Although he refuses that he did not define Neo-Ottomanism in any place, in a meeting, in 2009 he claimed that "There is an Ottoman heritage for us which is interpreted as Neo-Ottoman. Yes, we are Ottomans and we are opening out to Africa" (Cavlan, 2010, p.128). These kinds of manner of speaking took a lot of stick from those who are critical for AKP government's foreign policy, due to its interpretations with disengagement of the West and possible disturbances in those regions (Cavlan, 2010, p.136; Kızılkaya, 2009).

Although AKP government admires and refers to Ottoman heritage frequently, Turkey prefers to benefit from its democratic regime rather than its Ottoman past, when it wants to enhance its soft power in the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus (Aras, 2009, p.139-140). This is not because they do not follow the policies

of Neo-Ottomanism, but they abstain from getting reaction from the region as being a new-imperial actor which replaced Ottomans (Cavlan, 2010, p.139-140). Even so, AKP government is accused as being Neo-Ottoman and Neo-imperialism in those regions (Aras, 2009, p.131).

On the other hand, Çağaptay refuses the idea of Neo-Ottomanism for ruling government, since he expresses that Turkey did not focus equally towards the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus like Ottomans did (Cavlan, 2010, p.134). Also, Somun (2011) says that the main goal of Turkey is providing its security in a pragmatic term and constructing soft power in those regions (p.38).

2.8. Neo-Ottomanism and Peacekeeping Operations

Koçer (2006) illustrates that there is a relationship between Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations and its Ottoman past (p.59). He claims after the end of the cold war, international actors tended to undertake more appropriate roles with their political power, geopolitics and historical situations. Turkey also, tried to make its presence felt and express its existence, especially in its nearby regions, such as the Balkans (Koçer, 2006, p.59). According to him, since the Balkans have very huge and significant cultural heritage for Turkey due to its longer Ottoman past than the Middle East and the Caucasus, it has special place for Turkey. Therefore, Turkey gives special importance to the Balkans, and contributes with the largest amount of personnel to peacekeeping operations in there (Koçer, 2006, p.59).

Furthermore, Keyman and Bayer (2012) mention because of the fact that it is known that both Davutoğlu and Erdoğan believe Ottoman past is so vital for Turkish history and identity, Turkey's current activism in regional conflicts and use of soft power can be associated with neo-Ottomanism (p.85). They claim Turkey has inherited its culture, geography and history from Ottomans; so, Turkey's demand to use its soft power in former Ottoman lands, and its desire to engage more in regional conflicts can be understandable and very normal (p.85-6). They express that "Similar descriptions are not used to describe countries that are active in their former colonies, such as Spain or Portugal" (Keyman and Bayer, 2012, p.86). They add despite unfavorable historical events with some countries, these countries are

satisfied to get assistance from Turkey, such as Serbia where Ottomans are not remembered pleasantly (Keyman and Bayer, 2012, p.86).

2.9. Neo-Islamism

After 2002, since proactive foreign policy of Turkey is mostly focused on former Ottoman lands (historical and cultural depts) and Turkey claimed to be active in these lands, those regions' countries started to feel discomfort from this situation. They began to fear from imperialism and the emergence of Neo-Ottomanism. The Notion of nation state and the nationalism were the main factors for this fear (Aras, 2009, p.131). On the other hand, after 2002, Turkish politicians were labeled as Neo-Islamist from the West and secular publics of it, because Turkey began to express that there is common Muslim identity or Islamic civilization for all Muslims. According to Davutoğlu, the religion of Islam provides common identity for all members of it without distinguishing the nation or geography (Murinson, 2006, p.949). Murinson (2006) also thinks that the term of Islamic civilization is the synonym of *umma* (p.949). So, Turkey was criticized for not acting necessities of being nation state in that period (Kanaş, 2014).

Culture, Islamic civilization, common identity and common history has special place Turkish foreign policy especially, after 2002. Kalın (2012) who was the advisor of prime minister after Davutoğlu, demonstrates that Turkish foreign policy mixture of realism and constructivism (p.9). Within this frame, while realism draws attention to the importance of power and geopolitical position, constructivism remarks the importance of religion, culture, identity and common history (Sadık, 2012, p.296).

Murinson (2006) asserts due to the fact that the identity was framed by civilization or religion, secularism identified as a threat for the self-realization ("Ben İdraki"), Davutoğlu and ruling government accepted as totally Islamist (p.951). Rubin and Çağaptay also assert that Turkish foreign policy changes can be associated with their Islamic tendency (Mufti, 2011, p.2) According to Jung (2012) Turkish leaders' attitudes toward Mavi Marmara event and diplomatic fraction in Davos Economic Forum are two basic indicators for this tendency (p.27).

2.10. Neo-Islamism and Peacekeeping Operations

Koçer (2006) defends being Muslim is one of the most crucial motivations for Turkey's attendance in PKOs (p.63-4). He says when we look at Turkey's attendance to international peacekeeping operations, it is clear that Turkey has sent its personnel to geographies where almost all of them are Muslim or at least one side is Muslim, such as Bosnia, Kosova, Somalia and Afganistan (Koçer, 2006, p.63-4).

On the other hand, Yalçinkaya, et. al. (2018) argue that Turkey's decisions to participate UN peacekeeping operations are not impacted on whether the countries' population is Muslim or not (p.482). Besides, related to this issue Keyman and Bayer (2012) point as follows: "Turkey's peace activism predates AKP, and Turkish activism is certainly not limited to Islamic societies or Islamist regimes" (p.85). Lastly, Bağcı and Kardaş (2004) allude that as a Muslim country Turkey's role in Afganistan with the commandership of ISAF (which was launched by the U.S. in Afganistan in order to provide security) was interpreted as there is no "clash between Islam and the West" rather "battle against terror" (p.136).

2.11. Turkism

AKP government argues that its foreign policy is not based on race. This claim is made based on Davutoğlu's argument that those who have Islamic civilization create common identity, no matter what their race, nation or region is (Murinson, 2006, p.949). Those who agree with this argument point to AKP governments' attempts for Kurdish opening in order to solve the Kurdish problem in Turkey, as an example of that. It is emphasized that if Turkey were to base its foreign policy on a specific ethnicity, AKP government would be contrary to its Ottoman past (Kanaş, 2014).

The politics of Turkism remain in the background, when it is compared to Neo-Islamism and Neo-Ottomanism, because the Central Asia is not considered as Turkey's near geography in the theory of Strategic depth and is not given precedence by Turkish politicians (Kanaş, 2014). Besides, geographical distance with Turkic Republics and Turkey's competition with Iran which originates the most important

land connection with Turkey and Turkic Republics lead to deter establishing better relations with these countries (Kanaş, 2014).

2.12. Turkism and Peacekeeping Operations

Some scholars argue that ethnic ties with people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo in 1990s played a role in Turkey's interest in UN peacekeeping operations (Satana, 2013, p.358-71). However, other scholars suggest that Turkey's involvement in these operations were not shaped by ethnic connections. Oran (1996) for instance, discusses that Turkey pursues its interests when it contributes to PKOs, instead of its ethnic ties (p.362). He adds that Turkey's contribution to PKOs in the Balkans can be associated with its national security concerns and national interests, rather than its ethnic and Muslim relations (Oran, 1996, p.362). Similarly, Satana (2013) claims since Turkey feared from spillover effects of conflicts around its vicinity, it took part in peacekeeping operations in the Balkans and the Middle East in the 1990s and UNIFIL II placed in Lebanon in 2006 (p.363). In addition, according to Oran (2013), Turkey contributed to UN missions in Bosnia, since it wanted to gain leverage, since the Serbs, Greeks and Russians were objected this participation. When we look at Turkey's contribution to Somalia, Sudan and Darfur, it seems that Turkey's contribution to PKOs in these countries (as well as other missions in Africa) in 1990s and 2000s can be linked with its economic and ideational concerns, rather than religious ties (Satana, 2013, p.363).

In brief, recent literature discusses that current politicians are labeled as Neo-Islamists, Neo-Turks and Neo-Ottomans, and it is advocated that these politicians build country's foreign policy mostly based on these three policies, and their decisions to attend peacekeeping operations have also been impacted from these policies.

2.13. Soft Power Through Peacekeeping Operations

On the issue of one of the reasons of Turkey's seemingly increased role in UN peacekeeping operations between 2002 and 2017, it is asserted that many authoritarian countries adopted democracy, and therefore diplomacy became more

vital and the impact of globalization had flourished, soft power started to be used as a tool for foreign policy by many countries; thus, Turkey followed the same path.

After the end of the Cold War, publics started to have more knowledge about the world and they have gained more voice for state governance and foreign policy, since the number of democratic regimes has risen and communication technology has shown incredible improvement (Telatar, 2014, p.258). So, states not only have struggled to establish good diplomatic relations with the formal administrations of a country, but also have tried to establish good public relations with that countries' publics in order to attract and influence them (Telatar, 2014, p.258). Also, Doğan (2014) mentions with the end of the cold war, globalization has gathered pace; that's why, international relations have started to be established not only with states, but also with public and economic relations has gained more importance (p.68). So, the U.S. and many other countries began to use their soft power especially during post-cold war period (Telatar, 2014, p.258).

Soft power as a term was coined by Joseph S. Nye Jr. in his book *Bound to Lead: Changing Nature of American Power*, in 1990. He defines soft power as follows: "Power of ordering others to do what it wants" (Nye, 1990, p.166). In other words: "Power is the ability to affect the behavior of others to get the outcome you want" (Nye, 2008, p.94). While the sources of hard power are: coercion, sanctions and bribery, soft power's important sources are: values, culture, history, diplomacy, institutions, economy, science, art and politics. Thanks to these sources, soft power aims to create new agenda-setting, get attraction, influence others (Kalathil, 2011, p.2; Çavuş, 2012, p.25). Additionally, Lee (2009) who have considerable studies on soft power, claims in order to produce soft power, soft resources should be used, such as theories, discourses, education, culture, customs, national or global symbols, and international celebrities (p.210). Kalın (2011) acknowledges that "Unlike "hard power," soft power explains fields of influence and attraction beyond military and economic indicators" (p.9). He also indicates elements which supports soft power. These are as follows: "Culture, education, arts, print and visual media, film, poetry, literature, architecture, higher education (universities, research centers, etc.), non-

governmental organizations, science and technology, the capacity for innovation, tourism, platforms for economic cooperation and diplomacy” (Kalin, 2011, p.9).

Whether the military force (which is one of the elements of hard power) can be evaluated as an instrument of soft power or not, is a highly controversial issue. O’Neill, J. T., & Rees (2005) assert that peacekeepers were supposed to be instruments of diplomacy, not war (p.32). In other words, they argue that these operations are among the veins of the soft power.

According to Kounalakis and Simonyi (2011), soft and hard power complete each other (p.36). They say that there is one folding fan and these two kinds of powers are ranged according to their softness and hardness on this fan. Hard-hard power is located on one side; soft-soft power is located on the other side. Hard-soft power is located in the middle of the spectrum (Kounalakis and Simonyi, 2011, p.36). So, if a country uses its military power with the intention of peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention rather than use of force, then that military force can be characterized as hard-soft power (Kounalakis and Simonyi, 2011, p.36).

After the end of the cold war, Turkey started to benefit from its soft power. Telatar (2014) claims Turkey’s soft power started to be practiced with the establishment of TİKA and TRT Euroasia in 1992, in 1993, respectively. Thanks to these, Turkey aimed to be active in the Caucasus, in the Balkans and in the Middle East (p.262). Also, Telatar (2014) says Turkey was not able to do remarkable activities towards its Muslim Middle Eastern neighbors during the 1990s (p.263). Besides, Ekşi (2014) points that TİKA was reconstructed by AKP government in 2011, with the aim of increasing its soft power capacity⁷. Similar with Ekşi, Öniş (2011) acknowledges that

⁷ Turkey’s soft power actors can be indicated as follows: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy (OPD), Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management (GOC), the Ministry of Tourism and Culture the Agency for Investment and Support, the Press Information Office (Ekşi, 2014; Sakin, 2017; Kalin, 2011, p.21). Also, Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA), The Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay), Turkish Religious Foundation (DİB), Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Ministry of Interior Disaster and Emergency

in recent years, Turkish leaders has improved country's economy and policies by using soft power properly; therefore, Turkey started to be more active in global affairs and be benign regional power (p.62).

According to Jung (2003), the term soft power was never used by governments before AKP, in describing Turkish foreign policy, because of "Sèvres Syndrome" (p.2). Turkish political elites were vague to implement soft power policies during 1980s and 1990s (Kara and Sözen, 2016, p. 57). However, recently, Turkey tried to escape from its "Sèvres Syndrome" and strived to apply new foreign policy principles by benefiting from its soft power (Kara and Sözen, 2016, p. 57).

Kara and Sözen (2016) claim that the concept was used by Abdullah Gül, firstly in 2003 (p. 57). He said Turkey can be a soft power, due to its superiority of law, enhanced democracy and economy in the region (Kara and Sözen, 2016, p. 57). Similar with Gül, Davutoğlu emphasizes that Turkey has the sources of soft power which are unique geopolitical position, culture, history and values that overlapped with universal values. He adds since Turkey's imports and exports were risen, Turkey's economy is not weak anymore, as it was during the cold war (Gürevin, 2014). Its technology and communication instruments were developed and the power of media was increased by reducing the limitation of media during 1980s. All of these developments intensified both Turkey's self-confidence and its influence of soft power (Gürevin, 2014).

2.14. Turkey's Soft Power and UN Peacekeeping Operations

Doğan (2014) acknowledges due to the fact that Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations fortify its image of 'global peace supporter', peacekeeping operations should also be accepted as public diplomacy service and accepted as one of the most crucial tools for Turkey's soft power (p.75).

Management Authority (AFAD), Yunus Emre Institute and Turkish Airlines (THY) can be listed (Sakin, 2017). Lastly, Ekşi (2018) adds TRT World and Anadolu Agency to this list (p.39).

Besides, Turkey's participation in UN peacekeeping operations was labeled as 'development assistance' by Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) (Doğan, 2014, p.75). According to a report prepared by TİKA, Turkey has contributed crucially to UN peacekeeping operations with a large number of personnel and has sent million dollars especially operations in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Lebanon (Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2011). So, if this agency keeps reports about Turkey's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations (both the amount of sending personnel and aid) and the attendance of these operations are accepted as development assistance, then it can be inferred that these operations are seen as tools in order to increase Turkey's soft power.

Moreover, Wheeler (2011) who was the former South African ambassador to Turkey, lists the name of UN peacekeeping missions that Turkey has contributed in Africa and claims despite the fact that Turkey and Africa share different cultural, historical, religious and economic concerns, Turkey has been utilizing its soft power in Africa, like other powers, namely China, India, Russia, Brazil, South Korea, the European countries and the United States (p.59). In fact, while other powers get negative reactions in return to their activism, Turkey's assistances were welcomed positively in Africa (Wheeler, 2011, p. 59).

2.15. Perceived International Responsibilities

Koçer (2006) claims that perceived international responsibilities by Turkey are one of the main reasons for Turkey's increased role in peacekeeping operations (p.58). He adds Turkey always tries to act appropriately for the principle of "Pacta Sunt Servanda" ("ahde vefa" in Turkish) and fulfill the responsibilities which are obligated by international organizations and laws. Also, he asserts all peacekeeping operations that were contributed by Turkey, had indisputable legal ground (Koçer, 2006, p.59). Another reason is Turkey's demand for acting necessities of being an international actor. After the end of the cold war, related to their power and interest, countries tried to play more appropriate role for them in international arena (Koçer, 2006, p.59). So, Turkey as an international actor, has an aim of being influential actor in its nearby regions as well as all other parts of the World (Koçer, 2006, p.59). General

Staff mentioned on this subject that "Turkey has participated in peace support missions at the greatest level in parallel with her international responsibilities, national interests and capabilities" (Satana, 2013, p.358).

Moreover, Satana (2013) claims because of the fact that disorders and clutters have started in the Caucasus and in the Balkans in post-cold war era, Turkish politicians tried to take more active role in regional and global affairs as well as in UN peacekeeping operations (p.358). Turkish leaders focused on regional security in this era; that's why, Turkey attended in the UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (1988-91) which was the first UN-led peacekeeping mission that Turkey participated in (Satana, 2013, p.358). After that, Turkey attended UNIKOM mission (UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission) between 1988 and 2003 and other missions started in the Balkans by the UN (Satana, 2013, p.358). Also, Satana (2013) advocates due to Turkey's ethnic and historical connections with Bosnian Muslims, it mostly participated UN missions handled in the Balkans (p.358). Meanwhile, it sent personnel to African UN missions placed in Somalia, DRC and other UN missions in Africa as well. In this way, Turkey tried to prove or demonstrate that it is an important player for providing regional security, in the post-cold war era (Satana, 2013, p.358).

Moreover, Turkey is part of Western security system and Westernism is one of the basic principles for Turkish foreign policy and it affected Turkey's situation in peace missions (Koçer, 2006, p.61). So, it is thought that Turkey should enter all international organizations which were West based, such as NATO, OECD, the OSCE, the BSEC, the ECO and the WTO (Kardaş and Bağcı, 2004, p.131). Turkey is part of NATO, not only, due to its apprehension for its own security, but also it is the necessity of being part of the West (Bağcı and Kardaş, 2004, p.132; Koçer, 2004, p.61). Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations both forfity its Western identity and helped to Turkey to adapt global security system after the end of the cold war (Bağcı and Kardaş, 2004, p.133). In addition, Satana (2013) mentions Turkey's Western identity was not questioned or interrogated by the states within the EU in 1990s, since Turkey contributed to UN peacekeeping operations in those years (p.364). So, it is asserted that "active involvement in peace operations has been seen

as a near-panacea to reinforce the country's Western identity in the West" (Satana, 2013, p.364).

Similarly, Güngör (2007) advocates "Turkey's contribution to peace operations helped the members of the western community understand that Turkey is a security producing country in the region and is always a part of the solutions, rather than the problems. Turkey's image as a security producing country has been enhanced. Turkey was seen as a 'security burden or consumer' country". Also, Güngör (2007) acknowledges that "participation in such operations has been an identity-constructing activity in the sense that Turkey has tried to reinforce its eroding western identity in the 1990s through this particular way". It is claimed that Turkey's contribution to OSCE led peacekeeping operations in the Caucasus, Nato-led peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Albania, Kosovo, its leadership of ISAF mission in Afghanistan are main examples of this issue (Bağcı and Kardaş, 2004, p. 133; Koçer, 2006, p.62).

In addition, Turkish foreign policy principle of "Peace at home, peace in the world" is one of the most crucial reasons for Turkey's attendance to peacekeeping operations. Koçer (2006) asserts in order to establish world peace, Turkey supports the establishment of international cooperation (Koçer, 2006, p.58). In reflecting this sentiment, it is stated on the website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs that "One of the main objectives of Turkish foreign policy is to contribute to establish and maintain peace and stability in its region and beyond. Peacekeeping Operations are the legitimate means to realize this objective" ("Turkey's Approach and Contributions to the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations", n.d.). Furthermore, Bağcı and Kardaş (2004) claim that Turkey's tendency to contribute to international peace and security, has increased in post-cold war era (p.131). In this period, Turkey tried to provide regional stability with its hard power and armament (Bağcı and Kardaş, 2004, p.131). They advocate that during the time of formulation, the notion of "Peace at home and abroad contribute to world peace through passivist, *status quo* oriented foreign policy- mainly to consolidate the newly established regime-, in the 1990s, it was seen as a basis for more proactive contribution to the maintenance of world peace in

general and maintenance of peace in Turkey's neighbourhood in particular" (Bağcı and Kardaş, 2004, p.131). They also add that through implementing more proactive foreign policies and contributing peace missions, Turkey aims to become "security provider" in its vicinity. They allege that Turkish army's contribution to peacekeeping operations starting from Somalia to Bosnia can be given as examples of Turkey's willingness to contribute to peace and security (Bağcı and Kardaş, 2004, p. 131).

2.16. International Factors for Turkey's Increased Contribution to UN Peacekeeping Operations

It is asserted that changes in the international system and rising phenomenon among the middle powers in order to attend to PKOs can be counted as international factors for Turkey's increased role in UN peacekeeping operations.

2.17. Changes in the International System

It is claimed that changes in the international system after the end of the cold war is one of the substantial reasons for Turkey's increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations. Özlem (2012) claims there were substantial changes in international arena, because of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (p.25-6). While the West considered this as a victory of it, Soviets saw this as a process of change and transition (Özlem, 2012, p.25-6). Due to the fact that Soviet regime and Yugoslavia fragmented, a number of new countries started to emerge (Sarıнай, 2000, p.874-6). Thus, period of the Cold War which started in 1945, finished in 1991; hence, bipolar system has ended and that was the new era for the world. So, Turkey tried to both benefit from new opportunities in this new system and kept itself secure (Sarıнай, 2000, p.874-6).

It is pointed out that because of the fact that the nature of conflicts has changed, especially with the end of the cold war, the nature of targets, fields of activity and the nature of peacekeeping operations also have been changed and enlarged. Significant number of civilian personnel, policemen, observers, troops began to attend to these operations ("Turkey's Approach and Contributions to the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations", n.d.). So, Turkey also began to send more

personnel to these operations, after the cold war. Similarly, Keyman and Bayer (2012) advocate that Turkey's increased contribution to peace-building can be associated with both regional and international changes which have occurred with the end of the Cold War (p.83). They assert that after this war, Turkey has found a space for itself in order to act more freely, and it was encircled by regional conflicts (Keyman and Bayer, 2012, p.83).

Also, after the cold war, it has thought that Turkey's capacity has to be improved in order to move more effectively in international arena and multidimensional foreign policies were began to be implemented with this purpose (Keyman and Bayer, 2012, p.83). For instance: Koçer (2006) advocates that within this period, Turkey has contributed to remarkable number of operations which were handled in different geographies, such as Kosovo, Afghanistan, Palestine, East Timor, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Georgia (p.49). Similarly, Satana (2013) argues Turkey sent personnel to African UN missions placed in the DRC in 2000s; not only for the aim of providing security to Africa, but also increase trade relations with African countries (p.368). She proves her idea by claiming that in parliamentary documents, Turkey's contribution to PKOs in Africa, such as MONUC/MONUSCO in DRC is basically linked with the aim of rising economic relations with African countries (Satana, 2013, p.368). So, as we see according to current literature, Turkey started to contribute peacekeeping missions in different regions, tried to act more strategically and benefit from existing opportunities (which came from Ottoman times) in different regions by contributing peacekeeping operations after the end of the cold war.

2.18. Middle Powers' Volunteerism and Peacekeeping Operations

Lastly, some argue that Turkey's seemingly increased contribution to UN peacekeeping operations could be associated with the middle powers' voluntariness to participate in these operations in order to use peacekeeping as a foreign policy instrument, gain more ground, fortify their identity and increase their visibility in world politics. Peacekeeping has facilitated both to widen these countries' impact on post-conflict regions and originate political fortune (Yalçınkaya et. al., 2018, p.476).

Middle powers as a term defined by Müftüler (2015) as follows: Their power at the "middle" in the power range which lay under the great powers and they have ability to affect and perform in global issues. She gives following countries as an example of middle powers: Canada, the Netherlands, and Sweden, South Africa, Malaysia, and Turkey. According to Black (2016), middle powers⁸ tend to be active in international arena with the end of the Cold War, since "it has suited their long-term interests vis-a-vis world order, the world economy and the pursuit of dominant societal values and interests, all supported by significant material technical bureaucratic capabilities, to do so" (p.103).

Bipolar world system that turned into multipolarity brought uncertainty, and the European Union picked up steam in 1993 (Müftülüer and Yüksel, 2016, p.184). In this era, a number of states gained independence from former Soviet Union, the civil war in the former Yugoslavia and Gulf crises have emerged. Therefore, states especially middle powers tried to integrate both globalization and cope with their regions' problems, such as conflicts, economic issues, nuclear weapons, migration crises, refugee issues and frontier problems (Müftüler and Yüksel, 2016, p.184).

In addition, Keyman and Sazak (2014) mention that in the post-Cold War era, due to the fact that middle powers demanded to be "pivotal actors" in regional and global politics, they started to be interested in "traditional actors' burden" and worldwide issues, namely armed conflicts, poorness, health problems, human right and environmental issues (p.1).

⁸ There is conceptional discussion on whether Turkey is emerging, rising or middle power. This thesis prefers to use the term of middle power. Emerging and rising power are defined as follows: "Emerging powers are usually referred to as states whose increasing material capacities and status-seeking strategies may potentially have an impact on the international system and also affect the dominant position of the hegemonic powers therein" (Wehner, 2017). "Rising power: Often referred to as the BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa – to which second-tier powers such as Indonesia, Turkey and Mexico can be added, these states are called "rising powers" or "new powers" because of their rapid economic development, and expanding political and cultural influence" (Tank, 2012, p.1).

Besides, Van Der Westhuizen (1998) claims that middle powers “had an interest in developing a complex arrangement of international political and strategic organizations such as the UN, NATO, and other multilateral institutions, as well as policy instruments like mediation and peacekeeping through which order could be maintained” (p. 439). Also, Jordaan (2003) asserts that middle powers are the “stabilisers and legitimisers of world order” (p.167).

Furthermore, Jordaan (2003) accepts Turkey as one of those middle powers (p.165). Müftüler and Yüksel (2016) also support this idea by saying that Turkey is the bridge between the West, the Middle East, the Balkans and the Central Asian Republics; also, it has enhanced its economic, political, cultural and military relations with all these regions simultaneously; so, Turkey is properly suited to be called as the middle power (p.195).

Related to this, according to Dal (2014), Turkey has started to be more active and visible in global platforms over the last decade compared to 1990s (p.129). She says since 2000s, Turkey has been engaging more actively in mediation processes, conflict resolution, development aid, and humanitarian diplomacy, international forums, crises and disputes regionally and internationally (Dal, 2014, p.129-130).

Furthermore, Keyman and Sazak (2014) claim that BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) and middle powers like Turkey, Indonesia, and Mexico started to be shown as alternatives to Western development and humanitarian aid (p.1). They say during 2000s, Turkey started to be called as “humanitarian state” in the Middle East, the North Africa, the sub-Saharan Africa, the Balkans, the Central and the South Asia (Keyman and Sazak, 2014, p.1).

Peacekeeping operations are also evaluated and accepted by middle powers as development assistance and seen as one of the most substantial tools for gaining more ground in the world politics. Middle powers think that these operations support to expand their impact on disputed and post conflict areas, and increase political accumulation in their own countries (Yalçınkaya, et. al., 2018, p.476). Peter (2014)

also adds, middle powers want to be more active in international peace and security; so, their contribution to peacekeeping operations have been increasing, gradually (p.1).

Meanwhile, it is expressed that Turkey as a middle power has crucially been contributing to both UN and NATO peacekeeping missions, in order to gain prestige, prove its power in international arena, construct its identity, increase its visibility and soft power, especially after 2000s (Satana, 2013, p.370-1). Similar with Satana, Peter (2014) also claims that Turkey, highly keen and enthusiastic to attend multilateral peacekeeping and training missions both under the roof of UN and non-UN (p.2-3). Yalçinkaya et. al. (2018) share same idea and point that Turkey's role as a middle power has increased in peacekeeping operations which can be seen in its rising contribution to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Afghanistan under the roof of NATO; also, Lebanon, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Timor-Leste under the roof of the UN (p.476). Moreover, Satana (2013) asserts that Turkey's intentions to participate in PKOs crucial for world's security issues after the Cold War, and widen its sphere of political influence over those areas (p.358-71).

In consequence, current literature argues that there is an increase in Turkey's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002. In the light of recent literature, domestic and international factors are given as two main reasons for this rise. Those who acknowledge domestic factors, link this rise to more proactive foreign policy which emphasizes increasing use of soft power, the rise of Neo-Ottomanism, Neo-Islamism, Turkism and Turkey's perceived international responsibilities. On the other hand, international ones are related to the changes in the international system after the cold war, and ising trend among middle powers to attend voluntarily to these operations, especially after the Cold War.

In the next chapter, I will demonstrate whether there was really an increase in Turkey's participation to UN peacekeeping operations in 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002 and if there is a such an increase, I will observe and compare the

relevant data and literature review in order to demonstrate which of the factors mentioned in my literature review could explain this rise.



CHAPTER 3

MEASURING THE CHANGE IN TURKEY'S PARTICIPATION

3.1. Introduction

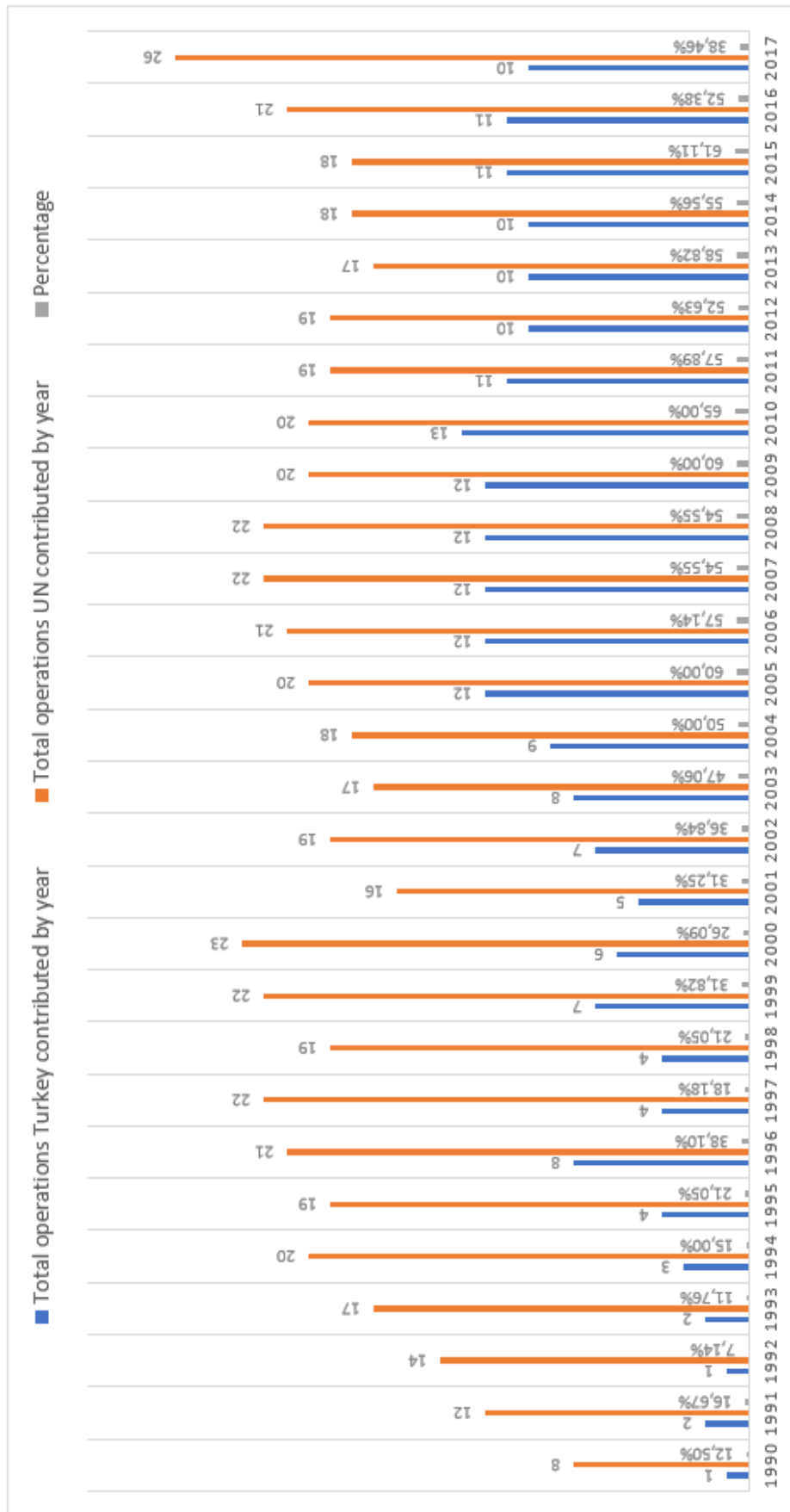
As it is discussed in the previous chapter, according to recent literature, Turkey's role in peacekeeping operations has risen in 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002. So, this chapter will address the following questions: Whether there is really a significant change both in the number and rate of peacekeeping operations by the UN in years between 2003-2017 compared to 1990- 2002, and Turkey's participation level to these operations between these years; whether UN's and Turkey's rate of personnel who were sent to missions goes parallel with each other between these years; also, in which countries or continents Turkey participated specifically with smaller or larger amount of personnel compared to the UN's contribution to those areas. These questions will be tested and explained with numerical data in this chapter.

Below, by using quantitative data, I will compare total peacekeeping mission numbers that UN has deployed and Turkey participated year by year between 1990 and 2017. Then, I will compare total number of personnel who were sent to peacekeeping operations by the UN and Turkey year by year between 1990 and 2017. Then, I will comment on whether Turkey's role in peacekeeping operations increased in 2003-2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

3.2. Analyzing the Data

To begin with, it needs to be demonstrated how many peacekeeping operations were carried out in total by United Nations between 1990 and 2017 year by year. Furthermore, it is required to examine the number of peacekeeping operations that Turkey has contributed to see whether Turkey's activism in UN peacekeeping increased in 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002 which my literature review asserts.

Figure 3.1. Total Mission Numbers that UN and Turkey Contributed Year by Year (1990-2017)



Source: International Peace Institute, *IPI Peacekeeping Database*

The Figure 3.1. illustrates total number of peacekeeping missions that the UN started and Turkey participated in years between 1990 and 2017. If we look at the chart, it seems that UN launched more missions in 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002. However, when we analyze the data closely, it is seen that UN deployed eighty-three missions in forty-three countries, and Turkey attended forty of them (48 percent) in twenty-three countries between 1990 and 2017. In addition, among them UN handled fifty-three missions in thirty-two countries, and Turkey contributed nineteen of them (36 percent) in thirteen countries between 1990 and 2002. Lastly, UN started forty-five missions in thirty countries, and Turkey attended twenty-six of them (58 percent) in eighteen countries between 2003⁹ and 2017. As we see, Turkey participated nineteen missions out of fifty-three between 1990 and 2002, and it contributed twenty-six missions out of forty-five between 2003 and 2017. So, Turkey's participation rate is 36 percent in 1990 and 2002, and 58 percent in 2003 and 2017. So, UN deployed eight mission fewer, and Turkey attended seven missions more in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Therefore, it can be pointed out while the number of initiated missions was decreased by the UN, the ratio of participated missions by Turkey increased between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002. As a result, since Turkey acted different from the UN on this subject, it can be inferred that Turkey had strategic purpose when it participates to UN peacekeeping missions.

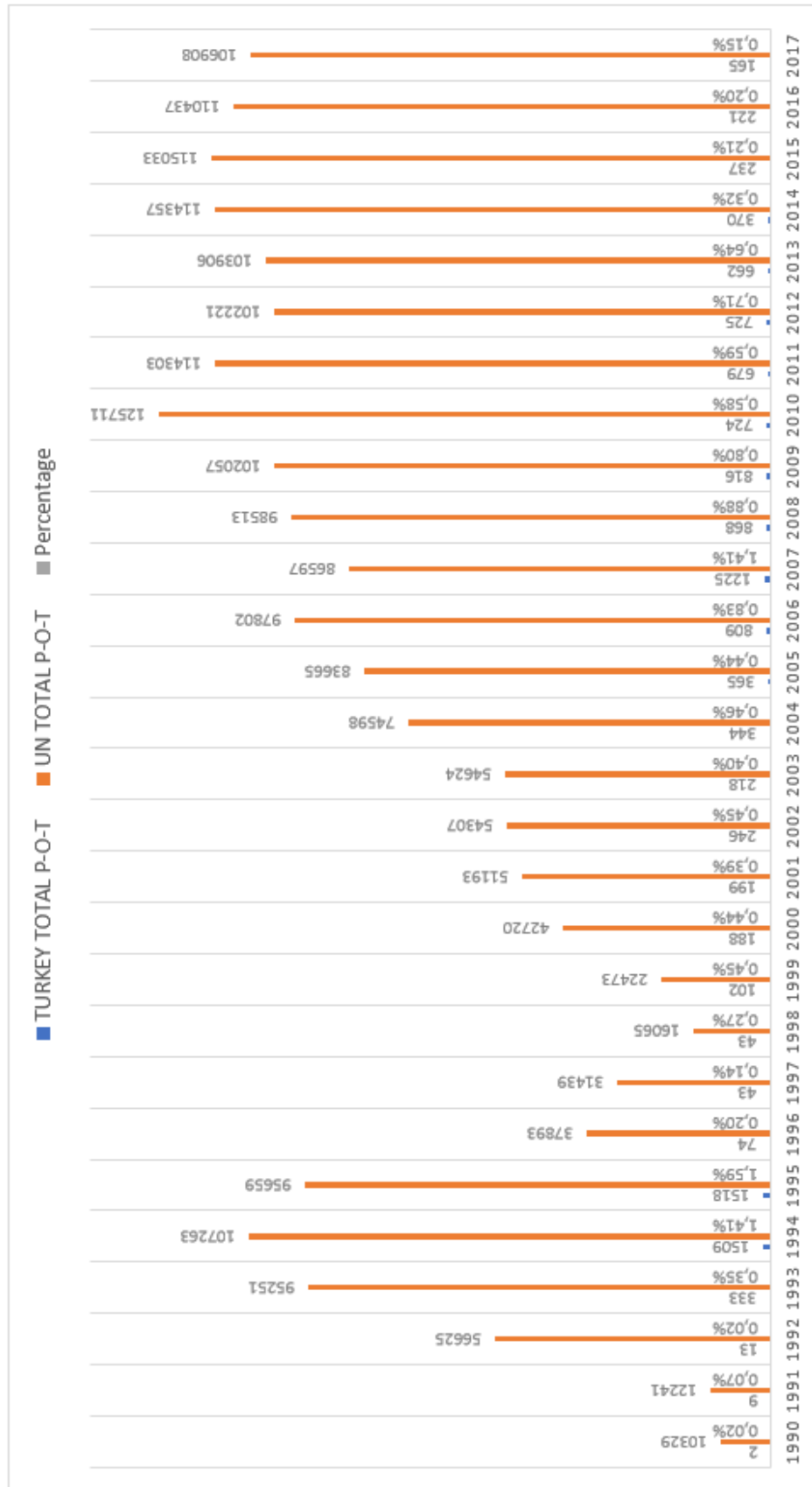
Furthermore, as it can be discerned from the table, Turkey's contribution rate to UN peacekeeping operations remain under fifty percent (50%) between 1990 and 2004, while the percent of Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations never decreases below fifty percent between 2005 and 2016. In addition, compared to the UN, Turkey's participation rate reached peak in 2010 with 65 percent. However, the percentage started to decline in 2016 and continued in 2017. While the proportion of contributed missions by Turkey was 61.11 percent in 2015, it was 52.38 percent in 2016 and 38.46 percent in 2017.

⁹ The missions that started between 1990-2002 and continued into 2003-2017 period were counted in for both time periods.

As a result, in the light of the data, it is seen that the amount of initiated peacekeeping operations by the UN decreased between 2003 and 2017 compare to 1990 and 2002, but the percentage of contributed missions by Turkey increased between 2003 and 2017.

Second of all, in order to find and understand whether the number of personnel who were sent by Turkey to UN peacekeeping operations also increased or decreased, it is required to examine how many personnel were sent by UN and Turkey in total, between 1990 and 2017. Moreover, it needs to be clarified what is the proportion of Turkey's personnel contribution in comparison to overall contribution to the United Nations operations in each year. Also, in order to understand whether there is a change (decrease or increase) in Turkey's personnel percentage between 2003-2017 compared to between 1990- 2002, the rate of personnel who were send to peacekeeping operations by Turkey should be revealed in these two periods.

Figure 3.2. Total personnel numbers sent by UN and Turkey year by year (1990-2017)

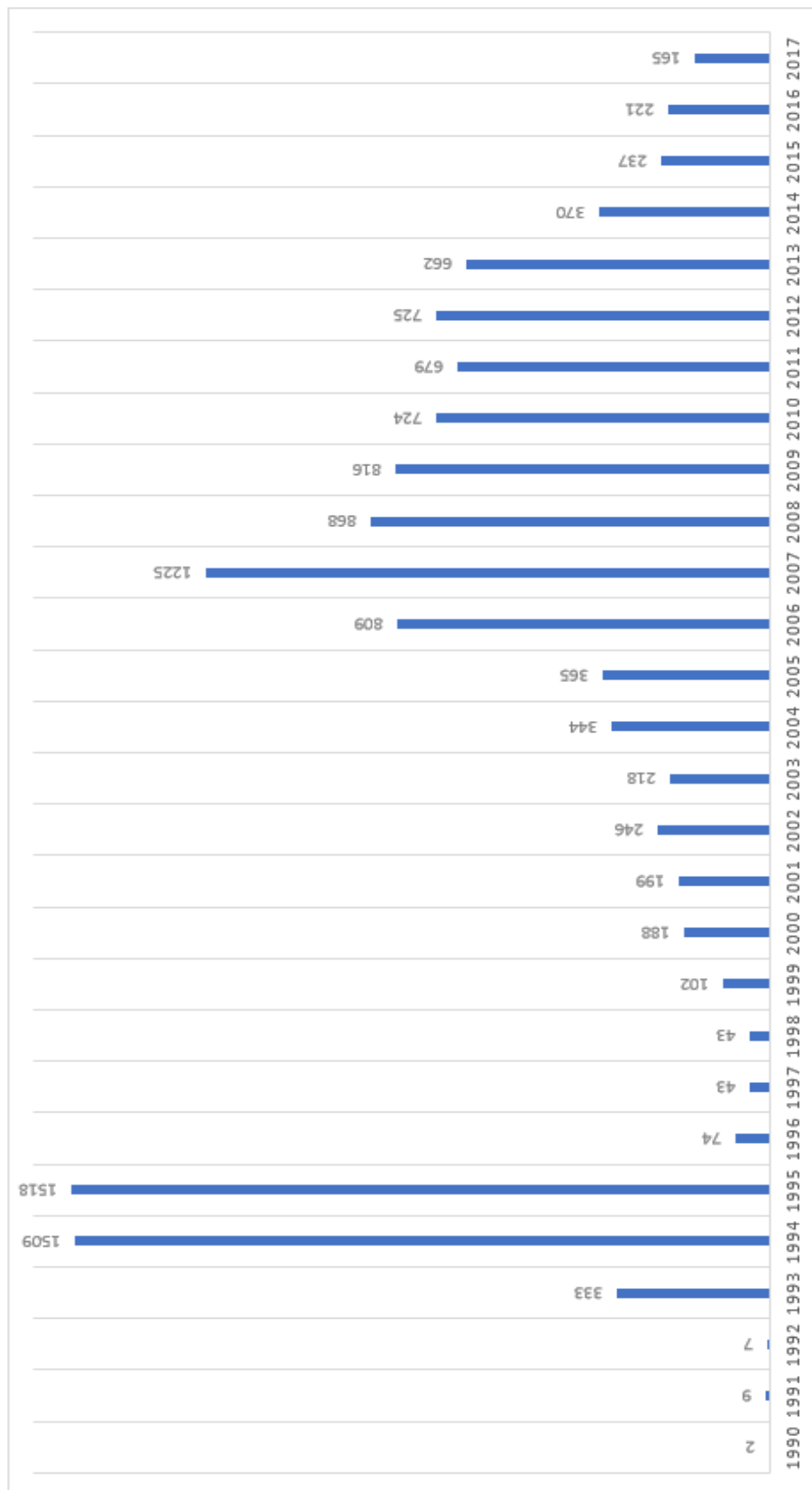


Source: International Peace Institute, IPI Peacekeeping Database

The Figure 3.2. displays total number of personnel who were sent to peacekeeping operations by the UN and Turkey between 1990 and 2017. Personnel are composed of police, observers and troops. Also, in order to show Turkey's total personnel numbers and ratios more clearly, the Table 3.3. was given. It shows only Turkey's total personnel numbers between 1990 and 2017.



Figure 3.3. Total Police, Observer and Troop Sent by Turkey Year by Year



Source: International Peace Institute, IPI Peacekeeping Database

Overall, if we look at the last two tables, it is easily distinguished that in contrast to 1990 and 2002, the percentage of personnel who were sent by Turkey and UN to peacekeeping operations increased between 2003 and 2017.

According to first Figure 3.2., Turkey has the highest personnel rates within the following years: 1.59 percent in 1995, 1.41 percent in 1994 and 1.41 percent in 2007. When I say this, it can be thought Turkey sent more personnel to peacekeeping operations in 1990s than 2000s; however, apart from these three years, as it is discerned from Figure 3.2. the highest rate of personnel who were sent to missions by Turkey are between 2003 and 2017. Therefore, it can be claimed that 1994 and 1995 are outlier years for Turkey's personnel rate between 1990 and 2002 (in order to examine all the numbers and the ratios of personnel who were sent to missions by Turkey and UN, see Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3.). Additionally, while Turkey attended three missions in 1994, four missions in 1995, it participated ten missions in 2012 and 2013; eleven missions in 2011; twelve missions in 2008, 2006, 2007, 2008,2009; lastly, it contributed thirteen missions in 2010. As we see, Turkey attended more peacekeeping missions between 2003 and 2017 than 1990 and 2002.

By examining Figure 3.2., it can be expressed that starting from 2006 until and including 2017, total number of personnel sent to missions by UN to was higher, compare to 1990 and 2005. Identically, Turkey also began to send more personnel to UN operations starting from 2006 until and including 2013 (see Figure 3.2. and Figure 3.3.). So, it seems when the amount of personnel who were sent by UN increases, Turkey also sent higher number of personnel.

However, the amount of personnel who were sent by Turkey, started to decrease after 2013 and it continues until and including 2017. In 2017, the amount of personnel sent to missions even lower than in 2000, because in 2000, Turkey sent 188 personnel to missions, while it sent 165 personnel in 2017; so, it can be claimed that the total personnel number that Turkey sent to operations began to decrease in 2013, and it was even lower in 2017, in comparison to 2000. In contrast to Turkey, UN's personnel numbers started to increase moderately after 2013 and it continues

until and including 2015. However, after 2015, total number of personnel sent by UN also began to decrease slightly until and including 2017, similar with Turkey. As a result, both Turkey and UN sent more personnel to missions between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002; also, 1994 and 1995 were outlier both for UN and Turkey. Also, except 1993, 2014 and 2015 when UN sent more personnel in some specific years, Turkey also sent more personnel in those years between 1990 and 2017. It seems more or less Turkey preferred to act similar with UN on the issue of contributing peacekeeping operations and sending personnel to them.

Furthermore, in order to understand whether Turkey gave specific importance to some missions and countries, when it decides to attend operations, it should be demonstrated in which missions and countries Turkey participated with larger amount of personnel. According to Figure 3.3., it is seen that Turkey sent higher amount of personnel in 1995, 1994 and 2007. When we look at in which missions Turkey attended in these years, it is observed from the data that Turkey attended UNPROFOR mission in 1994 and 1995; also, it joined the missions of UNIFIL and UNMIK in 2007. As we see, while it participated same mission in 1994 and 1995, Turkey contributed two different missions in 2007 with larger amount of personnel. When we compare these three years and Turkey's position in the missions, it can be said that Turkey sent more personnel in 1994 and 1995, but it attended two different missions in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. So, it is seen that Turkey tried to engage in more missions with larger amount of personnel between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Furthermore, in order to figure out how Turkey was active in these missions, we should briefly analyze these missions and Turkey's position in these missions. UNPROFOR (The United Nations Protection Force) is one of the UN missions that Turkey contributed with the highest number of personnel. In my data, Croatia is illustrated as a mission country for this mission. However, the mission "was later extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina to support the delivery of humanitarian relief, monitor "no fly zones" and "safe areas". The mandate was later extended to the

former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for preventive monitoring in border areas¹⁰. Turkey sent its personnel to Bosnia and Herzegovina for this mission. (“Contribution of the TAF to Peace Support Operations”, n.d.).

Additionally, the mission started in 1992 and ended in 1995, and Turkey did not participate until 1994. When we compare the total number of personnel sent by the UN and Turkey in 1994, we can see that Turkish personnel generates three-point seventy four percent (3.74%), and three- point seventy five percent (3.75%) in 1995. (see Table 3.1.)

Table 3.1. Total number of personnel sent by UN and Turkey to UNPROFOR mission year by year

| Mission Name | Date | Total number of personnel sent by UN | Total number of personnel sent by Turkey | Percentage | |
|--------------|------|--------------------------------------|--|------------|--|
| UNPROFOR | 1992 | 22776 | 0 | 0.00% | |
| UNPROFOR | 1993 | 27340 | 0 | 0.00% | |
| UNPROFOR | 1994 | 40013 | 1497 | 3.74% | |
| UNPROFOR | 1995 | 39708 | 1488 | 3.75% | |

Another UN mission that Turkey participated with larger amount of personnel is the UNIFIL mission and the mission country is Lebanon, according to my data. It is clear from the Table 3.2. that Turkey did not send any personnel to UNIFIL (The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) mission between 1990 and 2006. In 2006, Turkish personnel formed four-point-four percent (4.4%), when we compare it with the total number of UN personnel. Thus, it is important to mention that there is a rupture in Turkey’s participation in 2006, since in 2006, there was crisis in Lebanon; so, the mission was extended. Due to the mission was extended, UN has sent 11563

¹⁰ All Information about UNPROFOR mission. Retrieved from https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/unprof_b.html (accessed in 5 February 2019)

personnel in 2006, while UN has sent 2063 personnel in 2005. Also, the reason for this extension explained UN's own site as follows:

"Following the July/August 2006 crisis, the Council enhanced the Force and decided that in addition to the original mandate, it would, among other things, monitor the cessation of hostilities; accompany and support the Lebanese armed forces as they deploy throughout the south of Lebanon; and extend its assistance to help ensure humanitarian access to civilian populations and the voluntary and safe return of displaced persons" ("UNIFIL Fact Sheet", n.d.). So, one possible comment is that Turkey started to send personnel to UNIFIL mission in 2006, due to UN's extension of the mission. After 2006, UN's personnel numbers vary between 10000, 12000 and 13000 in each year until and including 2017. Especially, after and including 2014, UN's personnel number did not increase from 10000 until and including 2017. Similar with the UN, Turkey reduced its personnel number and it decreased the proportion of personnel by 1.92% from 4.28% in 2014. This decline continued until and including 2017. So, it can be said that the UN and Turkey went with parallel after and including 2006, since when UN decreases its personnel, Turkey also did same thing.

Table 3.2. Total number of personnel sent by UN and Turkey to UNIFIL mission year by year

| Mission Name | Date | Total number of personnel sent by UN | Total number of personnel sent by Turkey | Percentage |
|---------------------|-------------|---|---|-------------------|
| UNIFIL | 2006 | 11563 | 509 | 4,40% |
| UNIFIL | 2007 | 13539 | 930 | 6,87% |
| UNIFIL | 2008 | 12733 | 544 | 4,27% |
| UNIFIL | 2009 | 12738 | 578 | 4,54% |
| UNIFIL | 2010 | 11989 | 504 | 4,20% |
| UNIFIL | 2011 | 12488 | 472 | 3,78% |
| UNIFIL | 2012 | 12138 | 521 | 4,29% |
| UNIFIL | 2013 | 11026 | 472 | 4,28% |
| UNIFIL | 2014 | 10538 | 202 | 1,92% |
| UNIFIL | 2015 | 10610 | 115 | 1,08% |
| UNIFIL | 2016 | 10733 | 114 | 1,06% |
| UNIFIL | 2017 | 10729 | 87 | 0,81% |

The last mission that Turkey contributed with the higher amount of personnel is the UNMIK (The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo) mission which started in 1999. According to UN's own website¹¹, UNMIK mission was located in Kosovo, but in my data the mission country for UNMIK mission is indicated as Serbia. Due to the fact that the amount of personnel who were sent by UN in total was larger in this mission in 2000 than 1999; Turkey also participated with more amount of personnel in 2000, in contrast to 1999. More specifically, UN has sent 4506 personnel in 2000 and 1961 personnel in 1999. So, it is seen that UN's personnel numbers are increased in 2000 for UNMIK mission. Similarly, Turkey's personnel numbers that were sent to UNMIK mission also increased, since Turkey has sent 124 personnel in 2000 and 49 personnel in 1999. Between 1999 and 2009, the ratio of Turkish personnel sent to this operation maintains between 2 percent and seven percent until 2009. In 2009, Turkish personnel constitutes seventeen-point- eighty eight percent (17.88%), when it is compared to United Nations' total personnel to that year. Thus, the percentage of Turkey's contribution increased dramatically from 7 to 17 percent in this year. However, it can be claimed the rise can be explained with the UN's withdrawal from the mission. While UN has sent 2069 personnel in 2008, it has sent 151 personnel in 2009. In 2010, 18 personnel were sent by it. It can be said that the mission has been transformed into symbolic level by the UN, and Turkey sent only 27 personnel in 2009. In addition, Turkey has sent 152 and 3 personnel in 2008 and 2010, respectively. As we see, when the UN decreases its personnel numbers Turkey also decreases. Their willingness to participate to missions more or less went parallel with each other in these years. Finally, including 2010, while the UN has contributed to this mission with numbers which vary between 16, 17 and 18 each year until 2017, Turkey has attended only with three personnel each year until 2017. (see Table 3.3.)

¹¹ All informations about UNMIK mission retrieved from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/unmik> (accessed in 6 February 2019)

Table 3.3. Total number of personnel sent by UN and Turkey to UNMIK mission year by year

| Mission Name | Date | Total number of personnel sent by UN | Total number of personnel sent by Turkey | Percentage |
|---------------------|-------------|---|---|-------------------|
| UNMIK | 1999 | 1961 | 49 | 2.50% |
| UNMIK | 2000 | 4506 | 124 | 2.75% |
| UNMIK | 2001 | 4607 | 126 | 2.73% |
| UNMIK | 2002 | 4770 | 149 | 3.12% |
| UNMIK | 2003 | 4478 | 167 | 3.73% |
| UNMIK | 2004 | 3696 | 256 | 6.93% |
| UNMIK | 2005 | 3546 | 228 | 6.43% |
| UNMIK | 2006 | 2259 | 137 | 6.06% |
| UNMIK | 2007 | 2176 | 151 | 6.94% |
| UNMIK | 2008 | 2069 | 152 | 7.35% |
| UNMIK | 2009 | 151 | 27 | 17.88% |
| UNMIK | 2010 | 18 | 3 | 16.67% |
| UNMIK | 2011 | 17 | 3 | 17.65% |
| UNMIK | 2012 | 18 | 3 | 16.67% |
| UNMIK | 2013 | 17 | 3 | 17.65% |
| UNMIK | 2014 | 17 | 3 | 17.65% |
| UNMIK | 2015 | 16 | 3 | 18.75% |
| UNMIK | 2016 | 16 | 3 | 18.75% |
| UNMIK | 2017 | 18 | 3 | 16.67% |
| TOTAL | | 34356 | 1590 | 4.63% |

To sum up, the percentage of initiated missions by UN decreased, while the ratio of personnel who were sent to peacekeeping operations by Turkey increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Meanwhile, both the rate of

participated missions and personnel who were sent by Turkey to peacekeeping operations increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2017. Because of the fact that Turkey increased its participation to UN peacekeeping missions, while UN decreased the number of initiated missions, it can be commented that Turkey had strategic aims, when it decides to contribute to UN peacekeeping operations. Also, except 1994 and 1995, Turkey sent more personnel to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002.

Moreover, when we look at missions that Turkey attended with the highest personnel numbers in 1994, 1995 and 2007, it is seen that Turkey attended UNMIK (The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo) missions in Kosovo in 1999 and 2017; also, it contributed UNIFIL (The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) mission between 2006 and 2017, and it participated in UNPROFOR (The United Nations Protection Force) mission in Bosnia in 1994 and 1995. So, we can say that these missions were fundamental for Turkey.

Furthermore, in order to see in which period of time, which missions were handled by the UN, Turkey attended which one of them, how many troop, police or observer sent to the missions by Turkey and the UN, I reorganized the tables in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, and created new ones both for Turkey and the UN which were put in Appendix 3 and Appendix 4. In this way, it is easier to compare and contrast Turkey's activism in peacekeeping operations between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017 compared to overall composition of UN operations.

According to these tables, UN deployed eighty-three missions, and Turkey attended forty of them between 1990 and 2017. In addition, among them UN handled fifty-three missions in thirty-two countries, and Turkey contributed nineteen of them in thirteen countries between 1990 and 2002. Lastly, UN started forty-five missions in thirty countries, and Turkey attended twenty-six of them in eighteen countries between 2003 and 2017. Also, I prepared one more table in order to compare qualification of personnel who were sent to missions by UN and Turkey country by country between 1990 and 2017. The table shows the names of mission countries

(forty-three country) where UN launched peacekeeping operations; name of continents and qualification of personnel who were sent to missions by UN and Turkey between 1990 and 2017. (see the Table in Appendix 3 and 4)

In order to understand whether Turkey preferred to participate in peacekeeping operations in some specific continents or not, I will look at which operations were deployed by the UN in all continents and which one of them were participated by Turkey between 1990 and 2017. Also, in order to see whether Turkey's activism in peacekeeping operations in different continents changed or remained the same between 1990-2002 and 2002-2017, I will compare Turkey's activism in peacekeeping operations in those areas between these years. At the end, I will find and see in which continents or countries were more important or more prominent for Turkey in order to attend UN peacekeeping missions in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

3.3. Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

Below, the Table 3.4. illustrates only African countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by UN and Turkey. As it can be understood from the Table 3.4., the Tables in Appendix 5 and 6, UN started thirty-nine peacekeeping missions in twenty African countries between 1990-2017, and Turkey has contributed nineteen missions handled in eleven African countries, although it did not deploy twenty missions placed in nine African countries during same years. The names of contributed ones as follows: Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, DR Congo, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan. The names of countries that Turkey didn't participate are as follows: Angola, Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, Uganda and Western Sahara.

Below, the Table 3.4. illustrates only African countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey. According to Table 3.4. and the table in Appendix 5, in total, UN initiated thirty-nine missions in Africa between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey attended nineteen of them (49 percent). When we compare 1990-2002 and 2003-2017, it is seen that

UN launched eighteen missions in eleven countries between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey participated four of them (22 percent) in four countries. In addition, UN deployed twenty -six missions in thirteen countries between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey contributed sixteen of them in eleven countries (62 percent).

Moreover, when we compare Turkey's participation ratio to peacekeeping operations in Africa between 1990-2002 and 2003- 2017, it is seen that Turkey participated 22 percent of missions handled in Africa between 1990 and 2002, and it participated 62 percent of missions performed in Africa between 2003 and 2017. So, it can be concluded that the ratio of Turkey's attendance to peacekeeping operations in Africa increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Also, between 1990 and 2002 UN deployed eighteen missions in African continent and Turkey participated four of them. The names of countries and missions that Turkey participated in peacekeeping operations in Africa as follows: Somalia, Sierra Leone, Central African Republic, DR Congo with UNOSOM, UNOMSIL, BONUCA and BONUC, respectively. Moreover, Turkey sent only troop to Somalia, only observer to Sierra Leone, only police to Central African Republic and to DR Congo.

Additionally, UN launched twenty -six missions in Africa between 2003 and 2017 and Turkey contributed sixteen of them. The names of countries and missions that Turkey sent personnel to African countries between 2003 and 2017 as follows: DR Congo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d Ivoire, Burundi, Sudan, Chad, South Sudan, Mali, Central African Republic, Somalia with MONUSCO-MONUC, UNAMSIL-UNIOSIL, UNMIL, ONUCI, ONUB-BINUB, UNMIS-UNAMID, MINURCAT, UNMISS, MINUSMA, MINUSCA and UNSOM, respectively. Also, Turkey sent police and troop to Sudan; police and observer to Sierra Leone; observer and troop to Somalia and only police to other countries between 2003 and 2017. So, as we see Turkey began to attend more missions in different countries Africa between 2003 and 2017, compare to 1990 and 2002.

Furthermore, it is seen from the Table 3.4. that the personnel qualifications of UN and Turkey did not match with each other in any mission in any country. By looking at table it can be said that UN has sent observer, troop and police to almost all African countries except Senegal and Uganda (just observers have been sent to these countries), and Turkey sent only police to most of mission countries in Africa except three countries which were Sierra Leone, Sudan and Somalia. Specific to years, Turkey sent police and observer to Sierra Leone in 1998 and 2008; police and troop to Sudan in 2005 and 2017; observer and troop to Somalia in 1992 and 2017. Except these three countries, Turkey has affiliated with only police to other African countries. Therefore, it seems that Turkey and UN did not send same types of personnel to any African country.

In conclusion, while Turkey attended 22 percent of missions between 1990 and 2002, it contributed 62 percent of operations handled by UN between 2003 and 2017 in Africa. So, it can be concluded that the ratio of Turkey's attendance to peacekeeping operations in Africa increased between 2003 and 2017, compare to 1990 and 2002; also, Turkey started to be more active in peacekeeping operations in Africa between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Table 3.4. African countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| 2007-2010 | Chad | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |
| 1991-2017 | Western Sahara | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1998-2017 | Central African Republic | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |
| 2013-2017 | Mali | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |
| 1990-2003 | Angola | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1999-2017 | DR Congo | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |
| 2004-2012 | Burundi | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |
| 1993-1994 | Mozambique | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 2005-2017 | Sudan | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Troop |
| 1993-1996 | Rwanda | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1998-2008 | Sierra Leone | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer |
| 2017 | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Police and Observer | Did not Attend |
| 2000-2008 | Eritrea | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1993-2017 | Liberia | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |
| 2011-2017 | South Sudan | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |

Table 3.4. (continued)

| | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|--------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 2003-2017 | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |
| 1993-1994 | Uganda | Africa | Observer | Did not Attend |
| 2017 | Senegal | Africa | Observer | Did not Attend |
| 2017 | Libya | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1992-2017 | Somalia | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Observer and Troop |

3.4. Peacekeeping Operations in Asia

Below, the Table 3.5. shows only Asian countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and the qualification of personnel who were sent by UN. As it can be understood from the Table 3.5., Tables in Appendix 7 and 8, twenty missions were performed by UN in thirteen Asian countries between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey has attended ten missions out of twenty (50 percent of missions) located in seven Asian countries, although it did not participate ten missions which were initiated in nine countries. When we compare 1990-2002 and 2003-2017, it is seen that UN launched fifteen missions in twelve countries between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey participated six of them (40 percent) in five Asian countries. Also, UN deployed fourteen missions in ten countries in 2003 and 2017, and Turkey contributed seven of them in five countries (50 percent). When we look at the percentage Turkey participated 40 percent of missions in 1990 and 2002, and 50 percent of missions in 2003 and 2017 in Asia. So, we can conclude that Turkey's participation ratio to peacekeeping operations in Asia increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Moreover, as it was stated, UN initiated fifteen missions between 1990 and 2002 in Asian countries, and Turkey attended six of them between these years. (see the Table 3.5. and the Table in Appendix 7) The names of countries and missions that Turkey participated to peacekeeping operations in Asia as follows: Iran, Iraq, Georgia, Israel, Timor-Leste with UNIIMOG, UNIKOM, UNOMIG, UNTSO, UNTAET-UNMISSET, respectively. Furthermore, Turkey sent only observer to Georgia; observer and troop

to Iraq; police and observer to Timor-Leste; only troop to Iran, and only observer to Israel. (see Table 3.5.)

Also, UN deployed fourteen missions in Asia between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey sent personnel to seven of them. The names of Asian countries and missions that Turkey sent personnel as follows: Iraq, Georgia, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, Lebanon with UNIIKOM, UNOMIG, UNTAET-UNMISSET-UNOTIL-UNMIT, UNAMA and UNIFIL, respectively. In addition, Turkey sent only observer to Georgia; observer and troop to Iraq; police and observer to Timor-Leste; police and observer to Afghanistan and only troop to Lebanon. (see Table 3.5.)

As a consequence, it can be said that UN handled lower number of peacekeeping operations in Asian countries in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. However, the number of attended missions by Turkey increased between 2003 and 2017, since it contributed six missions out of fifteen (40 percent) in 1990 and 2002, and seven missions out of fourteen (50 percent) between 2003 and 2017.

The composition of UN mission to Afghanistan is composed of police and observes which Turkey's contribution coincided with, similar parallels can be seen in the mission to Iran where only troops were sent. As it is seen, Turkey and UN's personnel qualification is identical in Afghanistan and Iran and their personnel types who were sent to these countries tally with each other. Besides, Turkey sent only observer and troop to Iraq, only observer to Georgia and Israel (only one observer in 1999); on the other hand, it preferred to send only troop to Lebanon. UN sent police, observer and troop to these three countries. (see table 3.5.)

Moreover, while Turkey sent personnel (even one) to Israel between 1990 and 2002, it did not participate any operations in Israel between 2003 and 2017. In addition, Turkey began to contribute to peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan and Lebanon between 2002 and 2017; also, it attended peacekeeping operations in Georgia, Iraq and Timor-Leste between 1990 and 2017.

Lastly, among five countries that Turkey participated peacekeeping operations in Asia, it sent only troop to Iran and Iraq, while it sent police or observer to other three countries between 1990 and 2002. On the other hand, among five Asian countries, Turkey sent only troop to Lebanon and it sent police or observer to other four Asian countries between 2002 and 2017. In total, between 1990 and 2017, Turkey sent only troop to three countries out of five which are Iraq, Iran and Lebanon. (see Table 3.5.)

In summary, we can claim that Turkey's participation number to peacekeeping missions has risen in Asia between 2003 and 2017 in contrast to 1990 and 2002.

Table 3.5. Asian countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey.

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| 2002-2017 | Afghanistan | Asia | Police and Observer | Police and Observer |
| 1990-2017 | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1990-2017 | Cyprus | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1990-2017 | Lebanon | Asia | Troop | Troop |
| 1990-1991 | Iran | Asia | Troop | Troop |
| 1991-2017 | Iraq | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Observer and Troop |
| 2007-2010 | Nepal | Asia | Police and Observer | Did not Attend |
| 1999-2012 | Timor-Leste | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer |
| 1990-2017 | Pakistan | Asia | Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1994-2000 | Tajikistan | Asia | Police and Observer | Did not Attend |
| 1993-2009 | Georgia | Asia | Police and Observer and Troop | Observer |
| 1991-1993 | Cambodia | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1990-2017 | Israel | Asia | Observer and Troop | Observer |

3.5. Peacekeeping Operations in Europe

Below, the Table 3.6. illustrates only European countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations, between 1990- 2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by UN and Turkey. As it can be seen in the Table 3.6. and Tables in Appendix 9 and 10, UN started twelve missions located in five European countries (Bosnia, Croatia, Italy, Macedonia and Serbia) in 1990-2017, and Turkey has contributed nine of them (75 percent) in four European countries (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Macedonia), while it did not participate three missions which are LBB in Italy and UNMOP, UNPSG in Croatia. Moreover, UN launched twelve missions between 1990-2002, and Turkey attended nine of them (75 percent); also, UN performed one mission (UNMIK in Serbia) between 1999 and 2017, and Turkey attended that missions between 1999 and 2017 (100 percent). So, while UN deployed twelve missions between 1990 and 2002, it performed one mission between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey attended nine missions out of twelve (75 percent) between 1990 and 2002, while it attended one mission out of one (100 percent). So, it is seen that UN decreased its operation number in 2003 and 2017, and it seems that the ratio of contributed peacekeeping operations by Turkey increased in 2003 and 2017, compare to 1990 and 2002 in Europe.

Overall, peacekeeping operations in European countries that Turkey has enlisted as follows: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia. Furthermore, UN launched twelve missions in five European countries between 1992 and 2002, and Turkey attended nine of them in four European countries between 1994 and 2002. The names of countries and missions that Turkey contributed to peacekeeping operations in Europe as follows: Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia with UNPROFOR-UNCRO-UNFOR-UNPF-UNTAES, IPTF-UNMIBH, UNPREDEP, UNMIK missions, respectively. (see Table 3.6. and Table in Appendix 10)

In addition, UN deployed one mission which was UNMIK mission in Serbia between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey contributed this mission in Europe between these years. Thus, it is visible that Turkey participated nine missions, out of twelve missions (75 percent) in Europe in 1990 and 2002, and it attended only one mission out of one

(100 percent) between 2003 and 2017. So, it is seen that UN decreased the amount of initiated peacekeeping missions in Europe between 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002. Moreover, Turkey attended 75 percent of mission between 1990 and 2002, while it participated 100 percent of mission in 2003 and 2017. As a result, the proportion of Turkey's attendance to peacekeeping operations in Europe increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. However, since during the second time period there was only one UN mission, the observed increase in Turkey's participation rate cannot be attributed to Turkey's increased activism.

Moreover, while Turkey participated with only troop to Croatia, it contributed with police or observers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia in 1990 and 2017. However, it is essential to say that in my data the location of UNPROFOR mission is revealed as Croatia, but it is claimed United Nations' own site that the mission "was later extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina to support the delivery of humanitarian relief"¹². Turkey sent its personnel to Bosnia and Herzegovina for this mission. ("Contribution of the TAF to Peace Support Operations", n.d.). For this reason, it can be said that Turkey sent only troop to Bosnia and Herzegovina in Europe between 1990 and 2017. So, it is seen that Turkey sent troops only Bosnia and Croatia between 1990 and 2017. Lastly, Turkey sent these personnel to missions handled between 1990 and 2002, it sent only police to UNMIK mission between 2003 and 2017.

Also, when we look at the Table 3.6. in order to see the qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey, it seems that they sent same kinds of personnel only to Bosnia and Herzegovina in Europe, since both of them sent police, observer and troop to Bosnia. Therefore, it can be said that on the issue of personnel qualification UN and Turkey overlap with each other only in Bosnia and Herzegovina among four European countries. Also, while UN sent police, observers and troops to all missions in Europe,

¹² All informations about UNPROFOR mission Retrieved from UNPROFOR <https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/unprofor.htm> (accessed in 5 February 2019)

except Italy, Turkey sent police and observer to Serbia and only police Croatia and Macedonia.

In brief, UN decreased the number of initiated missions in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, since twelve missions were performed by UN in 1990 and 2002, and only one mission realized in 2003 and 2017. Also, Turkey attended 75 percent of mission in 1990 and 2002, and 100 percent of mission between 2003 and 2017. For that reason, the rate of contributed missions by Turkey in Europe increased between 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002.

Table 3.6. European countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| 1997 | Italy | Europe | Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1995-2002 | Croatia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Troop |
| 1996-2002 | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer |
| 1999-2017 | Serbia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer |
| 1995-1999 | Macedonia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |

3.6. Peacekeeping Operations in South America

Below, the Table 3.7. illustrates only South American countries that UN has launched peacekeeping operations in year by year between 1990 -2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by UN and Turkey to them. As it can be deduced from the Table 3.7., and Tables in Appendix 11 and 12 UN deployed twelve peacekeeping operations in five South American countries, and among them Turkey has contributed only two missions in Haiti which are MINUSTAH and MINUJUSTH. In addition, UN deployed eight mission in four South American countries between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey attended none of them. Also, UN launched four missions in two countries

between 2004 and 2017, and Turkey attended two of them. So, it can be said that Turkey started to engage in UN peacekeeping operations in South American continent between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002 which can be seen as an indicator of Turkey's increasing activism.

Also, the UN mission was composed of police, troop and observer to Haiti between 1994 and 2017, and Turkey has sent only police in 2004 and 2017. Due to the fact that UN and Turkey did not send same kinds of personnel to these countries at the same time, it can be claimed that they did not overlap with each other in any country and in any time.

In addition, after and including 2004, Turkey started to attend peacekeeping operations in Haiti and it continued to attend until and including 2017. MINUSTAH mission was initiated in 2004 and Turkey contributed it between 2004 and 2017 and MINUJUSTH mission was started in 2017 and Turkey started to attend same year.

In summary, it can be claimed that Turkey began to be active in peacekeeping operations in South America between 2004 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2004, since it did not attend any missions handled between 1990 and 2002 in South America.

Table 3.7. South American countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990 and 2017, and qualification of personnel sent by UN and Turkey

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| 1997-2002 | Guatemala | South America | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1994-2017 | Haiti | South America | Police, Observer and Troop | Police |
| 1990-1992 | Honduras | South America | Troop | Did not Attend |
| 1991-1995 | El Salvador | South America | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend |
| 2016-2017 | Colombia | South America | Police and Observer | Did not Attend |

To conclude, in the light of the collected data, it can be commented while the number of initiated missions by UN decreased, the number of attended missions by Turkey increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Therefore, it is understood that Turkey had strategic aims to attend UN peacekeeping missions between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002. Moreover, both UN and Turkey sent higher amount of personnel to peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990-2002. Also, the intensity of personnel who were sent to operations, more or less match up with each other in 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002, since when UN increased its personnel numbers, Turkey also about to increased and when UN decreased its personnel number, Turkey also revealed same tendency, approximately in 2003 and 2017, than 1990 and 2002.

Specific to continents, Turkey's activism in peacekeeping operations initiated in Africa, Asia and Europe increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Furthermore, in Europe the increase can be associated with the decrease in the number of performed missions by UN. In addition, Turkey started to attend UN peacekeeping operations in South America between 2003 and 2017, since Turkey sent personnel to Haiti in South American continent in 2004 and 2017, while it did not send any personnel to missions in South America between 1990 and 2002. As a result, when we compare Turkey's activism continent by continent between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017, it is seen that Turkey was more active in UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, Asia and Europe in 2003 and 2017 in contrast to 1990 and 2002. Also, it started to sent personnel to South America between 2003 and 2017; therefore, it can be inferred that Turkey started to be active in different continent in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Furthermore, according to collected data, the personnel qualifications of UN and Turkey did not match with each other in any missions in Africa and South America. On the other hand, in Asia, the kinds of personnel who were sent to missions in Afghanistan and Iran by Turkey matched the composition of the UN mission. Lastly, in Europe, personnel qualification of the UN and Turkey overlap with each other only in Bosnia and Herzegovina out of four European countries. So, Turkey preferred to

send different kinds of personnel from the UN, which means perhaps Turkey had some other priorities or strategies apart from the UN on this issue.

As it can be seen, Turkey did not attend all UN peacekeeping operations, despite its participation rate increased in 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002. So, it is seen that it had some priorities to some missions and made some strategic choices. At this point, some crucial questions emerged which are as follows: Why Turkey's contribution rate to peacekeeping operations increased between 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002, why some missions like UNMIK, UNIFIL and UNPROFOR or some countries are so outstanding and hotspot for Turkey, whether Turkey gave priority in order to attend UN peacekeeping operations placed Muslim countries or former Ottoman lands, what are the possible strategies or visions behind Turkey's preferences to contribute peacekeeping operations, are there domestic or international factors behind Turkey's choices?

In the next chapter, in the light of my collected data and theories that were explained in literature review, I will answer all these questions. Also, by examining my data, I will test and demonstrate whether the theories of Neo-Ottomanism, Neo-Islamism and Turkism had an impact on the reasons behind Turkey's increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

CHAPTER 4

UNDERSTANDING THE REASONS BEHIND TURKEY'S PARTICIPATION TO UN MISSIONS

4.1. Introduction

In previous chapter, my data demonstrates while the number of initiated missions by UN decreased, the number of participated missions by Turkey has risen between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. So, it was commented Turkey had strategic preferences when it attends to UN peacekeeping missions. In addition, the number of personnel who were sent to mission by Turkey and the UN increased in 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002. Also, it is observed Turkey did not participate in all UN missions, it sent low number of personnel to some missions, while it sent larger amount of personnel to some others. Therefore, it is referred Turkey gives priority to some missions and some domains; also, it had some strategic goals on this issue. So, in this chapter, by comparing both my literature review and relevant data and analyzing whether they endorse with each other, I will explain what are the possible reasons behind Turkey's increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations are in 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002; which factors could have affected and changed Turkey's contribution rate in 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002; why Turkey attend with the highest rate of personnel to UNMIK, UNIFIL and UNPROFOR missions compared to others between 1990 and 2017; why Turkey preferred to send troops and show its hard power in some missions, while it sent only police or observers to some others, and could these changes be linked with my theories explained in the literature review, such as Neo-Islamism, Neo-Ottomanism and Turkism.

4.2. Proactive Foreign Policy and Soft Power of Turkey?

In order to understand whether Turkey's increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, could be explained with more proactive foreign policy which emphasizes rising use of soft power, it needs to be clarified how many missions were contributed by Turkey symbolically between

1990 and 2017, and how many of them realized in 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. Then, it should be demonstrated what kind of personnel were sent to missions by UN and Turkey between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017, whether Turkey sent mostly troops or other types of personnel to missions between 1990-2002 and 2003- 2017.

In this thesis, if Turkey attended one mission with a small amount of personnel and when the size of the personnel sent cannot be justified by the total number of personnel sent by the UN, then it is claimed that Turkey contributed that mission symbolically. The scale starts from one and ends with nine. For instance: If Turkey sent only nine observers, two troops and eight police to one mission, then it was concluded that Turkey participated that mission symbolically. Below, the table illustrates the missions that Turkey contributed symbolically between 1990 and 2017. The Table 4.1. shows the name of missions, mission countries, mission continents, mission regions and the total number of police, observers and troops that were sent by Turkey.

Table 4.1. The name of missions, mission countries, mission continents, mission regions and the total number of police, observers and troops sent by Turkey

| Date | Mission | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troop |
|-----------|----------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 12 | 0 | 7 |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 1996 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1996-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 1 | 0 |

Table 4.1. (continued)

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------|----|---|---|
| 1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1994-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003-2015 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 2004-2005 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008-2010 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 11 | 0 | 1 |
| 2009-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015-2016 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2017 | MINUJUSTH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 8 | 0 | 0 |

As it can be discerned from the Table 4.2. Turkey participated twenty-three missions symbolically, out of forty peacekeeping operations that Turkey attended in total between 1990 and 2017. So, the rate of symbolically attended missions by Turkey is 58 percent between 1990 and 2017. Below, the Table 4.2. shows the total composition of UN missions for the missions that Turkey attended symbolically.

Table 4.2. Total composition of UN missions for the missions that Turkey attended symbolically

| Date | Mission | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troop |
|-----------|----------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 178 |
| 1990-2017 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 272 | 300 |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 264 | 939 |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 563 | 355 | 14631 |
| 1995-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 32 | 38 | 1168 |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1999 |
| 1996-1998 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 420 | 101 | 5009 |
| 1996-1997 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 195 | 144 | 541 |
| 1998-1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 4 | 124 | 15 |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 195 | 144 | 541 |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 5511 | 357 | 17778 |
| 2002-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 20 | 137 | 9 |
| 2002-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 142 | 269 | 17129 |
| 2002-2017 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 8 | 23 | 0 |
| 2004-2006 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 106 | 195 | 5400 |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 57 | 15 | 0 |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 28 | 15 | 0 |
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 12 | 8 | 0 |

Table 4.2. (continued)

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2007-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 266 | 46 | 3531 |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 1747 | 42 | 11666 |
| 2014-2017 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 2037 | 426 | 10531 |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 16 | 15 | 571 |
| 2017 | MINUJUSTH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1255 | 0 | 0 |

It can be visible from the Table 4.2. eight of the missions done by the UN can be considered as symbolic in nature based on the number and the composition of the personnel sent. Lastly, it is understood that Turkey contributed symbolically to these eight missions, due to UN sent them lower number of personnel. However, it preferred to attend other fifteen missions symbolically, independent of the UN. So, it can be claimed Turkey had specific purpose when it attended these fifteen missions symbolically.

Additionally, as it was claimed UN launched eighty-three missions and Turkey attended forty of them in total between 1990 and 2017. However, as we see from last tables, twenty- three missions were attended by Turkey symbolically out of forty (58 percent) peacekeeping that Turkey participated in total between 1990 and 2017. Moreover, Turkey attended nineteen missions in total between 1990 and 2002, and it seems Turkey contributed ten of them symbolically and the ratio is 53 percent. Also, Turkey participated twenty-six missions in total between 2003 and 2017, and it deployed thirteen of them symbolically, and the rate is 50 percent. Therefore, it can be said that Turkey contributed more missions symbolically between 1990 and 2002 compare to 2003 and 2017. In a consequence, it is seen that symbolically contributed missions by Turkey decreased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. In the light of my data, it is observed that Turkey did not aim to show its military power or military existence by attending these missions between 1990 and 2017,

since overall Turkey participated forty UN missions, and among them twenty-three missions were symbolically attended ones between 1990 and 2017. Therefore, it can be claimed Turkey contributed more than half missions symbolically in 1990 and 2017; also, despite the ratio of symbolically participated missions by Turkey seems decreased in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Turkey participated 53 percent of missions symbolically between 1990 and 2002, it contributed 50 percent of missions symbolically in 2003 and 2017. The difference is three percent which is very small. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is no evidence which proves substantial difference on this issue between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. As a consequence, it can be expressed that Turkey preferred to use its soft power rather than hard power by contributing to these operations between 1990 and 2017.

Furthermore, as it was mentioned in my previous chapter, according to the data, the personnel qualifications of UN and Turkey did not match with each other in any missions in Africa and South America. On the other hand, in Asia, the kinds of personnel who were sent to missions by Turkey and the UN, matches each other in Afghanistan and Iran. Lastly, in Europe, personnel qualification of the UN and Turkey overlap with each other only in Bosnia and Herzegovina out of four European countries. While UN sent troops almost every mission in these continents Turkey preferred to send only troop to countries as follows: Croatia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Sudan and Somalia.

Specific to years between 1990 and 2017, Turkey sent troops to following countries in following years: Croatia in 1994 and 1996, Bosnia and Herzegovina (to UNPROFOR mission) 1994 and 1995, Iran 1990 and 1991, Iraq 1991 and 2003; Somalia in 1993, 2016 and 2017; Sudan each year between 2005 and 2017; and Lebanon in each year between 2006 and 2017. (see Appendix 13) It is seen that Turkey sent troops to five countries between 1990 and 2002, and four countries between 2003 and 2017. For this reason, it can be said that Turkey sent more troops to missions in 1990 and 2002 rather than 2003 and 2017. So, it is understood that Turkey attended other missions with observers and police between 1990 and 2017. In addition, Turkey attended more missions in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. It is understood that

Turkey sent mostly police or observers to missions rather than troops between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002. Therefore, by examining the data, it could be claimed that Turkey did not want to show its military or hard power when it sent to personnel to UN peacekeeping operations rather, it contributed to remain to be a demonstration of its soft power between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Furthermore, as it was mentioned in my literature review, foreign policy and soft power are interconnected with each other. Soft power used as a tool for having more proactive foreign policy by countries. So, if one country wants to implement more proactive foreign policy, it benefits from its soft power and if one country demands to use its soft power properly, that country has to arrange its foreign policy according to needs of it, and as we see by attending peacekeeping operations, Turkey tried use its soft power; therefore, it can be inferred due to Turkey's more proactive foreign policy vision between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, it could show its soft power properly by contributing peacekeeping missions in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

In conclusion, similar with my literature review, my data supports that Turkey's more proactive foreign policy which stresses increased use of soft power could be given as a reason for the increase in Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations between 2003- 2017, compared to 1990-2002.

4.3. Which Operations and Which Strategy?

4.3.1. Neo-Islamism?

In order to see whether neo-Islamism could explain Turkey's increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, it requires to be clarified how many missions were initiated in Muslim and non-Muslim countries by the UN, and how many of them were contributed by Turkey within the two periods analyzed in this study. For this purpose, firstly I will give a general picture about Turkey's contribution to missions in Muslim and non-Muslim countries between 1990 and 2017, then compare the years between 1990-2002 and 2013-2017. Then, in order to find whether Turkey gave priority to some continents in

order to attend UN peacekeeping missions in Muslim or non-Muslim countries, analysis will be done continent by continent.

In addition, in an attempt to see whether Turkey attended more peacekeeping missions placed in Muslim or non-Muslim countries the Tables in Appendix 14 and Appendix 15 were prepared which show all the missions' dates, countries, continents, and the religion of mission countries for the UN and Turkey between 1990 and 2017.

With the aim of understanding whether Turkey attended more peacekeeping missions in Muslim or non-Muslim countries in different continents in 2003 and 2017 compared to between 1990 -2002, I will show how many missions were handled by the UN in Muslim countries in different continents and how many of them were contributed by Turkey. Also, I will state what kind of personnel were sent to missions in countries by UN and by Turkey.

4.3.1.1. Peacekeeping Operations in Muslim countries in Africa

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, Turkey's participation ratio to peacekeeping operations in Africa increased between 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002. So, I will analyze whether there is a relationship between being a Muslim country and the increase in Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Below, the Table 4.3. shows only African countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries. As we see from the Table 4.3. and Tables in Appendix 16 and 17, in total, UN initiated thirty-nine missions in Africa, and twenty of them performed in Muslim countries (51 percent) between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey contributed eleven out of twenty missions (55 percent) in Muslim countries. Also, in total UN managed eighteen missions between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey send personnel to four of them (22 percent). Among eighteen missions, six missions (33 percent) were performed by the UN in Muslim countries in Africa between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey participated two of them (33 percent), which were handled in

Somalia and Sierra Leone. So, Turkey attended 33 percent of missions handled in Muslim countries in Africa between 1990 and 2002.

Meanwhile, in total the UN launched twenty-six missions in Africa between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey attended sixteen of them (62 percent) between these years. Among twenty-six missions, seventeen missions (65 percent) were conducted in Muslim countries in Africa between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey participated nine of them (53 percent), which were handled in Chad, Cote d Ivoire, Mali, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Sudan. So, the percentage of Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping missions in Muslim countries, in Africa between 2003 and 2017 is 53 percent. In brief, while Turkey participated 33 percent of missions performed in Muslim countries in Africa between 1990 and 2002, it contributed 53 percent of missions handled in Muslim countries in Africa between 2003 and 2017.

Furthermore, in total, the UN initiated nineteen missions in non-Muslim countries out of thirty-nine (49 percent) between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey contributed eight out of nineteen missions (42 percent) in non-Muslim countries.

Additionally, as it was stated above, in total, UN initiated eighteen missions in Africa between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed four of them (22 percent). Among eighteen missions, twelve missions (67 percent) were performed by UN in non-Muslim countries in Africa between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey participated two of them (17 percent), which were placed in DR Congo and Central African Republic. Meanwhile, UN launched twenty-six missions in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey contributed sixteen of them (53 percent). Among twenty-six missions, nine missions (35 percent) were deployed by the UN to non-Muslim countries in Africa between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey attended seven of them and the ratio is 78 percent. In summary, Turkey attended 17 percent of missions in non-Muslim countries in Africa between 1990 and 2002, and 78 percent of missions in non-Muslim countries in Africa between 2003 and 2017.

In brief, we can claim that both the rate of Turkey’s participation to peacekeeping operations handled in Muslim countries and non-Muslim countries increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. While the rate of attended missions by Turkey in non-Muslim countries increased by 61 percent, participated missions in Muslim countries by Turkey increased by 20 percent in 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002. So, as we see, Turkey is more active in peacekeeping operations in non-Muslim countries than Muslim countries in Africa between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Therefore, it can be mentioned that Turkey’s contribution to missions in Africa was not shaped by common religion but rather Turkey showed an increased interest in being more active in Africa. This finding could be better explained by Turkey’s attempts at expanding its soft power.

Lastly, it is seen from the Table 4.3. despite the fact that UN sent troop to almost all African countries between 1990 and 2017, Turkey preferred to send only troop to Sudan and Somalia. So, this can be also given as an example of Turkey’s efforts to widen its soft power which was mentioned above.

Table 4.3. African countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey | Country's Religion |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|---------------------------|
| 2007-2010 | Chad | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Sunni Islam |
| 1991-2017 | Western Sahara | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Sunni Islam |
| 1998-2017 | Central African Republic | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Christian |
| 2013-2017 | Mali | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Sunni Islam |

Table 4.3. (continued)

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|--------|----------------------------|---------------------|---|
| 1990-2003 | Angola | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |
| 1999-2017 | DR Congo | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Catholic Christian |
| 1993-1994 | Mozambique | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |
| 2005-2017 | Sudan | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Troop | Sunni Islam |
| 1993-1996 | Rwanda | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |
| 1998-2008 | Sierra Leone | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer | Sunni Islam |
| 2017 | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Police and Observer | Did not Attend | Sunni Islam |
| 2000-2008 | Eritrea | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | 50% Muslim, 30% Orthodox Christian |
| 1993-2017 | Liberia | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Christian |
| 2011-2017 | South Sudan | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Catholic Christian |
| 2003-2017 | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Indigenous 12%, Muslim 39%, and Christian 33% |
| 1993-1994 | Uganda | Africa | Observer | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |
| 2017 | Senegal | Africa | Observer | Did not Attend | Sunni Islam |
| 2017 | Libya | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Sunni Islam |
| 1992-2017 | Somalia | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Observer and Troop | Sunni Islam |

4.3.1.2. Peacekeeping Operations in Muslim countries in Asia

It was expressed in the previous chapter that Turkey's participation ratio to peacekeeping operations in Asia increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2001. As we see from the Table 4.4. and Tables in Appendix 18 and 19, in

total, the UN initiated twenty missions in Asia, and nine of them performed in Muslim countries (45 percent) between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey contributed four out of nine missions (44 percent) in Muslim countries. Additionally, in total, UN initiated eleven missions in non-Muslim countries in Asia out of twenty (55 percent) in total between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey contributed six out of eleven missions (55 percent) in non-Muslim countries. (See Table 4.4., and Tables in Appendix 18 and 19)

It is seen from the Table 4.4., Tables in Appendix 18 and 19, in total UN managed fifteen missions in Asia between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey attended six of them (40 percent). Also, seven missions out of fifteen (47 percent) were launched by UN in Muslim countries in Asia between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed two of them (29 percent). Moreover, UN initiated fourteen missions in Asian countries in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey participated five of them (36 percent). Meanwhile, UN handled seven missions in Muslim countries between 2003 and 2017, out of fourteen (50 percent), and Turkey participated two of them (29 percent). In summary, Turkey participated 29 percent of missions handled in Muslim countries in Asia between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. So, the rate of participated missions by Turkey in Muslim countries in Asia remained the same between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017.

Also, as it was stated above, in total, UN initiated fifteen missions in Asia between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed to six of them (40 percent). Among fifteen missions, eight missions (53 percent) were performed by UN in non-Muslim countries in Asia between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey participated four of them (50 percent), which were placed in Timor-Leste, Georgia and Israel. Meanwhile, UN launched fourteen missions in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey contributed to five of them (36 percent). Among fourteen missions, seven missions (50 percent) were deployed by UN in non-Muslim countries in Asia between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey attended three of them which were located in Timor-Leste. So, the ratio is 43 percent. In brief, while Turkey contributed 50 percent of missions handled in non-Muslim countries between 1990 and 2002, it participated 43 percent of missions placed in non-Muslim countries in 2003 and 2017.

Eventually, Turkey attended 29 percent of missions placed in Muslim countries in Asia between 1990- 2002 and 2003-2017; also, it participated 50 percent of missions located in non-Muslim countries in 1990 and 2002, and it contributed 43 percent of missions between 2003 and 2017. As it is seen, Turkey's participation rate in peacekeeping operations placed in non-Muslim countries decreased by 7 percent in 2003 and 2017, while its rate of participation to missions located in Muslim countries continued same in Asia between 1990-2002 and 2003- 2017. Therefore, it can be claimed while Turkey's activism in operations in Muslim countries continued same, its activism in missions in non-Muslim countries decreased in Asia between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. For this reason, it can be mentioned that Turkey's contribution to missions in Asia was not shaped by common religion but rather Turkey showed an increased interest in being more active in Asia.

Moreover, in total UN initiated its missions in seven Muslim countries, while it performed its missions in six non-Muslim countries in Asia between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey sent personnel to four Muslim countries out of seven (57 percent), while it sent its personnel to three out of six (50 percent) non-Muslim countries in Asia between 1990 and 2017. So, it is seen that Turkey was more active in peacekeeping operations handled in non-Muslim countries in Asia compared to Muslim countries between 1990 and 2017.

Lastly, the Table 4.4. demonstrates that in 1990 and 2017, Turkey sent police and observer to Afghanistan and Timor-Leste, only troop to Lebanon and Iran; observer and troop to Iraq; only observer to Israel and Georgia. As it is discerned, Turkey preferred to send only troop to Muslim countries, rather than non-Muslim ones. Also, among these countries, despite Afghanistan is also a Muslim country, it seems that under the roof of UN peacekeeping operations, Turkey did not send any troop to Afghanistan.

In a consequence, the proportion of Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations in non-Muslim countries decreased by 7 percent in 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002. On the other hand, the proportion of its attendance to

missions in Muslim countries maintained the same between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. So, as it is understood from the ratios that the rate of activism of Turkey in peacekeeping operations in non-Muslim countries decreased in 2003 and 2017, while its activism kept on the same in Muslim countries between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. For that reason, it could be expressed that being Muslim has not affected Turkey's increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations in Asia between 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002. Lastly, it is seen that compared to non-Muslim countries, Turkey preferred to send troops only to Muslim countries except Afghanistan in Asia between 1990 and 2017.

Table 4.4. Asian countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey | Country's Religion |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|---|
| 2002-2017 | Afghanistan | Asia | Police and Observer | Police and Observer | Sunni Islam |
| 1990-2017 | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Troop and Troop | Did not Attend | Sunni Islam |
| 1990-2017 | Cyprus | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Orthodox Christian (Northern part excluded) |
| 1990-2017 | Lebanon | Asia | Troop | Troop | 51% Islam (25% Shia Islam, 26% Sunni Islam) |
| 1990-1991 | Iran | Asia | Troop | Troop | Shia Islam |
| 1991-2017 | Iraq | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Observer and Troop | Shia Islam |
| 2007-2010 | Nepal | Asia | Police and Observer | Did not Attend | Hinduism |

Table 4.4. (continued)

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|------|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1999-2012 | Timor-Leste | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-2017 | Pakistan | Asia | Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Sunni Islam |
| 1994-2000 | Tajikistan | Asia | Police and Observer | Did not Attend | Sunni Islam |
| 1993-2009 | Georgia | Asia | Police and Observer and Troop | Observer | Orthodox Christian |
| 1991-1993 | Cambodia | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Buddhism |
| 1990-2017 | Israel | Asia | Observer and Troop | Observer | Jewish |

4.3.1.3. Peacekeeping Operations in Muslim Countries in Europe

It was expressed in the previous chapter that the ratio of contributed peacekeeping operations by Turkey increased in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002 in Europe.

It is seen from the Table 4.5. and Tables in Appendix 20 and 21 that, in total, UN initiated twelve missions in Europe, and two of them performed in Muslim countries (17 percent) between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey contributed two out of two missions (100 percent) in Muslim countries. Also, there was one mission in total in Europe between 2003 and 2017, and the mission country is Muslim. Turkey attended the mission; so, the rate of Turkey's participation in peacekeeping missions in Muslim country between 2003 and 2017 is 100 percent, similar with 1990 and 2002.

Also, in total UN managed twelve missions in Europe between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey attended nine of them (75 percent). Also, two missions out of twelve (17 percent) were launched by UN in Muslim countries in Europe between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed two of them (100 percent). Moreover, UN initiated one

mission in one country in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey participated that mission (100 percent)¹³. Therefore, it can be mentioned that the rate of participated missions by Turkey in Muslim countries in Europe maintained same between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. In addition, it is important to mention that in my literature review, some scholars explain the reason behind Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Kosovo with ethnic ties, rather than religion. However, due to the small number of operations initiated in Europe, it is not possible to make a decisive argument as to the impact of religion on Turkey's decision to attend missions in Europe.

Also, as it was claimed in total, there was one mission (UNMIK) performed by UN in total in Europe, and the religion of mission country is Muslim; so, there was no mission in any non-Muslim country in Europe between 2003 and 2017. Therefore, I cannot say anything about Turkey's activism in peacekeeping operations in non-Muslim countries in Europe between 2003 and 2017. To conclude, Turkey attended all missions handled in Muslim countries between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017, the ratio is 100 percent in two period of time in Europe; so, we can say that Turkey's activism did not change between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017, while UN decreased the number of initiated (from 12 to 1) missions in Europe in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

When we look at the composition of forces sent by Turkey from the Table 4.5., we see that Turkey sent only troops to Croatia, it contributed with police or observers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia. It is essential to mention again that in my data the location of UNPROFOR mission is revealed as Croatia, but it is claimed United Nations' own site that the mission "was later extended to Bosnia and

¹³ It is important to mention here that UNMIK mission located in Serbia according to my collected data¹³ However, according to United Nations' own site, the location of UNMIK mission was demonstrated as Kosovo. ¹³("UNMIK Fact Sheet", n.d.). Also, in formal Turkish reports it is claimed that Turkey sent personnel to UNMIK missions in Kosovo¹³. Turkey attended this mission between 1999 and 2017, and Kosovo practices Islam¹³. For this reason, it possible to say that Turkey attended one mission in one Muslim country (Kosovo) in Europe between 2003 and 2017.

Herzegovina to support the delivery of humanitarian relief¹⁴. Turkey sent its personnel to Bosnia and Herzegovina for this mission. (“Contribution of the TAF to Peace Support Operations”, n.d.). Therefore, it can be said that Turkey sent only troops to one Muslim country in Europe which is Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1990 and 2017. As a result, Turkey sent troops to one Muslim country (Bosnia) and one non-Muslim (Croatia) country in Europe between 1990 and 2017.

In brief, UN decreased the number of initiated missions between 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002, and the rate of Turkey’s attendance to peacekeeping operations in Muslim countries in Europe remained same between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017. However, since was no missions in non-Muslim countries in Europe between 2003 and 2017, I cannot claim anything about Turkey’s activism in non-Muslim countries in Europe between these years. As a result, it could be claimed that being Muslim did not have an impact on Turkey’s increased participation to peacekeeping operations in Europe, since it attended only two missions in Muslim countries (IPTF and UNMIBH in Bosnia) and seven missions in non-Muslim countries between 1990 and 2017.

Table 4.5. Europe countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey | Country's Religion |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|---------------------------|
| 1997 | Italy | Europe | Troop | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |
| 1995-2002 | Croatia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Troop | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-2002 | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer | Sunni Islam |
| 1999-2017 | Serbia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer | Orthodox Christian |

¹⁴ Retrieved from https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/unprof_b.htm (accessed in 5 February 2019)

Table 4.5. (continued)

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|--------|----------------------------|--------|--------------------|
| 1995-1999 | Macedonia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Orthodox Christian |
|-----------|-----------|--------|----------------------------|--------|--------------------|

4.3.1.4. South America

Below, the Table 4.6. illustrates only South American countries that UN has launched peacekeeping operations between 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by the UN and Turkey and the religion of mission countries. As it was claimed in the previous chapter, UN deployed twelve peacekeeping operations in five South American countries, and among them Turkey has contributed only two missions in Haiti which are MINUSTAH and MINUJUSTH (see the Table in Appendix 22 and 23). In addition, UN deployed eight mission in four South American countries between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey attended none of them. Also, UN launched four mission in two countries between 2004 and 2017, and Turkey attended two of them. The names of missions are MINUSTAH and MINUJUSTH, and they are placed in Haiti. So, it can be said that Turkey started to be active in peacekeeping operations in South America between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

It is seen from the Table 4.6. that, there is no Muslim country that UN deployed missions to in South America. The missions were located only Catholic Christian countries. Turkey participated two missions in Haiti, and Haiti practices Christianity; also, it sent only police to these missions.

To sum up, despite the fact that Haiti is not a Muslim country, Turkey attended two missions and sent police to there; therefore, it could be concluded that being Muslim did not affect Turkey's attendance to peacekeeping missions in South America between 2003 and 2017.

Table 4.6. South American countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and religion type of mission countries

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey | Country's Religion |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|---------------------------|
| 1997-2002 | Guatemala | South America | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |
| 1994-2017 | Haiti | South America | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-1992 | Honduras | South America | Troop | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |
| 1991-1995 | El Salvador | South America | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |
| 2016-2017 | Colombia | South America | Police and Observer | Did not Attend | Catholic Christian |

As a consequence, when we analyze whether there is a relationship between Turkey's increased activism in UN peacekeeping operations between 2003- 2017 compared to 1990-2002, it seems that being a Muslim country did not influence Turkey's increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, Asia, Europe and South American continent.

To sum up, similar with some notions in my literature review, my data supports that Neo-Islamism has not considerably influenced Turkey's increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, Asia, Europe and South America between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990-2002, and no relationship can be observed between them. Turkey's contribution to missions in Africa, Asia, Europe and South America was not determined by being Muslim, which strengthens the arguments about Turkey's increased reliance on its soft power. Turkey's decision to not send troops when the UN mission included supports this argument.

4.3.2. Neo-Ottomanism?

In order to understand whether neo-Ottomanism could explain Turkey's increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to

1990 and 2002, it needs to be revealed how many missions were initiated in former and non-former Ottoman lands by the UN. For this purpose, firstly I prepared tables both for the UN and Turkey which show how many missions were deployed by the UN and how many of them were participated by Turkey between 1990 and 2017. (see Tables in Appendix 24 and 25) Then I will compare the years between 1990-2002 and 2013-2017. Then, in order to find whether Turkey gave priority to some continents in attending UN peacekeeping missions in former and non-former Ottoman lands, analysis will be done by continent by continent.

4.3.2.1. Africa

It was mentioned in the previous chapter Turkey's participation ratio to peacekeeping operations in Africa increased between 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002. So, I will try to observe whether there is a relationship between being a former Ottoman land and the increase in Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations in Africa between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

Below, the Table 4.7. shows only African countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past or not. As we see from the Table 4.7., Tables in Appendix 26 and 27, in total, UN initiated ten missions in former Ottoman lands out of thirty-nine missions (26 percent) that UN deployed in total in African continent between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey contributed five out of ten missions (50 percent) in former Ottoman lands. Moreover, UN deployed twenty-nine missions in non-former Ottoman countries out of thirty-nine missions (74 percent), and Turkey participated fourteen missions in non-former Ottoman countries (48 percent) between 1990 and 2017. So, as we see in overall, Turkey participated more missions in former Ottoman lands in Africa between 1990 and 2017. However, it is important to mention that the percentage of Turkey's contribution to UN peacekeeping missions in former and non-former Ottoman lands in Africa are very close to each other one's percentage is 48 and the other one's is 50 percent.

Specific to years between 1990 and 2002, in total UN managed eighteen missions in Africa and Turkey attended four of them (22 percent). Also, four missions out of eighteen (22 percent) were launched by UN in former Ottoman countries in Africa between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed one of them (25 percent). Moreover, UN initiated twenty-six missions in Africa in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey participated nineteen of them (73 percent). Meanwhile, UN handled seven missions in former Ottoman lands between 2003 and 2017, out of twenty-six (27 percent), and Turkey participated four of them (57 percent). In summary, Turkey participated 25 percent of missions between 1990 and 2002, while it contributed 57 percent of missions handled in former Ottoman lands in Africa between 2003 and 2017. So, we can say that the proportion of attended missions by Turkey in former Ottoman lands increased in Africa between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Also, as it was stated above, in total, UN initiated eighteen missions in Africa between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed four of them (22 percent). Among eighteen missions, fourteen missions (78 percent) were performed by UN in non- former Ottoman countries in Africa between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey participated three of them (21 percent) Meanwhile, as it was mentioned again, UN launched twenty-six missions in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey contributed sixteen of them (62 percent). Among twenty-six missions, nineteen missions (73 percent) were deployed by UN in non-former Ottoman countries in Africa between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey attended twelve of them (63 percent). To sum up, Turkey participated 21 percent of missions in non- former Ottoman lands between 1990 and 2002, while it contributed 63 percent of missions handled in former Ottoman lands in Africa between 2003 and 2017. So we can say that the proportion of attended missions by Turkey in non- former Ottoman lands increased in Africa between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Consequently, we can claim that both the rate of Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations handled in former Ottoman countries and non-former Ottoman countries increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

While the rate of attended missions by Turkey in non-former Ottoman countries increased by 42 percent, the proportion of participated missions in former Ottoman lands by Turkey increased 32 percent in 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002. Therefore, there was no indicator on whether neo-Ottomanism impacted on Turkey's increased contribution to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Lastly, when we look at the Table 4.7. in order to see the composition of personnel that Turkey preferred to send, Turkey sent only police to Chad; police and troop to Sudan; observer and troop to Somalia. So, it is seen that it preferred to send troop to two out of three (67 percent) former Ottoman countries in Africa between 1990 and 2017.

In a consequence, the rate of participated missions by Turkey in former Ottoman lands and non-former Ottoman lands increased between 2003 and 2017. While its participation ratio to non-former Ottoman lands has risen by 42 percent, its participation proportion to former Ottoman lands augmented by 32 percent in Africa between 2003 and 2017. So, it attended more missions in non-former Ottoman lands compared to former Ottoman lands between 2003 and 2017 in contrast to 1990 and 2002. Therefore, it may be concluded that the rise of Neo-Ottomanism has not influenced Turkey's increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa between 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002.

Table 4.7. African countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey | Former Ottoman Land? |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------|
| 2007-2010 | Chad | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Yes |
| 1991-2017 | Western Sahara | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | No |
| 1998-2017 | Central African Republic | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | No |
| 2013-2017 | Mali | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | No |
| 1990-2003 | Angola | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | No |
| 1999-2017 | DR Congo | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | No |
| 2004-2012 | Burundi | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | No |
| 1993-1994 | Mozambique | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | No |
| 2005-2017 | Sudan | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Troop | Yes |
| 1993-1996 | Rwanda | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | No |
| 1998-2008 | Sierra Leone | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer | No |
| 2017 | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Police and Observer | Did not Attend | No |
| 2000-2008 | Eritrea | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Yes |
| 1993-2017 | Liberia | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | No |
| 2011-2017 | South Sudan | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | No |
| 2003-2017 | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | No |

Table 4.7. (continued)

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|--------|----------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| 1993-1994 | Uganda | Africa | Observer | Did not Attend | Yes |
| 2017 | Senegal | Africa | Observer | Did not Attend | No |
| 2017 | Libya | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | No |
| 1992-2017 | Somalia | Africa | Police, Observer and Troop | Observer and Troop | Yes |

4.3.2.2. Asia

It was stated in the previous chapter the percentage of Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations in Asia increased between 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002. So, I will analyze whether there is a relationship between being a former Ottoman land and the increase in Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations in Asia between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Below, the Table 4.8. shows only Asian countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past or not.

We see from the Table 4.8. and Tables in Appendix 28 and 29, in total, UN initiated eight missions in former Ottoman lands out of twenty missions (40 percent) that UN deployed in total in Asian continent between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey contributed four out of eight missions (50 percent) in former Ottoman lands. Moreover, UN deployed twelve missions in non-former Ottoman countries out of twenty missions (60 percent), and Turkey participated six missions out of twelve in non-former Ottoman countries (50 percent) between 1990 and 2017. So, in overall, the rate of participated missions in former and non-former Ottoman lands by Turkey is equal between 1990-2002 and 2003- 2017.

Specific to 1990 and 2002, in total UN managed fifteen missions in Asia between and Turkey attended six of them (40 percent). Also, six missions out of fifteen (40 percent) were launched by UN in former Ottoman countries in Asia between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed three of them (50 percent). Moreover, UN initiated

fourteen missions in Asia in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey participated seven of them (50 percent).

Meanwhile, UN handled eight missions in former Ottoman lands between 2003 and 2017, out of fourteen (27 percent), and Turkey participated three of them (38 percent). In summary, Turkey participated 50 percent of missions between 1990 and 2002, while it contributed 38 percent of missions handled in former Ottoman lands Asia between 2003 and 2017. So, we can say that the proportion of attended missions by Turkey in former Ottoman lands decreased in Asia between 2003 and 2017 in contrast to 1990 and 2002.

Also, as it was stated above, in total, UN initiated fifteen missions in Asia between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed six of them (40 percent). Among fifteen missions, nine missions (60 percent) were performed by UN in non- former Ottoman countries in Asia between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey participated three of them (33 percent) Meanwhile, as it was mentioned again, UN launched fourteen missions in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey contributed seven of them (50 percent). Among fourteen missions, six missions (43 percent) were deployed by UN in non- former Ottoman countries in Asia between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey attended four of them (67 percent). In brief, Turkey participated 33 percent of missions in non- former Ottoman lands between 1990 and 2002, while it contributed 67 percent of missions handled in former Ottoman lands in Asia between 2003 and 2017. So we can say that the proportion of attended missions by Turkey in non- former Ottoman lands increased in Asia between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Consequently, we can claim that the rate of Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations handled in former Ottoman countries decreased, while the proportion of contributed missions by Turkey in non-former Ottoman lands increased in Asia between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. So, it may be claimed that Turkey is more active in peacekeeping operations in non-former Ottoman countries than former Ottoman countries in Asia between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002.

As far as the composition of the personnel is concerned, Turkey preferred to send police and observer to Afghanistan and Timor-Leste, only troops to Lebanon and Iran; observer and troops to Iraq; only observer to Israel and Georgia. As it is discerned, Turkey preferred to send only troops to Iran, Iraq and Lebanon, and among these countries except Iran, Iraq and Lebanon were Ottoman lands in the past. Despite Georgia and Israel were also Ottoman lands in the past Turkey did not send any troops to them. (see Table 4.8.)

In a consequence, the rate of participated missions by Turkey in former Ottoman lands decreased, it increased in non-former Ottoman lands between 2003 and 2017. While its participation ratio to non-former Ottoman lands has risen by 34 percent, its participation proportion to former Ottoman lands decreased by 12 percent in Asia between 2003 and 2017. So, it attended more missions in non-former Ottoman lands compared to former Ottoman lands between 2003 and 2017 in contrast to 1990 and 2002. Therefore, it may be noted that the rise of Neo-Ottomanism did not impact Turkey's increased participation to peacekeeping operations in Asia between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Table 4.8. Asian countries that the UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by the UN and Turkey and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey | Former Ottoman Land? |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------|
| 2002-2017 | Afghanistan | Asia | Police and Observer | Police and Observer | No |
| 1990-2017 | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Troop and Troop | Did not Attend | Yes |
| 1990-2017 | Cyprus | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | Yes |
| 1990-2017 | Lebanon | Asia | Troop | Troop | Yes |
| 1990-1991 | Iran | Asia | Troop | Troop | No |
| 1991-2017 | Iraq | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Observer and Troop | Yes |
| 2007-2010 | Nepal | Asia | Police and Observer | Did not Attend | No |
| 1999-2012 | Timor-Leste | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer | No |
| 1990-2017 | Pakistan | Asia | Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | No |
| 1994-2000 | Tajikistan | Asia | Police and Observer | Did not Attend | No |
| 1993-2009 | Georgia | Asia | Police and Observer and Troop | Observer | Yes |
| 1991-1993 | Cambodia | Asia | Police, Observer and Troop | Did not Attend | No |
| 1990-2017 | Israel | Asia | Observer and Troop | Observer | Yes |

4.3.2.3. Europe

As it was stated in the previous chapter the ratio of attended peacekeeping missions by Turkey increased in Europe between 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002. Below, the table shows only European countries that UN performed peacekeeping

operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past or not.

It is seen from the Table 4.9. and Tables in Appendix 30 and 31, in total, UN initiated twelve missions in Europe and all of these missions realized in former Ottoman lands between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey contributed nine missions out of twelve (75 percent). Moreover, as it was claimed since the UN did not deploy any operations in non-former Ottoman lands in Europe between 1990 and 2017, I cannot express anything about this issue.

Specific to years, in total UN managed twelve missions in Europe between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey attended nine of them (75 percent). Also, eleven missions out of twelve (40 percent) were launched by UN in former Ottoman countries in Europe between 1990 and 2002, and Turkey contributed nine of them (50 percent). Moreover, UN initiated one mission (UNMIK in Kosovo) in Europe in total between 2003 and 2017, and Turkey participated that mission. (100 percent) Meanwhile, this one mission handled in former Ottoman land between 2003 and 2017. In brief, there was one mission in 2003 and 2017 in Europe, and the mission country were Ottoman land in the past, and Turkey participated the mission.

As a result, UN decreased its mission number in 2003 and 2017, since there were 12 missions between 1990 and 2002, while there was one mission in 2003 and 2017. Also, it seems that the ratio of contributed missions by Turkey in former Ottoman lands increased in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, since the rate was 75 percent in 1990 and 2002, while it was 100 percent in 2003 and 2017. However, due to the small number of cases, further analysis is not possible for Europe.

Lastly, Turkey preferred to send police and troops to Croatia, police and observer Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia; and only police to Croatia. In addition, as it was noted before, Turkey sent troops to UNPROFOR mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. So, we can say that Turkey sent troops to Croatia and Bosnia in Europe between 1990 and 2017, while it preferred to send observer or police to other countries. (see Table 4.9.)

To conclude, UN started all missions in former Ottoman lands in Europe between 1990 and 2017, and it decreased its deployed mission numbers in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Also, Turkey attended 75 percent of missions handled in former Ottoman lands in 1990 and 2002, while it participated 100 percent of operations in former Ottoman lands between 2003 and 2017. So, it seems the rate of participated missions by Turkey in former Ottoman lands increased in Europe between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. However, by examining only one mission, we cannot pass judgement on whether Turkey's rate of participation to missions in former Ottoman land increased in Europe in 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Table 4.9. European countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, personnel qualification sent by UN and Turkey and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Mission Date | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Personnel Qualification of the UN | Personnel Qualification sent by Turkey | Former Ottoman Land? |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------|
| 1997 | Italy | Europe | Troop | Did not Attend | No |
| 1995-2002 | Croatia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Troop | Yes |
| 1996-2002 | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer | Yes |
| 1999-2017 | Serbia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police and Observer | Yes |
| 1995-1999 | Macedonia | Europe | Police, Observer and Troop | Police | Yes |

4.3.2.4. South America

As it was stated in the previous chapter Turkey started to send personnel to South American continent in 2004 and continued each year until and including 2017. So, it

was said that Turkey started be active in South American continent in 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002.

Due to the fact that there was no mission country that was Ottoman land in the past in South America, there is no chance to observe or compare Turkey's participation to UN missions in South America in this respect. So, it may be commented that the rise of Neo-Ottomanism did not impact on Turkey's increased participation to peacekeeping operations in South America between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002. On the contrary, the increased attention Turkey started to pay to the operations in South America illustrates that there should be reasons more than the rise of neo-Ottomanism in shaping Turkey's decisions in participating to peacekeeping operations.

As a consequence, in contrast to some arguments in my literature review, my data confirms that there is no relationship between the rise of neo-Ottomanism and Turkey's increased contribution to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, Asia and South America in 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002. It seems in Europe between 2003 and 2017, the rise of neo-Ottomanism was affected on this issue, but by looking only one mission in 2003 and 2017 in Europe, we cannot claim such thing. So, there is no relationship between the rise of neo-Ottomanism and Turkey's increased contribution to UN peacekeeping operations in all continents in 2003 and 2017, in contrast to 1990 and 2002.

4.3.3. Turkism?

In order to understand whether Turkism could explain Turkey's increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, it needs to be revealed how many missions were initiated in Turkic countries or Turkic Republics by the UN, and how many of them were contributed by Turkey between 1990 and 2017. Because of the fact that the the UN launhed only one mission in a Turkic country in Asia which is Tajikistan between 1990 and 2017, and Turkey did not prefer to send any personnel to that country, it could be claimed that there is no adequate evidence which proves whether Turkism impacted or did

not impact on Turkey's increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. So, we cannot comment anything on the relationship between Turkism and Turkey's increased role in UN peacekeeping operations.

4.4. Trend Among Middle Powers?

It is claimed in my literature review that middle powers' increasing willingness to contribute to UN peacekeeping operations is one of the reasons why Turkey's attendance level went up to peacekeeping operations, apparently. "Middle powers hoped that by participating, they received special recognition for their engagement and thereby enhanced their standing in the international system" (Meiske and Ruggeri, 2017). Also, peacekeeping has paved the way for expanding middle powers' effect in post-conflict regions and provide environment for political chance (Yalçinkaya et. al., 2018, p.476).

During the Cold War era, mostly Western middle powers attended to peacekeeping operations, such as Australia, Canada, Norway, and Sweden. According to Meiske and Ruggeri (2017), Canada, Finland, Norway, and Austria were counted as the three largest participants in 1990 and 1991. Since then, non-Western middle powers have become the essential participator to these operations. The name of these countries are as follows: Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Nigeria in the early 2000s, and Ethiopia. Besides, "From 2000 to 2014 Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India remained the top three contributors of UN personnel" (Meiske and Ruggeri, 2017). Furthermore, as it was stated these countries have some specific goals when they pursue in contributing to these operations. For instance: "Bangladesh contribute to UN peacekeeping to receive the financial compensation provided by the United Nations and may actually generate profit by providing peacekeepers" (Meiske and Ruggeri, 2017). Other countries' goals are listed by Meiske and Ruggeri (2017) as follows:

India for instance, tries to strengthen its international status and power base by contributing to peacekeeping, hoping to get closer to its goal of becoming a "great" power and eventually obtaining a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. Another

example is Pakistan, whose peacekeeping participation is associated with its goal to strengthen its international image, reduce its isolation, and become more attractive to the international community—including the international economic and development funding that comes with it. Similarly, Bangladesh hopes to attract foreign aid and international support for its economy.

Below the Table 4.10. shows the names of countries and the number personnel sent by them between 1990 and 2016. As it is observed from the table after 1999, non-Western middle powers are the largest participators to UN peacekeeping operations until and including 2016.



Table 4.10. The most troop promoter countries to UN peacekeeping operations, between 1990 and 2016

| Year (as of December) | 1. Largest (Total) Contributor | 2. Largest (Total) Contributor | 3. Largest (Total) Contributor |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1990 | Canada (1,002) | Finland (992) | Austria (967) |
| 1991 | Finland (1,006) | Norway (973) | Austria (967) |
| 1992 | France (6,502) | United Kingdom (3,819) | Canada (3,285) |
| 1993 | France (6,370) | India (5,902) | Pakistan (5,089) |
| 1994 | Pakistan (9,110) | France (5,149) | Bangladesh (4,271) |
| 1995 | United States (2,851) | India (2,078) | Bangladesh (2,029) |
| 1996 | Pakistan (1,712) | Zimbabwe (1,445) | India (1,211) |
| 1997 | Poland (1,084) | Bangladesh (1,025) | Austria (831) |
| 1998 | Poland (1,053) | India (927) | Bangladesh (889) |
| 1999 | India (1,898) | Ghana (1,711) | Nigeria (1,606) |
| 2000 | Nigeria (3,525) | Bangladesh (3,258) | India (2,738) |
| 2001 | Bangladesh (6,010) | Pakistan (5,552) | Nigeria (3,468) |
| 2002 | Pakistan (4,677) | Bangladesh (4,211) | Nigeria (3,277) |
| 2003 | Pakistan (6,248) | Bangladesh (4,730) | Nigeria (3,361) |

Table 4.10. The most troop promoter countries to UN peacekeeping operations, between 1990 and 2016 (continued)

| | | | |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 2004 | Pakistan (8,140) | Bangladesh (8,024) | India (3,912) |
| 2005 | Bangladesh (9,529) | Pakistan (8,999) | India (7,284) |
| 2006 | Pakistan (9,867) | Bangladesh (9,681) | India (9,483) |
| 2007 | Pakistan (10,610) | Bangladesh (9,856) | India (9,357) |
| 2008 | Pakistan (11,135) | Bangladesh (9,567) | India (8,693) |
| 2009 | Pakistan (10,764) | Bangladesh (10,427) | India (8,756) |
| 2010 | Pakistan (10,652) | Bangladesh (10,402) | India (8,691) |
| 2011 | Bangladesh (10,394) | Pakistan (9,416) | India (8,115) |
| 2012 | Pakistan (8,967) | Bangladesh (8,828) | India (7,839) |
| 2013 | Pakistan (8,266) | Bangladesh (7,918) | India (7,849) |
| 2014 | Bangladesh (9,400) | India (8,138) | Pakistan (7,936) |
| 2015 | Bangladesh (8,496) | Ethiopia (8,296) | India (7,798) |
| 2016 | Ethiopia (8,295) | India (7,710) | Pakistan (7,156) |

Table taken from Meiske, M., & Ruggeri, A. (2017). Peacekeeping as a Tool of Foreign Policy (The names of non-Western middle powers are remarked with Bold in the table.)

Above it can be visible from the Table 4.10. that the level of Turkey's participation to UN peacekeeping operations is not close to middle powers in the table. Therefore, it can be asserted although Turkey is also a middle power, it did not contribute to UN peacekeeping missions with higher number of personnel at the front rows in 2003 and 2016, in contrast to other middle powers.

As it was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, while Turkey contributed peacekeeping missions with mostly less number of personnel or symbolically, aims to establish more strong relations with different countries and use its soft power by contributing these operations, other middle powers sent larger amount of personnel or they did not attend symbolically to these missions. They had some other special goals and use their hard power, rather than soft. So, it can be claimed there is a trend among middle powers on the issue of willingness to attend more UN peacekeeping missions which my literature review also promotes it, and Turkey's increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations also can be associated or explained with this trend and tendency. However, it seems that Turkey's activism is less than other middle powers, since other middle powers sent higher amount of personnel and they sent more troops than Turkey as they compete with super powers while Turkey did not send that much troops or any other type of personnel.

In a consequence, in this chapter, I analyzed whether my data verifies my literature review on the issue of causes behind Turkey's rising attendance to peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002. Then, I reached the conclusion that similar with my literature review, more proactive foreign policy which stresses use of soft power could be demonstrated among the reasons of Turkey's increased contribution to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 in contrast to 1990 and 2002. Moreover, similar with other middle powers, Turkey started to take more active role in UN peacekeeping missions in 2003 and 2016, compared to 1990 and 2002. However, the level of Turkey's activism between 2003 and 2016, was very less than other middle powers. So, it is commented that trends among middle powers on contribution voluntarily to UN peacekeeping missions could not be given as one of the main reasons of Turkey's increased role in UN peacekeeping missions in 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002.

In addition, in the light of my findings from the data, the rise of Neo-Ottomanism, Neo-Islamism could not explain the reasons behind Turkey's increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations, similar with some arguments in my literature review. Lastly, by the virtue of my collected data, due to the fact that there is no sufficient indication that proves whether Turkism influenced or did not influence on Turkey's

increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, I did not reach any conclusion on this topic and make any comment.

Also, between 1990 and 2017, when I analyze places that Turkey preferred to send troops, I realized that Turkey sent troops to missions that were started in former Ottoman lands and Muslim countries in all continents (except South America), while it preferred to send police and observers to non-Muslim countries and non-former Ottoman lands. As a result, Turkey has preferred to use both its hard and soft power in Muslim and former Ottoman countries, while it has chosen to use only its soft power in other places. So, it is possible to claim that Turkey's highest rate of participation to UNMIK (in Croatia), UNMIL (in Lebanon) and UNPROFOR (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) missions between 1990 and 2017 could be associated with both being Muslim and former Ottoman countries. Thus, it seems that religion and being former Ottoman land could not have affected Turkey's increased participation to UN peacekeeping operations in 2003-2017 compared to 1990-2002, but it could have affected Turkey's decision to use more hard power through composition of the forces it sends.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Peacekeeping operations are voluntary based operations, participating them is not obligatory for states. If countries demand to attend, they can participate, and if they do not prefer to contribute, then, they have a choice not to attend. Also, countries that participate to missions do not prefer to contribute all the missions, they have some specific preferences. Therefore, it is thought that countries make strategic choices when they contribute to peacekeeping operations. Turkey, being one of the countries that have been participating peacekeeping operations since the beginning, has also preferences that shape its decisions in this regard. According to current literature, Turkey contributed more peacekeeping operations which were deployed by United Nations and other international organizations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. However, since there are very few studies on Turkey's participation in peacekeeping operations the potential reasons behind such an increase, if there is an increase are under studied (Yalçinkaya, et. al., 2018, p.476-7).

This thesis tested whether Turkey's participation to UN peacekeeping operations increased between 2003 and 2017, in comparison to 1990 and 2002, and what the reasons for such an increase could be. In the literature, 2002 was accepted as a breaking point for Turkey's active participation in UN peacekeeping operations, since after this time, Justice and Development Party started to rule the country, and argued to have aimed a more proactive and multidimensional foreign policies which necessitated Turkey to contribute more to UN peace operations (Satana, 2012, p.3; Aras, 2009, p.41; Kasapoğlu, 2009). Actually, these policies started to be applied before 2002, but under the rule of Justice and Development Party (after 2002), these policies implemented more influentially; so, it can be mentioned that there is a progress on this issue between the periods of 1990-2002 and 2003-2017 (Öniş, 2011, p.49; Jung, 2011, p.26-7). Also, according to some authors, there is a trend among middle powers on participating voluntarily to UN peacekeeping operations, especially after 2000s (Meiske and Ruggeri, 2017; Yalçinkaya, et. al., p.476). Therefore, in this

thesis, 2002 was accepted as a turning point for Turkey's participation in UN peacekeeping operations and compared the years between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017.

Once the changes in the level of participation are identified the following questions needed to be addressed: which factor could have affected Turkey's increased participation to peacekeeping operations, specifically the ones that United Nations initiated and whether the rate of participated missions by Turkey has risen, because of the rate of performed missions and personnel who were sent by UN increased between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. In my literature review chapter, main arguments on this issue were divided into two categories, since some experts relate this rise to domestic reasons, while some others mention international causes. Domestic reasons were listed as follows: More proactive foreign policy that emphasizes soft power, the rise of Neo-Ottomanism, Neo-Islamism, Turkism and Turkey's perception about its international responsibilities. Also, international factors are lined up as follows: middle powers' willingness to participate in peacekeeping operations and changes in the international systems after the end of the Cold War. The thesis compared these arguments based on the collected data, and discussed which arguments would hold.

The changes in the international system inevitably affected Turkey's choices on participating to UN peacekeeping operations. In this thesis, it is assumed Turkey makes strategic choices when it contributes to UN peacekeeping operations within the opportunities and limitations presented by the international system at the time. The thesis analyzed whether there is indeed an increase in Turkey's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002 continent by continent. Then, it proved that there actually is an increase in Turkey's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations between these years in Africa, Asia and Europe, even it started to send personnel to South America in 2004. Also, this research found while UN decreased its mission numbers, Turkey participated more UN missions between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Therefore, it is commented that Turkey did not just mimic the overall tendencies but had strategic

aims when it decided to contribute to UN missions (or not). Meanwhile, in the light of data, the research demonstrated that Turkey started to attend more peacekeeping operations in different continents, -as we see in South America- and a number of different countries between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. Furthermore, it is proved thanks to collected data that Turkey attended UN peacekeeping operations for longer durations between 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002; also, Turkey sent more personnel to distant place in 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, since it started to send troops to Sudan and more troops to Somalia in 2003 and 2017 compared to 1990 and 2002.

Also, the research illustrated with the help of collected data that the personnel qualifications of both UN and Turkey did not match each other in any missions in Africa and South America. On the other hand, in Asia, the kinds of personnel who were sent to missions by Turkey and UN, compromises with each other in Afghanistan and Iran. Lastly, in Europe, personnel qualifications of the UN and Turkey overlap with each other only in Bosnia and Herzegovina out of four European countries. Therefore, it is claimed that Turkey did not act identically with UN on this issue, and it had some different priorities from UN on this issue. Here, Turkey's decision to opt out from sending troops when the mission did include them can be interpreted as Turkey's approach to peacekeeping operations as ways to exert soft power rather than hard power.

Moreover, the thesis observed whether my literature and the data supported with each other or not. Then, the study reached a conclusion that similar with my literature review, my data confirms that more proactive foreign policy which emphasizes soft power could be impacted on Turkey's increased contribution to UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017 in contrast to 1990 and 2002. Additionally, similar with some arguments in my literature, the rise of Neo-Ottomanism and Neo-Islamism could not explain the reasons behind the rise in Turkey's participation to UN peacekeeping missions between 2003 and 2017 in comparison to 1990 and 2002. Lastly, due to lack of findings on whether Turkism affected or did not affect on Turkey's increased attendance to UN peacekeeping

operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002, I did not make any comment on this issue.

Additionally, similar with other middle powers, Turkey attended more UN peacekeeping missions between 1990 and 2016 in comparison to 1990 and 2002. However, it preferred to sent low level of personnel who were composed of mostly police and observers, while other middle powers sent higher level of personnel who were composed of mostly troops. So, Turkey was not active as other middle powers in UN peacekeeping missions between 1990 and 2016. So, it is referred that trends among middle powers on participating voluntarily to UN peacekeeping missions could not be revealed as one of the essential factors among Turkey's increased role in UN peacekeeping missions in 2003 and 2017 compared 1990 and 2002.

Lastly, it is seen that between 1990 and 2017, Turkey preferred to sent troops only to Muslim countries and former Ottoman lands, in Africa, Asia and Europe, while it preferred to sent other kinds of personnel to non-Muslim and non-former Ottoman countries. So, in the light of the data, it can be expressed that Turkey preferred to demonstrate both its soft and hard power in Muslim and former Ottoman countries, while it primarily preferred to reveal its soft power in non-Muslim and non-former Ottoman countries. In this vein, Turkey's largest rate of contribution to UNMIK (in Croatia), UNMIL (in Lebanon) and UNPROFOR (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) missions between 1990 and 2017 can be linked with being Muslim and former Ottoman countries. It should be noted that these are not the possible reasons among Turkey's increased role in UN peacekeeping operations between 2003 and 2017, compared to 1990 and 2002. These are the possible reasons why Turkey has chosen to send largest amount of personnel to these missions.

5. 1. Recommendations for Future Studies

In a general, studies on Turkey's participation in peacekeeping operations are very limited and needs to be studied more extensively. Also, there is no specific study which focuses only Turkey's contribution to UN-led, NATO-led, or EU-led peacekeeping operations, comparatively. Due to the fact that studying Turkey's role

in peacekeeping operations requires both qualitative and quantitative research methods, it is suggested that these two methods should be employed in future studies. Furthermore, one may also ask the following questions: How Turkey decides to attend peacekeeping operations in general, and how its decisions differ from each other in peacekeeping operations launched by different organizations, which organizations' peacekeeping missions are of a priority for Turkey than the others. A related question, for instance, would be apart from the UN's peacekeeping operations, whether there is a change in Turkey's participation to peacekeeping operations launched under the roof of other international organizations between 1990-2002 and 2003-2017, in which missions were more prominent for Turkey in order to attend peacekeeping operations that were launched by NATO, EU and so on. In addressing these questions, both the changes in Turkish foreign policy and also its implications for peacekeeping operations can be better explained.

REFERENCES

Afghanistan. Retrieved from <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2001/5533.htm> (accessed in 8 February 2019)

Aksu, M. (2012). Türk Dış Politikası Karar Alma Mekanizmasında Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin Etkinliği ve 2003 Sonrası Değişim. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 17(3), 441-465.

Aloudah, H. S. (2016). Understanding the Sources of Turkish Foreign Policy Change towards the Middle East during the Justice and Development Party (AKP) era: An Empirical Examination.

Aras, B. (2009). The Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy. *Insight Turkey*, 11(3).

Baç, M. M., (2015). Middle Power. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/middle-power--müftüler> (accessed in 14 March 2019)

Bağcı, H., Kardaş, Ş., & Foreign Policy Institute. (2004). Exploring Turkey's Role in Peace Operations: Towards a Framework of Analysis'. *Contemporary Issues in International Politics: Essays in Honour of Seyfi Taşhan*, 125-45.

Balcı, A. (2017). *Türkiye Dış Politikası: İlkeler, Aktörler, Uygulamalar*. Alfa Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Balci, A., & Kardaş, T. (2012). The Changing Dynamics of Turkey's Relations with Israel: An Analysis of 'Securitization'. *Insight Turkey*, 14(2).

Baskın, O. (1996). Türk dış politikası: temel ilkeleri ve Soguk Savaş ertesindeki durumu üzerine notlar. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 51(01).

Bayer, R., & Keyman, E. F. (2012). Turkey: an emerging hub of globalization and internationalist humanitarian actor?. *Globalizations*, 9(1), 73-90.

Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. D., & Griffin, S. (2010). Understanding peacekeeping. *Polity*.

Black, D. R. (2016) Addressing Apartheid: Lessons from Australian, Canadian and Swedish Policies in Southern Africa. Cooper, A. F. (Ed.), *Niche diplomacy: Middle powers after the Cold War* (p.100-123). Springer.

Bellamy, A. J., & Williams, P. D. (Eds.). (2013). *Providing peacekeepers: the politics, challenges, and future of United Nations peacekeeping contributions*. OUP Oxford.

Cavlan, T. (2010). Yeni Osmanlıcılık: Batıdan kopuş mu. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Cilt, 3, 126-156.

Contribution of the TAF to Peace Support Operations. Retrieved from <https://www.tsk.tr/Sayfalar?viewName=ContributionToTafToPeace>

Çavuş, T. (2012). Dış Politikada Yumuşak Güç Kavramı ve Türkiye'nin Yumuşak Güç Kullanımı. Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi, 2(2), 23-37.

Çiğdem, N. A. S. (1996). Batı Avrupa Birliği Oluşumu Karşısında Türkiye'nin Durumu. Faruk Sönmezoğlu (der.), Değişen Dünya ve Türkiye, İstanbul: Bağlam Yay.

Dal, E. P. (2014). On Turkey's trail as a " rising middle power" in the network of global governance: preferences, capabilities, and strategies. Perceptions, 19(4), 107.

Davutoğlu, A. (2001). Stratejik derinlik: Türkiye'nin uluslararası konumu. Küre Yayınları.

Davutoğlu, A. (2004). Türkiye merkez ülke olmalı. Turkey Should Become a Pivotal State], Radikal.

Davutoğlu, A. (2008). Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007. Insight Turkey, 10(1).

Demirel, T. (2000). 'li Yıllarda Asker ve Siyaset: Kontrollü Değişim ile Statüko Arasında Türk Ordusu. SETA Analiz, (18).

Doğan, H. Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin Kamu Diplomasisi Faaliyetleri. Güvenlik Bilimleri Dergisi, 3(2), 67-90.

Ekşi, M. (2014). Kamu diplomasisi ve Ak Parti dönemi Türk dış politikası. Siyasal Kitabevi.

EKŞİ, M., & EROL, M. S. (2018). The Rise and Fall Of Turkish Soft Power and Public Diplomacy. Journal of Gazi Academic View, 11(23).

Erhan, Ç. (2010). Türk Dış Politikası'nın Güncel Sorunları, İmaj Yayınevi, Ankara. Eski Osmanlı topraklarında şu an bulunan devletler listesi Retrieved from <https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmR1gzPYUwxEUWHbeRggZzfYy5Fxs8Qc7hXUUnJQwxrZq/wiki/Eski%20Osmanlı%20topraklarında%20şu%20an%20bulunan%20devletler%20listesi.html> (accessed in 8 February)

Fuller, G. E. L. (1996). Kuşatılanlar, İslam ve Batının Jeopolitiği, (çev. Ö. Arıkan). Goulding, M. (1993). The evolution of United Nations peacekeeping. International Affairs, 69(3), 451-464.

Güngör, U. (2007). The analysis of Turkey's approach to peace operations (Doctoral dissertation, Bilkent University).

GÜREVİN, E., & AKGÖNENÇ, O. *Ufuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı*.

H. Tarık Oğuzlu, "Turkish Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order," *All Azimuth* 0, no. 0 (2018): 1-13, doi: allazimuth.464076

Hale, W. (2000). *Turkish foreign policy: 1774-2000*. Frank Cass.

Hovsepyan, L. (2012). *The Fears of Turkey: the Sèvres Syndrome*. Information and Public Relation Center.

International Peace Institute, IPI Peacekeeping Database, [date accessed], available at www.providingforpeacekeeping.org.

İnat K., Aslan A., & Duran B. (2017) *AK Partinin 15 Yılı: Dış Politika*. Ankara: SETA, 2017

Jordaan, E. (2003). The concept of a middle power in international relations: distinguishing between emerging and traditional middle powers. *Politikon*, 30(1), 165-181.

Jung, D. (2003). The Sevres syndrome: Turkish foreign policy and its historical legacies. *American Diplomacy*, 8(2), 22.

Jung, D. (2012). The domestic context of new activism in Turkish foreign policy: does religion matter?. *International Journal*, 67(1), 23-38.

Kalathil, S. (2011). *China's soft power in the information age: Think again*. Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

Kalin, I. (2011). Soft power and public diplomacy in Turkey. *Perceptions*, 16(3), 5.

Kalin, I. (2012). Turkish foreign policy: Framework, values, and mechanisms. *International journal*, 67(1), 7-21.

Kanaş, Cemalettin. 2014. *Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun Stratejik Derinlik Doktrini ile AKP'nin 2002-2009 Yılları Arasındaki Dış Politikasının Karşılaştırılması*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı. Retrieved from <http://acikerisim.istanbul.edu.tr/bitstream/handle/123456789/32917/52391.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (accessed in 17 January 2019)

Kara, M., & Sözen, A. (2016). Change and Continuity in Turkish Foreign Policy: Evaluating Pre-AKP and AKP Periods' National Role Conceptions. *Uluslararası İlişkiler/International Relations*, 13(52), 47-66.

Karpat, K. H. (2012). *Türk dış politikası tarihi*. Timaş Yayınları.

Kasapoğlu, C. (2009, June 25). Lebanon mission launchpad for Turkey's foreign-policy agenda. Retrieved from <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2009/Jun-25/54356-lebanon-mission-launchpad-for-turkeys-foreign-policy-agenda.ashx> (accessed in 11 January 2019)

Kaya, E. (2015). Dış politikada değişim: AKP dönemi Türk dış politikası (Master's thesis, Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü).

Keyman, F., & Sazak, O. (2014). Turkey as a "Humanitarian State".

Kızılkaya, Emre. (2009). Yeni Osmanlılık rüyasına karşı denge siyaseti Retrieved from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/yeni-osmanlicilik-ruyasina-karsi-denge-siyaseti-10935636>

Kirisci, K., & Winrow, G. M. (2013). The Kurdish question and Turkey: An example of a trans-state ethnic conflict. Routledge.

Kirişçi, K. (2009). The transformation of Turkish foreign policy: The rise of the trading state. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40, 29-56. No use

Koçer, G. (2002). 1990'li yıllarda askerî yapı ve Türk dış politikası. *METU Studies in Development*, 29(1), 123.

Koçer, G. (2006). Türkiye'nin Barışı Destekleme Harekâtlarına Katkısı. *Uluslararası İlişkiler/International Relations*, 47-70.

Kounalakis, M., & Simonyi, A. (2011). The hard truth about soft power. *Perspectives on Public Diplomacy. Paper*, 5, 15-16.

Köse, T. (2011). Türk Dış Politikasının Ortadoğu'daki Yeni Kimliği ve Çatışma Çözümlerini Keşfi. *Türk Dış Politikası Yıllığı 2010*.

Kösebalaban, H. (2011). *Turkish foreign policy: Islam, nationalism, and globalization*. Springer.

Kramer, H. (2001). *A changing Turkey: The challenge to Europe and the United States*. Brookings Institution Press.

Lee, G. (2009). A theory of soft power and Korea's soft power strategy. *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 21(2), 205-218.

Martin, L. G., & Keridis, D. (2004). *The future of Turkish foreign policy*. MIT Press.

McDonald, D. B. (2012). Imperial Legacies and Neo-Ottomanism: Eastern Europe and Turkey. *Insight Turkey*, 14(4).

Meiske, M., & Ruggeri, A. (2017). *Peacekeeping as a Tool of Foreign Policy*.

Mello, B. (2010). Graham E. Fuller, *The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2008). Pp. 196. \$12.00 paper. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 42(1), 169-170.

Mufti, M. (2011). A little America: The emergence of Turkish hegemony. *Middle East Brief*, 51, 1-7.

Murinson, A. (2006). The strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 42(6), 945-964.

Müftülüer, M. & Yüksel, M. (2016) *Turkey: A Middle Power in the New Order*. Cooper, A. F. (Ed.), *Niche diplomacy: Middle powers after the Cold War* (p.100-123). Springer.

Nye Jr, J. S. (2008). Public diplomacy and soft power. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 616(1), 94-109.

Nye, J. S. (1990). Soft power. *Foreign policy*, (80), 153-171.

O'Neill, J. T., & Rees, N. (2005). *United Nations peacekeeping in the post-Cold War era*. Routledge.

Onis, Z. (2000). *The Turkish economy at the turn of a new century: critical and comparative perspectives*. *The Turkish Transformation and American Policy*.

Oran, B. (2013). *Türk Dış Politikası-Cilt 3 (2001-2012)*. İstanbul. İletişim.

OUR HISTORY Retrieved from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history> (accessed in 9 January 2019).

Öniş, Z. (2011). Multiple Faces of the "New" Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics and. *Insight Turkey*, 13(1), 47-65.

Öniş, Z., & Yılmaz, Ş. (2009). Between Europeanization and Euro-asianism: Foreign policy activism in Turkey during the AKP era. *Turkish Studies*, 10(1), 7-24.

Özcan, G. & Kut, Ş. (Eds.). *En uzun on yıl: Türkiye'nin ulusal güvenlik ve dış politika gündeminde doksanlı yıllar*. (1998).

Özlem, K. (2012). SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI DÖNEMDE ABD'NİN VE TÜRKİYE'NİN BALKANLAR POLİTİKALARININ BOSNA HERSEK, KOSOVA VE MAKEDONYA KRİZLERİ ÖRNEĞİNDE İNCELENMESİ. *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi-Trakya Üniversitesi*, 1(1), 23-39.

Peter, M. (2014). *Emerging powers and peace operations: An agenda for research*. Oslo: NUPI Policy Brief, 10.

Robins, P. (2003). Suits and uniforms: Turkish foreign policy since the Cold War (p. 101). London: Hurst.

Sadik, G. (2012). Magic Blend or Dangerous Mix? Exploring the Role of Religion in Transforming Turkish Foreign Policy from a Theoretical Perspective. *Turkish Studies*, 13(3), 293-317.

Sakalliođlu, Ü. C. (1997). The anatomy of the Turkish military's political autonomy. *Comparative politics*, 151-166.

Sakin, U. (2017). Turkey's soft power strategy the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Doctoral dissertation).

Sarınay, Y. (2000). Atatürk'ten Günümüze Türk Dış Politikası Hakkında Genel Bir Deđerlendirme. *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 16(48), 857-886.

Satana, N.S. (2013). Turkey. Bellamy, A. J., & Williams, P. D. (Eds.), *Providing peacekeepers: the politics, challenges, and future of United Nations peacekeeping contributions* (p. 355-76). OUP Oxford.

Satana, N.S. (2012). Contributor Profile: Turkey. Retrieved from <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/profiles/>

Somun, H. (2011). Turkish Foreign Policy in the Balkans and" Neo-Ottomanism": A Personal Account. *Insight Turkey*, 13(3).

Sönmez, A. (1996). Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Cumhuriyetleri: ülke profilleri ve Türkiye ile ekonomik ilişkiler. DPT.

Sözen, A. (2006, March). Changing fundamental principles in Turkish foreign policy making. In Annual Conference of the International Studies Association'da sunuldu, San Diego, USA.

Şimşir, B. N. (1993). Yeni Türk cumhuriyetleri ve Türkiye, 1991 yılındaki gelişmeler. Deđerşen Dünyada Türkiye ve Türk Dünyası Sempozyumu (Bildiriler). Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, 59-98.

Tank, P. (2012). The Concept of 'Rising Powers'. Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre.

Tayfur, F., & Göymen, K. (2002). Decision making in Turkish foreign policy: the Caspian oil pipeline issue. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 38(2), 101-122.

Telatar, G. (2014), Merkez Ülkeden Küresel Güce? AKP Dönemi Türk Dış Politikasında Kamu Diplomasisi, Rasim Özgür Dönmez (Ed.), *Türkiye'de Politik Deđerşim ve Türk Dış Politikası: Neo-Osmanlıcılıđın Sosyo Politiđi* (p.257-302). Dora Yayıncılık.

Telatar, G. (2015). Ak Parti'nin Düzen Kurucu Dış Politika Söylemi ve Ortadoğu. *Alternatif Politika*, 7(3), 490-523.

TUĞTAN, M. A. (2016). Kültürel Değişkenlerin Dış Politikadaki Yeri: İsmail Cem ve Ahmet Davutoğlu. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 13(49), 3-24.

Turkey's Approach and Contributions to the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-approach-and-contributions-to-the-united-nations-peacekeeping-operations.en.mfa (accessed in 28 September 2018).

Türki Cumhuriyetler Retrieved from https://www.turkcebilgi.com/t%C3%BCrki_cumhuriyetler (accessed in 8 March 2019).

UNIFIL FACT SHEET Retrieved from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/unifil>

Former Yugoslavia UNPROFOR Retrieved from https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/unprof_b.htm (accessed in 5 February 2019).

UNMIK FACT SHEET Retrieved from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/unmik> (accessed in 6 February 2019).

Van Der Westhuizen, J. (1998). South Africa's emergence as a middle power. *Third World Quarterly*, 19(3), 435-456.

Wehner, L. (2017). Emerging Powers in Foreign Policy. Retrieved from <http://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-363> (accessed in 6 February 2019).

Wheeler, A. T. (2011). Ankara to Africa: Turkey's outreach since 2005. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 18(1), 43-62.

Yalçınkaya, H., Hatipoğlu, E., Açar, D. A., & Çelikpala, M. (2018). Turkish efforts in peacekeeping and the introduction of the TUBAKOV dataset: an exploratory analysis. *International Peacekeeping*, 25(4), 475-496.

Yesiltas, and Balcı. (2013). "A Dictionary of Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Party Era."

Yeşiltaş, M. (2013). The transformation of the geopolitical vision in Turkish foreign policy. *Turkish Studies*, 14(4), 661-687.

Yeşiltaş, M., & Balcı, A. (2011). AK Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası Sözlüğü: Kavramsal Bir Harita. *Bilgi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, (2), 9-35.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

The name of missions, mission country, mission region and mission continent that UN launched peacekeeping operations and type of personnel sent by UN year by year between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troop |
|------|---------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1990 | ONUCA | Honduras | South America | Central America | 0 | 0 | 423 |
| 1990 | UNAVEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 0 | 0 | 67 |
| 1990 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 290 |
| 1990 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 44 | 0 | 2126 |
| 1990 | UNIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 178 |
| 1990 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1328 |
| 1990 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 38 |
| 1990 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 5835 |
| 1991 | ONUCA | Honduras | South America | Central America | 0 | 0 | 423 |
| 1991 | UNAVEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 90 | 0 | 359 |
| 1991 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 298 |
| 1991 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 44 | 0 | 2172 |
| 1991 | UNIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 178 |
| 1991 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1344 |
| 1991 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 68 |
| 1991 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 5885 |
| 1991 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 748 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 1991 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 0 | 0 | 359 |
| 1991 | ONU SAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | 27 | 0 | 15 |
| 1991 | UNA MIC | Cambodia | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 0 | 0 | 231 |
| 1992 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 0 | 233 | 375 |
| 1992 | ONU CA | Honduras | South America | Central America | 0 | 0 | 152 |
| 1992 | UNA MIC | Cambodia | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 0 | 0 | 222 |
| 1992 | UNA VEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 118 | 366 | 890 |
| 1992 | UNIK OM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 264 | 673 |
| 1992 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 272 | 300 |
| 1992 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 38 | 8 | 2163 |
| 1992 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1328 |
| 1992 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 38 | 39 |
| 1992 | ONU SAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | 343 | 286 | 359 |
| 1992 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 23 | 5794 |
| 1992 | UNT AC | Cambodia | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 3352 | 470 | 15087 |
| 1992 | UNP ROF OR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 624 | 362 | 21790 |
| 1992 | UNO SOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 55 | 601 |
| 1993 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 21 | 214 | 128 |
| 1993 | ONU SAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | 326 | 130 | 943 |
| 1993 | UNA VEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 39 | 171 | 14 |
| 1993 | UNIK OM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 245 | 373 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 1993 | UNP ROF OR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 675 | 973 | 25692 |
| 1993 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 258 | 0 |
| 1993 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 36 | 19 | 1514 |
| 1993 | UNO SOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 236 | 69 | 28559 |
| 1993 | UNT AC | Cambodia | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 4232 | 465 | 14012 |
| 1993 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1239 |
| 1993 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 39 | 0 |
| 1993 | ONU MOZ | Mozambique | Africa | Eastern Africa | 468 | 305 | 6933 |
| 1993 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 4 | 5347 |
| 1993 | UNO MUR | Uganda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 82 | 0 |
| 1993 | UNA MIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 146 | 1017 |
| 1993 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1993 | UNO MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 257 | 65 |
| 1994 | UNO SOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 49 | 0 | 23666 |
| 1994 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 74 | 239 | 115 |
| 1994 | ONU MOZ | Mozambique | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1098 | 370 | 6315 |
| 1994 | ONU SAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | 276 | 40 | 4 |
| 1994 | UNA VEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 21 | 57 | 12 |
| 1994 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 47 | 12 | 1192 |
| 1994 | UNIK OM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 5 | 244 | 939 |
| 1994 | UNP ROF OR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 976 | 719 | 38318 |
| 1994 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 222 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----|-----|-------|
| 1994 | UNA MIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 108 | 462 | 5893 |
| 1994 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1048 |
| 1994 | UNO MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 309 | 65 |
| 1994 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 40 | 0 |
| 1994 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 1 | 133 | 4 |
| 1994 | UNO MUR | Uganda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 81 | 0 |
| 1994 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 5313 |
| 1994 | UN MIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 40 | 16 | 16 |
| 1994 | UN MOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 0 | 17 | 0 |
| 1994 | UNA VEM II | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 39 | 103 | 11 |
| 1994 | UNO SOM II | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 53 | 6 | 18495 |
| 1995 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 100 | 142 | 16 |
| 1995 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 113 | 253 | 48 |
| 1995 | UNA MIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 99 | 440 | 7211 |
| 1995 | UNA VEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 252 | 349 | 5836 |
| 1995 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 35 | 0 | 1177 |
| 1995 | UNIK OM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 246 | 904 |
| 1995 | UNA VEM II | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 171 | 316 | 13 |
| 1995 | UNO SOM II | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 26 | 0 | 7973 |
| 1995 | UNP ROF OR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 775 | 716 | 38217 |
| 1995 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 220 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----|-----|-------|
| 1995 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 1 | 1036 |
| 1995 | UN MOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 0 | 44 | 0 |
| 1995 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 44 | 0 |
| 1995 | UN MIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 781 | 20 | 6091 |
| 1995 | UNO MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 77 | 9 |
| 1995 | ONU SAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | 31 | 3 | 0 |
| 1995 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 5146 |
| 1995 | UNC RO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 563 | 355 | 14631 |
| 1995 | UNP RED EP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 32 | 27 | 1120 |
| 1996 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 135 | 0 |
| 1996 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 91 | 248 | 48 |
| 1996 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 43 | 0 | 1202 |
| 1996 | UNIK OM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 245 | 936 |
| 1996 | UN MOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNP F | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 195 | 144 | 541 |
| 1996 | UNP RED EP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 29 | 38 | 1168 |
| 1996 | UNT AES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 420 | 100 | 5009 |
| 1996 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 194 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNA MIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 12 | 157 | 1507 |
| 1996 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1061 |
| 1996 | UN MIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 369 | 0 | 4778 |
| 1996 | UN MOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 0 | 44 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNF OR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1999 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------|-----|------|
| 1996 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 46 | 0 |
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 1552 | 0 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNO MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 85 | 8 |
| 1996 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 4739 |
| 1996 | UNA VEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 258 | 398 | 6713 |
| 1996 | UNS MIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 291 | 6 | 1300 |
| 1996 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 1701 | 50 | 5 |
| 1997 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 125 | 0 |
| 1997 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 68 | 248 | 27 |
| 1997 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 37 | 0 | 1235 |
| 1997 | UNIK OM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 203 | 918 |
| 1997 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 2086 | 0 | 5 |
| 1997 | UN MOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| 1997 | UNP RED EP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 27 | 36 | 1098 |
| 1997 | UNT AES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 419 | 101 | 4823 |
| 1997 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 169 | 0 |
| 1997 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1068 |
| 1997 | UN MOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 0 | 59 | 0 |
| 1997 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 46 | 0 |
| 1997 | UNA VEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 288 | 372 | 6007 |
| 1997 | UNO MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 79 | 7 |
| 1997 | UNS MIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 270 | 6 | 1296 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------|------|-----|------|
| 1997 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 4601 |
| 1997 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 51 | 0 | 69 |
| 1997 | MINUGUA | Guatemala | South America | Central America | 42 | 149 | 0 |
| 1997 | LBB | Italy | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| 1997 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 361 | 253 | 3026 |
| 1997 | UNTMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 241 | 0 | 1193 |
| 1997 | MIPONUH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 279 | 0 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 106 | 0 |
| 1998 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 81 | 203 | 250 |
| 1998 | MIPONUH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 293 | 0 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 35 | 0 | 1246 |
| 1998 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 198 | 923 |
| 1998 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 2019 | 0 | 3 |
| 1998 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 26 | 35 | 846 |
| 1998 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 286 | 8 | 86 |
| 1998 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 163 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1060 |
| 1998 | UNMOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 2 | 81 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 46 | 0 |
| 1998 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 406 | 115 | 1202 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------|------|-----|------|
| 1998 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 4533 |
| 1998 | UNTMH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNPSG | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 171 | 4 | 33 |
| 1998 | MINURCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 22 | 0 | 1488 |
| 1998 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 4 | 41 | 15 |
| 1999 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 103 | 0 |
| 1999 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 84 | 223 | 340 |
| 1999 | MIPONUH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 291 | 10 | 1 |
| 1999 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 35 | 1 | 1255 |
| 1999 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 199 | 922 |
| 1999 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 16 | 34 | 1049 |
| 1999 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 153 | 1 |
| 1999 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1040 |
| 1999 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 2054 | 7 | 4 |
| 1999 | UNMOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 2 | 38 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 47 | 0 |
| 1999 | MINURCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 25 | 5 | 1475 |
| 1999 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 154 | 61 | 585 |
| 1999 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 12 | 4570 |
| 1999 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 4 | 228 | 4197 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------|-----|------|
| 1999 | UNO MSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 124 | 15 |
| 1999 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1892 | 35 | 34 |
| 1999 | MIN UGU A | Guatemala | South America | Central America | 50 | 20 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNA MET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 288 | 114 | 66 |
| 1999 | UNT AET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 321 | 182 | 0 |
| 1999 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 0 | 79 | 0 |
| 2000 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 103 | 0 |
| 2000 | MIN UGU A | Guatemala | South America | Central America | 50 | 20 | 0 |
| 2000 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 82 | 216 | 27 |
| 2000 | MIP ONU H | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 241 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 38 | 0 | 1219 |
| 2000 | UNIK OM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 203 | 922 |
| 2000 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 1897 | 5 | 0 |
| 2000 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4466 | 40 | 0 |
| 2000 | UN MOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 27 | 0 |
| 2000 | UNT AET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 1439 | 199 | 8387 |
| 2000 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 154 | 0 |
| 2000 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1050 |
| 2000 | UN MOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 3 | 30 | 0 |
| 2000 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 2 | 270 | 24 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------|------|-------|
| 2000 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 46 | 0 |
| 2000 | MIN URC A | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 9 | 0 | 429 |
| 2000 | UNA MSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 34 | 1049 | 12262 |
| 2000 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 5802 |
| 2000 | MO NUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 2000 | BON UCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 3 | 185 |
| 2000 | UNO A | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2000 | MIC AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | UN MEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 144 | 1633 |
| 2001 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 5 | 106 | 0 |
| 2001 | MIN UGU A | Guatemala | South America | Central America | 10 | 4 | 1 |
| 2001 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 35 | 216 | 28 |
| 2001 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 35 | 0 | 1279 |
| 2001 | UNIK OM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 6 | 195 | 906 |
| 2001 | UN MEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 19 | 219 | 3992 |
| 2001 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 1816 | 5 | 38 |
| 2001 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4519 | 38 | 50 |
| 2001 | UN MOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 27 | 0 |
| 2001 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 153 | 0 |
| 2001 | UNT AET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 1527 | 148 | 8139 |
| 2001 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1063 |
| 2001 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 13 | 460 | 2924 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2001 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 8 | 51 | 0 |
| 2001 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 57 | 261 | 17105 |
| 2001 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 5735 |
| 2002 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 117 | 8 |
| 2002 | MINUGUA | Guatemala | South America | Central America | 11 | 4 | 0 |
| 2002 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 26 | 216 | 30 |
| 2002 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 51 | 483 | 3888 |
| 2002 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 35 | 0 | 1211 |
| 2002 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 200 | 912 |
| 2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 1599 | 3 | 0 |
| 2002 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4731 | 39 | 0 |
| 2002 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 27 | 0 |
| 2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1288 | 120 | 6442 |
| 2002 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 157 | 0 |
| 2002 | UNMEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 218 | 3940 |
| 2002 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1043 |
| 2002 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 45 | 0 |
| 2002 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 91 | 259 | 17129 |
| 2002 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 3658 |
| 2002 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1108 | 120 | 5082 |
| 2002 | UNMA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 0 | 8 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---------|----------------------|--------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2002 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 10 | 121 | 9 |
| 2003 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 25 | 203 | 27 |
| 2003 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 115 | 555 | 9981 |
| 2003 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 52 | 0 | 1351 |
| 2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 195 | 917 |
| 2003 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4438 | 40 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 729 | 112 | 3761 |
| 2003 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 156 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNMEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 222 | 3877 |
| 2003 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1043 |
| 2003 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 46 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 130 | 269 | 15266 |
| 2003 | UNMA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 4 | 9 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 2077 |
| 2003 | MINUCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 72 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 312 | 107 | 8387 |
| 2004 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 11 | 122 | 1 |
| 2004 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 5 | 208 | 30 |
| 2004 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 175 | 571 | 11903 |
| 2004 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 47 | 0 | 1348 |
| 2004 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 3658 | 38 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2004 | UN MISE T | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 319 | 78 | 1668 |
| 2004 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 157 | 153 |
| 2004 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 7 | 11 | 0 |
| 2004 | UN MEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 218 | 3857 |
| 2004 | MIN UCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 75 | 0 |
| 2004 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1044 |
| 2004 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 51 | 0 |
| 2004 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1098 | 204 | 14649 |
| 2004 | UNA MSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 142 | 258 | 11286 |
| 2004 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 2013 |
| 2004 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 216 | 168 | 5846 |
| 2004 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1398 | 0 | 6008 |
| 2004 | ONU B | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 82 | 184 | 5291 |
| 2005 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 12 | 122 | 2 |
| 2005 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 6 | 204 | 47 |
| 2005 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1748 | 0 | 7286 |
| 2005 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1038 | 724 | 15790 |
| 2005 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 0 | 1006 |
| 2005 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 3509 | 37 | 0 |
| 2005 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1101 | 207 | 14824 |
| 2005 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 218 | 188 | 5852 |
| 2005 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 165 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2005 | UN MEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 217 | 3147 |
| 2005 | UN MIST | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 147 | 43 | 469 |
| 2005 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 8 | 13 | 0 |
| 2005 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1047 |
| 2005 | UNOB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 106 | 195 | 5400 |
| 2005 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 45 | 0 |
| 2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 80 | 140 | 3958 |
| 2005 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 2063 |
| 2005 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 289 | 467 | 4009 |
| 2005 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 696 | 195 | 6704 |
| 2005 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 57 | 15 | 0 |
| 2006 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 12 | 127 | 9 |
| 2006 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 8 | 197 | 31 |
| 2006 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1776 | 0 | 7519 |
| 2006 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1132 | 786 | 16641 |
| 2006 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 0 | 866 |
| 2006 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 2221 | 38 | 0 |
| 2006 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1098 | 207 | 14867 |
| 2006 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 680 | 705 | 8914 |
| 2006 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 154 | 40 |
| 2006 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 8 | 12 | 0 |
| 2006 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 11 | 223 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2006 | UNO TIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 57 | 15 | 0 |
| 2006 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1152 |
| 2006 | UN MEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 222 | 3156 |
| 2006 | ONU B | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 87 | 173 | 5153 |
| 2006 | ONU CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 728 | 195 | 6705 |
| 2006 | UNI OSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 19 | 10 | 0 |
| 2006 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 44 | 0 |
| 2006 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 11563 |
| 2006 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 997 | 195 | 7849 |
| 2006 | UN MIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 1099 | 32 | 0 |
| 2007 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 18 | 134 | 0 |
| 2007 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 6 | 204 | 48 |
| 2007 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1841 | 0 | 7081 |
| 2007 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1085 | 735 | 16661 |
| 2007 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 66 | 0 | 861 |
| 2007 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 2136 | 40 | 0 |
| 2007 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1213 | 214 | 13939 |
| 2007 | UN MIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 696 | 607 | 8827 |
| 2007 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1187 | 200 | 7871 |
| 2007 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 154 | 0 |
| 2007 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 3 | 16 | 0 |
| 2007 | UNA MI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 11 | 223 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2007 | UN MIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1641 | 37 | 12 |
| 2007 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1081 |
| 2007 | UN MEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 222 | 2057 |
| 2007 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 13539 |
| 2007 | UNI OSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 28 | 15 | 0 |
| 2007 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 45 | 0 |
| 2007 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 12 | 8 | 0 |
| 2007 | UN MIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | 5 | 157 | 0 |
| 2007 | MIN URC AT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 29 | 3 | 0 |
| 2007 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 1617 | 0 | 12 |
| 2008 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 20 | 137 | 0 |
| 2008 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 6 | 204 | 27 |
| 2008 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 2053 | 0 | 7174 |
| 2008 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 47 | 872 |
| 2008 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 2028 | 41 | 0 |
| 2008 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1205 | 210 | 13291 |
| 2008 | UN MIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 695 | 629 | 8761 |
| 2008 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1182 | 197 | 7841 |
| 2008 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 153 | 52 |
| 2008 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 5 | 18 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNA MI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 223 |
| 2008 | UN MIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1556 | 33 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2008 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1088 |
| 2008 | UN MEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 211 | 1465 |
| 2008 | UN MIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | 6 | 154 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 2767 | 245 | 12194 |
| 2008 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1090 | 740 | 16702 |
| 2008 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 12733 |
| 2008 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 12 | 8 | 0 |
| 2008 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 236 | 46 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 21 | 14 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 45 | 0 |
| 2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 16 | 132 | 0 |
| 2009 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 6 | 216 | 27 |
| 2009 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 2066 | 0 | 7106 |
| 2009 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1210 | 737 | 18646 |
| 2009 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 70 | 0 | 869 |
| 2009 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1355 | 167 | 10595 |
| 2009 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1190 | 198 | 7837 |
| 2009 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 151 | 0 |
| 2009 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 8 | 20 | 0 |
| 2009 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 12 | 223 |
| 2009 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 4636 | 271 | 15114 |
| 2009 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 715 | 598 | 9090 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2009 | UN MIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1582 | 35 | 0 |
| 2009 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1050 |
| 2009 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 128 | 23 | 0 |
| 2009 | MIN URC AT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 266 | 46 | 2770 |
| 2009 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 12738 |
| 2009 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 12 | 8 | 0 |
| 2009 | UN MIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 73 | 0 |
| 2009 | UN MOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 45 | 0 |
| 2010 | MIN URC AT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 259 | 25 | 3531 |
| 2010 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 6 | 213 | 29 |
| 2010 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 3240 | 0 | 8766 |
| 2010 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 0 | 861 |
| 2010 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1364 | 134 | 9233 |
| 2010 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1336 | 196 | 7579 |
| 2010 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 154 | 0 |
| 2010 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 6 | 18 | 0 |
| 2010 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 13 | 222 |
| 2010 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 697 | 497 | 9455 |
| 2010 | UN MIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1530 | 35 | 0 |
| 2010 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1080 |
| 2010 | UN MIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 72 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2010 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 4977 | 273 | 17220 |
| 2010 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1229 | 713 | 18884 |
| 2010 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 11989 |
| 2010 | BINU B | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 10 | 5 | 0 |
| 2010 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 44 | 0 |
| 2010 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| 2010 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1262 | 722 | 17745 |
| 2011 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 7 | 206 | 27 |
| 2011 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 3637 | 0 | 8930 |
| 2011 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 0 | 916 |
| 2011 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1327 | 138 | 7949 |
| 2011 | UN MIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 702 | 513 | 9297 |
| 2011 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1386 | 200 | 9417 |
| 2011 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 152 | 0 |
| 2011 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 4 | 13 | 0 |
| 2011 | UNA MI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 13 | 353 |
| 2011 | UN MIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 1465 | 33 | 0 |
| 2011 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1049 |
| 2011 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 5177 | 319 | 17778 |
| 2011 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1371 | 746 | 17169 |
| 2011 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 12488 |
| 2011 | BNU B | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 3 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2011 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 44 | 0 |
| 2011 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| 2011 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 485 | 207 | 6798 |
| 2011 | UNIS FA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 0 | 174 | 3724 |
| 2012 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 6 | 216 | 27 |
| 2012 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 3542 | 0 | 7699 |
| 2012 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 0 | 864 |
| 2012 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1321 | 135 | 7812 |
| 2012 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 549 | 146 | 6473 |
| 2012 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1492 | 203 | 9419 |
| 2012 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 153 | 0 |
| 2012 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 5 | 18 | 0 |
| 2012 | UNA MI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 4 | 8 | 394 |
| 2012 | UN MIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South- Eastern Asia | 1242 | 33 | 6 |
| 2012 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1055 |
| 2012 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 12138 |
| 2012 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 5511 | 313 | 17774 |
| 2012 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1412 | 730 | 17129 |
| 2012 | BNU B | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2012 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 43 | 0 |
| 2012 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 8 | 10 | 0 |
| 2012 | UNIS FA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 5 | 141 | 3836 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2012 | UNS MIS | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 278 | 0 |
| 2013 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 6 | 203 | 27 |
| 2013 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 2676 | 0 | 6685 |
| 2013 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 0 | 923 |
| 2013 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1584 | 133 | 6677 |
| 2013 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 746 | 149 | 6806 |
| 2013 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 159 | 0 |
| 2013 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 11026 |
| 2013 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 8 | 23 | 0 |
| 2013 | UNA MI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 5 | 5 | 272 |
| 2013 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1244 |
| 2013 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 4893 | 357 | 15778 |
| 2013 | UNIS FA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 17 | 140 | 3956 |
| 2013 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1611 | 195 | 9361 |
| 2013 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1426 | 681 | 19557 |
| 2013 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| 2013 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 43 | 0 |
| 2013 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 954 | 0 | 5494 |
| 2014 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1038 | 164 | 10376 |
| 2014 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 5 | 205 | 27 |
| 2014 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 2466 | 0 | 6355 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2014 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 67 | 0 | 930 |
| 2014 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1588 | 136 | 5749 |
| 2014 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1471 | 198 | 8233 |
| 2014 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 162 | 0 |
| 2014 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 10538 |
| 2014 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 4 | 18 | 0 |
| 2014 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| 2014 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 1033 | 0 | 8543 |
| 2014 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 4624 | 335 | 14390 |
| 2014 | UNIS FA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 24 | 136 | 3970 |
| 2014 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1193 | 517 | 19567 |
| 2014 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 46 | 0 |
| 2014 | UNA MI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 3 | 2 | 271 |
| 2014 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1271 |
| 2014 | MIN USC A | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1125 | 91 | 7469 |
| 2015 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1174 | 197 | 11707 |
| 2015 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1200 | 507 | 19475 |
| 2015 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 6 | 201 | 46 |
| 2015 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 2527 | 0 | 4683 |
| 2015 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 68 | 0 | 879 |
| 2015 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1450 | 126 | 4400 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2015 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1496 | 188 | 6076 |
| 2015 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 151 | 0 |
| 2015 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 10610 |
| 2015 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 5 | 17 | 0 |
| 2015 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| 2015 | MIN USC A | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1983 | 158 | 10220 |
| 2015 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 1178 | 42 | 10601 |
| 2015 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 3252 | 209 | 14421 |
| 2015 | UNIS FA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 29 | 122 | 4388 |
| 2015 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 49 | 0 |
| 2015 | UNA MI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 1 | 245 |
| 2015 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 930 |
| 2016 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1416 | 479 | 16981 |
| 2016 | MIN URS O | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 0 | 216 | 28 |
| 2016 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 2482 | 0 | 2368 |
| 2016 | UNFI CYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 2 | 959 |
| 2016 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1298 | 89 | 3292 |
| 2016 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1476 | 197 | 12120 |
| 2016 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1427 | 185 | 4977 |
| 2016 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 151 | 0 |
| 2016 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 1295 | 41 | 10808 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2016 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 10733 |
| 2016 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 5 | 12 | 0 |
| 2016 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| 2016 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 2037 | 398 | 10338 |
| 2016 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 3305 | 184 | 14414 |
| 2016 | UNISFA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 20 | 135 | 4413 |
| 2016 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 859 |
| 2016 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 44 | 0 |
| 2016 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 245 |
| 2016 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 16 | 15 | 571 |
| 2016 | UNMC | Colombia | South America | South America | 0 | 280 | 0 |
| 2016 | UNSO | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 0 | 41 |
| 2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1369 | 484 | 17016 |
| 2017 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 2 | 215 | 30 |
| 2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 2460 | 0 | 2344 |
| 2017 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 69 | 0 | 888 |
| 2017 | UNMC | Colombia | South America | South America | 76 | 448 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 153 | 0 |
| 2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 1747 | 39 | 11666 |
| 2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 10729 |
| 2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1625 | 192 | 12797 |
| 2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 10 | 8 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2017 | MIN USC A | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 2023 | 426 | 10531 |
| 2017 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 3495 | 181 | 13614 |
| 2017 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 502 | 30 | 1158 |
| 2017 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 519 | 72 | 1805 |
| 2017 | UNS OM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 15 | 9 | 530 |
| 2017 | UND OF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 999 |
| 2017 | UNIS FA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 37 | 125 | 4408 |
| 2017 | UNA MA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 5 | 12 | 0 |
| 2017 | UN MO GIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 44 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNA MI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 245 |
| 2017 | UNS OS | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 8 | 41 |
| 2017 | UNI OGB IS | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Western Africa | 12 | 2 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNO WAS | Senegal | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNS MIL | Libya | Africa | Western Africa | 3 | 4 | 230 |
| 2017 | UNV MC | Colombia | South America | South America | 51 | 147 | 0 |
| 2017 | MIN UJUS TH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1255 | 0 | 0 |

APPENDIX 2

The name of missions, mission country, mission region and mission continent that UN launched peacekeeping operations and type of personnel sent by Turkey year by year between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troops |
|------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1990 | UNII MO G | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1991 | UNII MO G | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1991 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 1992 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 7 |
| 1993 | UNO SOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 0 | 326 |
| 1993 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 1994 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 1994 | UNP ROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1497 |
| 1994 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1995 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 1995 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1995 | UNP ROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1488 |
| 1995 | UNC RO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 12 | 0 | 7 |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1996 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and | Europe | Southern Europe | 26 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------------|--------|-----------------|----|---|---|
| | | Herzegovina | | | | | |
| 1996 | UNP RED EP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNT AES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1996 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 1997 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 1997 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 27 | 0 | 0 |
| 1997 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1997 | UNP RED EP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 1998 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 27 | 0 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1998 | UNP RED EP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 1999 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 31 | 0 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNP RED EP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNO MSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1999 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 49 | 0 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNT SO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 1 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------------------------|--------|--------------------|-----|---|---|
| 2000 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 2000 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzogo vina | Europe | Southern Europe | 31 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 123 | 1 | 0 |
| 2000 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2000 | BON UCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | UNT AET | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 19 | 2 | 0 |
| 2001 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 2001 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzogo vina | Europe | Southern Europe | 38 | 1 | 0 |
| 2001 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 126 | 0 | 0 |
| 2001 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2001 | UNT AET | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 21 | 2 | 0 |
| 2002 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 2002 | UN MIB H | Bosnia and Herzogo vina | Europe | Southern Europe | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| 2002 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 149 | 0 | 0 |
| 2002 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2002 | UNT AET | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 20 | 2 | 0 |
| 2002 | UN MIS ET | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 21 | 2 | 0 |
| 2002 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNI KOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 2003 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 167 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----|---|---|
| 2003 | UN MIS ET | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 11 | 3 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNA MA | Afghanis tan | Asia | Southern Asia | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003 | UNA MSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004 | UNA MSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 256 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 34 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004 | UN MIS ET | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| 2004 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2004 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004 | ONU B | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | ONU B | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | UNA MSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 228 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 34 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | UN MIS ET | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 10 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----|---|-----|
| 2005 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2005 | UN MIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 9 | 0 | 3 |
| 2005 | ONU CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | UNO TIL | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | ONU CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | UNI OSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 137 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 34 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | UN MIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 30 | 0 | 4 |
| 2006 | UNO MIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2006 | UNO TIL | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | UN MIT | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 509 |
| 2007 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 28 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | MO NUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 930 |
| 2007 | UNI OSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 151 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | UN MIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 28 | 0 | 4 |
| 2007 | UN MIT | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 9 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|-----|---|-----|
| 2007 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | UNMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 2007 | UNBIB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNBIB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 4 | 0 | 1 |
| 2008 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 544 |
| 2008 | UNOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 152 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 31 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 34 | 0 | 3 |
| 2008 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | UNMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2009 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 70 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 4 | 0 | 1 |
| 2009 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 578 |
| 2009 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 26 | 1 | 0 |
| 2009 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 32 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 39 | 0 | 3 |
| 2009 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 18 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|----|---|-----|
| 2009 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009 | UNMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2009 | UNUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | UNUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 46 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 11 | 0 | 1 |
| 2010 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 504 |
| 2010 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2010 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 40 | 0 | 3 |
| 2010 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 41 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 472 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|----|---|-----|
| 2011 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2011 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 32 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | UN MIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 24 | 0 | 4 |
| 2011 | UN MIT | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 | UNA MA | Afghanis tan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2012 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 54 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 521 |
| 2012 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2012 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 | UN MIT | Timor- Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013 | UNA MA | Afghanis tan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2013 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 79 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 472 |
| 2013 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2013 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 26 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|----|---|-----|
| 2013 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 2014 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2014 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| 2014 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| 2014 | UNA MA | Afghanis tan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2014 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 68 | 0 | 0 |
| 2014 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 202 |
| 2014 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2014 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| 2014 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 29 | 0 | 0 |
| 2014 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015 | UNA MA | Afghanis tan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2015 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 115 |
| 2015 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2015 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 11 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----|---|-----|
| 2015 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015 | MIN USC A | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | MIN USC A | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 34 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 114 |
| 2016 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2016 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | UNO CI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016 | UNS OM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2017 | MIN USM A | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2017 | MIN UST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| 2017 | MO NUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNA MID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNIF IL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 87 |
| 2017 | UN MIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2017 | UN MIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|----|---|---|
| 2017 | UN MISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNS OM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2017 | MIN UJU STH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 8 | 0 | 0 |



APPENDIX 3

The period and name of deployed missions by the UN between 1990 and 2017, and type of personnel sent by the UN

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troop |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 12 | 8 | 0 |
| 2011-2012 | BNUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 3 | 185 |
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 1552 | 0 | 0 |
| 1997 | LBB | Italy | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| 2000 | MICAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003-2004 | MINUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 75 | 0 |
| 1997-2002 | MINUGUA | Guatemala | South America | Central America | 50 | 149 | 1 |
| 2017 | MINUJUSTH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1255 | 0 | 0 |
| 1998-2000 | MINURCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 25 | 5 | 1488 |
| 2007-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 266 | 46 | 3531 |
| 1991-2017 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 113 | 253 | 375 |
| 2014-2017 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 2037 | 426 | 10531 |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 1747 | 42 | 11666 |
| 2004-2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 3637 | 0 | 8930 |
| 1997-2000 | MIPONUH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 293 | 10 | 11 |
| 1997-2000 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 406 | 253 | 3026 |
| 1999-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1229 | 786 | 18884 |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1426 | 746 | 19567 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|------|------|-------|
| 2004-2006 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 106 | 195 | 5400 |
| 1990-1992 | ONUCA | Honduras | South America | Central America | 0 | 0 | 423 |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 728 | 195 | 6705 |
| 1993-1994 | ONUMOZ | Mozambique | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1098 | 370 | 6933 |
| 1991-1995 | ONUSAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | 343 | 286 | 943 |
| 2002-2017 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 8 | 23 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNAMET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 288 | 114 | 66 |
| 2006-2017 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 5 | 13 | 222 |
| 1991-1992 | UNAMIC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 0 | 0 | 231 |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 5511 | 357 | 17778 |
| 1993-1996 | UNAMIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 108 | 462 | 7211 |
| 1999-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 142 | 1049 | 17129 |
| 1990-1997 | UNAVEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 288 | 398 | 6713 |
| 1994-1995 | UNAVEM II | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 171 | 316 | 13 |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 563 | 355 | 14631 |
| 1990-2017 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1344 |
| 1990-2017 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 70 | 47 | 2172 |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1999 |
| 1990-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 5835 |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 178 |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 6 | 265 | 939 |
| 2017 | UNIOGBIS | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Western Africa | 12 | 2 | 0 |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 28 | 15 | 0 |
| 2011-2017 | UNISFA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 37 | 174 | 4413 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2002-2003 | UNMA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| 2016-2017 | UNMC | Colombia | South America | South America | 76 | 448 | 0 |
| 2000-2008 | UNMEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 19 | 222 | 3992 |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 2086 | 50 | 38 |
| 1994-1996 | UNMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 781 | 20 | 6091 |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4731 | 41 | 50 |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1588 | 214 | 14867 |
| 2007-2010 | UNMIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | 6 | 157 | 0 |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 715 | 705 | 9455 |
| 2002-2005 | UNMIS E T | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1108 | 120 | 5082 |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1625 | 207 | 12797 |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1641 | 37 | 12 |
| 1990-2017 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 51 | 68 |
| 1996-2002 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| 1994-2000 | UNMOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 3 | 81 | 0 |
| 2000 | UNOA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2004-2017 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1611 | 203 | 9419 |
| 1993-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 100 | 142 | 16 |
| 1993-1997 | UNOMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 309 | 65 |
| 1998-1999 | UNOMSI L | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 4 | 124 | 15 |
| 1993-1994 | UNOMU R | Uganda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 82 | 0 |
| 1992-1994 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 236 | 69 | 28559 |
| 1994-1995 | UNOSOM II | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 53 | 6 | 18495 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 57 | 15 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNOWAS | Senegal | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 1996-1997 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 195 | 144 | 541 |
| 1995-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 32 | 38 | 1168 |
| 1992-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 976 | 973 | 38318 |
| 1998 | UNPSG | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 171 | 4 | 33 |
| 1996-1997 | UNSMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 291 | 6 | 1300 |
| 2017 | UNSMIL | Libya | Africa | Western Africa | 3 | 4 | 230 |
| 2012 | UNSMIS | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 278 | 0 |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 16 | 15 | 571 |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOS | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 8 | 41 |
| 1992-1993 | UNTAC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 4232 | 470 | 15087 |
| 1996-1998 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 420 | 101 | 5009 |
| 1999-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1527 | 199 | 8387 |
| 1997-1998 | UNTMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 241 | 0 | 1193 |
| 1990-2017 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 272 | 300 |
| 2017 | UNVMC | Colombia | South America | South America | 51 | 147 | 0 |

APPENDIX 4

The period and name of missions contributed by Turkey between 1990 and 2017, and type of personnel sent by Turkey

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troops |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 2017 | MINUJUSTH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015-2016 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004-2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 70 | 0 | 0 |
| 2002-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004-2005 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003-2015 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 79 | 0 | 1 |
| 2003-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 12 | 0 | 7 |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 2006-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 930 |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 7 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|------------------------|--------|--------------------|-----|---|------|
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 38 | 1 | 0 |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 256 | 1 | 0 |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 34 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 40 | 0 | 4 |
| 2002-2005 | UNMIST | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 21 | 3 | 0 |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 29 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004-2016 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| 1994-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1993 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 0 | 326 |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 1996-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1994-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1497 |
| 1996 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2000-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 21 | 2 | 0 |

APPENDIX 5

African countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by UN

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troop |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 12 | 8 | 0 |
| 2011-2012 | BNUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 3 | 185 |
| 2003-2004 | MINUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 75 | 0 |
| 1998-2000 | MINURCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 25 | 5 | 1488 |
| 2007-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 266 | 46 | 3531 |
| 1991-2017 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | 113 | 253 | 375 |
| 2014-2017 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 2037 | 426 | 10531 |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 1747 | 42 | 11666 |
| 1997-2000 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 406 | 253 | 3026 |
| 1999-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1229 | 786 | 18884 |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 1426 | 746 | 19567 |
| 2004-2006 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 106 | 195 | 5400 |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 728 | 195 | 6705 |
| 1993-1994 | ONUMOZ | Mozambique | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1098 | 370 | 6933 |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 5511 | 357 | 17778 |
| 1993-1996 | UNAMIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 108 | 462 | 7211 |
| 1999-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 142 | 1049 | 17129 |
| 1990-1997 | UNAVEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 288 | 398 | 6713 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------------|--------|-----------------|------|-----|-------|
| 1994-1995 | UNAVEM II | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 171 | 316 | 13 |
| 2017 | UNIOGBIS | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Western Africa | 12 | 2 | 0 |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 28 | 15 | 0 |
| 2011-2017 | UNISFA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 37 | 174 | 4413 |
| 2002-2003 | UNMA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| 2000-2008 | UNMEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 19 | 222 | 3992 |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 1588 | 214 | 14867 |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 715 | 705 | 9455 |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 1625 | 207 | 12797 |
| 2000 | UNOA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2004-2017 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 1611 | 203 | 9419 |
| 1993-1997 | UNOMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 309 | 65 |
| 1998-1999 | UNOMSI L | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 4 | 124 | 15 |
| 1993-1994 | UNOMUR | Uganda | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 82 | 0 |
| 1992-1994 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 236 | 69 | 28559 |
| 1994-1995 | UNOSOM II | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 53 | 6 | 18495 |
| 2017 | UNOWAS | Senegal | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 2017 | UNSMIL | Libya | Africa | Western Africa | 3 | 4 | 230 |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 16 | 15 | 571 |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOS | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 8 | 41 |

APPENDIX 6

African countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by Turkey

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troops |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015-2016 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2002-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004-2005 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 79 | 0 | 1 |
| 2003-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | 34 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 40 | 0 | 4 |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | 29 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004-2016 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1993 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 0 | 326 |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 1 | 0 |

APPENDIX 7

Asian countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by UN

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troop |
|-----------|--------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 2002-2017 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 8 | 23 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNAMET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 288 | 114 | 66 |
| 2006-2017 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 5 | 13 | 222 |
| 1991-1992 | UNAMIC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 0 | 0 | 231 |
| 1990-2017 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 1344 |
| 1990-2017 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | 70 | 47 | 2172 |
| 1990-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 5835 |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 178 |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 6 | 265 | 939 |
| 2007-2010 | UNMIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | 6 | 157 | 0 |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISSET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1108 | 120 | 5082 |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1641 | 37 | 12 |
| 1990-2017 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 51 | 68 |
| 1994-2000 | UNMOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | 3 | 81 | 0 |
| 1993-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 100 | 142 | 16 |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 57 | 15 | 0 |
| 2012 | UNSMIS | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 278 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|-------------|------|--------------------|------|-----|-------|
| 1992-1993 | UNTAC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 4232 | 470 | 15087 |
| 1999-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 1527 | 199 | 8387 |
| 1990-2017 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 272 | 300 |



APPENDIX 8

Asian countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by Turkey

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troops |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 2003-2015 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 2006-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 930 |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 21 | 3 | 0 |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 1994-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 1999 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2000-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | 21 | 2 | 0 |

APPENDIX 9

European countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by UN

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troop |
|-----------|--------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 1552 | 0 | 0 |
| 1997 | LBB | Italy | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 563 | 355 | 14631 |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1999 |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 2086 | 50 | 38 |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4731 | 41 | 50 |
| 1996-2002 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| 1996-1997 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 195 | 144 | 541 |
| 1995-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 32 | 38 | 1168 |
| 1992-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 976 | 973 | 38318 |
| 1998 | UNPSG | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 171 | 4 | 33 |
| 1996-1998 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 420 | 101 | 5009 |

APPENDIX 10

European countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by Turkey

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troops |
|-----------|--------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 12 | 0 | 7 |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | 38 | 1 | 0 |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | 256 | 1 | 0 |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 1996-1999 | UNPRED EP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1994-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1497 |
| 1996 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1 |

APPENDIX 11

South American countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by UN

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troop |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 2000 | MICAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1997-2002 | MINUGUA | Guatemala | South America | Central America | 50 | 149 | 1 |
| 2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 1255 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004-2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 3637 | 0 | 8930 |
| 1997-2000 | MIPONUH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 293 | 10 | 11 |
| 1990-1992 | ONUCA | Honduras | South America | Central America | 0 | 0 | 423 |
| 1991-1995 | ONUSAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | 343 | 286 | 943 |
| 2016-2017 | UNMC | Colombia | South America | South America | 76 | 448 | 0 |
| 1994-1996 | UNMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 781 | 20 | 6091 |
| 1996-1997 | UNSMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 291 | 6 | 1300 |
| 1997-1998 | UNTMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 241 | 0 | 1193 |
| 2017 | UNVMC | Colombia | South America | South America | 51 | 147 | 0 |

APPENDIX 12

South American countries that UN performed peacekeeping operations between 1990-2017, and personnel qualifications who were sent by Turkey

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troops |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 2017 | MINUJUSTH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004-2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | 70 | 0 | 0 |



APPENDIX 13**The period and name of UN missions that Turkey sent troops between 1990 and 2017**

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Total Police | Total Observers | Total Troops |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 79 | 0 | 1 |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 12 | 0 | 7 |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 2006-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 0 | 930 |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | 40 | 0 | 4 |
| 1993 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | 0 | 0 | 326 |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 1994-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1497 |
| 1996 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | 0 | 0 | 1 |

APPENDIX 14

The period, name of missions that launched by the UN in Muslim and non-Muslim countries between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2011-2012 | BNUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2000 | BONUS | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Sunni Islam |
| 1997 | LBB | Italy | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 2000 | MICAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 2003-2004 | MINUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | Indigenous 12%, Muslim 39%, and Christian 33% |
| 1997-2002 | MINUGU A | Guatemala | South America | Central America | Catholic Christian |
| 2017 | MINUJU STH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1998-2000 | MINURC A | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 2007-2010 | MINURC AT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1991-2017 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2014-2017 | MINUSC A | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 2013-2017 | MINUS MA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2004-2017 | MINUST AH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1997-2000 | MIPONU H | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1997-2000 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1999-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2010-2017 | MONUS CO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|---|
| 2004-2006 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Christian |
| 1990-1992 | ONUCA | Honduras | South America | Central America | Catholic Christian |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | Indigenous 12%, Muslim 39%, and Christian 33% |
| 1993-1994 | ONUMOZ | Mozambique | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1991-1995 | ONUSAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | Catholic Christian |
| 2002-2017 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 1999 | UNAMET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2006-2017 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Shia Islam |
| 1991-1992 | UNAMIC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Buddhism |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1993-1996 | UNAMIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1999-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1990-1997 | UNAVEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1994-1995 | UNAVEM II | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-2017 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 1990-2017 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | Orthodox Christian (Northern part excluded) |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 51% Islam (25% Shia Islam, 26% Sunni Islam) |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | Shia Islam |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Shia Islam |
| 2017 | UNIOGBIS | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|---|
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2011-2017 | UNISFA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2002-2003 | UNMA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2016-2017 | UNMC | Colombia | South America | South America | Catholic Christian |
| 2000-2008 | UNMEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 50% Muslim, 30% Orthodox Christian and 13% Catholic Christian |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Sunni Islam |
| 1994-1996 | UNMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | Orthodox Christian |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | Christian |
| 2007-2010 | UNMIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | Hinduism |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2002-2005 | UNMIST | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-2017 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 1996-2002 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1994-2000 | UNMOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 2000 | UNOA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2004-2017 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | Indigenous 12%, Muslim 39%, and Christian 33% |
| 1993-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | Orthodox Christian |
| 1993-1997 | UNOMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | Christian |
| 1998-1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1993-1994 | UNOMUR | Uganda | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1992-1994 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1994-1995 | UNOSOM II | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2017 | UNOWAS | Senegal | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1996-1997 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1995-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | Orthodox Christian |
| 1992-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1998 | UNPSG | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-1997 | UNSMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 2017 | UNSMIL | Libya | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2012 | UNSMIS | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOS | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1992-1993 | UNTAC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Buddhism |
| 1996-1998 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1999-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 1997-1998 | UNTMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-2017 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | Jewish |
| 2017 | UNVMC | Colombia | South America | South America | Catholic Christian |

APPENDIX 15

The period and name of participated missions by Turkey in Muslim and non-Muslim countries between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Sunni Islam |
| 2017 | MINUJUS TH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 2009-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2015-2016 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2004-2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 2002-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2004-2005 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 12% Indigenous, 39% Muslim, 33% Christian |
| 2003-2015 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2003-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 2006-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 51% Islam (25% Shia Islam, 26% Sunni Islam) |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | Shia Islam |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Shia Islam |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|------------------------|--------|--------------------|---|
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Sunni Islam |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | Orthodox Christian |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | Christian |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2004-2016 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 12% Indigenous, 39% Muslim, 33% Christian |
| 1994-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | Orthodox Christian |
| 1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1993 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | Orthodox Christian |
| 1994-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1999 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | Jewish |
| 2000-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |

APPENDIX 16

The period and name of UN peacekeeping missions deployed in Muslim and non-Muslim countries in Africa between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2011-2012 | BNUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 2003-2004 | MINUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | Indigenous 12%, Muslim 39%, and Christian 33% |
| 1998-2000 | MINURCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 2007-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1991-2017 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2014-2017 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1997-2000 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1999-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2004-2006 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Christian |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | Indigenous 12%, Muslim 39%, and Christian 33% |
| 1993-1994 | ONUMOZ | Mozambique | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1993-1996 | UNAMIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1999-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1990-1997 | UNAVEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1994-1995 | UNAVEM II | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------------|--------|-----------------|---|
| 2017 | UNIOGBIS | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2011-2017 | UNISFA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2002-2003 | UNMA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2000-2008 | UNMEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | 50% Muslim, 30% Orthodox Christian and 13% Catholic Christian |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | Christian |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2000 | UNOA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2004-2017 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | Indigenous 12%, Muslim 39%, and Christian 33% |
| 1993-1997 | UNOMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | Christian |
| 1998-1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1993-1994 | UNOMUR | Uganda | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 1992-1994 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1994-1995 | UNOSOM II | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2017 | UNOWAS | Senegal | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2017 | UNSMIL | Libya | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOS | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |

APPENDIX 17

The period and name of UN peacekeeping missions participated by Turkey in Muslim and non-Muslim countries in Africa between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 2009-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2015-2016 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | Christian |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2002-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2004-2005 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 12% Indigenous, 39% Muslim, 33% Christian |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2003-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | Christian |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | Catholic Christian |
| 2004-2016 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | 12% Indigenous, 39% Muslim, 33% Christian |
| 1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 1993 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Sunni Islam |

APPENDIX 18

The period and name of UN peacekeeping missions deployed in Muslim and non-Muslim countries in Asia between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-----------|--------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---|
| 2002-2017 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 1999 | UNAMET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2006-2017 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Shia Islam |
| 1991-1992 | UNAMIC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Buddhism |
| 1990-2017 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 1990-2017 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | Orthodox Christian (Northern part excluded) |
| 1990-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 51% Islam (25% Shia Islam, 26% Sunni Islam) |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | Shia Islam |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Shia Islam |
| 2007-2010 | UNMIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | Hinduism |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISSET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-2017 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 1994-2000 | UNMOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 1993-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | Orthodox Christian |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2012 | UNSMIS | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 1992-1993 | UNTAC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Buddhism |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|-------------|------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1999-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-2017 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | Jewish |



APPENDIX 19**The period and name of UN peacekeeping missions participated by Turkey in Muslim and non-Muslim countries in Asia between 1990 and 2017**

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 2003-2015 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | Sunni Islam |
| 2006-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | 51% Islam (25% Shia Islam, 26% Sunni Islam) |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | Shia Islam |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Shia Islam |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISSET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 1994-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | Orthodox Christian |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |
| 1999 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | Jewish |
| 2000-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | Catholic Christian |

APPENDIX 20

The period and name of UN peacekeeping missions deployed in Muslim and non-Muslim countries in Europe between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-----------|--------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Sunni Islam |
| 1997 | LBB | Italy | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Sunni Islam |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | Orthodox Christian |
| 1996-2002 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-1997 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1995-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | Orthodox Christian |
| 1992-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1998 | UNPSG | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-1998 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |

APPENDIX 21

The period and name of UN peacekeeping missions participated by Turkey in Muslim and non-Muslim countries in Europe between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Sunni Islam |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Sunni Islam |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | Orthodox Christian |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | Orthodox Christian |
| 1994-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |
| 1996 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Catholic Christian |

APPENDIX 22**The period and name of UN peacekeeping missions deployed in Muslim and non-Muslim countries in South America between 1990 and 2017**

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 2000 | MICAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1997-2002 | MINUGUA | Guatemala | South America | Central America | Catholic Christian |
| 2017 | MINUJUSTH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 2004-2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1997-2000 | MIPONUH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1990-1992 | ONUCA | Honduras | South America | Central America | Catholic Christian |
| 1991-1995 | ONUSAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | Catholic Christian |
| 2016-2017 | UNMC | Colombia | South America | South America | Catholic Christian |
| 1994-1996 | UNMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1996-1997 | UNSMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 1997-1998 | UNTMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 2017 | UNVMC | Colombia | South America | South America | Catholic Christian |

APPENDIX 23

The period and name of UN peacekeeping missions participated by Turkey in Muslim and non-Muslim countries in South America between 1990 and 2017

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Country's Religion |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| 2017 | MINUJUSTH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |
| 2004- 2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | Catholic Christian |



APPENDIX 24

Countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Former Ottoman Land? |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2011-2012 | BNUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1997 | LBB | Italy | Europe | Southern Europe | No |
| 2000 | MICAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 2003-2004 | MINUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1997-2002 | MINUGUA | Guatemala | South America | Central America | No |
| 2017 | MINUJUST H | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 1998-2000 | MINURCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2007-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | Yes |
| 1991-2017 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | No |
| 2014-2017 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2004-2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 1997-2000 | MIPONUH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 1997-2000 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 1999-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2004-2006 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 1990-1992 | ONUCA | Honduras | South America | Central America | No |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----|
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1993-1994 | ONUMOZ | Mozambique | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 1991-1995 | ONUSAL | El Salvador | South America | Central America | No |
| 2002-2017 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 1999 | UNAMET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2006-2017 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1991-1992 | UNAMIC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 1993-1996 | UNAMIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 1999-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1990-1997 | UNAVEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 1994-1995 | UNAVEM II | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1990-2017 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1990-2017 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1990-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2017 | UNIOGBIS | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2011-2017 | UNISFA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 2002-2003 | UNMA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2016-2017 | UNMC | Colombia | South America | South America | No |
| 2000-2008 | UNMEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----|
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1994-1996 | UNMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2007-2010 | UNMIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISSET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1990-2017 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 1996-2002 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1994-2000 | UNMOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | No |
| 2000 | UNOA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2004-2017 | UNOCI | Cote d'Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1993-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1993-1997 | UNOMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1998-1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1993-1994 | UNOMUR | Uganda | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 1992-1994 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 1994-1995 | UNOSOM II | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2017 | UNOWAS | Senegal | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1996-1997 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1995-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1992-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----|
| 1998 | UNPSG | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996-1997 | UNSMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 2017 | UNSMIL | Libya | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2012 | UNSMIS | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOS | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 1992-1993 | UNTAC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1996-1998 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1999-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1997-1998 | UNSMIH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 1990-2017 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2017 | UNVMC | Colombia | South America | South America | No |

APPENDIX 25

Countries that Turkey participated peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Former Ottoman Land? |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 2017 | MINUJUST H | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 2009-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | Yes |
| 2015-2016 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2004-2017 | MINUSTAH | Haiti | South America | Caribbean | No |
| 2002-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2004-2005 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2003-2015 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 2003-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 2006-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|------------------------|--------|--------------------|-----|
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2004-2016 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1994-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1993 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1994-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 1999 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2000-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |

APPENDIX 26

African countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Former Ottoman Land? |
|-------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2011-2012 | BNUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2003-2004 | MINUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1998-2000 | MINURCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2007-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | Yes |
| 1991-2017 | MINURSO | Western Sahara | Africa | Northern Africa | No |
| 2014-2017 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1997-2000 | MONUA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 1999-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2004-2006 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1993-1994 | ONUMOZ | Mozambique | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 1993-1996 | UNAMIR | Rwanda | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 1999-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1990-1997 | UNAVEM | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 1994-1995 | UNAVEM II | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2017 | UNIOGBIS | Guinea-Bissau | Africa | Western Africa | No |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------------|--------|-----------------|-----|
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2011-2017 | UNISFA | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 2002-2003 | UNMA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2000-2008 | UNMEE | Eritrea | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2000 | UNOA | Angola | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2004-2017 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1993-1997 | UNOMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1998-1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1993-1994 | UNOMUR | Uganda | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 1992-1994 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 1994-1995 | UNOSOM II | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 2017 | UNOWAS | Senegal | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2017 | UNSMIL | Libya | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOS | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |

APPENDIX 27

African countries that Turkey participated peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Former Ottoman Land? |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 2007-2010 | BINUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2000 | BONUCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2009-2010 | MINURCAT | Chad | Africa | Middle Africa | Yes |
| 2015-2016 | MINUSCA | Central African Republic | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2013-2017 | MINUSMA | Mali | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2002-2010 | MONUC | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2010-2017 | MONUSCO | DR Congo | Africa | Middle Africa | No |
| 2004-2005 | ONUB | Burundi | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2005-2006 | ONUCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2007-2017 | UNAMID | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 2003-2005 | UNAMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2006-2008 | UNIOSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2003-2017 | UNMIL | Liberia | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 2005-2011 | UNMIS | Sudan | Africa | Northern Africa | Yes |
| 2011-2017 | UNMISS | South Sudan | Africa | Eastern Africa | No |
| 2004-2016 | UNOCI | Cote d Ivoire | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1999 | UNOMSIL | Sierra Leone | Africa | Western Africa | No |
| 1993 | UNOSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |
| 2016-2017 | UNSOM | Somalia | Africa | Eastern Africa | Yes |

APPENDIX 28

Asian countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Former Ottoman Land? |
|-----------|--------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 2002-2017 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 1999 | UNAMET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2006-2017 | UNAMI | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1991-1992 | UNAMIC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1990-2017 | UNDOF | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1990-2017 | UNFICYP | Cyprus | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1990-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2007-2010 | UNMIN | Nepal | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1990-2017 | UNMOGIP | Pakistan | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 1994-2000 | UNMOT | Tajikistan | Asia | Central Asia | No |
| 1993-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2012 | UNSMIS | Syrian Arab Republic | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1992-1993 | UNTAC | Cambodia | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1999-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------|------|--------------|-----|
| 1990-2017 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
|-----------|-------|--------|------|--------------|-----|



APPENDIX 29

Asian countries that Turkey participated peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Former Ottoman Land? |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 2003-2015 | UNAMA | Afghanistan | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 2006-2017 | UNIFIL | Lebanon | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 1990-1991 | UNIIMOG | Iran | Asia | Southern Asia | No |
| 1991-2003 | UNIKOM | Iraq | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2002-2005 | UNMISSET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 2006-2012 | UNMIT | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1994-2009 | UNOMIG | Georgia | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2005-2006 | UNOTIL | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |
| 1999 | UNTSO | Israel | Asia | Western Asia | Yes |
| 2000-2002 | UNTAET | Timor-Leste | Asia | South-Eastern Asia | No |

APPENDIX 30

European countries that UN deployed peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Former Ottoman Land? |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1997 | LBB | Italy | Europe | Southern Europe | No |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996-2002 | UNMOP | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996-1997 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1995-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1992-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1998 | UNPSG | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996-1998 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |

APPENDIX 31

European countries that Turkey participated peacekeeping operations in 1990 and 2017, and whether the mission countries were Ottoman land in the past

| Date | Mission Name | Mission Country | Mission Continent | Mission Region | Former Ottoman Land? |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1996 | IPTF | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1995 | UNCRO | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996 | UNFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996-2002 | UNMIBH | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1999-2017 | UNMIK | Serbia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996 | UNPF | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996-1999 | UNPREDEP | Macedonia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1994-1995 | UNPROFOR | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |
| 1996 | UNTAES | Croatia | Europe | Southern Europe | Yes |