



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Building capacities, exerting power: The European Union police mission in the Palestinian Authority

İşleyen, B.

DOI

[10.1080/13629395.2017.1319750](https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2017.1319750)

Publication date

2018

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

Mediterranean Politics

License

CC BY-NC-ND

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

İşleyen, B. (2018). Building capacities, exerting power: The European Union police mission in the Palestinian Authority. *Mediterranean Politics*, 23(3), 321-339.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2017.1319750>

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

UvA-DARE is a service provided by the library of the University of Amsterdam (<https://dare.uva.nl>)



Building capacities, exerting power: The European Union police mission in the Palestinian Authority

Beste İşleyen

To cite this article: Beste İşleyen (2018) Building capacities, exerting power: The European Union police mission in the Palestinian Authority, *Mediterranean Politics*, 23:3, 321-339, DOI: [10.1080/13629395.2017.1319750](https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2017.1319750)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2017.1319750>



© 2017 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 26 Apr 2017.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 809



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 3 View citing articles [↗](#)

Building capacities, exerting power: The European Union police mission in the Palestinian Authority

Beste İşleyen 

Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

ABSTRACT

This article offers a Foucauldian approach to examine the European Union Police Mission in the Palestinian Authority. Using Foucault's ideas on 'policing', 'discipline' and 'normalization' and applying an interpretive approach, the article argues that the EU police mission rests on ideas, visions and techniques that problematize local capacities and skills in the policing of the population. It highlights the epistemic context of knowledge creation within which the local becomes an object of intervention through two techniques: benchmarking and capacity-building. The article also discusses what is left invisible and unaddressed in EUPOL COPPS activities.

Introduction

In 2005, the European Union (EU) established the EU Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support (EUPOL COPPS). The declared goal of EUPOL COPPS is to play a part in Palestinian attempts to reform its civil police. Still in operation, EUPOL COPPS is conducted in the wider context of EU involvement in the state- and institution-building process in the Palestinian Authority (PA) and in related attempts of Palestinian reforms in the field of security. The EU's police mission targets the personal and institutional skills of the Palestinian Civil Police (PCP) with the stated objective of 'serving the domestic agenda of the Palestinian Authority in reinforcing the rule of law' (European Council, 2005: 1).

Combining insights from Foucauldian scholarship on security (Bigo, 2002; Campbell, 1998; Foucault, 2008, 2009; Huysmans, 2002) and 'discipline' and 'normalization' on the one hand (Foucault, 1991) and international police-building literature on the other (Dinnen & Allen, 2013; Goldsmith & Dinnen, 2007; Mustafa, 2015), this article examines EUPOL COPPS by focussing on the concepts, rationalities and techniques that underpin the mission's activities. Drawing on

CONTACT Beste İşleyen  B.Isleyen@uva.nl

© 2017 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

Foucault's conceptualization of policing as the administration and control of the population (Foucault, 2009), the article highlights the discursive construction of security and the concomitant utilization of techniques through which EUPOL COPPS engages with the PCP. The article uncovers the ways in which the EU's police mission produces knowledge about Palestinian in/securities by rendering the local as a problem, proposes solutions and intervenes through micro-level techniques of benchmarking and capacity-building with a view to increasing PCP skills and competences to govern the population.

This article advances the existing literature in the following ways. First, the article adds to the literature which studies EU involvement in the Palestinian–Israeli conflict in general (Gordon & Pardo, 2015; İşleyen, 2015; Pace, 2007; Pace et al., 2009) and in the Palestinian state-building process in particular (Pace, 2007, 2011). This literature speaks to the broader debates on EU external governance understood as the process, whereby the EU's legal and normative framework is extended to third countries through enlargement and/or bilateral and multilateral association policies (Schimmelfennig & Sedenmeier, 2005; Lavenex & Schimmelfennig, 2009). Scholars have looked at how the EU's engagement with the Palestinian state-building process has entailed the transfer of its governance framework through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the European Neighbourhood Policy (Pace, 2009) as well as through technical and financial assistance to Palestinian security sector reforms (SSR) (Bouris, 2012). A Foucauldian perspective makes a different move. Drawing upon Foucauldian insights into discipline and normalization, it analyses the subtle rationalities and diffuse techniques, through which EUPOL COPPS activities manifest 'a micro-physics of power' through discipline and normalization (Foucault, 1991: 26) The epistemic context, which EUPOL COPPS is embedded in, turns the local into a target of knowledge, training and correction, while, the mission's visions are deemed 'modern', 'suitable' and 'professional'. Accordingly, the individual skills along with the competences and resources of the PCP are constructed as problems to be addressed by means of capacity-building activities and the related technique of benchmarking that is based on the monitoring and evaluation of performance and success.

I have gathered data from a variety of sources. I have made 10 semi-structured interviews in Brussels. I have interviewed EU officials working in the European External Action Service. Among interview partners are also those who are or have been either policy advisors or specialists in EUPOL COPPS as well as officials from the EU's Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability. Furthermore, I have analyzed a wide range primary data in the form of official EU documents, including EU declarations on the Middle East conflict and the PA and EUPOL COPPS documents, press releases and newsletters as well as annual reports on the mission. I have used an interpretive approach, which entails taking a closer look at how EUPOL COPPS imaginations and visions constitute the social world and categorizes the objects and the subjects relating to Palestinian SSRs and the civil police. First, I examined how the EU constitutes knowledge about the

Palestinian security sector by turning particular issues into deficiencies, insufficiencies and drawbacks. Second, I analyzed the kind of solutions that the EUPOL COPPS puts forward to address these problematic aspects, including an agenda for reforms and instruments. Third, I focused on the constitutive nature of discourse in justifying EUPOL COPPS involvement in the local by paying attention to the power/knowledge nexus underlying such justifications. Fourth, I explored the effects of the mission in terms of (in)visibility and (uneven) power relations both throughout the mission and the broader domestic and regional context in which Palestinian SSRs are carried out.

Policing and the governing of population

In *Security, Territory and Population*, Foucault proposes policing as a key dimension of government starting from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This corresponds to the emergence of the population as a problem of governance and a key object of knowledge. Policing takes the population as the main target of protection and effective control, which differs policing from past forms of power exertion with their overwhelming focus on incarceration, punishment and enclosure. Governance under policing is equally about caring as it is about managing. At the heart of policing is the creation of the necessary conditions and structures to be able to govern the population along with its activities, such as circulation, and the administration of the spatial circumstances in which such circulation takes place (Foucault, 2009). Policing renders the population into a 'domain of security', which rests on the conciliation of the relationship between life and death (Foucault, 2009: 377). As policing performs double duties of saving and controlling, governance deploys security apparatuses that seek to establish order and allow things to happen at the same time (Pallister-Wilkins, 2015).

This works hand in hand with particular security imaginations that manifest specific rationalities and invoke specific techniques to govern the intimate relationship between the protection and the control of the population. Security is not an 'objective' term (Campbell, 1998: 1). Instead, 'security is what agents make of it' (Huysmans, 2002: 42). Campbell refutes an essentialized notion of security with pre-discursive and objective qualities. Instead, Campbell emphasizes the significance of 'interpretation' in the construction of security, whereby particular factors, objects, subject, events and processes are constructed as risky, dangerous and threatening and not others (Campbell, 1998: 2–4). There is a hierarchy among risks, dangers and threats that are ascribed to particular actions and their effects for the population. Security's 'non-essentialist character' (Campbell, 1998: 11) is intimately related to processes of knowledge production that emerge out of specific intersubjective understandings and relations and within particular (inter-) institutional settings (Bigo, 2002). Policing relies on the production of knowledge embedded within particular rationalities of governing. A rationality is the rendering of the social *intelligible* by means of defining subjects, objects

and spaces as targets of governing. This act is inseparable from problematization, which concerns the process, whereby particular issues are framed as problematic for the population. Operating at the intersection between control and care, policing governs the population based on those rationalities that mobilize images, categories and narratives of in/security by reference to the population and invoke security technologies to govern the population as well as its dynamics, circulation and freedom (Huysmans, 2002). The dual security concern of policing is productive of technologies that aspire to maintain the equilibrium between protection and control through multifarious and proliferating practices of profiling, monitoring, risk analysis and measurement (Bigo, 2002).

This notion of security and population is a significant component of security interventions in third countries, including contemporary forms of international state-building. Examining state-building as governmentality, Zanotti (2008: 542) explores the UN Peace Keeping Operation in Haiti and highlights its 'political imaginary' as the effective management of the population. Resting on a rationality identifying deficiencies and problems in the target country as 'the state's capacity to know and regulate what has to be governed', the UN operation paid significant attention to the improvement of local capacities of institutional and administrative rule and management. Intervention is framed as a strategy to assist the target country in its efforts 'to extend the state's administrative instruments for governing populations' (Zanotti, 2008: 542). A similar reasoning is integral to international activities of police building, as security does not entail a pre-given, pre-discursive and essentialized nature. But it depends on specific descriptions and particular articulations, categories, narratives and statements that give salience to particular issues and not others, classifies particular phenomena as threats and dangers and ranks priorities, while, silencing others. International police-building exercises rest on specific constructions of what is normal and abnormal and seek to bring conduct to the desirable condition in the policing of the population (Dinnen & Allen, 2013). This process is intimately related to imaginations as to 'in/security', 'state' and 'statehood' (Bilgin, 2010: 619), which are not neutral constructs but emerge out of (inter-)subjective understandings underpinning the specific rationales and instruments of their employment (Goldsmith & Dinnen, 2007; Mustafa, 2015). An example is the EU's police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which rests on the problematization of security and policing around organized crime. The identification of organized crime as the principal reason for insecurity in Bosnia and Herzegovina involves the process of linking the security of the target state to that of the EU, and interventions are justified as the reinforcement of Bosnian integration into European market economy structures. Under these circumstances, the social context in which criminal behaviour emerges in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been rendered invisible (Merlingen & Ostrauskaite, 2005).

Discipline is an important component of international security interventions directed at police building. Discipline as a regime of truth formation and

correction is underpinned by the power of 'normalization' (Foucault, 1991, 2008) that is concerned about the identification, management and correction of abnormalities in order to bring conduct in line with particular norms and understandings of 'good' and 'proper' conduct. Foucault enunciates the power of normalization in 'classification, hierarchization and the distribution of rank' and in imposing 'a whole range of degrees of normality' to 'measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render differences useful by fitting them one to another' (Foucault, 1991, 184). Normalization rests on a distinct regime of knowledge production that aspires to normalize forces, capacities and relations by exposing objects and subjects to acts of hierarchical surveillance, classification, grading and correction around the norm. It entails the process, whereby features and conditions are distributed, ranked, calculated and evaluated along a spectrum of normalities and abnormalities in terms of their abilities, behaviour and performance (Foucault, 2008).

Through the example of the Australian intervention in the Solomon Islands, Dinnen and Allen suggest that police-building exercises have rested on the understanding of problems about policing around the 'local capacity'. The determination of the problematic aspects of policing and their treatment gave way to a primacy of a capacity-building approach that has placed the professionalization of local policing practices. Dinnen and Allen emphasize the hierarchical nature of such knowledge production 'with local policing capacity evaluated primarily in terms of how far it failed to measure up Australian standards rather than in terms of any intrinsic qualities' (2013: 230). In their examination of the EU police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Merlingen and Ostrauskaite draw attention to practices of 'disciplinization and normalization of police officers'. The 'normalization' of the Bosnian police involves 'a panoptic regime' of control, surveillance and correction. The mission officials subject Bosnian police forces and police administrations to constant observation, collect and document information and make assessments about individual behaviour. In addition, they provide 'mentoring' to local institutions by making available technical assistance and professional training to the Bosnian police (2005: 306–308). Such practices of normalization are manifest in international state-building practices, whereby capacity-building exercises targeting the police, the prison system and judiciary exercises aim at the fostering of local capacities along the security-population nexus (Zanotti, 2008). In other words, policing is understood by and assisted to perform its role to govern the population.

Locating EUPOL COPPS

The EU police mission in the Palestinian territories operates in the context of PA reforms in the security sector as part of the Palestinian state-building process. Palestinian reforms in the area of security have been undertaken in line with the Oslo Accords (1993) and the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area

(1994) signed between Palestinians and Israelis. These agreements are important in the sense that they marked the beginning of Palestinian self-rule, though limited, over internal security matters. Signed in 1995, the Oslo II Agreement, known also as the Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, gave the PA full autonomy over Area A, which refers to 17.7% of the West Bank and Jericho and major cities of high Palestinian population. The Interim Agreement of 1995 devised Palestinian police force as comprising of six branches, and it is in the area of civil police that EUPOL COPPS started its activities in 2006 to support PA attempts of self-rule over internal security (Bouris, 2012). As of 2015, the mission had 71 international staff and 41 local staff. The mission's budget from 1 July 2014 to 30 June 2015 amounted to 8.97 million Euros.¹

In its description of the mandate of EUPOL COPPS, the EU argues that a democratic Palestinian state should guarantee that 'all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced, independently adjudicated and consistent with human rights norms and standards' (EUPOL COPPS, 2008: 8). This requires 'an effective and reformed security sector and criminal justice system' (European Council, 2009: 2) since the rule of law – an indispensable element of a democratic state – can only prevail through reliable and well-functioning security force. For the EU, a modern and professional civil police is essential to sustain the security of the Palestinian people heading towards statehood. The enhancement of Palestinian internal security is possible through competent civil policing reinforced by a strong and accountable criminal justice sector. Linking the security of the Palestinian population to the improvement of Palestinian civil policing practices, EUPOL COPPS aspires to support the reform of the PCP (Interview B, October 2011). The declared aim is to assist Palestinian people in 'the establishment of sustainable and effective policing arrangements with best international standards' (European Council, 2005: Art. 2.1). The noteworthy aspect of EUPOL COPPS is the principal focus of the mission on training and mentoring activities that target PCP officers as well as lawyers, judges and prosecutors. EUPOL COPPS training and mentoring exercises are aimed at the individual skills, abilities and competences of the PCP. EUPOL COPPS argues that such activities are meant to support the PA 'in improving its civil police' (European Council, 2005: 1) by means of acquiring new policing skills and arrangements in the domain of, *inter alia*, crime investigation and crime statistics, information and intelligence sharing as well as forensic investigation methods.

Policing in the Palestinian territories has been an important instrument in the administration and control of the local population. Palestinian police has never become fully independent of external actors, who have played key roles in the shaping of the policing model and policing activities in the Palestinian context. Since the 1920s, 'control of the policing function remained in the hands of outsiders' (Milton-Edwards, 1998: 101). Palestinian police forces operated under the British Mandate through the creation of the Palestine Police force in the 1920s.

The 1950s witnessed Jordanian and Egyptian intervention by means of sending their own police officers and also recruiting Palestinian ones. Following the 1967 War, Israeli intervention took the form of the positioning of a police force by Israeli Defence Forces in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Arab East Jerusalem. During that period, the employment of Palestinian police officers was through the Israeli police institution – a practice that significantly influenced both the nature and activities of Palestinian policing in the territories occupied by Israel as a result of the 1967 War (Milton-Edwards, 1998, 2014). With the start of the Oslo Process in the 1990s and the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, Palestinian police as an institution was strategically deployed to curb internal opposition through authoritarian and coercive practices (Sayigh, 2011; Milton-Edwards, 2014). Meanwhile, Palestinian policing maintained its close connection and co-ordination with Israel, which became visible in its focus on counterterrorism, crowd control, mass arrests and intelligence gathering (Milton-Edwards, 1998, 2014).

EUPOL COPPS draws heavily on the internationally promoted and sponsored SSR, which has its roots in the concepts and programmes devised in Europe, especially in the United Kingdom Department of International Development. Being ‘a catch-all phrase for modern-day security assistance’ (Mustafa, 2015: 5) in conflict-ridden societies and fragile states through international aid programmes, SSR has been implemented in the Palestinian territories by US and EU donors, the latter through EUPOL COPPS, in an attempt to reform the Palestinian security sector through financial and technical assistance. This article seeks to uncover the definitions, visions and micro-level techniques through which the EU’s mission attempts to strengthen Palestinian capacities and abilities to conduct policing exercises. It brings into focus the mission’s training and mentoring agendas and an interconnected act of normalization that proposes particular understandings of normal conduct as regards civil policing. EUPOL COPPS makes use of diverse set of mundane techniques of benchmarking, training along with continuous supervision to foster local capacities. That said, the mission circumvents and even silences some important – both domestic and regional – in/security questions relating to the Palestinian population.

Problematization of the PCP

EUPOL COPPS rests on an epistemic context of knowledge production relating to (in)securities in the Palestinian context. In this regard, familiarization visits of the EU police mission serve as an important epistemic context to ‘problematize’ the PCP. EUPOL COPPS arose out of a series of familiarization missions, which involved the inspection of Palestinian circumstances and the definition of the major obstacles to the normalization of Palestinian security situation. Familiarization visits are technical and diplomatic visits of Community officials in the Palestinian territories before a particular policy is put into action. Before

the commencement of the mission in 2006, a group of policy advisers from EU member states spent time with the PCP officers in Ramallah and Hebron, whereby they had the chance to examine the realities on the ground. EUPOL COPPS familiarization visits involved observation, during which Community officials exposed the PCP to the gaze of power and truth formation by means of assessments about civil policing in the PA. During these visits, EU representatives inspected the prevailing conditions and obtained access to the resources of the PCP, including statistical analyses, documents and other relevant archival texts. They also visited the barracks and checked the weapons and other equipment, which were at the disposal of the PCP (Interview D, October 2011).

Familiarization visits are indicative of the intimate relationship between power and knowledge integral to international police-building operations (Williams, 2003). Such visits are examples of the micro-power workings of normalization, whereby hierarchical observation in and through EUPOL COPPS has materialized through the assessment of the Palestinian security sector and the development of a plan for action. Community officials have subjected Palestinian circumstances to intensive scrutiny and in-depth technical analysis so as to identify problems within the PCP, specify the technical and practical insufficiencies and to suggest policy measures to tackle the drawbacks facing police facilities and civil police officers. The outcome of the hierarchical observation has been the problematization of local circumstances in ways that enable intervention. This is reflected, for instance, in the rendering of 'public order' in the Palestinian territories as a target to be addressed through professional civil policing. The framing of public order by and its insertion into EUPOL COPPS activities are telling particularly with respect to the two-fold role of governing the population through policing:

EUPOL COPPS training of the Palestinian police has helped them to better handle demonstrations and protests in accordance with European standards. Training has improved their tactics and techniques to prevent the protests at the checkpoints becoming a battle because the Palestinian civil police dealt with the protests in a professional way. In several instances, the police has prevented the escalation of protests and violence between the Israeli Defense Forces and Palestinians. (Interview C, October 2011)

This quotation by a EUPOL COPPS Special Advisor is a good illustration of the rationality shaping the mission's activities, which is repetitively expressed both throughout the interviews and in other EU official documents. Having participated in the training of Palestinian police officers in public order management, the EUPOL COPPS Special Advisor expresses a vision of policing with the central function as to the biopolitical governance of the population. In the example given above, policing is understood in relation to its role in maintaining public order, which corresponds to the administration of population as the subject of policing.

As EUPOL COPPS correlates public order with governing of the population by means of control and administration, it ascribes a vital role for the PCP in maintaining public order that is closely linked with domestic and regional

stability. A former EUPOL COPPS states: 'A stable Palestinian police force is vital for the peace process. It is vital for maintaining order that must be carried out professionally, and order in the Palestinian Authority is vital for stability in the region' (Interview A, October 2011). A similar rationality is visible in the words of a EUPOL COPPS Special Advisor:

The transformation of the PCP is closely related to the peace process, and public order plays an important role in achieving this. Israelis do not want to get attacked, and that is what we pay attention to in our activities in the West Bank. (Interview A, October 2011)

Here, public order is understood in terms of its connection with and consequences of regional stability through crowd management. It rests on a vision of policing reflecting the logics and techniques of the control of the population. The rationality attached to EUPOL COPPS portrayal of public order shows that the latter is as much about the security of the population as its discipline and management within a given territory.

Under these conditions, the professional skills, resources and institutional capacities of the PCP emerge as problems to be addressed by EUPOL COPPS mission activities. The salience given to professionalism rests on the correlation established between Palestinian capacities to better police the population and the professionalization of skills, capacities and institutions. Such problematization has paved the way for directing EUPOL COPPS' technical and financial tools towards the strengthening of Palestinian policing apparatus so that the latter can better perform its duties and responsibilities. This involves a process, whereby the individual skills of PCP officials are rendered problematic and become an object of knowledge to be rendered legible by reference to notions of normal and professional conduct and an object to be targeted through discipline by the mission.

Power through knowledge creation comes into existence through the episodic context that constitutes the individual police officer's skills and competences as the grid of intelligibility to think about, evaluate and deal with Palestinian security reforms around particular notions of normality. EUPOL COPPS rests on an imaginary that attributes problems about Palestinian policing to a set of abnormalities and deviances relating to professional skills, insufficiencies in physical performance and the absence of individual capabilities to act as modern, efficient and well-functioning police officers. Normalization, in that way, calls for recovery around discipline through the normalizing acts of EUPOL COPPS. On the one hand, EU police mission depicts a broad array of problems hampering the modernization of the PCP by reference to knowledge and population. Foucault (2009) points an intimate connection between policing and the upholding of order by means of collecting knowledge about the population and using such information to maintain the 'equilibrium' within that population (Foucault, 2009:315). Such understanding of policing is evident in EUPOL COPPS's problematization of the everyday forms of police work within

PCP. For instance, the mission posits that the Palestinian civil policing suffers from ineffective skills in crime investigation as police officers lack professional and modern skills to collect and investigate forensic evidence and carry out laboratory investigations in assessing criminal evidence. It also points out that there are problems of capabilities in crime investigation, fingerprint collection and analysis, crime scene management, foot-prints marks as well as photographing of evidences (EUPOL COPPS, 2010).

On the other hand, problematization defines normality with respect to the physical encounter between Palestinian police officers and the Palestinian population. In the area of traffic police, problems are attributed to the self defence techniques and the physical competences of field officers and patrol officers in the handling of suspects in case of arrest. A similar form of problematization is mobilized in the creation of knowledge about tactics and techniques in the use of force for purposes of reinforcing public order. By means of monitoring PCP, the mission ascribes a set of normalities in practical competences, such as the pursuit and capture of detainees, criminals and suspects (Interview A, October 2011). These correspond to an understanding of policing that secures through protection and control.

Benchmarking, capacity-building and the normalizing judgement

EUPOL COPPS relies on two central techniques: benchmarking and capacity-building. These techniques are integral to the knowledge/power nexus that calls for reinforcing Palestinian local capacities to better govern the population through policing. 'We want to see more blue uniforms on the street as opposed to grey. Blue should be on the street' says one EUPOL COPPS officer (Interview I, November 2011). This rationality shapes the deployment of the techniques of benchmarking and capacity-building (drawing heavily on training), through which EUPOL COPPS invests into the skills, instruments and resources of the PCP by calculating, measuring and acting on abnormalities, irregularities and deviances. As such, the mission's activities introduce an asymmetric relationship between EUPOL COPPS officials and the local police, whereby the former is portrayed as the normal as opposed to the latter's abnormality in terms skills, experiences and competence.

Furthermore, given its limited geographical focus, the EUPOL COPPS mission raises a number of questions as to the kind of state-building that the mission promotes in the PA. In 2006, Hamas, the Palestinian Islamist party, won PA national elections, and the Hamas-led government gained control over the Gaza Strip, whereas West Bank remained under the authority of Fatah led by President Mahmoud Abbas. After the elections, the EU decided to cut its budgetary support to and diplomatic contact with the Hamas Government. Instead, it has intensified cooperation with the Fatah Government in West Bank and directed its financial and technical assistance to Fatah, while, keeping Hamas

out of official diplomatic interactions and economic cooperation (Pace, 2010). EUPOL COPPS targets the civil police under the Fayyad Government in the West Bank, whereas Hamas is pursuing its own training operations in Gaza without significant involvement and financial support from the outside. This, Pace and Pallister-Wilkins (2016) note, is related to that the EU considers Hamas as the 'other', which, the authors argue, reproduces internal hierarchies between Fatah and Hamas and contributes to the diplomatic, political and economic isolation of the latter in the international arena. EUPOL COPPS training vision then operates in a context, whereby there are two separate security sector building processes seeking to exercise the monopoly over the use of force and, thus, legitimacy in terms of statehood (Sayigh, 2011). EUPOL COPPS follows a training agenda that connects with this domestic rift in the PA.

Benchmarking as a technique of neutralization and professionalization

An integral feature of normalization is that it renders individuals, objects and processes calculable, analysable and quantifiable, thus knowable, (Rouse, 1994). Within EUPOL COPPS, such process operates through 'benchmarking' as explained by a EUPOL COPPS Police Advisor (Interview K, October 2011). The noteworthy aspect of benchmarking is that its aim is not to coerce but to promote and stimulate local capacities so that the PCP gets professional in its conduct. The identification of good policing does not purport to determine an idealized outcome to accomplish. Instead, the technique of benchmarking is about using a value of comparison and evaluation in line with which the mission directs its resources to assist the professionalization of the PCP. That said, benchmarking is not power-free. Neither is it a universal prescription. Instead, the technique of benchmarking belongs to the specific epistemic context in which the notion of normality as regards policing emerges out of the specific relationship between EUPOL COPPS officials and their local counterparts. Benchmarking manifests two main pathways, and EUPOL COPPS officials choose either one or both of these pathways and formulate strategies to strengthen PCP capacities. In the first case, EUPOL COPPS takes as the starting point the methods, skills and competences that are existent in the PCP when the mission takes office and observes whether there has been a development through EUPOL COPPS operations. In the second case, the mission starts with a definition of desirable police exercises, and EUPOL COPPS interventions strive to bring Palestinian practices closer to this practice. Operations are devised and carried out by reference to EUPOL COPPS observations, comparisons and assessments of the good police understood as the effective governance of the population.

Benchmarking makes extensive use of the technique of 'enumeration'. Enumeration is about problematizing and evaluating – both success and failure – of Palestinian civil policing through numbers, figures and charts. EUPOL COPPS publications in the form of booklets, newsletters and reports describe the

size and structure of the PCP, give the number of civil police officers, list police facilities, such as police stations, correction and rehabilitation centres and training bodies and catalogue the technical capacities of particular headquarters:

The Palestinian Civil Police headquarter in Ramallah (...) has numerous disadvantages. It lacks a garage, a real Operations Command Room with appropriate equipment and a central kitchen. The 619 officers working inside it have only 30 handheld radios, no spare batteries, 28 computers, 20 printers, 20 fax machines and 13 copiers. Furniture is modest and also lacking with only 32 desks and 64 chairs. (EUPOL COPPS, 2008: 13)

EUPOL COPPS transfers its financial and technical resources in such a way that also the success of the mission is imagined, visualized and assessed through quantifiable outputs. The following quotation is a good illustration of enumeration:

EUPOL COPPS delivered 540 high visibility vests and 26 handset radios to the Palestinian Civil Police Traffic Department (PCPTD). By providing those high 540 visibility vests, and the handheld radios aims to improve the PCPTD's efficiency to undertake community policing services and duties throughout the West Bank. This equipment will enable the officers of the Traffic Department to work in a more professional and competent manner. Specifically, effective communications will facilitate traffic officers to alleviate their core duties of traffic management and realize their current objectives of increased public safety. Also to support a substantial improvement with regard to road traffic safety in the West Bank, further enhancing PCPTD's own security and increasing their visibility. (EUPOL COPPS, 2016)

This quotation illustrates the ways in which enumeration based on the technique of benchmarking works to promote and evaluate local capacities around the notion of policing that has population as its subject of both protection and control. While, defining 'public safety' as a key concern for policing, the mission simultaneously emphasizes the 'duties' of the police in the 'management' of circulation (of people and vehicles) by means of 'professional and competent' conduct. Such professionalization is attached to a set of calculable and quantifiable indicators that provide evidence for the strengthening of the PCP through EUPOL COPPS financial and technical assistance. This is said to be noticeable in the growing utilization of modern technical equipment as regards information exchange both within and among district offices and headquarters as well as in the use of televisions, cameras and computers along with technical devices to better perform in the investigation and evaluation of crimes, accidents and so on (Interview H, October 2011).

While, turning police reforms into a process of the professionalization of capacities, benchmarking not only puts the mission officials in the position to describe, judge and work on the local through knowledge creation, intervention and assessment. But it also mobilizes a calculative episteme of SSRs in the PA in a way that political issues about Palestinian policing seem to evaporate through the professionalized and neutralized language of benchmarking. Benchmarking neutralizes reforms through an episteme of predictability and

measurability and displays problems, solutions and evaluation schemes with ostensibly no essential connection with regional and structural conditions. Little salience is given to the domestic and regional context in which SSRs in the PA take place. As such, the kind of policing promoted by EUPOL COPPS conceals context-specific violence and local insecurities and oppression. One example is that security reforms in the Palestinian territories are undertaken in a regional security environment characterized by occupation and limited PA authority over border control – both sea, air and land (Bouris, 2012). Processes of knowledge creation within the EU's mission render the broader local and regional context invisible by linking security imaginations to professionalized, individualized and quantifiable operations.

Capacity-building

The technologies of capacity-building cover power instruments that the EU utilizes to act upon the bodies, personal competences, legal and administrative routines and technical exercises within the PCP. Capacity-building relies extensively on training, which is a form of disciplinary power that aims to train skills and capacities with the goal of correcting abnormalities (Foucault, 1991). EUPOL COPPS offers a wide range of training programmes that entails corrective interventions and the normalizing gaze of examination. By targeting their skills, capabilities and behaviour training promotes policing that reflects professional, productive and useful conduct towards the biopolitical governance of the population.

The EU's mission organizes several workshops and seminars to professionalize the skills and capacities of the local police officers by giving advice to, teaching and training in ways that the mission officials regard as 'best practices'. For instance, defining Palestinian police exercises as underdeveloped and ineffective in area of forensic evidence, EUPOL COPPS trains through capacity-building programmes the individual skills of the Palestinian police in collecting and investigating forensic evidence and carrying out laboratory investigations in assessing criminal evidence. As Brigadier General Youssef Ozreil, the Head of the PCP Media and Public Relations, notes, the various expert trainings in the context of the EUPOL COPPS mission have aimed at improving Palestinian police competences in investigating forensic evidence and utilizing modern technologies and methods. Through various workshops, Palestinian policemen have been taught skills in crime investigation, fingerprint analysis, crime scene management and the pursuit and capture of criminals (Ozreil, 2011).

Moreover, EUPOL COPPS training manifests the normalizing gaze of examination. Examination within EUPOL COPPS includes physical demonstrations that are sites of power and knowledge. The mission organizes diverse types of events in which PCP officers taking part in the mission demonstrate in front of national and international audience the skills and capabilities that they

have acquired through EU training. For instance, as the EU Delegation paid a visit to EUPOL COPPS in March 2010, the Palestinian Special Police Forces Headquarter in Ramallah conducted a set of physical techniques instructed during the mission's training activities (EUPOL COPPS, 2010). At a similar occasion, the Palestinian Traffic Police showed numerous defence methods which they learned from EUPOL COPPS traffic police training courses.² Physical demonstrations constitute a public spectacle of normalization and an object of truth formation. They open individual skills and gestures to public judgement, praise and acknowledgement. Through physical demonstrations, the Palestinian police is brought under the gaze that exerts disciplinary power closely linked with knowledge. Demonstrations are sites to monitor and judge as to what extent Palestinian ways of doing things have been professionalized by means of, assessing performance, approving success or determining failure. Capacity-building constitutes the particular relationship between the mission officials on the one hand and the locals on the other on the basis of the differentiation of behaviour according to a continuum of normality and abnormality. As one Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability official puts it: 'Training is important, which the mission does through capacity-building. Our aim is to train the local police and to bring them to acceptable standards' (Interview H, November 2011). Colin Smith, the former Head of EUPOL COPPS, makes a step further by expressing his personal belief that the mission's 'train the trainers' programme is 'the European system'.³ Capacity-building manifest the imagination of EUPOL COPPS experts as 'instructors' and 'experts' that represent the normal with the necessary expertise, skills and experience to address the supposedly abnormal Palestinian side that is in need of being taught, educated and amended to acquire personal skills to become more 'professional', 'specialized' and 'advanced'. EUPOL COPPS officials share their 'knowledge' and 'experiences' with Palestinian institutions, bring 'input' into Palestinian SSRs and transfer 'practices' in civil policing. The mission 'assists' and 'gives support' to different policing units and 'provides' expertise, knowledge and suggestions as to how more advanced mechanisms can consolidate within Palestinian security sector governance.⁴

Capacity-building relying on training reveals the vision of policing that is concerned about the governance of the population by upholding order. Emphasizing the need for normalizing the relationship between the police officer and the population, the EU police mission provides capacity-building programmes for the Palestinian side to acquire professional skills to effectively ensure public order. 'Our mission is important. The PCP is the only security force having direct contact with the population so they must be trained and developed to act in a professional way' (Interview C, October 2011). An area of concentration of the mission's activities is on the improvement of capabilities in counter-demonstration and riot control. For instance, EUPOL COPPS has provided training to hundreds of Palestinian policemen from the Palestinian Special Police Force to improve their tactics and techniques in demonstrations

and invested in the purchase of vehicles for this particular security unit. When explaining the importance of the training of police officers stationed in front of public buildings, a EUPOL COPPS official says that: 'In addition to protection, one main responsibility of the static guards is to professionally manage situations so that they do not escalate into violence, such as protests' (Interview D, October 2011). In other words, the objective of training is to build capacities to govern the population through policing.

Gender mainstreaming is another area addressed by EUPOL COPPS activities. Taking the 'United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security' as its guiding principle, EU gender mainstreaming is part of the broader strategy to integrate gender mainstreaming into all European Security and Defence Policy missions. Following this, EUPOL COPPS has built up a comprehensive policy strategy for disseminating and raising awareness about gender equality in the PA. 'As an EU mission, we at EUPOL COPPS commit ourselves to gender mainstreaming within our own mission, and to work on the promotion and integration of gender issues with our main partner, the Palestinian Civilian Police.'⁵ The mission has provided technical and financial backing to training courses, seminars and workshops with a view to stimulating the integration of gender equality into Palestinian police exercises. Furthermore, to ensure citizens' participation in and contribution to gender mainstreaming, several seminars, workshops and formal and informal meetings have been organized between PCP officers and the public to have face-to-face exchanges over issues of gender equality. A key achievement of the mission is the formation of the PCP Gender Unit in 2011. The unit emerged out of close cooperation between EUPOL COPPS, the PCP and the PA Ministry of Women's Affairs in the establishment of gender-related positions and units within relevant PA ministries that would take rigorous and sustainable action to ensure the equal treatment of women and men in all aspects of life. In charge of human rights, gender sensitive crimes, legal provisions, operational procedures and gender balance in the civil police, the unit is the first example of its kind among different sectors of the PA's security system. As one EUPOL COPPS gender specialist puts it, the primary aim is to increase percentage of women within the Palestinian police and to improve the status of the women 'by giving them the roles and career opportunities that they deserve' (Interview L, October 2011).

A closer look at EUPOL COPPS visions and activities in gender-related issues highlights the double function of the police in the governance of the population. Significant attention has been paid through the mission's activities to PCP units that are responsible for 'family protection'. Police personnel are trained in gender-specific issues as part of the Union's broader human rights programme in the PA. The mission has also promoted the expansion of the duties and responsibilities of specialists and experts in the conduct of medical and psychological investigations when dealing with the victims of physical and psychological violence and sexual abuse. Furthermore, an emergency phone number has been

set up in order to address and combat domestic and sexual violence against women and children (Interview L, October 2011). These examples illustrate that gender issues are attached to imaginations of (in)securities that are framed primarily by reference to the 'family' and the 'individual' – the latter both in terms of career success as well as experiences of violence defined as 'domestic'. Such security vision takes little notice of local insecurities and violence connected with structural factors of oppression and conflict, particularly the socio-economic hardship and everyday struggles of Palestinian women leaving under Israeli occupation and being subjected to exclusion, enclosure and repression through walls, checkpoints, curfews and settlements (Ryan, 2015).

Conclusion

In this article, I have examined the EU's police mission in the Palestinian territories through a conceptual framework inspired by Foucault's idea of policing as well as discipline and normalization. The narrowing down of the focus on the micro-level workings of EUPOL COPPS is a fruitful exercise as it directs the study of the mission's activities to a fine-grained analysis of the concepts, imaginations and techniques that underpin the epistemic field and concomitant techniques of discipline and normalization. It throws into relief the sort of problematization, interventions and evaluation through which the EU police mission embodies a model of police training that is professionalized to perform its duties to protect and control at the same time. EU mission promotes the improvement of the professional skills and individual capacities of the PCP in, for example, crime management and public order at the core of which there is a vision of policing that manages, regulates and controls the population.

What goes invisible in the discourse and techniques of professionalization and normalization of the PCP is the broader domestic and regional context in which SSRs are being devised and implemented in the PA. On the one hand, since the 1990s, 'the Palestinian police have been consistently deployed in a highly politicized manner to protect the regime of the PA' and displayed a coercive tradition in the administration of the population (Milton-Edwards, 2014: 12). Reports by international human rights organizations raise serious concerns as to crowd control by Palestinian security forces and point at the use of lethal force against the population, including during protests against key issues relating to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict (Human Rights Watch, 2011, 2013). While, it is wrong and unfounded to assume that it was the EUPOL COPPS that has provided training to these police officers, the violent and coercive practices of security at the local level need to be taken into account in the planning and implementation of EUPOL COPPS programmes and activities.

On the other hand, SSRs in the PA are intimately attached to the broader regional context that has significantly shaped and still shapes society-police

relations in the Palestinian context (Bouris, 2011; Mustafa, 2015). A key area of concentration of EUPOL COPPS is public order, which the mission considers as a key responsibility of policing. Milton-Edwards draws attention to the historical conditions of emergence and persistence Palestinian 'protests':

As a people living under Israeli occupation and devoid of my rights, it would be fair to contend that the Palestinian people have, in part, defined themselves and retained their identity and the importance of their issue through decades of protest. (2014: 12)

Such a historical understanding of Palestinian (in)securities seems to be absent in the language of professionalism used by EUPOL COPPS, whereby skills and competences transform into a relay of the power of normalization that prevails in the visions of policing that is assigned the role of governing the population.

Notes

1. <http://eupolcopps.eu/en/content/what-eupol-copps>.
2. <http://eupolcopps.eu/en/content/palestinian-traffic-police-performs-defensive-tactics-salfit>.
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=natT0c0Af4o> (accessed 21 September 2016).
4. www.eupolcopps.eu/content/police-advisory-section.
5. <http://www.eupolcopps.eu/gender/eupol-copps-gender-statement>.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Beste İşleyen  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5634-4214>

References

- Bigo, D. (2002) Security and immigration: toward a critique of the governmentality of unease, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 27(1 suppl), pp. 63–92.
- Bilgin, P. (2010) The 'western-centrism' of security studies: 'blind spot' or constitutive practice?, *Security Dialogue*, 41(6), pp. 615–622.
- Bouris, D. (2011) The limits of normative power Europe: evaluating the third pillar of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership, *Political Perspectives*, 5(2), pp. 80–106.
- Bouris, D. (2012) The European Union's role in the Palestinian territories: state-building through security sector reform?, *European Security*, 21(2), pp. 257–271.
- Campbell, D. (1998) *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press).
- Dinnen, S. & M. Allen (2013) Paradoxes of postcolonial police-building: Solomon Islands, *Policing and Society*, 23(2), pp. 222–242.

- EUPOL COPPS (2010) *EUPOL COPPS Monthly Newsletter*. 15 March. Available at <http://eupolcopps.eu/sites/default/files/newsletters/march%202010-EUPOL%20COPPS%20NEWSLETTER.pdf> (accessed 20 June 2016).
- EUPOL COPPS (2008) *EUPOL COPPS Booklet*. Available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/EUPOL%20COPPS%20booklet.pdf> (accessed 20 June, 2016).
- EUPOL COPPS (2016) *EUPOL COPPS Newsletter*, July 2016.
- European Council (2005) *European Council Joint Action 2005/797/CFSP on the European Union Police Mission for the Palestinian Territories*. 14 November. Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:300:0065:0069:EN:PDF> (accessed 20 June 2016).
- European Council (2009) *Council Conclusions on Middle East Peace Process 2951st External Relations Council Meeting*. 15 June. Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/%20docs/pressdata/en/gena/108500.pdf (accessed 20 June 2016).
- Foucault, M. (2009) *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–78* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Foucault, M. (2008) *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1973–1974*, edited by A.I. Davidson, translated by Graham Burchell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Foucault, M. (1991) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by A. Sheridan (London: Penguin).
- Goldsmith, A. & S. Dinnen (2007) Transnational police building: critical lessons from Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands, *Third World Quarterly*, 28(6), pp. 1091–1109.
- Gordon, N. & S. Pardo (2015) Normative power Europe meets the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, *Asia Europe Journal*, 13(3), pp. 265–274.
- Human Rights Watch (2013) *Palestine: Palestinian authority police beats protesters*, July 30. Available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/07/30/palestine-palestinian-authority-police-beat-protesters> (accessed 25 January 2016).
- Human Rights Watch (2011) *Palestinian authority: thugs, police abuse peaceful protesters*, 16 February. Available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/02/16/palestinian-authority-thugs-police-abuse-peaceful-protesters> (accessed 25 January 2016).
- Huysmans, J. (2002) Defining social constructivism in security studies: the normative dilemma of writing security, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 27(1 suppl), pp. 41–62.
- İşleyen, B. (2015) Governing the Israeli-Palestinian peace process: The European Union partnership for peace, *Security Dialogue*, 46(3), pp. 256–271.
- Lavenex, S. & F. Schimmelfennig (2009) EU rules beyond EU borders: theorizing external governance in European politics, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(6), pp. 791–812.
- Merlingen, M. & R. Ostrauskaite (2005) Power/knowledge in international peacebuilding: the case of the EU police mission in Bosnia, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 30(3), pp. 297–323.
- Milton-Edwards, B. (1998) Palestinian state-building: police and citizens as test of democracy, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25(1), pp. 95–119.
- Milton-Edwards, B. (2014) Forging primacy: damaging democratic policing in the West Bank, *Policing and Society*, 26(1), pp. 18–37.
- Mustafa, T. (2015) Damning the Palestinian spring: security sector reform and entrenched repression, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 9(2), pp. 18–37.
- Ozreil, Y. (2011) Speech given at the EUPOL COPPS press briefing in Brussels. Available at <http://tvnewsroom.consilium.europa.eu/event/eupol-copps-palestinian-territories/press-briefing-part-3-12> (accessed 16 June 2015).
- Pace, M. (2007) The construction of EU normative power, *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(5), pp. 1041–1064.
- Pace, M. (2009) Paradoxes and contradictions in EU democracy promotion in the Mediterranean: The limits of EU normative power, *Democratization*, 16(1), pp. 39–58.

- Pace, M. (2010) Interrogating the European Union's democracy promotion agenda: discursive configurations of 'democracy' from the Middle East, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 15(5), pp. 611–628.
- Pace, M. (2011) Liberal or social democracy? Aspect dawning in the EU's democracy promotion agenda in the Middle East, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 15(6), pp. 801–812.
- Pace, M., P. Seeberg & F. Cavatorta (2009) The EU's democratization agenda in the Mediterranean: a critical inside-out approach, *Democratization*, 16(1), pp. 3–19.
- Pace, M. & P. Pallister-Wilkins (2016) EU-Hamas: actors in a state of permanent liminality, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, doi:10.1057/s41268-016-0080-y.
- Pallister-Wilkins, P. (2015) The humanitarian politics of European border policing: Frontex and border police in Evros, *International Political Sociology*, 9(1), pp. 53–69.
- Rouse, J. (1994) Power/Knowledge, in: G. Gutting (Ed) *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, pp. 92–114 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Ryan, C. (2015) Everyday resilience as resistance: palestinian women practicing sumud, *International Political Sociology*, 9(4), pp. 299–315.
- Sayigh, Y. (2011) *Policing the People, Building the State: Authoritarian Transformation in the West Bank and Gaza*. The Carnegie Papers. (Massachusetts, NW: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Carnegie Middle East Center).
- Schimmelfennig, F. & U. Sedenmeier (Eds) (2005) *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- Williams, R. (2003) A state of permanent exception: the birth of modern policing in colonial capitalism, *Interventions*, 5(3), pp. 322–344.
- Zanotti, L. (2008) Imagining democracy, building unsustainable institutions: The UN peacekeeping operation in Haiti, *Security Dialogue*, 39(5), pp. 539–561.