Human Security in Turkey

Challenges for the 21st century

Edited by
Alpaslan Özerdem and
Füsun Özerdem

Routledge

Human Security in Turkey

This edited volume explores human security challenges in the context of Turkey.

Turkey occupies a critical geopolitical position between Europe, the Middle East and the Caucasus. It is an important peace-broker in regional conflicts and a leading country in peacekeeping operations, and has been a generous donor for disaster response around the world. However, Turkey is also facing a number of fundamental sociocultural and development challenges and its internal stability is affected by a protracted armed conflict based on Kurdish separatism. In other words, Turkey is at a crossroads in its transformation from a state-centred security perspective to one based on human security.

To explore selected human security challenges within a wider context of peace and development, this volume focuses on a number of key issues in relation to democratization and social cohesion, before going on to investigate the role of Turkey as an agent of peace in the international context. Written by academics from the fields of peace studies, international relations, politics and development studies, the discussions examine and highlight the issues that Turkey must overcome if it is to successfully strengthen its human security trajectories in the near future.

This book will be of much interest to students of human security, Turkish politics, conflict management, peace studies and IR in general.

Alpaslan Özerdem is Professor of Peacebuilding and Director of the Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies at Coventry University, UK. He is co-editor of *Participatory Research Methodologies in Development and Post Disaster/Conflict Reconstruction* (2010) and co-author of *Managing Emergencies and Crises* (2011), among other books. He is also Chief Editor of the *Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security*.

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To our parents, Hasan Hüseyin and Leyla Özerdem

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Foreword

Human security – a practitioner's perspective

Filippo Grandi

Addressing human security is vital in finding peace and it is appropriate that the Human Security Conference be held in Turkey, a pivotal country with increasing influence in a region where security is complex and fragile; a region, however, where political calculations far too regularly trump the rights, hopes and aspirations of the people. You will appreciate that this is especially important from the point of view of my organization, UNRWA, the United Nations agency providing protection and assistance to Palestine refugees.

My first overseas assignment was as a young volunteer with an NGO working on the Thai–Cambodian border back in 1984. During my first week, I was in a field hospital built for refugees fleeing the war in Cambodia and a young mother lay before me – helpless – as her baby son died of malaria in her arms.

I had prepared myself for the overall situation. I had read books about the Indochinese wars; studied reports about refugee camps; spoken with people who had served in similar situations.

And yet nothing prepared me for that experience and my first full and tangible realization of what conflict and forced displacement concretely mean for people's lives. How they turn them inside out; destroy their health, their livelihoods, their relationships, their dignity and their hopes. As I watched the mother's emotions move between rage at her predicament and those who had caused it, and overwhelming despair at her son's death, I also somehow understood that real peace would not be achieved until that tragic pain – her pain – had been addressed and until the lives of those sharing her plight had been rebuilt.

It was at that moment that one thing became clear to me: I wanted to try and deal with crises as my life's work, but I wanted to do so from the human side of the spectrum. If I had been using today's language, I would have said that I wanted to deal with human security.

Humanitarians, of whom I am one, are experts in one critical and fundamental aspect of human security. Humanitarian work is focused on people and meeting their most basic needs in situations of crisis. We deal only, however, with 'short-term' human security in situations where it is

critically and immediately threatened, hoping and expecting others to address the political and longer-term developmental challenges early and decisively to bring human insecurity to an end.

My main experience has been working for refugees and addressing crises in a variety of places. I was privileged to work for some years with the former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, who – as you know – has done valuable work on human security. Like her, I believe that refugees are a very useful lens through which to analyse human security issues. Why would someone leave their home, job and education, and make a decision to either abandon their family or expose them to hazards and dangers; why would anybody embrace a life of complete insecurity unless they felt even more gravely insecure in their own homes and countries?

Refugees tell us first and foremost that if crises are to be addressed effectively, the human element of war must be appropriately tackled. I thought, therefore, that I would use the refugee angle to share with you five thoughts.

First, human security issues are complex, and crises that cause them must be dealt with through a variety of actors and interventions whose timing and sequencing are key. Regrettably, in my experience, the synergy and synchrony of these crucial elements do not always work well.

I lived in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2005 and helped coordinate the return of millions of refugees after decades in exile. The end of the Taliban regime in 2001 was a good opportunity to build peace in that country. One could very well argue that the Bonn Agreement in 2001 was a reasonably successful, even if imperfect, political milestone towards peace, rightly complemented by the international community's quick focus on humanitarian needs. Funds flowed rapidly and substantively into urgent interventions, such as a crucial back-to-school initiative, food security programmes and large immunization campaigns, helping shape an environment of basic human security, and thus paving the way for another key operation, the voluntary return of refugees.

But while these proved successful interventions, they were not followed by a similarly rapid investment in post-conflict rehabilitation, reconstruction and development to complete or build upon the Bonn Agreement's initial achievements. Resources invested in things that make human security durable and predictable – roads and electricity, for example, but also an effective police and a trustworthy judiciary – were slow, late and inadequate. There were other factors, of course, but these failures undoubtedly contributed to the deterioration in the conditions in the country, and to the weakening of the sense of human security. I remember speaking to returnees who felt insecure again, and started doubting their decision to repatriate.

Second, human security lends itself to dangerous political manipulation from a completely different angle, especially in situations of crisis. In particular, crises involving refugee flows highlight a somehow paradoxical

aspect of human security: the ability of this concept to be exploited for political means.

The fear of strangers has coexisted with humanity since time immemorial. In the complex contemporary situations of population movements that include refugees and illegal migrants, however, politicians stressing the threats to employment and safety – particularly in Europe, but elsewhere as well – have become a very common feature. The result of this skilful manipulation of feelings of insecurity has actually been further insecurity for all: for refugees and migrants, subjected to hostility, marginalization, deportation and worse; and for receiving communities, whose fears are aroused in order to gain political support.

The (correct) perception that 'strangers' – refugees, migrants – can make contributions to societies and communities hosting them, adding to their prosperity and their culture, has unfortunately little or no electoral traction. This phenomenon highlights the ambiguities that can surround the notion of human security, and it is important to counter it in the strongest and most effective manner.

Third, addressing the human element of conflict is crucial also in finding solutions. Let me use the refugee lens again. The act of fleeing war and conflict in itself causes insecurity both on a personal level and in communities, countries and regions. In fact, refugee movements are both a consequence and a factor of human insecurity. Thus it is only when they are solved that conditions for a real and lasting peace can be achieved and those affected can move on with a future that is theirs to build. Anything less than this leaves refugees in a state of limbo, uncertainty and continued insecurity that reverberate beyond refugees themselves.

In places where comprehensive peace agreements have been fully implemented, including durable solutions for refugees, peace has been more robust, and has offered better opportunities for development and prosperity. This lesson has been demonstrated in many situations, such as with the Indochinese boat people and other refugees in South-East Asia, in several countries of Central America towards the end of the Cold War and in Mozambique after the civil war, to name just a few examples.

Fourth, the definition of security and insecurity is an important feature which merits attention. Here I would be remiss of course if I did not mention the refugee situation which I have been confronted with in the past few years, that of the Palestinians. Many human security lessons can be drawn from their plight. They are part of a conflict which is correctly presented as a threat to security – but this definition is almost invariably partial: a conflict threatening the security of Israel and of other govern-ments in the region, threatening regional security, even threatening global security. These portrayals of the conflict do not encourage political actors to look at its deeper consequences, those affecting all the people involved – Israelis and Palestinians alike – but especially those, such as the Palestine refugees, who are the most exposed and affected. Security is delinked

from real lives, and this is nowhere more evident than in the dynamics of Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory.

Human security in a divided region can only be achieved if it is shared, but – obvious as it is – this basic truth is conveniently ignored. Instead of trying to tackle comprehensively the causes of insecurity, the issue is thus addressed selectively – with the result that measures aimed at protecting one people often affect the security of the other. The wall built by Israel and splitting Palestinian land is a true symbol, in my opinion, of how human security should *not* be addressed, not only because it runs against the tenets of international law, but also because it is a factor of profound, dramatic insecurity for thousands of Palestinians cut off from their land, services and families.

Through our work with refugees, we at UNRWA are well placed to assess how this conflict and the absence of human security impact their everyday lives. A Palestinian farmer or businessman in the West Bank is often forced to spend more time navigating checkpoints than tending to his fields or conducting his business. A mother from Gaza has to face a crisis that is often ill-defined as humanitarian, but which is in fact much greater. It encompasses all aspects of life – her savings, her family relations, her education and health, her drinking water, her sanity and every other aspect of life as she is constrained in one of the world's most densely populated areas with 1.5 million others. The profound insecurity generated by the occupation of Palestinian land and people is not addressed, thus making peace much more difficult.

And finally, and by the same token, Palestine refugees, now approaching five million in the region, are often only partially or even superficially presented to the international community as a 'final status issue' – an abstract political and politicized matter – rather than as people in exile; a painful and decades-long exile away from their homes, their land, their history, with no solution in sight.

What is frequently forgotten is that they represent the human consequence of a protracted conflict which must also be addressed if peace is to be achieved. This brings me to my fifth and final point. It is remarkable that, over the long years of the so-called 'peace process', little or no consultation has occurred with refugee communities about their future. This is a significant exclusion, and one that could eventually prove fatal to peace efforts, especially at a time when the 'Arab Spring' has made it impossible for political leaders, finally, to ignore the voice of the people. Because while the conflict must of course be solved in the political domain, a lasting solution will be impossible if it does not rest on understanding, acceptance, participation and finally ownership by all the people affected by the conflict itself – including in particular one of its most important constituencies, the refugees.

Today, nearly 30 years on, I still think of that young mother on the Thai–Cambodian border, and a measure of pain and loss I can only try to

imagine. If she has survived her ordeal, she must be a woman in her middle age, perhaps with children and grandchildren, living in a Cambodian village. I often wonder what happened to her after the death of her son on that fateful day; how – and if – she was able to move past her extraordinary suffering; what support she received outside the walls of that field hospital. Was she – and the countless like her – provided with the basics? Did the peace process allow her to rebuild her life following the war and terror that drove her from everything she knew, and the pain that she encountered while in exile? Was she able, even in small ways, to influence and participate in the process?

Peace has now come to Cambodia, but did it truly reach her? This is the question I asked in concluding my keynote speech at the first İstanbul Human Security Conference on 27 October 2011. It is very much with the purpose of exploring a wide range of such human security challenges that the Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies (CPRS) at Coventry University, jointly with Turkish university partners, organizes the above-mentioned conference series.

The conference which I inaugurated, with an overall theme of 'Human Security: New Challenges and New Perspectives', hosted more than 60 academic papers from more than 100 participants, representing 40 different academic organizations from around the world. It was an excellent initiative to investigate how various human security challenges have been addressed in different contexts, and what lessons could be learned from such experiences. For me, it was particularly striking to see that those human security challenges which first confronted me in Cambodia years ago, and which I encountered throughout my professional life in different situations, continue to define contemporary crisis contexts.

Therefore, this edited volume, incorporating papers from the 2011 İstanbul Human Security Conference, has my full support because it is imperative that we learn from each other's experiences in order to respond to human security challenges more effectively.

I was particularly pleased that this edited volume focuses on Turkey in respect of the exploration of human security challenges. This will bridge a major gap in the literature. Turkey plays an important role in responding to a wide range of human security challenges in its immediate region and also internationally. However, like for many other countries, there are significant human security concerns that are yet to be addressed in Turkey itself.

Therefore, this volume will be an important guide to those who try to understand how an emerging power like Turkey deals with human security challenges both within and internationally. Such a focus on a particular country is also necessary in order to understand and appreciate interrelationships between different human security challenges and how they converge with each other in terms of national and international dynamics, the existence of several decision-making levels and the role of different actors and agendas.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AKP	Justice and Development Party
BDP	Peace and Democracy Party
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CHP	Republican People's Party
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CSBR	Coalition for Sexual and Bodily Rights in Muslim Societies
ÇATOM	Multi-Purpose Community Centres
DTP	Democratic Society Party
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
EDROM	Edirne Roma Association
EHESS	School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences
ERF	European Refugee Fund
EU	European Union
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
G7+	Group of Seven and Russia
G20	Group of Twenty
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HS	Human Security
IBSA	India, Brazil, South Africa
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IHH	Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief
IMM	İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organization
IO	International Organization
IR	International Relations
ISMEK	İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Art and Vocational Training Courses
KADER	Association for the Support of Women
KAGIDER	Women Entrepreneurs' Union of Turkey
KAMER	Women's Centre Foundation

LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA	Palestinian Authority
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
TGNA	Turkish Grand National Assembly
TİKA	Turkish International Cooperation Agency
TOKI	Public Housing Development Administration
UN	United Nations
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNPBSO	United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
USA	United States of America
USAK	International Strategic Research Organization
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VAKAD	Van Women's Association
WDR	World Development Report
WHO	World Health Organization
WWHR	Women for Women's Human Rights

Introduction

'Peace at home, peace in the world': this is probably one of the best-known sayings of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, which was first uttered in a public speech on 20 April 1931. This statement would be heard at almost all official celebrations in the country, it is taught to children at school, it was placed by the coup d'état leaders as the guide to foreign policy in the 1961 and 1982 constitutions, and it has even been written on mountains by the Turkish army, but has Turkey really achieved this objective over the last 80 years?

Turkey occupies a critical geopolitical position between Europe, the Middle East and the Caucasus. It has a burgeoning economy and a strong, vibrant civil society, and is a member of a wide range of organizations, from NATO and the OECD to the Islamic Conference and G20, with candidacy to the European Union. Turkey is a pivotal player not only in regional but in global affairs. It is an important peace-broker in regional conflicts and a leading country in peacekeeping operations, and has been a generous donor for disaster response around the world. However, Turkey is also a country trying to merge its Islamic heritage into broader structures and models of Western liberal democratic governance. To deal with the legacy of its Ottoman heritage, nation-state-building policies of the Republic and civil–military relationships, Turkey needs to address a number of fundamental sociocultural and development challenges. Furthermore, its internal stability is affected by a protracted armed conflict based on Kurdish separatism.

In other words, Turkey is at a crossroads in its transformation from a state-centred security perspective to one based on human security, which is a people-centred approach to global security that recognizes that lasting peace and social justice cannot be achieved unless people are protected from threats to their rights and basic needs. Among the main human security threats are violence and abuse of human rights, corruption and bad governance, disasters and climate change, and poverty and poor access to basic services. A 1994 United Nations Development Programme report states that, for most people, insecurity arises from worries about daily life – employment, household income, health, the environment and

crime. The global framework that arose from the report focused on 'survival, dignity and livelihood' to shield people from 'critical and pervasive threats' and 'empower them to take charge of their lives', creating human security through 'freedom from fear and freedom from want' (UNDP 1994: 22–3). Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the UN, states that:

> Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment – these are the interrelated building blocks of human – and therefore national – security.
>
> (Annan 2000)

It is also highly important to recognize that threats to human security are interlinked and demand interdisciplinary responses at international, national and local levels. It is argued that one of the key issues to consider is the interdependence between the developed and underdeveloped regions of the world. The stability of the international system can only be as strong as its weakest link, and therefore risk and vulnerabilities should be perceived from a mutual perspective. The protection of human security, with its five primary sub-areas of environmental, personal and physical, economic, social, and political and cultural realms, would require a combined effort in the areas of human rights, humanitarianism, development and conflict resolution (Nef 1999; Uvin 2004; Axworthy 2001; Bajpai 2000; Glasius 2008; Hampson 2002; Reed and Tehranian 1999).

Turkey today is going through a critical process of ensuring 'peace at home' while also facing challenges in acting as an agent of 'peace in the world'. To a great extent, the issue of 'peace at home' has always been assumed as a given without paying much attention to what it really means, whether it even exists and, if not, what could be done to achieve it. Considering that the history of the Turkish Republic is dotted with massacres, pogroms, political violence and an intrastate armed conflict of nearly 30 years with a death toll of over 40,000 people, the assumption of 'peace at home' has yet to be fully substantiated (International Crisis Group 2011; Pope and Pope 2011; Rugman 2001). Apart from the need of finding a peaceful settlement to this protracted armed conflict, the country still faces significant challenges in the realms of 'freedom from fear', 'freedom from want' and 'freedom of living in dignity' too.

Although Turkey has the seventeenth-largest economy in the world, it ranks ninety-second out of 187 countries in the 2011 United Nations Human Development Index, which is towards the bottom end of the 'High

Human Development' category. In most developed countries, life expectancy at birth is either very close to or over 80 years, while in Turkey it is currently 74 years. Meanwhile, the 'mean years of schooling' in developed countries is at least nine years; it is only 6.5 in Turkey (UNDP 2011). The top 20 per cent income bracket in Turkey accounts for 36.7 per cent of total consumption, while the bottom 20 per cent accounts for only 9.1 per cent. The bottom 20 per cent accounts for only 5.2 per cent of total education spending, compared to 62.3 per cent for the top 20 per cent bracket; similarly, 39.7 per cent of total health spending is absorbed by the top 20 per cent bracket, while the bottom 20 per cent accounts for only 10 per cent (Bekdil 2012). In other words, the country still suffers from a huge wealth gap between the rich and the poor (Öztürk 2007; McClure 2011; Saatçi and Akpınar 2007).

Being part of a minority group, whether based on ethnicity, religion or sexual preference, still carries some social stigma too and such groups are likely to face various difficulties in freely expressing their identity. Consequently, the protection of minority rights continues to be a critical challenge for democratization (Karimova and Deverell 2001; World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples 2011; Kaya 2009). The country also faces serious gender equality challenges (Rankin and Aytaç 2006). According to the World Bank and Turkey's State Planning Organization, women's share in the overall workforce has in fact decreased from 34 per cent in 1998 to 24 per cent in 2009. For many in the country, a woman's primary place in society is still the home, and domestic violence rates are believed to be extremely high, yet largely unrecorded (Arat 2009; Sevinç 2011; Müftüler-Baç 2012; USAK 2012; World Economic Forum 2010). It is an unfortunate fact that women are sometimes killed by their own relatives for dishonouring the family. There are still serious governance challenges to do with freedom of expression, transparency and accountability.[1] These are only some of the critical challenges to be addressed in Turkey in order to ensure the objective of 'peace at home' from a human security perspective.

As far as its role in regional and global peace is concerned, Turkey has not had an interstate armed conflict with any of its eight neighbouring countries since the foundation of its Republic in 1923. However, the relationships with some of its neighbours have been highly problematic, as with Greece, and completely frozen with others, such as Armenia. The military intervention of 1974 in Cyprus for the protection of the Turkish minority on the island has since brought a number of additional challenges to the country's international relations. Moreover, there have been a number of heavy military operations by the Turkish army in northern Iraq in order to root out the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) from the Qandil Mountains, and the current state of affairs with Syria seems to be very close to a declaration of war between the two states. Rising from the ashes of an empire and occupying a territory amid some of the most

conflict-prone regions of the world has certainly exacerbated the challenge of forming good neighbourly relationships. Furthermore, today Turkey also seems to be making a bid to become the hegemon of its region, which is often referred as the policy of neo-Ottomanism.

In fact, the twenty-first century has so far been a period of rapid socio-economic and political change for the country, bringing both new opportunities and challenges for peace and security in Turkey and its role in such matters in regional and global contexts. Since the 2002 general elections, which erased a number of well-established political parties from the Turkish polity and brought the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP – Justice and Development Party) to power, Turkey has been going through a process of re-establishing its governance structures, revisiting political dynamics between civil and military actors and reforming internal power relations between the state, civil society and the market. The socio-economic and political reform process that was primarily triggered by the country's official candidacy for membership to the EU at the Helsinki meeting in 1999 was extended further by the AKP with the implementation of six democratic harmonization packages by changing the constitution and various laws and regulations. However, the EU membership talks have come to an almost complete halt in recent years due to the Cyprus problem and resistance from some existing EU members towards Turkish membership. Nevertheless, the AKP government claims the negotiation process is still alive, implying that membership itself is not the main and only goal of the reform process.

On the other hand, it could be argued that, rather than reform, the main factor that has kept the AKP in power for over ten years is perhaps the government's handling of the Turkish economy. After a very long period of chronic economic instability with high inflation, foreign debt and unemployment challenges up to the early 2000s, with many crises that several times collapsed the markets and crushed the banking system, the Turkish economy has been showing all signs of an enviable growth rate. Although Turkey's GDP per capita is still well below the EU average, the country's economic performance is often widely praised, especially considering that most EU countries have been experiencing serious economic problems over the last few years. With the winds of economic success behind them, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his party have so far won all national and local elections, including a couple of referendums, with big margins. In September 2012, the AKP voted for Erdoğan as its party leader for a third and final term. Such political and economic stability brought by a single-party government has been the main selling point for the AKP's popularity throughout the country. In fact, Turkey's strong stand against Israel on the Palestinian issue has made Prime Minister Erdoğan one of the most popular leaders in the Muslim world. On the other hand, during the AKP government's tenure, some serious fault lines also emerged in societal relationships in the country.

The armed conflict between the security forces and the PKK has increasingly negated trust between the Turkish and Kurdish populations. Although the conflict between these communities has never become a full-blown civil war, the level of animosity, resentment and mistrust could be seen in different aspects of life. The provision of relief aid after the 2011 Van earthquake in Kurdish-dominated eastern Turkey, for example, clearly brought some of these societal problems to the surface. There were often such comments by Turks as 'Despite what the Kurds do against us and our country, we would still help them.' For a very long time throughout the armed conflict, the Turkish public generally perceived the insecurity issue to be a matter of PKK terrorism, but more and more the conflict now seems to be considered as one between Turks and Kurds. This is certainly a dangerous sign that might lead to a former-Yugoslavia-style disintegration of the country.

The Kurdish–Turkish binary is in fact not the only fault line that seems to be appearing in the country's societal structures, as increasing divisions between Sunnis and Alevis, and secularists and Islamists have also been quite alarming. The so-called 'Ergenekon' trials for alleged crimes of aiming to overthrow the AKP government through organizing a military coup d'état, which have seen the arrest and imprisonment of a significant number of high-ranking army officers and generals, including some former chiefs of staff, have further inflamed such societal divisions. Secularists seem to be considering these trials as a deliberate attempt by the AKP government to minimize the military's role in the protection of the country's secular system of governance. The arrest of some journalists, authors and civil society representatives as part of these trials has also damaged the AKP's claims of ensuring freedom of thought in the country, though it is asserted that none of these journalists are imprisoned for their thoughts but for their actions in attempting to throw out a democratically elected government.

In the first part of this book, therefore, the main focus will be on democratization and social cohesion as the main umbrella theme of the country's human security challenge in the twenty-first century. Whether the specific challenges faced are environmental or economic, the key prerequisite for Turkey to respond to them effectively would still be its ability to reform its political structures, improve its democratic credentials and ensure the rule of law and the protection of human rights. The country is currently engaged in writing a new constitution. The present one was written by the 1980 military junta and since then amended many times to address its shortcomings in ensuring democratic, inclusive and just governance. The new constitution would certainly be a great opportunity for the country not only to address those governance-related challenges, but even to prepare the ground for a peaceful settlement of the Kurdish conflict. Therefore, the main objective of the book's 'Democratization and Social Cohesion' section is to investigate this critical challenge for the country.

Thus to start the discussions in the first section, Özden Zeynep Oktav in Chapter 2, entitled 'Minority protection: a thorny issue in Turkish–EU relations', begins her investigation by questioning the meaning of 'minority' in the context of Turkey and how this differs from the international meaning of the concept. By using the EU–Turkey relationship as the main framework for its exploration, the chapter unpacks the issue of minority rights in relation to human security and presents the ways different 'minority' groups such as the Kurds, Alevis, Circassians, Syriacs and Romas in Turkey approach their group identity vis-à-vis the official minority groups of the country: the Jews, Armenians and Greeks. Further discussing minority rights in a specific case study, the third chapter, 'What went wrong with the "Romani Opening" in Turkey?', investigates the government's 'Romani Opening' as part of its recent democratization efforts. In her analyses of the major drawbacks of this process, Funda Gençoğlu Onbaşı discusses the notion of power using the speeches and press statements made by the AKP leadership and questions how this process was undertaken through different workshops and reported in the media. Finally, the chapter connects the Romani Opening to the discussion of human security in relation to the minority rights, discrimination and exclusion debates.

Bezen Balamir Coşkun and Halit Hakan Ediğ focus on a critical issue of the civil–military relationship in Chapter 4, 'Teaching national security or peace?: The case of the Turkish national curriculum'. The chapter reviews what the national security course was about and how it was taught. By undertaking such an analysis of a high-school course, the authors present a number of contemporary trends and recent changes in civil–military relations in Turkey and what impacts they will likely have on the democratization of the country in the near future. The chapter also discusses the need for peace-oriented education as an alternative to the redundant national security courses in Turkish high schools, in relation to peaceful coexistence within Turkish society as well as with neighbouring countries. Taking the theme of peace and coexistence further, Chapter 5 focuses on democratization, conflict transformation and the role of women's organizations in this process. Sanem Özer argues that increased participation of women in various levels and processes of decision-making and power through transnational advocacy networks would be a practical way of enhancing civil society's role in addressing human security and conflict transformation in Turkey. To unpack this relationship, she explores the way women's organizations could bridge different identities and build on commonalities through their local and transnational contacts.

The challenge of social cohesion is then explored through two quite different contexts and approaches. İhsan İkizer, in Chapter 6, 'Social exclusion and local authorities: a case study of İstanbul', focuses on the concepts of multidimensionality, partnership and participation in relation to local authorities and the potentially very significant role they could play

in combating social exclusion. The roles of the sociocultural and political setting and factors that facilitate the implementation of the social inclusion principles by local authorities are also included. Moving from the western to the eastern border of Turkey, Giacomo Golinelli takes an anthropological approach to the social cohesion challenge in his chapter, 'Uncertain past, uncertain future, uncertain present: social cohesion and conflicts in Iğdır Province'. Chapter 7 argues that the usage of the notions of (mis)trust and social cohesion could help to tie, on the experiential and analytical levels, human security to the people of the province of Iğdır and their day-to-day lives. Based on Golinelli's extended stay in the field and involvement with events and people in Iğdır, this proves to be a particularly fruitful approach to understanding the role of trust and cohesion in human security in what seems to be an environment of customary mistrust and reciprocal suspicion.

Having looked at the challenge of democratization and social cohesion as an umbrella theme for human security at 'home', in the following section the book questions Turkey's claim to be an agent of peace and security 'abroad'. This is done through a selection of five chapters that investigate Turkey's regional and global roles through such issues as religion, migration, energy security and humanitarian assistance. These chapters sample some of the ways Turkey cooperates with its neighbours and the international community in general to assume an ambitious strategy in its contemporary foreign policy. To explain how an issue like religion could become a convergence point for Turkey's national and international human security perspectives, Chapter 8, 'Religion in Turkey's domestic and international agendas: human security perspectives' by Füsun Özerdem and Alan Hunter, focuses on how religion could contribute to social harmony and creativity and also engender violent conflict. Arguing that Turkey has the potential to play a constructive role in peace and security in relation to its neighbouring regions of the Middle East, Europe, the Balkans, the eastern Mediterranean, Central Asia and the Caucasus, the chapter focuses on the issues of secularism, religion and conflict in both domestic and international contexts. Finally, it presents a discussion of religion in the search for human security in the context of Turkey. To investigate the role of Turkey's religious heritage in addressing security challenges in the international context, Chapter 9, 'Turkey: bridging Europe and Islam' by Devrim Ümit, focuses on the trajectory of Turkey's potential EU membership and its possible impact on Muslim integration in the EU countries in the face of rising xenophobia, Muslim exclusion and political discrimination.

Chapter 10, on the other hand, presents a more conflictive relationship between Turkey and the EU. In her chapter entitled 'Securitization and externalization of the migration practices in the EU: readmission agreements and the Turkish case', Burcu Toğral focuses on the issue of readmission agreements, one of the most significant ways the EU sends back

irregular immigrants and asylum-seekers into countries of origin and transit. Taking Turkey as a case study, the chapter questions the implementation of such an agreement and its possible effects on the rights of migrants as a human security issue.

Chapter 11, 'Termination of the vendetta of the Black Sea? Stable peace, energy security and Russian–Turkish relations', by Reşat Bayer, investigates the way the Turkish–Russian relationship has improved substantially due to economic ties, particularly in reference to energy. Questioning whether such an improvement in bilateral relationships has had any implications for human security, the chapter uses the stable peace literature to connect macro- and micro-level security. Finally, the last chapter of this section focuses on Turkey's role in the provision of humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip. In Chapter 12, 'Turkey's human security agenda in the Gaza Strip', Ibrahim Natil investigates the rhetoric and practice of Turkey's human security agenda in Palestine and the Gaza Strip in particular, as part of its foreign policy, following Hamas's victory in the Palestinian elections of 2006. Turkey's humanitarian aid response and efforts to resolve the intra-Palestinian conflict between Hamas and Fatah from 2009 onwards provide the primary issues of focus in this chapter. Overall, in relation to Turkey's recent 'zero problems with neighbours' foreign policy doctrine, the chapter questions whether such an approach has increased Turkey's contribution to peace and security with its neighbours.

However, before those 11 chapters on human security challenges in relation to Turkey under the two main thematic areas as described above, the first chapter of this volume, by Oliver Richmond, presents the intellectual and policy evolution of human security since the 1994 UNDP report. The chapter, entitled 'Human(secur)ity and its subjects', argues that that evolution has echoed a tension between interests, pragmatism and a norm of humanity. The chapter also investigates how human security, as a policy-driven or subject-driven concept and process, relies on both 'peace formation' capacity and international norms and capacity. On the other hand, as Richmond succinctly points out, despite human security's

> externalized and policy-driven constraints, its connection with a grass-roots and transnational will for humanity means its contestation is far from a simple matter of interests and capacity, and subject responses in everyday settings of peacemaking and peacebuilding mean it is difficult for internationals to do other than keep reinventing it.

Note

1 Turkey ranks one-hundred-and-forty-eighth out of 179 countries in Reporters Without Borders' 2011/2012 press freedom index (Reporters Without Borders 2012); it is labelled 'partly free' by Freedom House (2012); Transparency International's 2011 Corruption Perceptions Index ranks Turkey in sixty-first place, behind Oman, Jordan and Rwanda (Transparency International 2011).

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Conclusion

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