STRUGGLES OF SECURITY AND SECULARISM IN TURKEY AND ITS IMPACT ON GENDER ISSUES [*]

Ece Selma Atalay Chiu[1]

Abstract

The process of securitization reflects the dominant security understanding, the forces that play on this security understanding in a country. In Turkey the process of securitization is experienced in close relation to militarization. Turkey has gone through an intensified process of militarization that has affected the process of securitization. These processes are constructed, but claimed to be "natural" for the securitization to work smoothly. This construction is based on a gendered understanding and discourse especially with the way that the security agenda is constituted, that helps for consolidation of the dominant security understanding. With the effect of militarization on the process of securitization, security agenda is formed with the state as the sole referent object, and this results in the individual security being taken for granted. The state can also be a source of threat for individual security within this relationship of securitization and militarization. The militarized understanding of security and the close relationship between the processes of securitization and militarization results in a hierarchical attitude towards events, developments where individual security in general and the security of women, in particular, are neglected. This paper analyzes the relationship between the securitization and militarization and shows their gendered construction in Turkey.

Key Words: Securitization, Military, Militarization, Gender, Turkey

---

1. Introduction

This article is about the relationship between securitization, militarization and gender in Turkey. The purpose of this article is to explore both the relationship between the processes of securitization and militarization in Turkey, and the extent to which they are based on a gendered understanding. As it will be shown in the article, the process of securitization takes on particular significant characteristics when it interacts with a militarization process, as is the case in Turkey. So, the analysis is based on Turkey's experience with the securitization process, which exists in a cyclical relationship with militarization, and stands on a gendered construction. Before entering into the analysis of the relationship between the processes, the key concepts of the article should be defined. Militarization refers to a process of evolution of military thought, in which an extensive trust in the military is constructed not only for the protection of a country in times of war, but also in the political life of that country.

The militarization process in the context of Turkey has an intensified past with four military interventions, two of them being coups d'état, within 95 years of the republic. The military's role in politics and the acceptance of its privileged position by society had great effect on the process of securitization. In the occurrence of crises, the military's strong position in the decision-making process as the protector of the state and the nation was accepted with the process of militarization. So, the process of securitization has fed from militarization, but this specific kind of securitization also played into the continuance of militarization, because the militarized discourse of securitization called for more threat perceptions and for more militarization in order to protect the state and the nation. The securitization process, because it is based on regime security as the main and sole referent object of security, in Turkey has worked for both the external and internal threats. This is in close relation with the process of militarization and its success and with the fact that the execution of this cyclical relationship and its consequences being not questioned. Although there are developments for the questioning of this relationship, it is still not at a sufficient level. These processes are constructed processes, but are claimed to be "natural" in the context of Turkey. Its geographical condition is the main reason for this, as claimed by many. In more specific terms the claim is that since Turkey is situated in a geo-strategically important place, it is a vulnerable state to perceive threats from outside and it protects this vulnerability from threats stemming from outside and inside environments because of its condition of having a sensitive geographical location.

2. Turkey's Political Facts, Security and Militarization on Gender Issue

Turkey stretches across Europe and Asia bridging to two continents geographically, economically and culturally. It is surrounded by the Black Sea in the north, The Marmara and the Aegean in the west, and the Mediterranean in the south. Turkey is a Eurasian country that stretches across the Anatolian peninsula in southwest Asia and the Balkan region of south Eastern Europe. It acts as a bridge between the Muslim world and Europe. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who founder of the republic of Turkey, tried to do Western and pre-Islamic Turkish culture to create a new "national culture" beyond the heritage of the Ottoman Empire. It was not easy way to crossroad between Europe and Asia. Turkish identity was containing Western European, Middle Eastern, and Asian elements. Kemal's ideology and his political structure are important to be studied since both gives important contributions towards the establishment of modern secular Turkey. The Republican People's Party RPP was established by Mustafa Kemal in 1923, the party had been created by him to implement the six Arrows of Kemalism (Republicanism, Populism, Laicism, Reformism, Nationalism, Statism). Kemalism also known

as Atatürkism, or the Six Arrows, is the founding ideology of the Republic of Turkey (Eric,2004: 181) Kemalism, as it was implemented by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was defined by sweeping political, social, cultural and religious reforms designed to separate the new Turkish state from its Ottoman predecessor and embrace a Westernized way of living (Cleveland, 2013) including the establishment of democracy, secularism, state support of the sciences and free education, many of which were first introduced to Turkey during Atatürk's presidency in his reforms (Lowe, 1982)

1923-1945 when the country was ruled with a single party regime led by the Republican Peoples Party With the introduction of multi-party political system in 1945, withal political Islam found the opportunity for political activism in the body of Democrat Party. The events and outcome of World War II played a large role in the emergence of the Democrat Party. Democrat Party DP was founded by RPP members in 1946, DP followers that were unhappy with the RPP's authoritarian style at the same time the people who doesn't want to follow Kemalist principals. On this point DP emphasized to everybody Turkey could become a democracy. Democracy helps us better understand the processes of democratic transition or democratic reversal. Turkey has reached the status of an electoral democracy but still lacks the some elements. On the other hand Turkey's transition to democracy it was not so easy process. Even after Turkey first vying elections in 1950, Turkey experienced a long period of democratic breakdowns and military coup. The establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 created a single party regime that radically transformed Turkish society. The founders of the Republic abolished the Caliphate, banned religious orders, established secular systems of law and education that replaced the shari'a and Islamic schools, and imposed western-style clothing. These reforms were imposed by a strong central government, despite resistance from some of its citizens (Toprak,2005: 169) under this cultural transformation, the Republic's founders aimed to eliminate evidence of its past imperial system and in its place establish and consolidate its own regime and power based on secularism and a legal-rational basis. In 1946 as a result of many domestic and international factors, the single-party government made a transition to competitive politics, allowing for multiple parties and thus, free and fair elections. In the elections of 1950, the Democratic Party won against the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP), marking a historic transition to Turkish democracy (Rodriguez, 2014: 46)

For the next three decades, Turkey experienced cycles of democracy. Each cycle began with an election to mark a transition to a new rule. When the government's performance did not meet expectations, a period of turmoil followed and was preempted by a military coup. Military intervention occurred in 1960, 1971, and in 1980, The DP won government in free parliamentary elections in May 1950. But democratization has not been a smooth road. The Democrat Party seemingly aiming for single party rule was overthrown in a military coup in May 1960. Following the coup, institutional mechanisms to safeguard the political influence of the Armed Forces were reinstated and strengthened (Hale, 1994: 88–113) In addition, 1923 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk created the Republic of Turkey. Atatürk wanted to create a modern secularist state where all people were equal. Free education was implemented for all people, and primary school was mandatory for both sexes. In 1926 the Family Law was passed. This code abolished polygamy, set a minimum age for marriage, gave women the right to choose their spouses, initiate divorce, and have equal rights to men in some areas, like inheriting and maintaining property and testifying in court, and only a few years later had the right to hold political office (Arat 1998: 15) Women received the right to vote in 1934, ahead of many fully western countries despite all these changes in official policy that to a large extent satisfied the upper-class women, actual changes have only happened very slowly for most women since then. The reasons that the changes had such little effect are the same reasons that we've seen in many other countries: "Women don't live in a vacuum. Turkey's tradition of patriarchy was not to be so easily overcome, and the common people themselves

are one of the main obstacles to women's equality. Women still marry early, and this often cuts short their education, if they hadn't stopped it already to prevent being unmarriageable based on having more education than her potential spouses (Özbay, 1995: 103) Also as in many other countries (including the U.S.) the practice of men working outside of the home placed more burdens on the woman, the food production, all the household chores, and child-care, which the husbands would have helped with for the sons. More emphasis is placed on the woman as the reproducer of values. Feminist theory consists of different points of view with their different point of departures, different focuses and different problematic (postmodernist feminists, radical feminists, Marxist feminists, liberal feminists, etc.), but all are based on some common assumption as to how the world politics is gendered.

2.1. Gender and Security

The security understanding in Turkey has a defensive character in which the regime is perceived as feminine, always to be protected from threats. The threats are perceived to be always there and to protect the regime threat perceptions are based on an extremely defensive understanding. At this point argumentation based on geographical situation, nationalism and which are built on a gendered understanding. The nation's honor is represented especially from the bodies of the women. The crucial point for feminism is not about the inclusion of women into the areas such as security and securitization as it is commonly thought but rather, the focus is on the change of mind of thoughts, which happens to be a masculine one. Feminists generally disagree with the applicability of 'scientific' methods in social sciences, since they do not believe in a universal and objective theory as it is claimed by the traditional approaches to exits in the world politics. Instead, feminists' points to the subjectivities that form the claims of realities in that prove how our knowledge and perception of the world is constructed.

In fact, besides the essentialist arguments, the concept of gender, which is a key term for feminist theories, is a socially constructed rather than biologically determined concept. So, "social construction" is the concept that describes the way that most feminists interpret the world politics and concepts such as national security and sovereignty. With this ontological infrastructure, feminist theories look at the concepts that has been defined by traditional approaches, show how these concepts are constructed (deconstruction) and then prove that since this mode of thinking can be constructed how a different mode of thinking can be constructed (reconstruction). These are in general terms the exclusivist, top-down theorizing, dichotomies between theory-practice, men-women, international-domestic, essentialist attitudes, their drawings on fixed hierarchical conceptualization of power, limited focus and definitions of security, focus of the security and violence. The crucial point of course in the process of criticism that feminists do is that they analyze these based on the gender factor. Moving from the point of taking gender as a socially constructed definition of individuals, feminists point to how the above mentioned and debated concepts are not only constructed, but how gendered they are in the construction they go through.

2.2. Gender and Militarization

When security is perceived in militarist terms, the execution of security politics becomes military focused, where the military takes an essential role in the definition of security threats and determination of the executions. This is related with the statist approach where the military justifies its strong position in politics with the argument that takes the state as the referent object and the crucial agent to be protected along with the nation. So, the argument becomes one in which the sake of the nation is connected to the sake of the states which the military is the protector.

The referent object of the security, meaning here the one to be protected from becomes the state rather than the individuals. Women are along these individuals in fact they construct the key roles of the argument. The exemplifying cases can be seen from the gendered attitude that the women were exposed to during the Cold War period. In the Cold War period, especially in the USA with the threat of communism, the classical type of family structure was promoted in the society as a value against the threats stemming from outside and inside. In this model family structure women are stereotyped as "decent wives and mothers" within the housewife position and the men were as the "fathers and head of the family" basically. (May Elaine, 1988) This dichotomy intensifies with the representation of women as fragile to be protected and of men as strong and protector of the fragile ones.

3.   Militarization and Securitization in Turkey

Turkey has a history of its military over throwing elected governments and imposing or re-imposing its own brand of political correctness on the nation. The Turkish military, the army in particular, sees itself as the guardian of the pro-Western, secular, (or non-religious) form of government established by modern Turkey's founder, Kemal Atatürk.

3.1. Establishment of the Republic

The historical background of Turkey begins with the establishment of the republic. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the task to establish a republic from a sophisticated empire history was a hard one as one can imagine. The daily life, the official language, the infrastructure of the country and so forth, everything was to be re-organized and formed. The role of the military, which had the primary role in the struggle against the invaders of the country with the victories gained, in return was connected to establishment of the republic and was among the difficult subjects within this task. In fact, this connection is an important remark for understanding the military's privileged position in the eyes of civilians and politicians.

In the early republic years, although the gratitude towards the military was felt and recognized intensively, since the claim was a democratic republic, the task was to place military in such a way that its place would not be a harming one to the democratic and political scene of the state. Hale points to one of the important functions that the military is given in the state in the early years of the republic: "Politically, a vital function of the army was to serve as one of the regime's most important agents for the spread of the ideas of modernization and secular nationalism, especially among the conscripts. A poster issued by the Republican People's Party in the 1930s lauds the army as 'the school for the people', with graphic illustrations" (Hale, 1994:80) Hale also underlines the legal aspect of the position given to the military during the period, which became open to differences of interpretation. However, the army as the protector of the state, so, the establishment period gives a sense of militarist beginning as it is with many other states also, but with some efforts of placing the military into a democratic scene. However, the missions that the military has been identified with, especially being the agent responsible with the modernization process. It should also be noted that during this time the ideology of Atatürk (i.e. Atatürkçülük, Kemalism) has developed, which became a referent text for the military in their discourse of protection of the state and the being the representative of the modernization.

Briefly, the word Kemalism is used in general sense the nationalistic attitude based on the principles of Atatürk because of his major contribution in the establishment of the republic. Tanıl Bora identifies: "The official nationalism with "Atatürk Nationalism". Official nationalism, with its ideological ambiguity, thoroughly depends on the existence, power, and manifestations of the nation-state, its symbols and rituals, its pomp and omnipresence. The army, as the crystallized evidence of the existence, power and manifestations of the nation-state, takes on a central role in the regeneration of official nationalism. Owing the requirements of the ideology of vigilance and the automatic system of perceiving threat internalized by all armies, and specifically as a consequence of the "state-founding military" character of TSK (Turkish Armed Forces), which are identified with Mustafa Kemal and his mission, the army considers itself to be the "true owner" and personified symbol of nationalism. Official nationalism, whose core is, the army, has a mental perspective focused on the state itself and on populist attributions of heroism" (Bora, 2003: 437). The Kemalist stance is based on this understanding Bora argues that especially in the late years of the republican period two main dynamics feed Turkish nationalism. These are reactionary nationalistic movement and the other is pro-Westerns nationalistic movement. It is the fact that the Turkish military accepts Kemalism as its base and especially is rising in the last decade this ideology is used within the nationalistic stance.
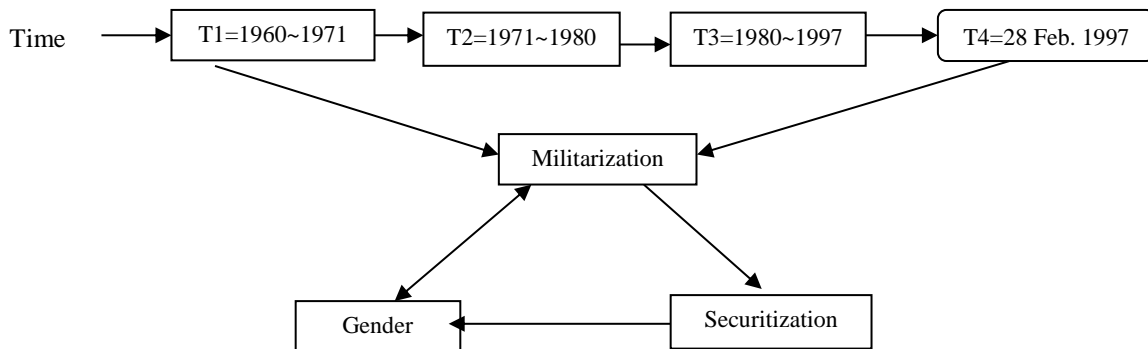
3.2 Indicators of Militarization

Militarization is a process that can be observed through some practices that can be labeled under the name of indicators. Militarization is a step-by-step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being on militaristic ideas. The more militarization transforms an individual or society, the more that individual or society comes to imagine military needs and militaristic presumptions to be not only valuable but also normal. Militarization, that is, involves cultural as well institutional, ideological, and economic transformations. As Altınay argues: "The active role of the military in the political and societal life, the perspective of seeing the use of violence in the solution of the crises as legitimate, the glorification of the hierarchy, the identification of masculinity with the use of violence and femininity with the need for protection" are used in the definitions of the word militarism." (Altinay, 2005: 352) Based on this, the direct military interventions speak for themselves to prove the key role the military has played. But, furthermore, these military interventions worked for the normalization of the active role of the military to be accepted by the politicians and the society, since even the event of intervention came to be expected in many crises.

However, the military interventions in Turkey did not just happen to be only of taking the authority over and giving it back to politicians again. With the first three interventions, institutional changes resulted in such a way that the military intervention as an event became to be a common concern before giving a statement or taking an initiative in the political arena. The changes that the intervention brought made the word intervention not only something fearful but also something usual (The three military interventions took followed each other). For society, the indicators can be seen in the reactions the public gives to the crises, to the interventions and to events even they are not considered to be crises. It is very hard to show point by point the militarization of the society when compared to the analysis of the militarization of the state.

4. Four Military Intervention and its Post

The four military interventions T1, T2, T3, and T4 are mutually independent. These interventions and the changes they brought both rendered the process of militarization made it an alive, prolific process within the eyes of the public, that these are the four military interventions, the constitution of a militarized state as a result of these interventions, the high military expenditure and a militarized society. Also this image shows us these three factors, how militarization gender, and securitization related each other.

Figure 1: The relationships between four military interventions

Source: Designed by Author

Militarization**,** refers to a process of evolution of military thought, in which an extensive trust in the military is constructed not only for the protection of a country in times of war, but also in the political life of that country yet, the militarization process in the context of Turkey has an intensified past with four military interventions, two of them being coups d'état, within 95 years of the republic. The military's role in politics and the acceptance of its privileged position by society had great effect on the process of securitization. In the occurrence of crises, the military's strong position in the decision making process as the protector of the state and the nation was accepted with the process of militarization. So, the process of securitization has fed from militarization, but this specific kind of securitization also played into the continuance of militarization, because the militarized discourse of securitization called for more threat perceptions and for more militarization in order to protect the state and the nation. However, gender refer to the social construction of sex roles where sex refers only to the physical differences between woman and man while "gendered constructions" will refer to the furthering of this separation to form dichotomies used for social construction of labeling people, attitudes and behavior as masculine and feminine. The regime is being constructed on a feminine understanding, which to be protected from any internal and external threats, and the state is portrayed as strong and masculine in favor of aggressive or militarized solutions in order to protect both the vulnerable regime and fragile women and children from threats. Moreover, securitization refers to the discursive act that labels and presents an event as a security issue. The securitization process, because it is based on regime security as the main and sole referent object of security, in Turkey has worked for both the external and internal threats. In more specific terms the claim is that since Turkey is situated in a geo-strategically important place, it is a vulnerable state to perceive threats from outside and it protects this vulnerability from threats stemming from outside and inside environments because of its condition of having a sensitive geographical location.

T1: The 1960 Military Intervention and Post-1970 Military Intervention: The Democrat Party, the opposition party to the RPP, gained victory in the elections in 1950. The difference of position between the Democrat Party and the RPP caught the attention of both the society and the military, but in different ways. Hale summarizes: "The difference of the two parties: The Democrats' political philosophy was hard to sum up. They were generally liberal in their political inclinations, but in practice drew together the large and diverse range of people who, for one reason or another, had come to resent the RPP's long monopoly of political power. Farmers who felt neglected by the regime's concentration on industrialization, businessmen who hoped to end the dominant role of the state in industry, urban workers and clerks who had suffered severely from wartime inflation, and some religious conservatives who wished to soften the official emphasis on secularism. Against this national liberal alliance the RPP could offer only its historical role as the party of Atatürk and Inönü, which had spearheaded the dramatic reforms of the 1920s and saved Turkey from the horrors of war between 1939 and 1945" (Hale, 1994: 89) The entrance of Democrat Party into the politics filled the gaps that existed in the limited definition of the state. For the first years of administration, the party protected its fresh entry in the eyes of the public. However, this did not continue for so long. The economic liberation that the Democrat Party promised did not come out as it was presented and in addition to this the chaotic atmosphere of the protests by the civilians. Against these developments, the Democrat Party took extreme steps to oppress the protests and even tried to close the RPP as an opponent party. Based on this ground came the first military intervention of the military in 27 May 1960 Harris argues: "The distant place that the Democrat Party positioned itself against the military played a role in this intervention. He states that "the Democrats, who had no close ties to the military establishment, pointedly ignored the views of the military leadership, a humiliation all the more painful since members of the armed services were not eligible to vote" (Harris, 1988: 182) This, in addition to the political chaos that the country was in, became a justification for the claim of the Democrat Party's inability to govern the country by the military. Harris suggests: "As the political contest became increasingly embittered, the idea of the need to intervene to prevent a breakdown of the political machinery began to gain legitimacy within the officer corps." (Harris, 1988: 182).

Post-1960 Military Intervention: The military passed its powers to the civilian government in a short time after the 1961 Constitution was prepared. The new constitution is important in the sense that it prepared an institutional ground for the militarist understanding to be accepted by the civilians. This crucial change in this logic was the establishment of the National Security Council (NSC). As Harris argues too, this is an important development in civil military relations. Harris states: "The central element of the new system, which has endured its essentials, was the creation of National Security Council as a legal mechanism to assure violence for the military profession" (Harris.1988: 182) This change is not only about the institutional basis, the establishment of this institution proves the presence of militarization and in fact increases its power in the decision making process through the changes made in the political structure in relation with this institution with the two coups d'état and one military intervention resulting with constitutional changes (1971 intervention) and one defined as "post-modern" coup d'état, four military interventions in total. Ümit Cizre points to the military's increasing role in the decision-making process: "In the last two decades the military has not only gained more strength vis-à-vis civilian actors, but by participating in the civilian authority over areas that were traditionally under civilian control" (Cizre,1997: 157).

T2: The 1971 Military Intervention and Post-1980 Military Intervention: A coalition government was formed between the RPP Party's and the Justice Party under the leadership of Inönü and Demirel. Justice Party was seen as the successor of the Democrat Party by almost everyone.

Although the transfer of powers to civilian government by the military was presented as a stable one, the instability that the coalition signaled in the years after the intervention prepared a ground for the military's reasoning again. In 1962, an attempt of military take-over happened, but since it was not a collectively directed move and came from the lower ranks, it did not succeed. The next year, the attempt was revived, but the intended result did not happen again. Harris argues, that the period till the second official intervention in fact witnessed a distant attitude of the military to the politics. He states: "The intensity of military involvement in political matters fell off gradually during the 1960s as the civilians began to use the power of military assignment" (Harris, 1988: 185) This is in coherence with the statements made in the public over the comparison of 1961 and 1982 constitutions in relation with paying more sympathy to the changes that the 1961 constitution brought in overall terms. However, this does not change the fact that this intervention played a role in the settlement of the process of militarization among the public. At the end of the 1960s, especially with the student movement of 1968, Turkey was also affected by the international context where similar movements were seen in different regions of the world. The ideological differences within the society reached their climax especially among the university students. The situation was surely effected by the Cold War structure, as it was the case in other regions of the world. Criminal cases began to occur within the country and in addition to the political instability the instability within the civilians became vivid also. The discomfort of the military was implemented when they sided (support of thought) with the students, who rioted against the state according to the government as Harris states this stems from the insecure attitude towards the military since the government was not based on one hundred percent civilian authority mentally. Harris explains the exact military thought at the time: "The main commitment of the officers, however, was to the safety of the state" (Harris, 1988: 186).

With this infrastructure, the second official military intervention occurred on 12 March 1971. Harris argues: "That the act was not fully an intervention in definitive terms. The 1971 military ultimatum was not a full military intervention into the political arena. On its face, it was a declaration that the generals would use the authority vested in them to protect the state and would take power directly only if the civilians refused to provide more effective role" (Harris, 1988: 187) Although he agrees with the non-harshness of the stance of the military in the second military intervention, Hale builds his argument on the assumption of a clear military intervention: "General Tagmac and Gürler were apparently very reluctant to take any overt action against Demirel's government, but eventually felt obliged to do so by the upsurge in terrorism and violence. Accordingly, they agreed with Batur on the compromise formula of the '12 March memorandum'. In effect, this resulted in the establishment of a moderator, or veto, regime in which the machinery of civilian government remained formally in place, but the government's actions were directed, or at any rate restricted by the military "(Hale, 1994: 314-315) To sum up, the 1971 military intervention was different from a direct coup d'état but still is labeled as a military intervention based on the characteristics of the act as discussed.
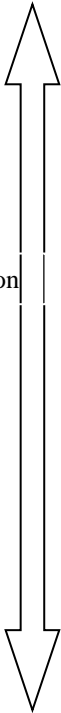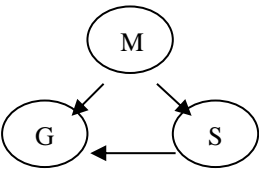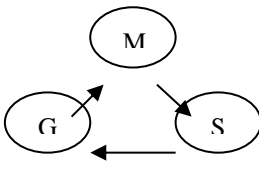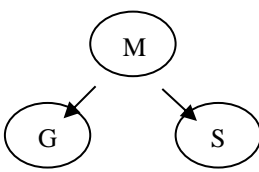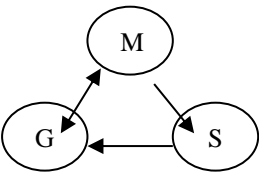
Post-1971 Military Intervention: In the aftermath of the second military intervention the institutional changes especially regarding the place of NSC (National Security Council) continued. Cizre points to the additional difference that the constitutional amendments after the second intervention in 1971 regarding the NSC: "With the 1973 amendments the primary function of the NSC was extended to making recommendations to the government" (Cizre, 1997: 157) The 1971 military intervention also served for constructing the strong position of the military and also since it happened after a short time after the first intervention the concept of military intervention became a stronger possibility in the politics from that time on.

T3: The 1980 Military Intervention and Post-1997 Military Intervention: The 12 September 1980 Turkish coup d'état, headed by Chief of the General Staff General Kenan Evren, was the third coup d'état in the history of the Republic after the 1960 coup and the 1971 "Coup by Memorandum" The 1970s were marked by right-wing and left-wing armed conflicts proxy wars between the United States and the Soviet Union, respectively. In order to create a pretext for a decisive intervention, the Turkish military allowed the conflicts to escalate; some say they actively adopted a strategy of tension. The violence abruptly stopped afterwards, and the coup was welcomed by some for restoring order. For the next three years the Turkish Armed Forces ruled the country through the National Security Council, before democracy was restored.

Post-1980 Military Intervention: The changes that the 1980 military intervention brought with constitution established in 1982 play an important role on the institutional changes, which brings important changes especially in regard to NSC. As Cizre states: "Under the 1982 constitution its position was enhanced: its recommendations would be given priority consideration by the council of ministers" (Cizre, 1997: 157) She draws upon the differences in quantity between civilians and the officers in the NSC: "The number and weight of senior commanders participating in the NSC also increased at the expense of civilian members." (Cizre, 1997: 158) Birand also points to this change in his analysis of the military in Turkey. He shows that the NSC is the agent responsible for the national security policies in the decisions regarding "appointment, determination, and its execution". As he states also the relationship with the civilian authorities work as such the NSC announces its opinions to Council of Ministers and the Council of Ministers takes into consideration the resolutions of NSC in priority because it is based on the ground that these decisions are resulted in the necessity the NSC finds due: "To the survival and independence of the state, the unity of the country and the protection of the society's peace and security" (Birand, 1986: 461)

T4: The 28 February 1997 Intervention: Twenty-one years ago, the Turkish military presented an ultimatum to the Islamist-dominated coalition government following a meeting of the National Security Council on February 28, 1997. This was the fourth military intervention in Turkey since the end of the Second World War. The Turkish military had previously carried out coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980. In the course of the military intervention in 1997, General Cevik Bir, the deputy chief of general staff, cynically declared: "That the aim of the army, was to readjust the balance of democracy."

Table 1: Comparison of Each Military Intervention and Their Crucial factors

Variable	Model	Crucial Factor(s)
T1		Political Situation, and Civil War
T2		The Student Movement of 1968, and Cold War
T3		Democracy, Religion, and Russian Communism
T4		Economic, Women's Rights, and Democracy

Low ↑ Democratization ↓ High

Source: Designed by Author

The aim of this article is to provide factual background information concerning the role played by the military in Turkey. This is crucial to understand the process of securitization better, since militarization is a process that feeds into the process of securitization in Turkey. This article comprises selected indicators of militarization in the context of Turkey. These are the four military interventions, the constitution of a militarized state as a result of these interventions, the high military expenditure and a militarized society.

5. Military Interventions and Crucial Factors

5.1. The 1960 Military Intervention

In April 1960, amidst student protests and unrest between the government and the opposition parties, the military launched a coup to restore political and social order, installing a Committee on National Unity led by General. Prime Minister and two members of his cabinet were executed after the coup. The following year, the Committee of National Unity created a larger constituent assembly, rewrote the constitution, and submitted it to popular referendum.

After sponsoring elections, the military returned power to civilian control in November 1961. Turkish society, however, remained unstable through much of the 1960s as the debate about Turkey's place in the Cold War and the spread of socialism grew more polarized. While the socialists could not consolidate control, they were still able to undermine the ability of coalition governments to operate. (Shankland, 1999: 94) Between 1965 and 1969, the reactionary leftist groups grew strong alongside the nationalist right. This led to an increasingly virulent left-right struggle, which often manifested itself in violent clashes. Trade Unions, which ironically gained the right to strike only in the 1961 constitution, increasingly took to the streets. The balance-of-payments deficit worsened, inflation increased, and in 1970, the government devalued the currency. In early 1971, civil violence rose sharply. There were student clashes with the police, kidnappings, murders, and bombings of government buildings. In the military's opinion, the situation had become untenable. (Hale, 2003: 175-9)

The 1968 student movement in the West was a general attack on conventional establishments and institutions including orthodox Marxist organizations, ideology, and institutions, as well as being against the rising new capitalist market economy and imperialism. It is because of this that this movement bore in its nature the black movement and the second fad feminist movement on the other hand Women's Liberation Movement. The main theme of the student movement in Turkey was anti-imperialism. When the youth counting on the Kemalist past and the Kemalist military intervention of 27 May 1960 took a stance against the hegemony of American imperialism over Turkey, it joined forces with Kemalism and certain State institutions that it could utilize against imperialism (the slogan of "army and youth hand in hand") rather that attacking all establishment and ideologies that exist in society. It was natural that such a heavily nationalist movement which viewed women as "mothers of the nation" would not accommodate feminism within itself. Furthermore, 1965-1971 was also the period of the greatest freedom in Turkey. This was the period when the laws which limited free thought and which were considered to be antidemocratic were applied the least and the number of people arrested in connection with these laws remained at a minimal level. In this period, the masses took important steps in forming political organizations. Again pertaining to this period, the press experienced its greatest years of freedom and varying points of views were openly written and discussed.

5.2. The 1971 Military Intervention

Military influence in politics and society to be a critical impediment to the development of democratic political and civil rights and freedoms. The 1971 military intervention was different from a direct coup d'état but still is labeled as a military intervention. On March 12, 1971, the Turkish military sent a memorandum to President and Prime Minister insisting on the need to appoint a new government to calm society and to resolve continued economic problems. In the two years that followed, debate over the future of the republic raged among the political parties and between civil and military institutions. However, the military did force the government to reshuffle, its goal of establishing a "powerful and credible government" did not succeed, given that four weak coalition governments rose and fell in the thirty-one months following the memorandum (Hale, 2003: 207-8) Turkey remained unstable. High inflation cuts in public expenditures, and labor disputes led to protests and strikes. Between 1971 and 1980, there were eleven successive governments. Most were too greatly sidetracked by their efforts to contain rivalry within their coalition to tackle social unrest, extremism, and an economic crisis exacerbated by the 1973 oil embargo.

5.3. Cold War

USA produced a number of policies because of doesn't wants communism become stronger in Europe ,here at this point the Soviet Union had emerged as the importance of Turkey. Turkey joined the Western Bloc and became one of the active participants of the Cold War because of its importance and the threat perception it felt from the Soviet Union based on its geopolitical situation. Harris explains the exact military thought at the time: "The main commitment of the officers, however, was to the safety of the state" (Harris, 1988:186). The 1971 military intervention was different from a direct coup d'état but still is labeled as a military intervention based on the characteristics of the act. The key impact to the Turkish society is the rise of a retired military official to the presidency became natural; after all, the military was seen as above politics and, in the Turkish system, the president is traditionally a consensus figure who can rise above political party antics. Nevertheless, the legacy of the 1971 intervention is mixed.

5.4. The 1980 Military Intervention

The importance of the international context comes to the surface again with the occurrence of the Cyprus Operation in 1974 before going into the explanation of the third military intervention. The unstable situation between the Turk and Greek Cypriots that continued since 1963 in Cyprus, reached its climax in 1974 when Turkey sent military force on the land and got hold of the situation in its terms. However, the USA, which supported the modernization of the forces of the Turkish army, and the big power whose ideology was believed in the political arena of Turkey, warned Turkey not to use the armament that was given by USA during the operation. Against this background, the Cyprus Operation is especially important in two crucial ways. First, the trust in the USA got decreased highly, and this led to the extreme distrust to the external environment by the military, which in turn strengthened the military's status as a guardian of the state to outside. Second the consequence of the securitization of the event led to the militarization where the conscription quests marked a rise as, which is stated as a strong dynamic of militarization. During the period, the chaos in internal politics continued between the different ideological groups. This period also witnessed more explicit presentation of discomfort with the administration by the Islamist discourse. The rise of this discourse under the representative of the National Salvation Party was not very welcomed, especially regarding the increase of the effect of the party in the political arena. It began to become parts of the quickly changing cabinets during the time. The military intervention occurred on 12 September 1980. The thought in mind was still state centric but with emphasis on democracy this time. As Harris suggests: "They believed that they were acting to save Turkish democracy from itself" (Harris, 1988:193)

5.5. The 28 February 1997 Intervention

Post-1982 Constitution period is interpreted as a transition period by many scholars. The president became Kenan Evren, who was the commander that led the 1980 military intervention. The political party that came into power was the Motherland Party under the leadership of Turgut Özal, who became known to follow a relatively more liberal policy than his precedents. In 1987, the first efforts of the challenging military's artificial traditional status

in the politics on the question of the presidential elections and this effort's implications came afterwards in 1989. One of the important factors for this process can be argued with Turkey's journey on EU application with its ups and downs. The rough process after 1987, continued with its ups and downs till

the present date. The differences on civil military relation especially became an issue for debate during this period. So, in the 1990s the de-centralization of the military's privileged status began to be pronounced again, though, this was not an easy process and it had its ups and downs as well.

However, the struggle with the PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party) during this period, which continued till the late-1990s, which also is in relation with the process of militarization, moving along the historical axis, after Özal's death in 1993 Demirel, who was known long before with his political experience in the Justice Party, became the president In 1995, constitutional amendments took place, which, as Özbudun suggests: "Represented a continuity of the efforts of strengthening the civilian authority began in 1987. Some of the legacies of the military regime have been removed through constitutional amendment; thus the ban on political activities of former politicians was repealed by a 1987 constitutional referendum and was not voted by President Evren. The 1995 constitutional amendments also repealed some provisions dear to the 1982 military fathers, such as those banning cooperation between political parties and other civil society institutions such as trade unions, associations, foundations, and professional organizations." (Özbudun, 2000: 117) However, the "civilianization" of the period did not continue in an ideal way where the direction nearly led to an opposite direction in 1997.

Nevertheless, the parties in power at that time were the Welfare Party (WP) and the True Path Party (TPP). The TPP were largely considered as a continuation of the Justice Party, whereas the WP of the National Salvation Party. The coalition formed was taken at a discomfort by the military from the beginning, because the Islamist discourse that the WP led was interpreted as a threat to the secular structure of the state. WP leader Erbakan's[2] statements in coherence with the Islamic discourse of his party became a justification ground for the military's arguments of the necessity of reminding the military's protective role of the state. On this ground as Özbudun suggests: "Turkey witnessed the 28 February 1997 meeting of the National Security Council, at which the commanders strongly criticized the government for its permissiveness toward "reactionary activities" (Özbudun, 2000: 120)

The act was represented as the recommendations to the state; however, many people interpreted the act as a "post-modern military intervention. The implications that the act made and the way that the act occurred are important for the sake of getting a better picture of the existence of militarization in Turkey ,the act was not an official military intervention, or to say it more correctly it was not a coup d'état in classical meaning. The representation of the intervention was more like a recommendatory movement. However, the seriousness of the act with the seriousness of the way the threat perceptions were defined and interpreted together with the preparedness of the military means made the act a very important one in the scale of militarization in Turkey's political history. This act was the latest tension close to a coup d'état. The military tanks were sent to the streets of Sincan[3]. It was said that the tanks were driven just as a signal of a warning. The events following the time were mostly influenced by the EU application process, which the currents situation is stemming from. In short, the key point of this intervention is that military insured government's religious (or pro-Islamist) policies should be prohibited and those parties should be dismissed. Militarization is a process, which is successful through normalization. The institutional changes that the military interventions brought served for the effective

---

[2] Prof. Dr. Necmettin Erbakan: was the Prime Minister of Republic of Turkey from 1996 until 1997. He was Turkey's first Islamist Prime Minister. In 1997 he was pressured by the military to step down as prime minister and later banned from politics by the constitutional court.

[3] Sincan: a quarter of the city of Ankara known to be religiously conservative at the time.

role of the military in politics to gain more strength. This served for the political arena of the country to get used to the occurrence of military interventions.

6. Secularism and Women

With military intervention women obtained her rights that lost after Ataturk, can be classify such classify such as in 1960 two groups occurred leftist and rightist in 1971 women took part in this leftist movement and became militants of various leftist organizations. Due to the conventional anti-feminist character of Marxism and due to the class problem some of the Marxist-Leninist organizations did of course delve into certain formations under the name "women's studies," but the main aim of these studies was to make the concerned organizations appealing to women. During the same period, the leftist movement had conformed to patriarchal ideologies and establishments in order to unite with the people. However, after the 1980 military intervention on 12 September, the European Community used diplomatic as well as economic measures and pressure to restore democracy in Turkey. These steps influenced Turkish politics and accelerated the process of democratization, as Turkey aspired to EC membership. This pressure for more democracy was also important for the Turkish women's movement after 1980. On the other hand the military intervention of 1980 had repressed the left as well as the far right and created a political vacuum where women could come out with their own voices. Access to feminist experiences in the west and personal links to feminists abroad were important for feminist politics in Turkey. Western literature on feminist experiences and theory some of which was translated by feminists helped influence women in Turkey. In the context of a globalizing world in which means of communication and transportation made borders more porous than before, it was inevitable that women in a westernizing Turkey would be influenced by the feminist revolution in the west. However the coup d'état of 12th September 1980 meant silencing all mass organizations and institutions as well as the Marxist Left. In those days, one could not see a single person who was involved with the leftist movement and was not subjected to the rage of the military regime.

Kemalist feminists began to organize in the late 1980s and argued that they were mobilized in response to what they perceived as the Islamist threat. They argued that Islam restricted women's rights; it allowed polygamy, unilateral divorce by men, unequal share of inheritance for women, and the like. They were afraid that the advent of Islam would delegitimize if not replace, the secular legal basis of the republic including the Civil Code. They organized to defend this secular republican framework. USA and EU effect some works strongly stress external impact in explaining the Islamists' moderation, rather than the impact of domestic institutionalization. Given Turkey's hope of becoming a full EU member and of establishing a close relationship with the European countries, the secularist state should listen to the key concerns expressed by the European Commission which included the heavy influence of the Turkish military on civilian affairs and the recent closure of the Islamic party.

7. Conclusions

We demonstrated the process of militarization in Turkey with backing up with historical information. The four military interventions as explained before, with their occurrence take attention above all. But further, the aftermath of the interventions and especially the institutional changes that they have brought served for strengthening the position of the military in institutional sense. Furthermore, these interventions and the changes they brought both rendered the process of militarization made it an alive, prolific process within the eyes of the public. The process of

militarization became to be unquestioned by the society and pervade into the civil life, so the society became militarized.

We discussed the relationship between militarization and securitization in Turkey. After showing how the process of militarization worked for Turkey, building on that background this article aimed to show how the process of securitization in Turkey takes its source from militarization and leads to militarization. We also looked into the gender construction in "militarization and securitization" processes, which a specific gendered understanding of security feeds. This gendered understanding that feeds the militarization which shapes the securitization prevents the women security issues to be existent in the security agenda of a country with the justification that there are some other more important issues that should come first because of the specific kind of threat perception that specific kind of security understanding gives a rise to. Individualist rather than the statist understanding of security lies at the core of feminist understanding of security and with this way women security can be provided. Nevertheless, this article aimed at analyzing the processes of securitization and militarization, the relationship between the processes, and the gender construction in these processes in Turkey. The influence of the Kemalist ideology on the militarization of security and its effect on securitization was explained (Gunay, 2005).This point of stance on security seems to make the avenue for possible changes for the break of the cyclical relationship between securitization and militarization difficult for the moment. Besides these, however, civil organizations have been emerged and are continuing to emerge. Especially the issue of military service and gendered politics are being questioned by some civil organizations and groups.

With this article I found current situation of Turkey has many similarities between now and the time of intervention, such as economic crises, government weakness, student movements, ethnic group conflict and using religion against uneducated and poor people, external threats like acceptance of European Union and Unites State decision. However, the intervention which realized in 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997 took place in the surprisingly similar political conditions as today, such as the way toward most Islamic regime, and the consequences are unstable for women in terms of women inferior, putting big barrier front of girls' education, women rights and their political position. In this article, a discussion on these processes can be stimulated the processes of militarization and securitization on the society. In fact, as seen throughout the article, they are rare because of the difficulties they encountered. Also our work may provide a more systematic view for future researchers' work on digging insight or predicting the future trend of security, gender, or military policy of Turkey. Still, there is a lot of work the Turkish state and women's groups have to be done for women and thereby for democracy and a better future for Turkey.

In conclusion, in a chaotic atmosphere of efforts at de-securitization and de-militarization this article served for analyzing the cyclical relationship between the processes of securitization and militarization, and showing the gendered understanding these processes are built on. The breaking of this chain and its problematic consequences are hard, but since the belief in change constitute the basis for development.

References

Altınay, Ayse Gül. (2004). The Myth of the Military-Nation: Military, Gender and Education in Turkey, Palgrave Macmillan Press, New York

Altınay, Ayse Gül., (2005). Militarizm, the Free University Concept Dictionary, Discourse and the Reality, Maki Press, Ankara

Arat, Yesim., (1989). The Patriarchal Paradox, , Associated University Press, London and Toronto

Arat, Zehra, (1998). Introduction Politics of Representation and Identity, In Deconstructing Images of the Turkish Woman , St. Martin's Press, New York

Aydınlı, Ersel.,(2002). "Between Security and Liberalization: Decoding Turkey's Struggle with the PKK," Security Dialogue, Vol.33,No.2, pp 209-225

Bilgin, Pınar,(2002). "Beyond Statism in Security Studies, Human Agency and Security in the Middle East," The Review of International Affairs , Vol.2, No.1, pp.100-112

Bilgin, Pınar., (2003). The Role of Security factor in Turkey- Eu Relations Europe and Turkey in the Aftermath of the Cold War, In Cem Karadeli, ed., Aytac Press, Ankara

Bilgin, Pınar,(2004). "International Politics of Women's (In) Security: Rejoinder to Mary Caprioli," Security Dialogue Vol.35, No.4, p.499-504

Bilgin, Pınar, (2005). "Turkey's Changing Security Discourses," European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 44, No.1, pp.175-201

Bilgin, Pınar., (2006). The World's Center of Gravity the Politics of Geopolitics in Turkey paper presented at the Workshop entitled "Self-fulfilling Geopolitics? Geopolitical Thought in Post-Cold War Europe" held by Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), June 5, 6

Birand, Mehmet Ali.,(1986). An anatomy of the Turkish armed forces ,Istanbul Press,

Booth, Ken., (1997). Security and Self: Reflections of Fallen Realist", In Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams eds., Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis

Booth, Ken., (1998). "Cold Wars of the Mind" In Ken Booth (ed), Statecraft and Security: The Cold War and Beyond ,Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Bora, Tanıl., (2004). "Nationalist Discourses in Turkey," The South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol.102, No. 2/3, pp. 433-451

Bora, Tanıl and Murat Gültekingil (eds.) (2001). "Kemalism" Political Thought in Modern Turkey Vol.2, Iletisim Press, Istanbul

Bozdogan, S. and Kasaba, R., (1997), Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey, University of Washington Press, Seattle Wash

Caprioli, Mary, (2004). "Democracy and Human Rights versus Women's Security: A Contradiction?" Security Dialogue, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp.411-428

Cizre, Ümit, (1997). "The Anatomy of the Turkish Military's Political Autonomy," Comparative Politics, Vol.29, No.2, pp. 151-166

Cizre, Ümit,(2004). "Problems of Democratic Governance of Civil-Military Relations in Turkey and the European Union Enlargement Zone," European Journal of Political Research, Vol.43, No.1, pp.107-125

Cleveland, William L.and Martin P. Bunton, (2013). A History of the Modern Middle East, Westview Print, Boulder

Cohn, Carol, (1997). Clear Bombs and Clean Language, In Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias (eds), Women, Militarism and War Rowman & Littlefield Press,Totowa, N.J

Delaney, Carol, (1991). The Seed and the Soil: Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society, University of California Press, Berkeley

Demirel, Tanel, (2002). "Turk Silahli Kuvvetleri'nin Toplumsal Mesruiyeti Uzerine," Toplum ve Bilim, Vol.93, pp. 29-55

Devetak, Richard, (2001). "Critical Theory" In Scott Burchill et al. (eds), Theories of International Relations, Palgrave Press, New York,

Dodd, Clement.H,(1990). The Crisis of Turkish Democracy, The Eothen Press, London

Dodd, Clement.H, (1995). The Cyprus Issue: A Current Perspective. Huntingdon, The Eothen Press, Cambridgeshire

Enloe, Cynthia, (2000). Maneuvers, The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives, University of California Press, Berkeley

Gedik, D. and A. Kilinc. (1997 February 16). Sounds of Heels against the Shariat. The New Century News, Retrieved from http://www.yeniyuzyil.com.tr/

Goldstein, Joshua, (2001). International Relations. United States: McGeehan Press

Günay, Defne, (2005). The Emergence of Neo-Kemalism, Ankara Press

Hale, William, (1994). Turkish Politics and Military, Routledge Press, London and New York

Hale, William, (2003). Turkish Politics and Role of the Military, Routledge Press, New York

Harris S., George, (1988: 177- 207). "The Role of the Military in Turkey in the 1980s: Guardians or Decision Makers?" In Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin (eds), State, Democracy and Military, Turkey in the 1980s., Water de Gruyter Press, New York

Heper, Metin and Güney, Aylin, (2001). "The Military and the Consolidation of Democracy: The Recent Turkish Experience," Armed Forces and Society, Vol.26, No. 4, pp. 635-657

IPU Parline Database: www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports

Kaliber, Alper, (2005). "Securing the Ground through Securitized 'Foreign' Policy: The Cyprus Case," Security Dialogue, Vol. 36, No.3, pp. 319-337

Karaosmanoglu, Ali L., (2000). "The Evolution of the National Security Culture and the Military in Turkey," Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 54, No.1, pp. 199-216

Magden, Perihan, (2005). "Conscientious Objection is a Human Right", Yeni Aktüel, Vol. 2, pp. 20-21 Mastering Modern World History by Norman Lowe, second edition

Ruddick, Sara, (1993). "Notes toward a Feminist Peace Politics." In Cooke Miriam et al., eds., Gendering War Talk, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ

Rodriguez Carmen et al., (2014). Turkey's Democratization Process, Rutledge, New York

Senesen, Gülay Günlük, (2006). "An Evaluation of the Modernization Program of Turkish Armed Forces," http://www.savaskarsitlari.org/arsiv.asp?ArsivTipID=6&ArsivAnaID=1393"

Shankland David, (1999), the Turkish Republic at Seventy-Five Years, Eothen Press, Huntingdon, U.K

Shaw, Martin, (1991), Post-Military Society: Militarism, Demilitarization and War at the End of the Twentieth Century, Polity Press, Cambridge

Sylvester, Christine, (1994). "Empathetic Cooperation: A Feminist Method for IR," Millennium: Journal of International Studies, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 315-334

Terriff, Terry., (1999). "The Impact of Gender in Security Studies" in Security Studies Today, New York: Polity Press.

Tickner, J. Ann., (2001). Gendered World Politics New York: Columbia University Press.

Tobias, Sheila, (1990), "Shifting Heroisms: The Uses of Military Service in Politics" In Jean Bethke et al. (eds) Women, Militarism and War, Rowman & Littlefield Press, Totowa, N.J.

Toprak, Binnaz, (2005). "Islam and Democracy in Turkey," Turkish Studies, Vol. 6, No. .2, pp. 169

True, Jacqui, (2001). "Feminism" In Scott Burchill et al, eds., Theories of International Relations, Palgrave Press, New York

Tuchman, Jessica Mathews, (1989). "Redefining Security," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 68, No. 2, pp.162-178

Tuncay, M., (1981), The Establishment of the Single Party Rule in the Republic of Turkey, 1923-1931 Yurt Yayinlari Press, Ankara

Turkish General Staff Official Webpage, (2006a), Defense Policy: http://www.tsk.mil.tr/eng/ genel_konular/savunmapolitikasi_p.htm

Turkish General Staff Official Webpage, (2006b), Mission: http://www.tsk.mil.tr/eng/genel_ konular/gorevi_p.htm

Vagts, Alfred, (1995). A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military, Hollis and Carter Press, London

Varoglu, A. Kadir and Bıçaksız, Adnan, (2005). "Volunteering for Risk: The Culture of the Turkish Armed Forces," Armed Forces & Society, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 583-598

Wæver, Ole, (1995). "Securitization and De-securitization" In Ronnie D. Lipschutz, ed., On Security Columbia University Press, New York

Zurcher, Eric J., (1993). Turkey: A Modern History. New York, J.B. Tauris & Co ltd.