

A Comparative Analysis of Turkish and Pakistani Quest for Modernity



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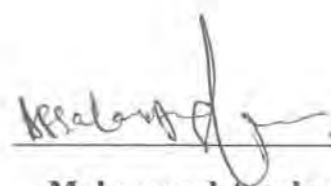
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CANDIDATE DECLARATION

I, **Muhammad Arsalan**, declare that this MPhil thesis titled “**A Comparative Analysis of Turkish and Pakistan Quest for Modernity**” is my original work and has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other institution. The work presented in this thesis is the result of my own research, and all sources used or referred to have been duly acknowledged in the text.



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DEDICATION

I dedicate my work to my loving mother and devoted wife,
Your unwavering support, endless love and boundless encouragement have been the guiding
lights of my journey. This accomplishment is as much yours as it is mine with deepest
gratitude and love, this achievement is dedicated to you

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All glory be to **Allah Almighty**, the creator of the world and the Master of the hereafter who has shown his love for his creation by bestowing infinite kindness on them. Peace and unaccountable salutation upon the **Holy Prophet Muhammad** (PBUH) who has taken humanity from the days of cruelty and ignorance to the ages of peace and safety. I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to several individuals who have played pivotal roles in my academic journey.

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Furthermore, I extend my deepest gratitude to my parents for their unwavering love, support and encouragement throughout my academic journey. Their sacrifices, guidance, and belief in my potential have been the cornerstone of my success. Their constant encouragement and word of wisdom have provided me with the strength and motivation to pursue my goals relentlessly. I am profoundly thankful to their endless support, understanding, and sacrifices, which have shaped me into the person I am today.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GNA	Grand National Assembly
CHP	<i>Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi</i> Republican People's Party
TCF	<i>Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Frkas</i> (Progressive Republican Party)
SCF	Serbest Cumhuriyet Frkas (Free Republican Party)
DP	<i>The Demokrat Parti</i> (Democratic Party)
MKP	<i>Milli Kalkınma Partisi</i> (National Development Party)
MBK	The Milli Birlik Komitesi (The Committee of National Unity)
AP	Adalet Partisi (Justice Party)
TP	<i>Türkiye İşçi Partisi</i> (Turkey Worker's organization)
GKB	Genç Komünistler Birliği (The Revolutionary Communist Party)
THKO	Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu (People's Liberation Army of Turkey)
MSP	Millî Selâmet Partisi (The National Salvation Party)
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (The Nationalist Movement Party)
MGK	Milli Güvenlik Kurulu (The Military High Command)
ANAP	Anavatan Partisi (The Motherland Party)
DYP	Doğru Yol Partisi (The True Path Party)
DSP	Demokratik Sol Partisi (The Democratic Left Party)
SHP	Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti (The Social Democratic Populist Party)
RP	A Residence Permit
ANAYOL	Second Mesut Yılmaz government
IMF	International Monetary Fund
TIDB	Industrial Development Bank of Turkey
EEC	European Economic Community
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
JUI	Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam
JI	Jamaat-i-Islami
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
US	United States

FATA	Federally Administrated Tribal Areas
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
RCD	Regional Cooperation for Development
OECD	The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
RAND	Research and Development

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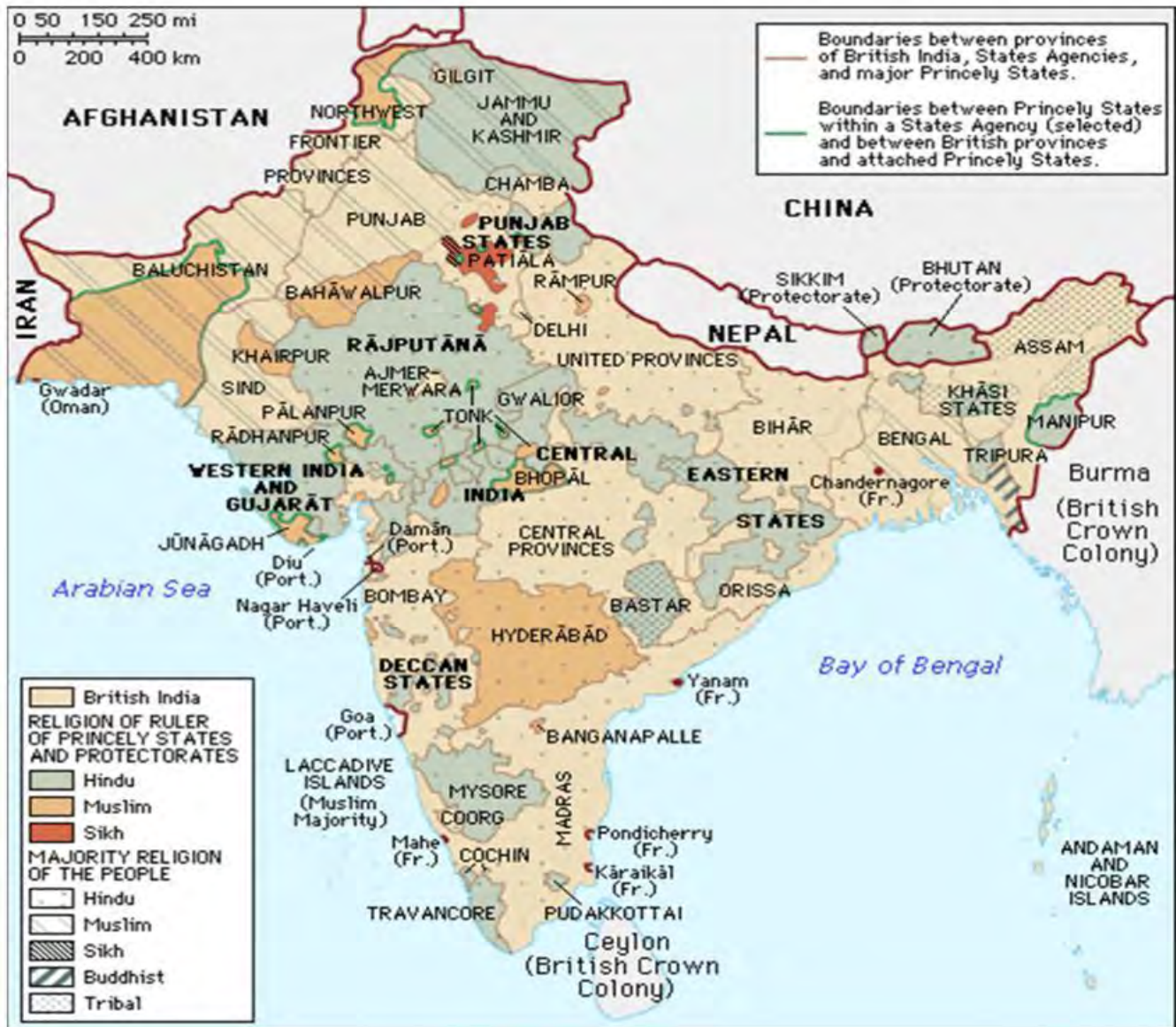
Maps



Map 1 Ottoman Empire



Map 2 Republic of Turkey



Map 3 South Asia (Indian Sub-Continent)



Map 4 Political Map of Pakistan

Abstract

The term modernity is frequently used to describe societies that are founded on the values of individual freedom. The advancement of modernity generates changes in the organisation of nations. In order to make way for democratic authority, administrative rationality, and industrialization, states experienced secularization. Hence, the process of modernization in Turkey and Pakistan originated in the 18th and 19th centuries. Following their respective independence in 1923 in Turkey and 1947 in Pakistan, both countries underwent a process of modernization. Nevertheless, both nations encountered numerous obstacles such as conservative ideologies, turmoil in politics, unstable economy, military interference in civil governance, and the enforcement of secular policies that established the state as the primary authority in the relationship between government and religion. Secular policies emerged as a prominent consequence of modernization in Turkey and Pakistan, assuming a central role in the relations between the state and religion

The study seeks to comprehend the process of modernization in Turkey and Pakistan by means of comparative analysis and their respective responses to changes. Additionally, it examines the societal, economic, and political progress of both nations. Therefore, this study is divided into two portions. First portion explains the evolution of modernism in Turkey and Pakistan prior to independence. Second portion of the study focuses on the policies adopted by the government officials after independence.

The research utilizes a comparative historical methodology. The primary objective of comparative historical analysis is to gain a thorough understanding of the complex processes and enormous structures that provide important insights into the structure of social existence. Comparative historical studies focus on significant subjects with profound implications, including the modernization process, revolutionary movements, industrial progress, and ongoing societal change.

Introduction

Modernity is undoubtedly among the most problematic words in academic literature due to its various and frequently contradictory definitions. Because it has been and continues to be such a vital part of social, political, cultural, and economic life on a global scale, scholars from other fields are compelled to explore the term, so broadening its definition and complicating its use. Modernity can refer to a lifestyle, culture, discourse, historical time, movement, project, way of thinking, rational trend, capitalism, industrial development, democracy, and secularism.¹ The subject is sometimes used to refer to all of these at once, which runs the risk of rendering the term analytically useless; sometimes one of its narrower meanings is privileged over others at the expense of oversimplifying the term and overlooking its other unexpected manifestations in scholarly literature and it is ascribed multiple, frequently contradictory meanings.²

The transition from an agricultural and rural society to an urban and industrialized one. It is closely related to industrialization. As civilizations become more modern, the importance of the individual rises, displacing the family, community, or work group as the most significant social unit. The industrialization-induced division of labor is also utilized by institutions, which grow increasingly specialized. Society is governed by abstract, purpose-built laws, not by history or custom. Frequently, traditional religious beliefs and such cultural characteristics lose significance.³

Modern society is industrial society. To modernize a culture, one must first industrialize it. Throughout history, the emergence of industrial civilization has been inextricably linked to the development of modern society. All of the attributes of modernity may be dated directly to the accumulation of innovations that gave rise to the industrialized kind of society

¹ Yunus Akçali, "Two Paths of Modernization: A Comparative Analysis of Turkey and Egypt," 2015.

² Alev Cinar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time*, First Edition (Minneapolis: Univ of Minnesota Press, 2005).

³ "Modernization | Nature, Features, Examples, & Facts | Britannica," December 5, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/modernization>.

approximately 250 years ago. This demonstrates that the terms modernization and industrialization refer to much more than the technical and economic components of its foundation. Industrialization involves significant economic, social, political, and cultural changes. By enduring the tremendous shift of industrialization, societies become modern.⁴

Furthermore, modernization is a continuous and never-ending process. However, there are cases of rapid modernization. Modernity is not a one-time achievement in any circumstance. Their proliferation is always uneven and unequal. No matter the amount of development, there will always be “backward” regions and “peripheral” groups. This is a continuing source of stress and conflict in modern societies. This circumstance is not exclusive to the domestic expansion of individual nations. It is seen on a global basis as modernism expands from its founding Western foundation to the rest of the globe. Existence of unequally developed countries is a fundamental source of instability in the global system of states.⁵

There seems to be two periods of modernization. In what is commonly viewed as an upward, progressive trend, it carries with it the organizations and ideals of society. Initial opposition to modernization may be vehement and enduring, but it is often doomed to fail. Nevertheless, beyond a certain point, modernization has a tendency to generate widespread resentment. This is due in part to the early achievements and dynamism of modern civilization, which have heightened expectations. Groups have a tendency to make increased demands on the community, which become harder and harder to meet. Modernity on a global level and at an accelerated rate generates new social and material challenges that threaten the very growth and expansion on which modern civilization is built. In this second phase, Modern civilizations are confronted with a profusion of new difficulties, the answers to which frequently appear

⁴ “Modernization | Nature, Features, Examples, & Facts | Britannica.”

⁵ “Modernization | Nature, Features, Examples, & Facts | Britannica.”

beyond the capacity of the conventional nation-state. Despite this, the world is still dominated by a system of autonomous nation-states with unequal powers and competing interests.

Nonetheless, challenge and response are the foundation of modern society. In evaluating the nature and development of the most profound and far-reaching shift in human history, what instantly stands out is not so much the difficulties and hazards, but rather the astounding success with which modern civilization has overcome them.

After the achieving of independence by Turkey in 1923 and Pakistan in 1947, the endeavours towards modernization continued. However, a significant outcome of the process of modernization in Turkey and Pakistan was the implementation of secular policies, which established the state as the central authority in the interaction between the government and religion. As articulated by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah,

*“The new state would be a modern democratic state which sovereignty resting in the people and the members of the new nation having equal rights of citizenship regardless of their religion, caste or creed”*⁶

Both Turkish and Pakistani societies have undergone from different arduous processes for attaining modernity. Pakistan process of modernization may be traced back to the nineteenth century, whereas Turkey began in the eighteenth century. The authorities of the Ottoman Empire were driven to seek a solution due to the unpredictable nature of its political and economic downfall. In addition to foreign meddling in domestic matters, the issue of minority groups prompted the Ottoman Sultans to initiate the *Tanzimat 1839* and *Islahat 1856* reform and modernization programs in the military, government, and economy. In this fashion, the reformers came to bear resemblance to Western institutions.⁷

⁶ Waheed Ahmad, “The Nation’s Voice, towards Consolidation: Speeches and Statements/Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah” (Quaid-I-Azam Academy Karachi, Pakistan, 1991).

⁷ Cinar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time*.

Before Pakistan's independence, there was a modernization trend in South Asia. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, who saw the challenges that modernization had brought to India as a result of British control, is credited for identifying these issues. Using political, educational, religious, and social reforms, he included Subcontinental Muslims into the modernizing current. Using the medium of journalism, he communicated with his fellow Muslims. To comprehend his role, it may be important to formulate modernity, its limits, and Indian Muslim society prospects.⁸

In spite of the significant body of literature dedicated to examining the modernization processes in Turkey and Pakistan through separate case studies and comparative analyses, this thesis aims to explore the divergent perspectives of both nations on the path towards modernization by examining both political developments and social transformations. The primary objective of this comparative research is to provide a distinctive viewpoint via the examination of modernity in Turkey and Pakistan.

Problem statement

Political developments in Turkey and Pakistan have led to significant social, economic, and political transformations, alongside the development of ties with the Western world and the forging of strong alliances. During the period from 1983 to 1991, Turkey adopted a set of liberal economic and political policies. Pakistan predominantly adopted economic liberalization and developed close alliances with Western bloc, particularly the United States. Furthermore, despite its persistence on the political agenda, the process of modernisation emerged as a significant concern in both Turkey and Pakistan. The concept of modernity exerts a persistent influence on the political and social spheres of Turkey and Pakistan.

⁸ Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

Objectives of the Research

To accomplish its objectives, this study divides its analysis into two phases. Comparing the modernization and democratic processes in Turkey and Pakistan is the first objective. The second objective is to compare similar scenarios involving Islamic, social, and political groups. Focus on the practices that resulted in political, social, and economic development when comparing nations. The development of state-religion links as a result of countries and cases reciprocal relationships.

Significance Of the Research

Turkey and Pakistan exhibit notable parallels in terms of their modernisation processes and historical trajectories. These resemblances encompass shared experiences such as fights for independence, occurrences of military coups, the prevalence of authoritarian regimes, and the presence of governing elites with military backgrounds. Furthermore, it is the governments that play a pivotal role in propelling the process of modernization, employing a “top-down” approach to modernization across various historical epochs. Therefore, it is essential to employ Turkey and Pakistan as comparative case studies in the endeavour of modernisation.

Research Questions

The primary inquiry of this study is on the divergent responses, transformations, and outcomes in terms of state-religion relationships during the process of modernization in Turkey and Pakistan. These two nations have comparable patterns of modernization and historical roots, making it imperative to understand the reasons for their contrasting trajectories.

1. *What were the obstacles in the way of Pakistan and Turkey achieving modernity?*
2. *What were the forces at play that attracted Pakistan and Turkey towards modernity?*
3. *How is the attitude of modernity, ever since its formation, struggling with attitudes of counter modernity?*
4. *To what extent the societies of Pakistan and Turkey altered in response to modernity?*

Research Methodology

The study will employ a comparative historical technique. Comparative historical analysis is largely focused on comprehending the comprehensive structures and extensive processes that offer significant insights into the organisation of social existence. Comparative historical studies centre their attention on significant matters that have wide-ranging implications, such as the process of modernization, revolutionary movements, industrial development, and ongoing societal transformations.

The comparative analysis is characterised by three essential qualities. By use of comparative historical analysis, this research aims to elucidate and identify the underlying causal mechanisms that give rise to significant outcomes. Rather than embracing or dismissing any “informal interpretation,” comparative historical research centres on the investigation and scrutiny of the selected examples. The second salient feature of comparative historical studies is in its emphasis on “historical sequences and the development of processes.” Instances that transpire “across time” and “in time” might be employed as illustrations to showcase revolutions and the establishment of states, for instance. As per the third requirement, comparative historians engage in the methodical and contextual examination of both comparable and different circumstances.

Hypothesis

Turkey and Pakistan, although exhibiting similar patterns of modernisation and sharing historical beginnings, demonstrate contrasting responses, reveal diverse forms of development, and arrive to divergent conclusions throughout their respective modernization processes.

Literature Review

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim modernization in India and Pakistan (1898). In his work on Muslim Modernity, Hafeez Malik explores past interactions between the West and the Muslim world. The author wanted to comprehend how Western ideals influenced Muslim

South Asians. Muslims have not always been hostile to the West. Muslims have traditionally attempted to learn from the West and form mutually beneficial collaborations.

Old World Empires: Cultures of Power and Governance in Eurasia (2014). Ilhan Niaz, the book in which author gives a comprehensive and extensive examination of the origins, development, and characteristics of state power, as well as a meticulous investigation of its creation, expansion, and attributes of state authority. This shows that Eurasia exhibits a predominant tendency towards authoritarian rule, which is facilitated by military, civil, and religious institutions. Chapter 5 of the book, “*From Sultanate to Secular State: The Rise and Fall of Ottoman and The Successes and Limitations of Kemalism in Modern Turkey*”, provides a comprehensive analysis of the changing frameworks of Ottoman society from sultanate to republic.

Ataturk and the Modernization of Turkey (1984). Jacob M. Landau, a book in which the author explained Kamal Ataturk achievements and his drive for modernism. The author attempts a comparative examination of the Kemalist Regimes policies and strategies. Ataturk principal ambition was to create a modernized, secular Turkey capable of competing successfully with other states, nations, and civilizations at the pinnacle of modern civilization. Although Ataturk immediate successors carried on his effort, they lacked his prominence. Even today, the majority of the rural population is essentially unaffected by modernity and remains deeply rooted in ancient practices.

A History of Turkey from Empire to Republic (1956). M. Philips Price, the books author, describes Turkish history and how Turks are the sole reliable bulwark of the Western way of life in the Middle East. The author of this book provides a detailed description of Turkey's quest for modernity and the reforms implemented prior to World War I. The second half of the book delves deeply into Turkey's transition period, during which young individuals

led the revolution and fostered an eager atmosphere of nationalism, modernization, republicanism, and Mustafa Kamal national consolidation.

The Greenwood Histories of Modern Nations: The History of Pakistan (2008). In his work, Iftikhar H. Malik conducts an analysis of the ancient society that traces its lineage to the inhabitants of the historic Indus Valley. This society engaged in interactions with many groups, including conquerors, philosophers, travellers, leaders, Sufis, as well as immigrants from western and central Asia. The nation in question, which is mostly inhabited by followers of the Islamic faith, has a collection of very towering mountains, expansive alluvial plains, and arid deserts. Geographically, it is strategically located at a significant historical intersection and exhibits several similarities with its neighbouring country. The initial phase of this historical period was characterised by the resurgence of Hindu empires, the presence of the initial Christian communities in the renowned city of Taxila, and a sequence of incursions originating from the northwest, which persisted until the arrival of Islam facilitated by Sufis and conquering Arab armies. The advent of the Turkish Muslim rulers, commonly referred to as the Delhi Sultanate, signified the initiation of a prominent Indo-Islamic civilisation, whereby Persian language and culture assumed a paramount position over the whole Indian subcontinent. The Mughal Period is renowned for its notable political, economic, and cultural accomplishments that coincided with the arrival of Europeans in Indian coastal ports. Commencing in the mid-eighteenth century, the progression of British dominion in South Asia coincided with the decline of the Mughal Empire. Subsequently, with the occurrence of the 1857 Rebellion, a variety of reactions emerged among the Muslim population in their interaction with the culturally varied subcontinent. This literary work delves into the establishment of Pakistan in the year 1947, subsequent to an extensive political procedure, alongside endeavours to develop a collective national identity grounded on consensus.

Imagining Pakistan: Modernism, State, and the Politics of Islamic Revival (2017). In this book, written by Rasul Bakhsh Rais, the author believes that the establishment of Pakistan is a consequence of Muslim modernism in the Subcontinent, as it defined the struggle for identity, nationalism, and the empowerment of Muslim communities. This modernist movement embodied the values of inclusiveness, equal rights, a liberal constitutional framework, and a sense of political community shared by many ethnic and regional groupings. Despite the fact that this modernism was the goal of Pakistan founders, it encountered opposition from Islamists fixated on reclaiming a lost history of Muslim greatness. Powerful elites who desired to create a strong and safe Pakistan through managed democracy also posed a significant threat to political modernity. *Imagining Pakistan* examines the institutional imbalance between the military and civilian groups, the concept of the security state, and the Islamist social forces and movements involved in the politics of Islamic revival. It asserts that Pakistan stability, security, and progress will be contingent on its adoption of political modernity.

Modern South Asia History, Culture, Political Economy. Ayesha Jalal, a Pakistani-American historian who specializes in the history of South Asia, authored the book. In this book, Ayesha Jalal investigates how ancient India has been viewed and comprehended by various scholars throughout history. Ayesha Jalal contends that the struggle between modernity and antiquity has impacted the perception of ancient India. She argues that modern representations of ancient India have tended to stress its antiquity, describing it as a civilization with a rigorous social order and a strict devotion to tradition.

Ayesha Jalal, on the other hand, argues that alternative interpretations of ancient India have highlighted its modernity. These views depict ancient India as a dynamic and innovative society with a high degree of social and economic mobility and an openness to adopting new technologies and ideas from other cultures. She has investigated numerous interpretations of

ancient India, including those of British colonial authorities, Indian nationalist leaders, and modern historians. She contends that these interpretations reflect larger political and ideological currents and are molded by the historical circumstances in which they were formulated.

“The Changing Perception of Islam in Pakistan and Turkey: A Comparative Analysis” (2020). Hidayet Siddikoğlu, the author of this essay examines the variables that define the perceived disparities between Turkey and Pakistan relationship with Islam in terms of their perceptions of Islam. The analysis demonstrates that the differences in perception of Islam in Pakistan and Turkey are not only a result of the interpretive tradition of fundamental sources, but have also developed concurrently with shifting socio-political conditions, all of which have contributed to the formation of the diverse societal dispositions and political orientations of these states. The study suggests that the continually shifting sociopolitical conditions, as well as the state or ruling elite’s perspectives, approaches, and responses to such changes, have had an important role in shaping various perceptions of Islam in Pakistan and Turkey.

“Modernity Misinterpreted in Pakistan” (2019). The author, Tayyaba Batool Tahir, looks into how people in Pakistan understand “modernity” and how it is closely linked to “westernization.” Misunderstood modernity is the model of modernity that many people in Pakistan have taken from the West. Some of the most important signs of misinterpreted modernity, according to the interviewees, are wearing clothes from the West, using the latest technology, and speaking English. From these points of view, most people in Pakistan are modern. In this study, the author says that modernity in Pakistan is misunderstood because, as a postcolonial country, institutions have been set up but there is the critical engagement needed for these institutions to grow. But the interviewees think about these changes and say that “our modernity” should come from our own cultural roots.

“Vision of Modernity in the early Turkish Republic: An Overview” (2007). Nesim Seker, the article looks at the main debates and lines of research about the origins of modern Turkey and what factors led to its modernization. It does this by looking at the meaning and principles of the Kemalist political movement and how it affected the formation of the Turkish State today. Some of the things that are looked at are political Islamism, Kurd nationalism, and projects to join with Europe. Because of all of these things, the secular and religious parts of Turkish politics have always been in conflict with each other.

“Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy” (2008). Yücel bozdağlıoğlu, in this article, the author talks about how important it is that Turkey is in a unique place geographically and culturally between East and West. Turkey's foreign policy has been focused on the West for most of its modern history. The author says that Turkey's leaning toward the West is closely related to Turkey's official leaning toward the West, which came about as a result of Turkey's project to modernize in the years after the Independence War. The Islamists' opposition to this new identity sometimes put the secular/Kemalist elite and the Islamists in Turkey at odds with each other, which sometimes got in the way of Turkey's foreign policy. The debate about Turkish foreign policy has been and still is an extension of the debate about national identity. So, an analysis of Turkish identity is needed to better understand the main things that shape Turkey's foreign policy preferences and actions.

“Islam and Modernity: A Case Study of Pakistan Political History” (2020). Tayyaba Batool Tahir, Ali Ammar, and Fatima Bajwa, this research paper attempts at exploring the practices of Islamization in the Indian subcontinent, especially in Pakistan after the partition, against the background of modernity. It shows how Muslim thinkers tried to bring back Islamic ideas in a world that was changing because of modernity. The main point of the study is that Muslim scholars in Pakistan have been working hard to make Islam the main religion and moral code of Pakistani society in the economic, political, and social spheres. During these efforts,

rulers and religious leaders have been trying to impose and promote their own ideas about Islam in order to find a balance between the changes brought on by modernism and the true spirit of Islam. But as this happened, different kinds of Islam, like liberal Islamization, nationalist Islam, socialist popular Islam, revivalist fundamentalist Islam, civil theocratic Islam, moderate-modern Islam, and so on, grew up in Pakistan under different leaders. These different versions and interpretations of Islamic ideology have fueled different pressure groups and kept the state in a state of confusion and conflict with modernity. This has slowed Pakistan progress in this modernized and globalized world to a large degree.

Division of the Study

The structure of the study is organized into following chapters. Aside from introduction and conclusion.

The Historical Backdrop of Modernity in Turkey and Pakistan will be the focus of the first chapter of the study. This chapter examines the concept of modernity, its history, how it has evolved over time, and its relevance to the Turkish and Pakistani cultures. Moreover, this chapter discusses the evolution of modernism in Turkey before independence and South Asia prior to partition.

The second chapter sheds light on **Turkey's Quest for Modernity**. This chapter has two sections. The chapter provides a chronological account of the historical context of the Republic of Turkey, commencing with its attainment of independence in 1923, and examines its social, economic and political transformations.

The third chapter will be titled **Pakistan's Quest for Modernity**. This chapter analyses the path of modernity from the period of independence, 1947 to 1999, and modern developments in economic, social and political system.

Following **Comparative Analysis of Turkish and Pakistani Quest for Modernity** is the fourth chapter. Comparative examination of social, political, and economic technological progress, as well as religion and societal idea

Chapter 1

The Historical Backdrop of Modernity in Turkey and Pakistan

Modernity is a vast and diversified concept that encompasses several social, cultural, economic, and political changes associated with the Enlightenment period in European history. Modernity is fundamentally characterized by a shift from ancient systems of thought and social structure to new sources of intelligence, communication, and governance that emphasize reason, individualism, and progress. Modernity is characterized by the rejection of traditional systems of knowledge and leadership in favor of rationalism and empiricism. This emphasis on reason and evidence-based inquiry paved the way for advances in science, technology, and helped to the development of Modern liberal democracies.¹

Furthermore, modernity is also characterized by a trend toward individualism, characterized by a respect for individual autonomy, freedom, and choice. This transition is exemplified by the expansion of human rights, individualistic creative forms like the book and the memoir, and the emergence of consumer culture. The modern age also saw the decline of religious authority and the rise of secularism, as people turned to science and reason rather than religion for answers to life fundamental questions. This movement had profound impacts on politics and society, including the separation of church and state and the development of secular ethics.²

In addition to, modernity is also associated with the rise of capitalism, as industrialization and technological advancement led to the expansion of markets, industries, and the global economy. This change had profound effects on social and economic organization, including the growth of wage labor, urbanization, and mass production. Lastly, modernity is also characterized by the process of globalization, which has facilitated the global

¹ Cinar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time*.

² Ibid.

dissemination of modern ideas, technologies, and institutions. This has resulted in increasing interconnectedness and cultural interaction, as well as new kinds of inequity and exploitation.³

Thus, modernity is a complex amalgamation of historical, cultural, and social changes that have transformed human cultures over the course of several centuries. Modernity has had a significant impact on the world in which we currently reside, influencing everything from our systems of government to our cultural beliefs to our economic structures, despite the fact that there are different views of what modernity is and its ramifications.

1.1 Modernity in the Turkish and Pakistani contexts

During their respective paths to modernity, both Turkey and Pakistan have undergone substantial transformations. Despite major differences in their histories, cultures, and sociopolitical conditions, the two nations encounter with modernity are comparable in certain ways.

1.2 Turkey

The process of modernization in Turkey may be historically linked to the late Ottoman Empire, during which a diverse amalgamation of Islamic tradition and European modernity was observed. Throughout this period, Turkey was introduced to the intellectual and cultural flows of the European Enlightenment as well as the new technologies and economic systems of industrialization.⁴

Sultan Mahmud II, who ruled Turkey from 1808 to 1839, was a crucial figure in the country's early modernization. Mahmud II enacted changes with the aim of modernizing the Ottoman society. The changes involved the creation of new administrative and military structures, the adoption of a new legal structure, and the introduction of innovative technologies

³ "Modernization | Nature, Features, Examples, & Facts | Britannica."

⁴ Javaid Saeed, *Islam and Modernization: A Comparative Analysis of Pakistan, Egypt, and Turkey* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1994).

such as steamships and railroads. The successors of Mahmud, namely Sultan Abdulmejid I and Sultan Abdulaziz, strove for additional modernization and European integration. During this period, modern educational institutions, a new legal system, and technologies like telegraphs and telephones were introduced.⁵

Thus, Sultan Mahmud II understood the need for administrative and bureaucratic reforms to strengthen the central authority of the Ottoman Empire. By introducing new ministries and divisions, he planned to overhaul the administrative infrastructure. One of his most significant reforms was the “*Nizam-Cedid*” (New Order) army, which tried to modernize the military by reducing the Janissaries authority and introducing European-style training and equipment.⁶

1.2.1 The Tanzimat Era

Ottoman local elites across the Empire understood modernization as the integration of European political modernity into Ottoman institutions and administrative systems, was the guiding principle behind the *Tanzimat Era* in the 19th century.⁷ Priority one for the *Tanzimat* was the military apparatus. During this era, the once powerful Ottoman forces, the *Janissaries* and the *Sipahi*, had significantly declined in their former status. Their lack of superiority was glaringly apparent when contrasted with the exceptionally proficient, extensively trained, and adept European forces that arose throughout the 18th century.⁸

The administrative infrastructure of the empire was the second priority of Ottoman reformers beginning in 1839, the same year the first *Tanzimat* decree, *Hatt-i-Sharif* of the Gülhane, was granted. The primary purpose of the order was to remove the conventional land

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ilhan Niaz, *Old World Empires: Cultures of Power and Governance in Eurasia* (New York: Routledge, 2014). 342

⁸ Wajih Kawtharani, “The Ottoman Tanzimat and the Constitution” (Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, 2013).

tenure system (*iltizam*). Subsequently, a number of provisions, decrees, and organizational and legal edicts were issued. The most notable among them was “*Hatt-I-Humayun (1856)*”, which placed emphasis on ensuring justice among various communities and social classes. This was tracked by the introduction of the new “*Wilayat law*” (Provincial Law) in 1864, which made it mandatory to elect administrative councils at both the district and provincial levels (Wilayat). Subsequently, a sequence of laws was enacted in 1869 to regulate the status of “*Ottoman Affiliation*” (Citizenship). Additionally, the judiciary underwent reforms, resulting in the establishment of democratic, Islamic, and secular courts. Furthermore, additional legislative laws were implemented to govern commerce, official dealings, land documentation, and the regional governing bodies.⁹

Additionally, the constitution of 1876 was specifically referred to “*The Fundamental Law of Sultanate*”, despite the fact that during that period, the phrase “*Constitution*” means the whole *Tanzimat*, not just the fundamental law related to Sultan because it was an evolution process of changing traditional society into modernized.¹⁰ Without a doubt, numerous historical instances like external and internal threat that greatly influenced the choice to adopt the *Tanzimat*. Amidst this period, the mounting pressure arising from the expansion and rivalry of capitalism in Europe compelled European governments to seek for fresh markets and territories to dominate. The circumstances necessitated the enactment of reforms, particularly in the domain of commercial law. The Empire’s elites, comprising diplomats, politicians, and thinkers, were increasingly cognizant of the imperative to implement reforms for the purpose of safeguarding and augmenting the Empire. Their objective was to adopt the fundamental principles that they viewed as the foundation for Western prosperity and influence.¹¹

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Niaz, *Old World Empires*. 342

¹¹ Ibid, Kawtharani, “The Ottoman Tanzimat and the Constitution.”

Additionally, Sultan Mahmud II modernized the Ottoman legal system through a series of legal changes. He instituted the “*Tanzimat*” (Reorganization) reforms, which intended to codify and standardize laws to ensure that all subjects of the empire had equal treatment and protection. The *Tanzimat* reforms were crucial in developing a more just and predictable legal framework based on equality and justice ideals.¹²

To concentrate power and modernize the bureaucracy, Sultan Abdul Hamid II instituted a number of administrative changes. The Sultans 1877 “*Imperial Edict of Reorganization*” is one of the key sources that illuminate these measures. This decree was intended to streamline the administrative system by establishing new ministries, outlining the responsibilities and tasks of government personnel, and implementing Modern administrative procedures. In addition, Sultan Abdul Hamid II instituted numerous military reforms. These improvements are highlighted in the 1878 issue of “*Mülkiye Rüşumu*” (Military Regulations). This document outlined modifications to the recruitment procedure, the formation of a centralized military hierarchy, and the implementation of Modern military techniques and equipment.¹³

Sultan Abdul Hamid II placed education as a top priority in his endeavour to modernize the Ottoman Empire. The establishment of the Education ministry (*Maarif Nezareti*) in 1881 was a crucial milestone in the pursuit of educational reform. An instance of the 1883 publication, “*Regulation of Public Education*”, is the *Maarif-i-Umumiye Nizamnamesi*. The objective of this legislation was to modernize the curriculum, improve teacher education, and establish educational institutions using Western pedagogical frameworks. In the same manner, the Sultan acknowledged the importance of infrastructure endeavours in fostering the economic

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

and social progress of the kingdom. The construction of the Istanbul-Baghdad Railway reflects his endeavours.¹⁴

In addition to strengthening the military, Sultan Abdul Hamid II embraced technological advancement and its potential to modernize the empire. His backing for telegraph lines over the entire empire illustrates his interest in telegraphy and communication.¹⁵

Reforms that accompanied the *Tanzimat* and its concept of modernization meant something different to various parties in the Ottoman Empire. For European capitalist powers, these reforms signified an easing of economic exchange, a development of the capitalist market, and the capacity to safeguard foreign communities and their local trade agents. For enlightened Ottoman elites, modernity was viewed as a means to minimize any potential clarification for intervention through the implementation of popular representation and the granting of Ottoman citizenship rights. The Ottoman populations (*Millets*), particularly those individuals who were not Muslims, perceived these policies as a manifestation of the principle of equality, while non-Turkish races and ethnic group saw them as a chance to gain some level of participation. Before secessionist demands within the Ottoman Empire crystallized, this was already the case.¹⁶

Conservative and religious parts of Ottoman society, who considered modernization as a threat to traditional Islamic values, opposed these reforms. During the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, who ruled from 1876 to 1909 and was noted for his efforts to combat modernization and preserve traditional Ottoman customs, this opposition was extremely strong.

¹⁴ Cinar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time*.

¹⁵ Ahmad Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 1st edition (London; New York: Routledge, 1992).

¹⁶ Kawtharani, "The Ottoman Tanzimat and the Constitution."

1.2.2 Young Turks Movement

The Young Turks party garnered the support of an increasing number of educated Turks. Under their influence, a surge of nationalism swept through the entire nation. Their aim to establish a truly national, democratic, modernize, and progressive government received significant support from a considerable number of civilians and young military commanders. The outbreak of the First World War momentarily halted the great national awakening, which reemerged following the armistice.¹⁷

The ineffective and conservative administration of the sultan was considered accountable for the Turkish setbacks due to its severe mismanagement of the War. The level of opposition to the government increased. Some army officers, including Mustafa Kemal and others, severely criticized the government war program, which severely damaged the reputation of the sultan and his administration. The nationalist Turks were much more motivated to attain their goals.¹⁸

On October 30, 1918, Turkey surrendered and signed the Armistice of Mudros. In quick succession, an allied military mission arrived in Constantinople and utterly overpowered the Sultans forces. In April 1919, an Italian army landed at Adalia and occupied South-Western Anatolia. In the month of May, the Greeks occupied Smyrna. The allies encouraged these landings. This occupation instilled in the Nationalist Turks a genuine dread that their nation would be the target of subsequent foreign attack. Indignation erupted against the hapless Sultans government, which was viewed as a tool of the allies and the Italian as well as Greek invaders, as a result of the threat to their homeland. The Turkish nationalists prepared to confront foreign assault.¹⁹

¹⁷ Raghubir Dayal and P. Bansal, *A Textbook of Modern European History 2nd Edition* (CBS Publishers & Distributors, 2009). 430-437

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

1.2.3 Treaty of Sevres and The Opposition of Nationalist Turks

The Sultan acceptance of the humiliating and harsh provisions of the Treaty of Sevres, despite his protests, wounds Turkish patriotic feelings and inflames the animosity of nationalist Turks who rejected the Treaty. Now, their primary goals were to combat foreign invasion and start enforcing the treaty.²⁰

Despite the prevailing hostility, Turkey persisted in its endeavours to modernize, particularly in the period leading up to World War I. During this period, new political movements, like as the Young Turks, campaigned for democratic reforms, nationalism, and modernity. These actions contributed to the overthrow of Sultan Abdulhamid II and the installation of a more secular democratic Turkish government.²¹

In July and August of 1919, the Nationalist Turks led by Mustafa Kamal Pasha raised the banner of insurrection. Mustafa Kemal, the hero of the Dardanelles battle, was the most well-liked army general in Turkey. He vehemently criticized the Italian and Greek invasion and called for a nationalist Turkish convention in “*Erzerum*”. In July 1919, resistance was formed against the foreign invaders. The Sultan removed him from the Army and issued an arrest warrant for him. In September, he convened a larger Nationalist congress in Sivas and was able to garner the support of a broad cross-section of society in order to achieve his goals. He nevertheless pretended to be loyal to the Sultan, whom he said was really a puppet in the hands of his allies. He persuaded his supporters that he was not a traitor to the Sultans authority, but that he was fighting foreign aggressors that the Sultans weak government could not withstand. His appeal galvanized the support of the people.²²

²⁰ Ibid., 432

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., 433

1.2.4 The National Pact (1919)

The National Congress reaffirmed the commitment of the National Turks to preserve the territorial integrity of their nation, resist the construction of an Armenian state by the allies, and expel the enemy from the country. It also issued a “*National Pact*” asserting self-determination for the Arab provinces, opening the straits to commerce, guaranteeing the rights of minorities, and demanding all territories inhabited by non-Arab Muslim majorities, including Anatolia, Eastern Thrace, and Mosul, as well as the abolition of capitulation.²³

1.2.5 The Provisional Government

In order to counteract the Nationalist movement, the Sultan reorganized his cabinet, and the newly elected Parliament in October accepted the National Pact as outlined by the National Assembly. The allies viewed these occurrences with great apprehension and convinced the Sultan to dissolve the parliament and arrest the nationalist leaders.²⁴

On April 23, 1920, Mustafa Kemal retaliated by establishing the Provisional Government in Anatolia, with its headquarters in Ankara. As representation of the people, the Great National Assembly was tasked with exercising sovereignty in their name. The sultan, who was effectively a prisoner of the allies, ordered an army to destroy the Nationalist activities, but it was defeated. The allies subsequently permitted the Greeks to advance on the Nationalists. Eastern Thrace, Bursa, and Ushak were taken by the Greeks.²⁵

In the short-term, the Sultan's ratification of the Treaty of Sevres under duress in August 1920, made Young Turk Nationalists even more determined to oppose the partitioning of their country. Armenians were defeated by the Turkish Nationalist army in October. In January 1921, the Nationalist Assembly in Ankara established the “*Fundamental laws*” establishing a

²³ Ibid., 434

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 435

republic form of government based on the sovereignty of the people, with an elected President and administration answerable to an elected Parliament.²⁶

1.2.6 Struggle with the Greeks

Mustafa Kemal's next objective was to devise a plan to expel foreign invaders from the country. With tact and resolve, he promised the Italians economic advantages and encouraged them to move to Anatolia. In March 1921, the Ankara administration also concluded an alliance with the Bolsheviks government of Russia. In exchange for economic concessions, the French were convinced to abandon Cilicia in October 1921 by the Franklin-Bouillon agreements. These are tremendous accomplishments. Now he had to struggle with the Greeks, whose aggressive approach was encouraged by the British. The Turks defeated the Greeks at the battle of Sakarya in August and September 1921, halting the Greek advance after a series of engagements. The war lasted for a year. The Turks further overcame the Greeks in September 1922 and captured Smyrna. The Turkish advance reached the Straits. At this point, the British appealed to their other allies to maintain the Straits neutrality, but received no positive reaction. A British army landed in Chanak, and it appeared that a conflict between the British and the Nationalists was imminent. By the *Convention of Midania*, the allies returned Eastern Thrace and Adrianople to the Turks, who agreed to perceive the neutrality of the straits pending a definitive territorial settlement at the Peace Conference.²⁷

The decline and final dissolution of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century can be related to Turkey's journey towards modernity. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the visionary behind the modern Turkish nation, implemented a sequence of policies aimed at promoting secularism and adopting Western values. Atatürk abolished the Ottoman sultan,

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid, Dayal and Bansal, *A Textbook Of Modern European History 1789-1939*. 436-437

replaced Islamic law with a system of secular law, and adopted a Latin-based alphabet in place of the Arabic script.²⁸

Conservative and religious parts of Turkish society firmly opposed Atatürk reforms, but gained support over time and contributed to the modernization and secularization of Turkey. The Turkish economy has also seen substantial changes due to the entrance of new industries and the implementation of a market-based economic system.

1.2.7 The Vanguard of Educational Modernization in Turkey

In the Ottoman Empire, students from the Army Medical School founded the “*Society for Union and Progress*” in 1889. This group eventually became a symbol of modernization throughout all of Ottoman society. In the same year, their leaders were exiled to Paris, London, Naples, and Cairo, among other European cities. They then began working to implement a new form of government in their country. They used modern writings to discuss change, employing terminology such as constitution, and nation that were not permitted at the time. In 1908, they were able to terminate the dictator’s tyrannical rule and reinstall the 1876 Constitution. From 1908 to 1918, the country was governed by these new principles, which they established after becoming the first political party in Turkey.²⁹

The party modernizing principles were placed within in the phrase *Union and Progress*. The concept of the “Union” involved the establishment of solidarity and collaboration among all the millets, encompassing both Muslims and non-Muslims, under the protective umbrella of the Ottoman Empire. Each millet was intended to function as a cultural unit rather than a governmental entity. The Union also sought to promote the secularization of all millet systems. The term “Progress” covered a transformative societal change achieved through the implementation of educational and economic strategies. In order to attain progress, two key

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Saeed, *Islam and Modernization*.

factors were deemed essential: (a) the ability to effectively mobilize and enhance educational institutions to cultivate a greater number of individuals capable and willing to drive Ottoman national progress, and (b) the restoration of opportunities for harnessing existing and emerging economic forces as catalysts for societal advancement.³⁰

Ziya Gökalp, a key figure in the advancement of Turkish nationalism, joined the Union and Progress party in 1911.³¹ He strongly advocated for the implementation of a national education system in Turkey. The objective of national education, is to cultivate individuals who represent the values and characteristics of their nation, thereby contributing to the development of national culture and the nation as a whole. Gokalp made a distinction between education and training and provided definitions for each in the context of national reconstruction.³² Thus, he addresses:

*“Modern education, like modern culture, is a manifestation of the very life of the nation. Modern training, on the other hand, can be adopted from a civilization which, like modern technology, is international. Therefore, we have to make our education, thoroughly national. If we achieve this, if our society, in structure and type, becomes a modern society, our education in the long run will acquire a modern character. Otherwise, that is, if our society is still far from being modern, we must not expect to be able to give our children a modern education.”*³³

1.3 Pakistan

Pakistan modernism can be dated to the British colonial period, which lasted from the mid - nineteenth century until 1947. During this time period, Pakistan was subjected to the

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Niaz, *Old World Empires*. 343

³² Niyazi Berkes, “Ziya Gökalp: His Contribution to Turkish Nationalism,” *Middle East Journal* 8, no. 4 (1954): 375–90.

³³ Ibid.

intellectual, cultural, and economic flows of Western modernity, as well as the new technologies and organizations associated with industrialization.

1.3.1 The Pre-Partition Era, Arise of Modernity in India and the Subcontinent

The process of modernization in South Asia started in 19th and 20th centuries. Due to the vast colonial history of the British Empire in South Asia, the average Indians first image of Western society was likely of a British individual. Reason, influenced by western science and philosophy, was introduced into daily Indian life with the formation of the British Raj, and this promptly educated a sizable portion of the population to the absurdity of numerous long-held beliefs and rituals. When India was a British colony, the process of modernization, which began in Europe under colonial rule, brought liberal ideas to the Indian subcontinent. Indian society experienced significant social, political, cultural, and intellectual development throughout this time period.³⁴

Modernity drastically altered the pre-partition social standards and structures of India. For instance, the rise of Western ideals undermined the caste system and gender discrimination. In response to the challenges brought by imperialism, modernity, and other religions, religious reform groups including the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Aligarh Movement, and Deoband Movement endeavored to reform and reinvigorate their own faiths.³⁵

In addition, they contributed to the development of new forms of religious literature, education, organization, and activism in India before partition, so altering the public realm and popular culture. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan,

³⁴ K. N. Panikkar, "Colonialism, Culture and Revivalism," *Social Scientist* 31, 2003. 3–16

³⁵ Ibid.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Jinnah advocated for Indian nationalism, self-government, women's rights, and representation.

British colonial rule gave India with Western ideas and education that were essential to the development of modern society. The rise of English education provided Indians with access to the new ideas, thoughts, and philosophies, posing a threat to existing educational systems. The educated elite adopted Western concepts, such as democratization, nationalism, liberalism, and scientific reason. Despite this, Indian culture was caste-based, rigid, and fatigued. The most recent changes were the result of more than half-hearted efforts in the dark, but they were largely useless. In addition, modernization in South Asia was a gradual and difficult process, and India did not forsake its traditional social, political, religious, and economic institutions until the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁶

1.3.2 Misconceptions of Indian Culture in the West

Hegel believes that Europe's conception of India dates back millennia. Schopenhauer's preoccupation with Buddhism and Voltaire attempts to compare Indian and Petrarchan poetry are evidence of this. When the British arrived in India, they held three connected perspectives of the country.³⁷

The first viewpoint, known as "exoticist," highlighted the exotic features of India, such as its colorful attire, religions, and alleged state of nature. Legends and marvels were ascribed to India. Indian contribution to the fields of science, mathematics, and medicine are rarely recognized by Western specialists. Embracing this exoticist appreciation usually drove Indian academicians to emphasize an anti-rationalist past, so gaining additional Western esteem.³⁸

³⁶ Panikkar, "Colonialism, Culture and Revivalism."

³⁷ Amartya Sen, *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity*, First Edition (New York, NY: Picador, 2006). 141-155

³⁸ Ibid., 146

The second perspective, the “magisterial” approach, generated imperialistic pride and considered India as a fertile location for British dominion, replete with subject races and wealth. It regarded India as an essential battlefield for British invasions and actions.³⁹

The third view was that of the researchers and cartographers, who saw India as a paradise for cataloging, classifying, and exhibiting the country’s diverse cultural traits. This curatorial category enjoyed meticulously documenting and arranging Indian ceremonies, traditions, and relics.⁴⁰

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was created in India during the colonial era, exhibiting a blend of exoticism, supervision, and aptness. William Jones is usually regarded as the symbolic originator of Indian intellectual growth. In 1783, Jones landed in India with the objective of obtaining financial independence within six years. However, he remained permanently in the end. Jones, despite being a highly talented scholar, set himself the lofty objective of gaining a deeper understanding of India than that of any European. He served as president of the organization until his passing. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was dedicated to preserving India rich cultural heritage, and it drew an increasing number of devoted British orientalists. “*Asiatick Researches*,” which originally appeared in 1788, was one of the society’s most important contributions. This periodical served as a forum for scholarly India-related research and information sharing.⁴¹

Special focus was placed on the maintenance and understanding of India’s past. It embodied the colonial mentality by combining a fascination with the unusual, a desire for

³⁹ Ibid., 148

⁴⁰ Ibid., 155

⁴¹ Subrata Dasgupta Dasgupta Subrata Subrata DasGupta, *Awakening: The Story of the Bengal Renaissance* (Noida: Random House India, 2011).

systematic classification and presentation, and a predisposition for the appropriation of Indian knowledge and tradition.⁴²

1.3.3 British Imperialism and Conquest

The vast territory to be administered made it impossible for the new colonists to maintain political power only through the use of military force shortly after their conquest. Therefore, coercion was coupled with support, and colonial administrators sought to present themselves as protectors and beneficiaries of indigenous culture. Even the aggressive imperialist Lord Curzon wanted to be recognized as a great preserver of Indian history in the future.⁴³

During the 18th century, India's indigenous society, which had first opposed colonial powers, engaged in looser interactions with them, resulting in a lively flow of ideas. Bengal was the core of this interactions between British authorities, missionaries, and locals. This cultural and intellectual awakening is now known as the "Indian Renaissance." It was highlighted by the rise of a new class of individuals with Western educations who found work as teachers, journalist, attorneys, and lower-ranking government employees.⁴⁴

Despite the fact that both the Indian Renaissance and the European Renaissance use the name "renaissance," there are substantial differences between the two. Numerous subjects and underlying themes were covered throughout this time frame. Some academics debate whether the term "renaissance" truly captures what transpired in India because intellectual and cultural transformations in India did not match those in Europe at the same time. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that such a revolutionary goal was never an inherent component of the Indian Renaissance from the beginning. Nonetheless, during the Renaissance and Age of Reason, the

⁴² Ibid., 35

⁴³ Panikkar, "Colonialism, Culture and Revivalism."

⁴⁴ Panikkar and Panikkar, *Colonialism, Culture and Resistance* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

working classes in both the East and West relied largely on work in the service sector of the colonial administration. This was the case in both the East and the West.⁴⁵

Additionally, both eastern and western traditions arranged things from the top down. It was never the outcome of an awakening of the masses or a popular movement. It was inspired by a narrow-minded desire to resist the foreigner rather than a desire for social progress. “Brahmans” who supported for the eradication of untouchability did so for national strength grounds, not revolutionary transformation. Social reform in India and the West did not inevitably result in the advancement of marginalized groups. It was the introduction of a new way of life and mindset into the current social framework. In addition, despite the vast number of individuals with western education in southern India, there was never a national-level reformer, and social change remained weak.⁴⁶

The administrators also used the presumption of native culture selectively as a technique of control. Particularly after the Great Shoe Question, when British agents, having usurped the Indian habit of removing one’s shoes before entering a house, attempted to impose it on the Parsi community, for whom going barefoot was a violation of religious adherence, clothing codes were imposed. By preserving the myth of an unchanging society, the colonists were also deprived of their actual history. Bengali poet and author “Bankim Chandra Chatterjee” advocated for the establishment of a national historiography, but by the time he issued this advice, Indians had already begun to portray themselves through a colonial lens.⁴⁷

1.3.4 War of Independence and Its Effect on Muslim Leadership

The year 1857 holds great significance in the historical narrative of India. The event in question signified the downfall of Mughal Rule and the emergence of a novel culture. The historical era

⁴⁵ Panikkar, “Colonialism, Culture and Revivalism.”

⁴⁶ Sen, *The Argumentative Indian*.

⁴⁷ Dasgupta Subrata Subrata DasGupta, *Awakening: The Story of the Bengal Renaissance*.

was focused on the transition between two distinct civilizations, including shifts in educational systems and philosophical ideologies. Furthermore, the former administrative system has been transformed into a new system. There were several determinative factors contributing to the rebellion, including religious affiliation, political circumstances, state acceptance, and economic exploitation. Mostly intellectuals have provided diverse perspectives on the nature of the rebellion. For instance, A paper authored by Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan clarifies the underlying factors contributing to the Indian Revolt, so emphasizing that it was not merely a military insurrection. According to his viewpoint, it is argued that single event can never become the cause of uprising against imperialist administrative. Over a long time, the people held strong disappointments that eventually forced them towards an extensive revolt.⁴⁸

In addition, the company's official responsibilities included the dissemination of the Christian faith. During times of peace, the company official experimented with various approaches to convert local people to Christianity. Lt.-Col. Wheeler, the commander of a sepoy regiment at Barackpur, used to spread religious pamphlets to the sepoys and openly preached them. In reference to this, the Englishman of Calcutta stated on April 2, 1887, "unless we are grossly misinformed, Wheeler continues this practice even with his increased zeal." It was therefore not surprising that the men were in an agitated state, especially when such conversion efforts are openly declared, and that they would come across what they believed to be an effort to betray them. There were many instances when company officials attempted to convert local soldiers.⁴⁹

Similarly, the British administration generously supported the increasing number of Christian missionaries in India. During their stay in India, they not only actively promote their religion

⁴⁸ Khaleeq Ahmed Nizami, *Atthara Sau Sattawan Ka Tareekhi Roznamcha* (Delhi: Nadwatul-Musannefin, 1971), <https://www.rekhta.org/ebooks/detail/atthara-sau-sattawan-ka-tareekhi-roznamcha-ebooks-1>.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

but also unjustly criticize the religion of the locals. For instance, Dr. Pfander made scathing attacks on Islam in his book *Mizan-ul-Haq*.⁵⁰

Whether Muslims or Hindus, the people of the subcontinent have an emotional attachment to their faith. Thus, the local emotions were aroused by the imperialist governments actions and policies, leading to the revolt. War of Independence brought unbearable misery and interminable problems for Indian Muslims. They became the primary target of British ire. During times of terror and persecution, when being a Muslim was considered a crime, it required a great deal of strength for an Indian Muslim to come forward and express his nations beliefs through writing or speech. It is only modern intellectuals, such as Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, who have the courage to undertake this delicate but vital mission of supporting the rights of Muslims.⁵¹

1.3.5 Liberalism and Modernization of Education

The early phase of modernizing Islam, defined by the establishment of liberal thinking. While just a small percentage of society experienced normative transformations, overall, there was a prominent attitude of distrust and mistrust regarding the modernization movement. The liberal reformers, who played an essential part in this process, were influenced by European ideas and structures but only had an incomplete understanding of their actual character. These reformers regarded modernisation at face value, primarily as a means to urge their fellow Muslims to keep up with Europe material achievements. Their purpose was to strengthen their society with new techniques to oppose colonial influences. Importantly, their approach wasn't fixed in a commitment to logic or scientific principles, nor was it driven by a profound understanding of

⁵⁰ Ahmad Saeed, *Trek to Pakistan* (Lahore: Peace Publication, 2019).1-15

⁵¹ Ibid., 10-15

modernizations aspirations. Consequently, their activities remained attached to specific, passionate, and defensive motives.⁵²

In contrast to authentic modernization efforts, the primary objective of these liberal reformers was to reinvigorate traditional Islamic values rather than actually modernize Islamic society. The primary focus of their efforts was directed towards the reformation of the traditional Muslim education system. The individuals expressed their rejection of the material, instructional methodologies, instructors, and overall atmosphere of the institution, asserting that these factors fostered conservative ideologies and a lack of assertiveness. Fundamentally, their endeavors were focused on rejuvenating Islamic teachings by accommodating them to present-day requirements, rather than pursuing a complete transformation in the context of modernisation.⁵³

1.3.6 The Vanguard of Educational Modernization in Pakistan

The Muslim community in India, following the decline of Muslim rule and subsequent setbacks in the aftermath of the 1857 mutiny, managed to generate a new group of intellectual leaders by the late 19th century, largely attributed to the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's jihad. The emergence of these modernist elites may be attributed directly to the influence of modern education, since they advocated ideals of Muslim nationalism and modernization. The practical manifestation of Sir Sayyid's endeavors towards modernizing the Muslim community was primarily seen in the realm of education. Additionally, the impact of the Aligarh Muslim University extended beyond the realm of education. Aligarh emerged as a prominent hub for the Muslim nationalism movement, ultimately contributing to the formulation of the idea of an independent nation-state known as Pakistan.⁵⁴

⁵² Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (Hesperides: Hesperides Press, 2006). 19

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan*, 1980.

1.3.7 The Reformers and Their Modernized Ideas

Similar to its European equivalent, the Indian Renaissance was backed by intellectual leaders who were influenced by Western ideas. Men and a few women developed as freethinkers who were critical of the prevailing social conditions. Their major duty was to disseminate ideas that advance social and political development and advancement. Contrary to common opinion, these agents of change comprised a large number of well-known personalities who actively contributed to the creation and distribution of transformational ideas. Consequently, in the early nineteenth century, a unique intellectual society that transcended religion and caste barriers began to form. Numerous reformers developed their political savvy by engaging in social and cultural organizations and voluntary associations formed by colonial officials, such as the Calcutta School Book Society and the Horticultural Society.⁵⁵

The introduction of Western concepts to India made it more difficult to sustain the caste system and inequalities between men and women. As a result, many religious reform groups, such as the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Aligarh Movement, and Deoband Movement, arose from a desire to revive and transform their own religions. In addition to attempting to address the effects of colonialism, modernity, and other religions, these movements had a significant impact on religious writing, education, organization, and activity in India prior to division. Because of this, they significantly altered the public realm and popular culture.⁵⁶ Eminent figures such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Jinnah arose as champions of Indian nationalism, self-governance, women's rights, and representation, leaving an indelible mark on the course of Indian history.

⁵⁵ Panikkar and Panikkar, *Colonialism, Culture and Resistance*. 48

⁵⁶ Panikkar, "Colonialism, Culture and Revivalism."

Ram Mohan Roy

Ram Mohan Roy was a prominent philosopher and reformer who contributed significantly to Indian society. He is often referred to as the “Father of the Indian Renaissance.” As a native of India, he dedicated himself to implementing social, religious, and educational changes, aiming to impart Western beliefs and progressive practices to his countrymen. Roy, one of the earliest educated Indian academics, endeavored to modernize India and enlighten its people.⁵⁷

Roy was noted for his resistance to rituals such as Sati (the custom of widows self-immolating on their husband’s funeral pyres), underage marriage, and societal divisions in his advocacy for social equality and human rights. He was instrumental in promoting the value of an education among the Indian public and was a great believer in its importance.⁵⁸

The exposure to Western ideas formed the important personality of Ram Mohan Roy, who is sometimes referred to as “the Father of Modern India.” He wished for his people to acquire a rational and logical worldview. Roy’s academic work and contributions made an enduring influence on Indian civilization.⁵⁹

In 1828, Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj, a Hindu religious reform movement aimed at addressing societal ills. On December 4, 1829, the governor, Lord William Bentinck, banned the practice of Sati as a result of his successful campaign against it. This was one of his most noteworthy achievements. Roy’s tenacious efforts were important in ending this detrimental practice. In addition, Roy made substantial contributions to journalism through the establishment of various newspapers and magazines. Notably, he launched the first Bengali-language weekly paper, a breakthrough that was revolutionary in the history of Indian media.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Bruce Carlisle Robertson, *Raja Rammohan Ray: The Father of Modern India* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 166

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 168

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 178

Roy aimed for these works to teach the Indian audience about effect on development and life philosophies. During British Rule in India, Roy's newspapers and magazines, most notably "Sambad Koumudi," played a crucial role in molding public opinion on a number of daily issues. They acted as a forum for the dissemination of progressive ideas and the promotion of public awareness.⁶¹

Ram Mohan Roy was a passionate supporter of introducing Western education to India. Between 1820 and 1827, he established several schools and institutions, including Hindu College, British Hindu School, and Vedanta College. These schools stressed both Traditional and western Indian education, reflecting Roy's view in the importance of blending the best of both worlds.⁶²

Roy's efforts also helped to the establishment of the famous Scottish Church College. Due to his unrelenting dedication to education and his vision for a modern India, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a notable character in Indian history, called him "Father of Modern India." Numerous historians recognize Roy as one of the progenitors of the Indian Enlightenment, recognizing his significant contribution to the advancement of intellectual and social progress during that age.

Ram Mohan Roy staunchly fought current regressive behaviors and advocated for progressive ideas. Due to the magnitude of his contributions to Indian history, Rabindranath Tagore referred to him as a "luminous light in the firmament of Indian history" in his presentation titled "Initiator of the Modern Age in India." This award recognizes Roy's enormous impact on the direction of India's change and his legacy as a forward-thinking reformer.

⁶¹ Ibid., 180

⁶² Ibid.

Ishwar Chandra

Ishwar Chandra was an eminent educator, novelist, feminist, and social activist who championed humanist principles. His philosophical and practical humanism challenged the prevalent view that modern humanism is a uniquely Western phenomenon. Ishwar Chandra saw gestures of generosity from strangers, particularly women, during his turbulent youth, which deeply shaped his views on their struggles. These acts of generosity shaped his identity as a humanist and feminist, eventually directing his lifetime dedication to their causes.⁶³

Ishwar Chandra emerged as a prominent scholar after surviving twelve years of rigorous schooling at the Sanskrit College, acquiring the title “Vidyasagar” as a result of his unshakable commitment and hard work. Following college graduation, he began teaching at Fort William College. Simultaneously, he penned concise, biographical life sketches that introduced the Bengali populace to the greater sphere of Western Enlightenment, also known as “Bodhodaya”. Through his books, Ishwar Chandra introduced his readers to historical figures such as Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Herschel, Linnaeus, and even William Jones. In addition, he translated *The Comedy of Errors* by William Shakespeare into prose, exhibiting his ability as a writer and broadening the literary horizons of his readership.⁶⁴

Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan as Muslim Modernist

Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan was a renowned 19th-century South Asian Muslim reformer, educator, and social activist. Particularly via his endeavors in education and social reform, he made substantial contributions to the region’s development. Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan evaluated the causes and repercussions of the Indian Rebellion of 1857 for South Asia’s future. He stated that the revolution was largely caused by the educational and cultural backwardness of the Indian Muslim minority. He emphasized the significance of Modern education for Muslims

⁶³ Manish Kumar, *Biography of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar: Inspirational Biographies* (Prabhat Prakashan, 2021).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

and promoted the embrace of Western science and knowledge in order to advance the community.

Furthermore, Sayyed Ahmed Khan significantly contributed to the Muslim modernization of the Indian subcontinent. He was a notable Muslim philosopher and reformer who realized the challenges Muslims faced due to British colonization. Sayyed Ahmed Khan called for social, educational, and political reforms to uplift the Muslim community and bridge the divide between traditional Islamic and modern ideals.⁶⁵

According to Jawaharlal Nehru, after the 1857 uprising, British authorities persecuted Muslims more brutally than Hindus. This treatment was predicated on the notion that Muslims were perceived as more violent and militant due to their recollections of their recent dominance in India, and were thus thought more dangerous. In addition to banning Muslims from the newly constructed education system, the British government severely restricted their career chances within the government.⁶⁶

“Educate, educate, educate” was Syed Ahmeds guiding principle. Ahmed really believed that education held the answer to resolving India sociopolitical issues. He advocated addressing the root causes of these problems, arguing that by doing so, the nation overall strength and progress would improve. Sir Sayyed Ahmeds approach was firmly grounded in scientific technique, which he applied to several aspects of society, including as education, religion, and politics. He aimed to awaken and encourage the Muslim community, urging them to confront their problems with courage and determination.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan*, 1980.

⁶⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Toward Freedom: An Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru* (New York: The John Day Company, 1936).

⁶⁷ D. Min Fr. Carl Chudy, “Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: Muslim Modernist in Colonial India,”.

Frequently ahead of his time, Sir Sayyad Ahmed Khan's views were innovative and reasonable. His ultimate goal was to combine Islamic education and the Western educational system, in an effort to combine the best of both civilizations. In pursuit of his goal to improve Muslim society and therefore established a series of educational institutions. In 1859, he established a Persian madrasa in Moradabad, which was the beginning of his teaching career. This madrasa distinguishes out from others because it incorporates Modern history into its curriculum. It was widely believed that Sir Sayyid Ahmed included the study of Modern history to emphasize its significance.⁶⁸

The Aligarh Movement

Midway through the 19th century, a surge of worldwide movements erupted, with the Industrial Revolution in England having a large influence. The recognition that new policies and perspectives were necessary for the future led a reassessment of established models and lifestyles during this period of transition. In this environment, Syed Ahmad Khan traveled to Cambridge, England, in an effort to promote Muslim education. He sought inspiration for the expansion of education among Muslims by examining the country's universities and educational system.⁶⁹

Muslims have always been attracted by the notion of modernity and its place in Islamic theology. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Aligarh Movement is one of the earliest and most prominent elements of Muslim modernism. Prior to 1920, Aligarh Muslim University, originally known as Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, became the foremost Muslim educational institution in South Asia. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan is most recognized for his services to the Aligarh Movement, which sought to improve the living standards of Muslims via social, political, and educational endeavors. In addition, the institution's concentration on a combination of Western

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

and Islamic education and its emphasis on learning English, science, and technology as a way of promoting society provided students with the information and skills necessary to adapt to the changing times. To reclaim their power in society and to engage with British authorities on an equal footing, he argued that Muslims should embrace Modern education. By supporting education, he aimed to solve the socio-economic issues Muslims experience and equip them to actively participate in a variety of sectors, including administration, law, and journalism.⁷⁰

In 1863, when Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded the Scientific Society, he fostered a platform for science, current art, and literature. To further his objective, he published two periodicals: “*The Aligarh Institute Gazette*”, The journal of the Scientific Society, “*The Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq*”, also called in English as the Mohammedan Social Reformer. These publications were crucial to advancing the goals of the Aligarh Movement and influencing the intellectual discourse within the Muslim community. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a Muslim reformer, founded *Tehzeeb-ul-Ikhlās* between 1871 and 1897. Due to the publication’s expression of the publishers religious, social, and progressive values, it is credited with creating him as one of the founding fathers of Urdu literature. The newspaper presented alternate Muslim perspectives in simple English. In light of recent events, this educational program intended to promote social peace among Indian Muslims, the resuscitation of authentic Islamic traditions, and the eradication of prevalent misconceptions about Islam.⁷¹

Sayyed Ahmed Khan tried to foster Hindu-Muslim harmony and cooperation. He pushed for peaceful cohabitation between the two populations, believing that religious and cultural divisions should not hamper progress. Through his writings, speeches, and educational reforms, Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan encouraged Muslims to be reasonable and critical thinkers.

⁷⁰ Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan*, 1980.

⁷¹ Ibid.

His initiatives cleared the path for the intellectual and social growth of the Muslim population on the Indian subcontinent and laid the groundwork for future reformers and leaders.⁷²

Hence, Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khans extensive biography illustrates his views on modernity. Modern education was the focus of his attempts to construct schools and universities emphasizing the sciences, the culture, and the English language. Also emphasized is his emphasis on female education and the empowerment of women in South Asian society. He sought to challenge regressive social habits and achieve a more equitable system through education.⁷³

In addition to promoting modern education, Sir Sayyed emphasized the need of rational thought and scientific inquiry. He recommended that Muslims should not rely solely on religious texts and traditions, but also be open to the ideas and innovations of the modern world. He saw the religious practice of mindless imitation (taqlid) as a hindrance to growth and logic.

Sir Sayyed Ahmed principles and push for modernization had a significant impact on Muslim society in South Asia, and his influence is being felt today. His efforts to promote modern education contributed to the emergence of a new generation of educated Muslim professionals from around the world who were best prepared to deal with the challenges of a rapidly changing world. In addition, he contributed to the construction of a modern Muslim identity suitable of harmonizing the requirements of tradition and modernity in a world that is dynamic and constantly changing.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal

Allamah Iqbal, a philosopher and scholar who was instrumental in the formation of Pakistan as an independent Muslim state, was also a key figure in the modernization of Pakistan. Iqbal was a passionate supporter of modern education and scientific inquiry, and he believed that

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

Islam could adapt to the evolving conditions of modernity. His ideas influenced a generation of Muslim intellectuals and leaders who dreamed up Pakistan as a new nation that could integrate Islamic traditions with modern advances.

Education was one of Iqbal's key areas of modernist emphasis. To compete with their Hindu and British counterparts, who were rapidly advancing in science, technology, and industry, he claimed that Muslims deserved a modern education. He argued that education was essential for the formation of a new generation of Muslims who were both spiritually faithful and open to modern ideas and innovations.

Similarly, the influence of Iqbal's thoughts and support for modernization on South Asian Muslim society is still felt today. His efforts to promote modern education contributed to the emergence of a new generation of educated Muslim leaders and experts who were better equipped to deal with the challenges of a rapidly changing world. In addition, he contributed to the construction of a modern Muslim identity capable of harmonizing the needs of tradition and innovation in a world that is dynamic and constantly changing. His poetry and intellectual writings inspire, encourage, and influence Muslims worldwide, who see him as a leader and visionary thinker who sought to bridge the gap between Islamic legacy and current requirements.⁷⁴

Iqbal thought that individual development was crucial for the progress of society. He emphasized that individuals must develop self-awareness, self-discipline, and self-realization in order to effectively contribute to the advancement of their communities. Iqbal writes, "*the future of Islam relies more on the type of education we supply to our people than on their worldly wealth.*"⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Mohammad Iqbal and Javed Majeed, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 1st edition (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2013).

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Iqbal acknowledged the significance of women in society and advocated for their freedom as a vital aspect of modernity. He believed in providing educational, intellectual, and social growth opportunities for women. In a letter to his daughter, Iqbal addresses, “*Be liberated from the limitations of custom and tradition. Make an effort to be a free woman in the modern sense.*”⁷⁶ Iqbal acknowledged the significance of socioeconomic development to the progress of societies. He advocated for the reduction of poverty, the promotion of industry, and the equitable distribution of wealth. Iqbal stated in a speech titled “*The Need for New Economic Theory*”: “*I wish to inform Muslims that the entire current economic system is flawed.*”⁷⁷

Allama Muhammad Iqbal believed and pushed for numerous aspects of Muslim modernization, including personal development, women’s rights, reformation of Islamic thought, Muslim unity, and economical progress. His works continue to be studied and admired in Pakistan and around the world, motivating new generation to strive for a progressive and Modern society. The pre-partition history of the subcontinent, as well as the perspectives of Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal, displayed genuine marks of modernism. Despite the fact that religion and other forces had put modernization to the side following partition, a great gulf emerged in the modernization process.

A complex combination of historical, cultural, and political variables has determined Pakistan march toward modernity. Following the partition of British India in 1947, the country inherited a number of complicated issues, including religious disputes, economic underdevelopment, and political instability. In spite of these challenges, Pakistan early years were marked by optimism and hope, with its leaders envisioning a prosperous and modern future for the nation

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 2

Turkeys Quest for Modernity

Following World War I, the Entente Powers initiated a military intervention in the Ottoman Empire, resulting in its final downfall. In the latter half of 1918, after the Armistice of Mudros, the British, French, and Italian Forces headed to Istanbul, which was the capital of the empire. The Sultan assumed his rule under the influence of military force, rendering him reliant on the approval of British authorities for decision-making. Additionally, the invasion resulted in a significant loss of effectiveness inside the government. As a result, it was necessary to oversee the management of the independence movement from a location external to the city.¹

The significance of Mustafa Kemals presence in Samsun on May 19, 1919 cannot be overstated, as it marked a crucial turning point for the Turkish Independence Movement. With the authorization of the British authorities, the Sultan designated him as the inspector of the ninth Army in Anatolia.² Instead of disarming the Ottoman soldiers, Mustafa Kemal formed local militias and promoted citizen involvement to lead the national struggle in Anatolia. This action prepared the way for the Turkish Independence Movement. The *Amasya Circular*, released on June 22, 1919, strengthened the movements organization.³ It argued for a government based on national sovereignty and stressed the nationalist fight for Turkey. The circular emphasized the urgent necessity for Turkish independence and criticized the insufficiency of the Istanbul government. This was the first incident of disregarding the authority of the government of Istanbul. Furthermore, the circular issued a proposal for the organisation of a congress in Sivas. During the proceedings of the national parliament, Kazim Karabekir was instructed to apprehend Mustafa Kemal and Rauf Orbay on behalf of the

¹ Akçali, "Two Paths of Modernization." 17-339

² Ahmad Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, vol. 37, 3 vols. (International Journal of Middle East Studies, 2003).

³ Ibid.

administration in Istanbul. Mustafa Kemal defied these directions and actively participated in the national struggle. Meanwhile, developments in Anatolia were unfolding with the aim of bringing an end to the occupation carried out by the Entente Powers.⁴

The National Pact, also known as Misak- Milli, was founded during the national conferences held in Erzurum from July 23 to August 17, 1919, and in Sivas from September 4 to 11, 1919. The delegates at the Sivas Congress picked Mustafa Kemal to lead the Representative Committee (*Temsilciler Meclisi*) until its headquarters were relocated to Ankara.⁵ The Congresses were effective in uniting disparate organizations under the umbrella of the “Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia”⁶ all of whom sought to protect the country. Following the Sivas Congress, the authorities in Istanbul issued a demand for nationwide parliamentary elections. Candidates endorsed by the Committee for the Defence of the Interests of Anatolia and Rumelia were elected in Anatolian districts, allowing the national opposition to have a say in the decision-making processes of the Istanbul government.⁷ The National Pact was ratified by the last Ottoman Parliament during a closed session on January 28, 1920. The territorial boundaries of the Turkish Nation had already been established with the signing of the Armistice of Mudros. The dissolution of the final Ottoman Parliament occurred on March 16, 1920, when British forces launched an assault on Istanbul.

The Grand National Assembly (GNA) was established on April 23, 1920, subsequent to the British invasion. Mustafa Kemal was elected as the inaugural Speaker of Parliament. The Government of National Accord (GNA) assumed the role of the de facto executive authority, with Mustafa Kemal assuming the post of the de facto President of the Government. The Turkish War of Independence was carried out under the guidance of the Grand National

⁴ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 1968).

⁵ Mohammad Sadiq, “Intellectual Origins of the Turkish National Liberation Movement,” *International Studies* 15, no. 4 (1976): 509–29

⁶ Akçali, “Two Paths of Modernization.” 17-339

⁷ Ibid.

Assembly and Mustafa Kemal, and the struggle for national autonomy persisted until the signing of the Lausanne Treaty in 1923.

2.1 From Concept to Reality: The Influence of Ideologies on Governance

Reform movements, often called modernization revolution, dates back at least to the seventeenth century. Since then, the Ottomans have implemented numerous reforms in attempt to compete with the industrial and cultural achievements in Europe. After the French Revolution of 1789, the Empire had several difficulties, including conflicts with different groups, military failures, and an ongoing economic deficit. The rise of nationalism and the rise of new nation-states posed a threat to the sovereignty and independence of the country. Late in the 19th century, a number of theories and ideologies emerged for the purpose of maintaining the multi-national system and the state. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars engaged in intellectual discussions over various ideas, such as Pan-Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism, and Pan-Turkism.

2.1.1 Pan-Ottomanism

Pan-Ottomanism was a sociopolitical philosophy that evolved during the nineteenth and twentieth century within the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was a huge and diversified multinational entity that included numerous races, languages, and religious groupings. Pan-Ottomanism aimed to overcome the issues created by this variety and the shifting geopolitical environment of the period.

During the initial decades of the nineteenth century, a significant transformation occurred within Ottoman politics under the leadership of Sultan Mahmud II, leading to the emergence of Pan-Ottomanism.⁸ This idea introduced new laws that eliminated differences between nationalities, beliefs, and sects, therefore granting equal rights and obligations to the

⁸ Serif A. Mardin, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 3 (1971): 197–211.

Ottoman people. The prominence of the notion decreased after the Franco-German War of 1870-1871. The unification of Germany occurred following to its victory over France, leading to the establishment of a nation-state.⁹

Severe externally and internally pressures were exerted on the Ottoman Empire during this time period. It had lost a number of regions in wars, notably in the Balkans and North Africa, and was struggling to modernize and organize its government. At the same time, nationalist movements within the empire were gathering pace among various national and religious groups. Frequently, these nationalist organizations sought superior autonomy or even independence for their individual communities.¹⁰

In response to these issues, a number of Ottoman intellectuals, statesmen, and reformers advocated for Pan-Ottomanism. They believed that fostering a mutual Ottoman identity would aid in uniting the empires different populations and combat the spread of nationalism. Pan-Ottomanizes thought that common historical experiences, Islamic faith, and the Ottoman Turkish language could unite the empires citizens.¹¹

Efforts were made to highlight the empires Ottoman ancestry and minimize ethnic and religious distinctions. Cultural organizations were formed to foster a sense of common history and identity, and schools were constructed to teach a uniform Ottoman Turkish language. Additionally, the Ottoman administration strove to establish a more centralized administrative system in an effort to diminish the authority of local ethnic and religious leaders.¹²

However, Pan-Ottomanism faced considerable obstacles and constraints. The heterogeneous population of the empire was comprised of Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Greeks,

⁹ Ibid., 198

¹⁰ Ibid., 200

¹¹ Ibid., 203

¹² Ibid., 208

Armenians, Jews, and many others, each with their own languages, cultures, and historical tales. The concept of a unified Ottoman identity struggled to resound with these diverse tribes, who frequently viewed themselves as members of their own unique communities.¹³

In addition, the development of nationalism in Europe and the diffusion of nationalist ideologies within the Ottoman Empire contributed to the disintegration of imperial identity. Increasingly, ethnic and religious groups attempted to express their identities and rights, resulting in tensions and confrontations.¹⁴

The commencement of World War I was a watershed moment for the Ottoman Empire. The empire allied with the Central Powers in an effort to reclaim lost territory and bolster its standing. The war, however, led to the empire's loss and subsequent fragmentation of its territorial possessions. In the end, the Ottoman Empire was destroyed, and successor governments established on the basis of ethnic nationalism.

2.1.2 Pan-Islamism

The proliferation of nationalism and the establishment of nation-states in the late 19th century made Pan-Ottomanism unachievable. To prevent the destruction of their nation, the Ottoman sought an alternative solution; so, they allied themselves with Pan-Islamism. Despite the massive loss of land, the Ottomans still controlled a vast swath of predominantly Muslim-populated territory. Pan-Islamism refers to the ideological framework that advocates for the establishment of a unified Islamic organisation encompassing Muslims from diverse racial and national backgrounds.¹⁵ Thus he could not only rally Muslims all over the world, but also

¹³ Ibid., 211

¹⁴ Ibid., 211

¹⁵ Umut Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State* (London; New York : New York: I.B.Tauris, 2010).

exploit the caliphates political authority. Sultan Abdulhamid II was the first politician to employ pan-Islamist principles.¹⁶

Pan-Islamism and the Ottoman Empire had a complex and intertwined connection. The Ottoman Empire, historically the hub of the Islamic world and the holder of the Caliphate, saw Pan-Islamism as a potential solution to the problems brought by colonialism and nationalism. Pan-Islamism, which advocates the unification of Muslims across national and ethnic lines, resonated with Ottoman aspirations to exert dominance in the face of advancing European powers. Influencing Ottoman society, figures such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and his students advocated for a united Islamic community against Western imperialism. Sultan Abdulhamid II understood the usefulness of Pan-Islamism as a means of bolstering the legitimacy of his reign and gathered Muslims worldwide under his Caliphate authority. However, internal reforms, political instability, and the aftermath of World War I hindered the Ottoman Empires capacity to fully exploit Pan-Islamism. The fall and breakup of the empire was a blow for formal Pan-Islamism, but the concepts influence endured, affecting modern Islamist movements and debates of Muslim unity in response to modern difficulties.¹⁷

2.1.3 Pan-Turkism

Pan-Turkism, a nationalist and political philosophy that originated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, attempted to unify the many Turkic-speaking peoples dispersed throughout Eurasia. This philosophy was a response to the hardships experienced by several Turkic ethnicities, such as Ottoman Turks, Crimean Tatars, and Turkic people in Central Asia, among others. These communities faced splitting, colonization, and geopolitical shifts as a result of

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Yelda Demirağ, "Pan-Ideologies in The Ottoman Empire Against the West: From Pan-Ottomanism to Pan-Turkism," *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, no. 36 (2005). 139–58

the demise of historical empires such as the Ottoman Empire and the growth of the Russian Empire.¹⁸

Fundamental to Pan-Turkism was the notion that Turkic peoples had a common ethnic and linguistic history. The philosophy sought to develop a common identity, and solidarity among various communities that transcended national borders and historical differences. Ismail Gasprinski and Ziya Gokalp were instrumental in the formation of Pan-Turkish philosophy.¹⁹ Gokalp advocated for a “Turkish Universe” that encompassed all Turkic-speaking peoples, but Gasprinski prioritized education and cultural rebirth among Turkic groups.²⁰

Cultural and linguistic unification, political collaboration, anti-imperialism, and in certain cases territorial demands were the central pillars of Pan-Turkism. Advocates of Pan-Turkism believed in the preservation of Turkic languages, customs, and historical linkages between various Turkic communities, sometimes attempting to standardize written versions of these cultures and promote Turkic literature. Some proponents of political cooperation envisioned a pan-Turkic federation or alliance as a strategy to oppose external pressures and establish sovereignty.²¹

Nonetheless, Pan-Turkism confronted substantial obstacles and difficulties. The heterogeneity of Turkic cultures, dialects, and perspectives made it difficult to establish a united political entity. Due to territorial ambitions connected with Pan-Turkism, the notion also received opposition from existing ethnic identities and governmental interests in the area, as well as problems with neighboring nations, notably Russia and Iran.²²

¹⁸ Ibid Demirağ., 140

¹⁹ Ibid., 143

²⁰ Ibid., 145

²¹ Ibid., 150

²² Ibid., 157

Despite the fact that Pan-Turkism did not completely realize its goal of forming a united political entity comprising all Turkic-speaking tribes, it had a lasting influence on the political and cultural discourse of these nations. The concept of a common Turkic identity and unity continues to affect the political discourse, cultural ties, and regional contacts among Turkic people throughout Eurasia. Pan-Turkism is a key factor in molding the identities and ambitions of Turkic communities in the modern age, despite its limits.

2.1.4 Kemalism and Six Principles of Kemal Atatürk

Following the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, the nation officially proclaimed an end to its state of war. Upon the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the policies of the newly formed Turkish state were clear. The Atatürk Revolution, also referred as the Kemalist reforms, endeavored to comprehensively restructure the whole of the nation. The Kemalist reforms were characterised by three main objectives: a) the consolidation of central authority, b) the promotion of nation-building, and c) the modernization of the state machinery. The Atatürk reforms, which were implemented with a strong emphasis on achieving the stated objectives, quickly evolved into a prevailing state ideology. The fundamental aim of the modifications was to achieve a state of modern civilisation.²³

The core tenets of the state ideology were based on Atatürk's Six Arrows, which include "*the ideology of Republicans*", "*the spirit of nationalism*", "*Popularity*", "*Etatism*", "*secularism*", and "*Revolution*".²⁴ and these core tenets were added to CHP's platform in 1927. In 1935, Etatism and Revolutionism were further included. Thus, the Six Arrows were constructed, and they were referenced in the logo of the Party. In 1937, the principles were incorporated to the Constitution and had become one of its most important provisions.²⁵

²³ Suna Kili, "Kemalism in Contemporary Turkey," *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale de Science Politique* 1, no. 3 (1980): 381–404.

²⁴ Niaz, *Old World Empires*. 344

²⁵ Ibid.

2.2 Power Politics and Modernization in Turkey

2.2.1 “Teşkilat- Esasiye” (The Short Constitution)

As the Grand National Assembly prompted the fight for independence, the new Turkish state started to take form. In 1921, the GNA drafted the “*Teşkilat-Essiyе*,” a brief constitution comprising of 23 articles.²⁶ This constitution was notable because it was the first to establish the notion of national sovereignty.²⁷ The first piece boldly asserted, “*The nations sovereignty is absolute.*” This statement took effect upon the downfall of the Ottoman Sultanate on December 1, 1922. This significant milestone signaled the commencement of the path towards a completely sovereign Turkish nation.

Furthermore, Mustafa Kemal aspired to establish a modern Turkey, which led him to separate from the Ottoman Empire. When laying the groundwork for the new Turkish state, he refrained from injecting any overtly religious elements. The remnants of the Ottoman Empire and the issues associated with its rule also escaped his attention. Conservatives and the opposition were ideologically far apart because of this issue. Opposition and conservative groups pushed for a constitutional monarchy as a means of preserving the Ottoman dynasty and the Caliphate.

The British Empire, the French Republic, the Kingdom of Italy, the Kingdom of Greece, and their respective allies signed the *Treaty of Lausanne* on July 24, 1923. The aforementioned agreement effectively abolished the practice of capitulations, so terminating the economic, legal, and administrative privileges formerly granted to foreign nationals. On October 13, 1923, among differing opinions on the country’s future direction, the Grand National Assembly chose Ankara as the new capital of the independent Turkey, replacing Istanbul. This strategic

²⁶ Nilay Arat and Aslı Topukçu, “The 1921 Constitution and Beyond: Any Inspiration After 100 Years,” *Annales de La Faculté de Droit d’Istanbul*, no. 71 (2022): 27–39

²⁷ Ergun Özbudun and Ömer Faruk Gençkaya, *Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2009). 10-23

maneuver was intended to weaken the power of the Ottoman monarchy and address existing challenges. This judgement had a significant influence on traditionalists who had a close connection with the previous empire capital. The Republic of Turkey was officially founded on October 29, 1923, as a result of constitutional amendments, with Mustafa Kemal serving as its first president. It is possible that the president may transfer this authority to the prime minister.²⁸

2.2.2 The Era of Reforms and Newly Secular State (1923-1930)

Political and social institutions underwent a significant alteration after the founding of the republic, according to the ideals of Atatürk's reforms.²⁹ Political and social systems were influenced by the secular state philosophy, which rose to popularity. In order to construct a Modern Turkish state, there was a purposeful break from Ottoman traditions, resulting in the replacement of old political and social features with new ones. This change attempted to form a modern society and develop a governmental framework reflective of the republic's goals and objectives.³⁰

The Sultanate was abolished on March 3, 1924, and the republic was created, resulting in the demise of the Caliphate. The Sultan and his family were deported after being deemed "Persona Non Grata." A new constitution based on republican ideals and a political party system was enacted in 1924. "*The Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı)*" was established on April 1, 1924, with the aim of preventing religious involvement in politics. In contrast to the Ottoman Empire, the Presidency of Religious Affairs became an arm of the Ministry of National Education. On April 10, 1928, the portion of the constitution that declared a "state religion" was deleted, marking a key step in the consolidation of the state's secular

²⁸ Ibid. 257

²⁹ Akçali, "Two Paths of Modernization." 19-339

³⁰ Ibid.

orientation. The constitution of 1937 officially established the secular character of the Republic of Turkey, so firmly establishing its status as a secular state.³¹

During the era of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk implemented a comprehensive series of reforms aimed at strengthening the essential structures of the newborn Turkish nation. In light of the substantial influence exerted by the sultans and Caliph on Turkish society, the individual in question made concerted efforts to abolish these establishments. By doing so, Atatürk intended to develop fresh political systems untainted by Ottoman influence. The introduction of explicit rules for the military's participation in politics, with the intention of preventing any possible military influence, was another important component of these changes. A law forcing military officers to choose between pursuing a political career and staying in the military was submitted.³² The Turkish General Staff, close to the organizational structure of the Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs, was established in conjunction with the office of the prime minister. These initiatives were part of a larger attempt by Atatürk to reform and modernize the governmental institutions in accordance with the ideas of the newly founded Turkish Republic.³³

Conflicts between religious scholars, known as *ulama*, and military leaders, known as *Seyfiye*, contributed to political turmoil in late Ottoman Empire. These conflicts damaged the state overall management. The absence of consent from these agencies impeded the implementation of the *Islahat*, upgrading plans. Mustafa Kemal, a military commander in the Ottoman Empire, realized this fact and acted accordingly based on his comprehension of the circumstance.³⁴

³¹ Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. 53-63

³² Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. 86

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. 69-72

Recognizing the gravity of his objectives, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established the new Turkish state with audacity. In addition to addressing the immediate revolutionary movements, he sought to eradicate the political and socioeconomic conditions that had given birth to such upheavals. Atatürk and his supporters, often known as Kemalists, had a comprehensive vision for social, economic, and political change, which was motivated by their desire for westernization and modernization. Traditional features of Turkish society, such as its conventions and patriarchal culture, suffered profound changes as a consequence. Instead of just fixing the persisting difficulties of the Ottoman period, Atatürk's unconventional approach sought to replace them with new ones.³⁵

Atatürk's audacious approach extended to the development of a new judicial system, which paralleled his political transformations. He began this process by abolishing the existing Ottoman Civil Law, commonly known as the *Mecelle code*. The Sharia courts were dissolved in 1924. The criminal code was formulated based on the Italian Penal Code and enacted on March 1, 1926. Furthermore, the implementation of the civil code on October 4, 1926 was based on the Swiss Civil Code. Atatürk's main goal was to replace traditional and religious legal frameworks in the judiciary with modern and secular ideas.³⁶

Under Atatürk's leadership, social and educational changes were undertaken as part of the modernization initiatives. “*The Hat Law and Dress Code Law*” were enforced on November 25, 1925, in order to promote modernization by forbidding the wearing of traditional Ottoman garments and the use of the “*fez*” (headwear). The Liberation Courts administered severe penalties to individuals who violated these laws. Furthermore, the implementation and enforcement of the “*Turkish Alphabet Law*” on November 1, 1928 resulted in the substitution

³⁵ Umut Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State* (London; New York: New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

³⁶ Ibid.

of the Ottoman alphabet, which was derived from Arabic script, with a novel alphabet composed of Latin-script letters. Prior to the shift, there were several factors that occurred. These included the implementation of global measurement systems, the introduction of new numerical symbols, and the acceptance of the Gregorian calendar.³⁷

Furthermore, the implementation of the Law on Family Names took place on June 21, 1934, leading to the elimination of bynames and titles associated with Ottoman culture on November 30, 1934. The aforementioned alterations aimed to redefine and contemporize social and cultural practices, signifying a departure from traditional Ottoman norms and emphasizing an alteration with historical precedents.³⁸

During the Republican era, the Turkish educational system saw substantial changes, marked by a break from conventional norms. The closure of madrasas, the traditional institutions of higher education, in 1924 was a significant event. Modern universities were formed by law as a substitute.³⁹

The Unification of Education Law was officially approved on March 3, 1924, signifying the implementation of a significant reform. This legislation resulted in the consolidation of all educational organisation under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Education. The objective of this initiative was to consolidate secondary education establishments and explicitly prohibit the presence of organisation with religious affiliations. In association with the political upheavals, this educational reform established the foundation for the embrace of a secular worldview inside the newly developed educational system.⁴⁰

³⁷ Gavin D. Brockett, "Collective Action and the Turkish Revolution: Towards a Framework for the Social History of the Atatürk Era, 1923-38," *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 4 (1998): 44–66.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 60

³⁹ Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

The military and civil officials in charge of managing the Kemalist transition argued that the adjustments were necessary for the eradication of a “*Medieval Mindset*.” They maintained that anyone who might lead society away from this mentality must be well-versed in modern scientific and intellectual thought. Their opinion was that the only way to oppose the reforms was via a counterrevolution.⁴¹

In accordance with this particular viewpoint, efforts were made to implement reforms that aligned with the ideologies of the governing elites, rather than according to the preferences or needs of the broader population. Consequently, the administration implemented rigorous rules in order to safeguard their objectives and mitigate the potential impact of the alleged counterrevolution.

The primary aim of Atatürk reforms was to establish a modern Turkish nation-state that would effectively disassociate itself from its historical connections. The goal was not only to abandon all political traditions in favor of modernity, but also to modify social conventions. The objective was to establish a modern society that adhered to the ideas of the Republican period. In essence, the reforms aimed to rebuild Turkey by abandoning its past and adopting a vision of growth and modernization that looked to the future.

2.2.3 Struggle between Political Elite and Ruling Parties

Mustafa Kemal, on 9 September 1923 founded the Republican People’s Party (“*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*” *CHP*), making it the first political party during the initial year of independent Turkey.⁴² After independence, Republican People’s Party assumed control as the ruling political party of Turkey.⁴³

⁴¹ Gencay Şaylan, *Capitalism, Bureaucracy, and Political Ideology in Turkey* (Sevnic Matbaasi, 1974), 73-78.

⁴³ Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 44-48.

During the early years of the Turkish republic, one party dominated the political landscape; Republican Peoples Party (CHP). This circumstance necessitated political resistance inside the nation. The construction of an alternative political structure was not pursued, despite the prevalence of internal dissension within the party.⁴⁴

On November 17, 1924, former Republican Peoples Party members, with Mustafa Kemals approval, created a new political party known as “*the Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Frkas*” (Progressive Republican Party TCF). This party was founded in an effort to give a forum for persons with divergent political ideas and to provide an alternative to the CHP.⁴⁵

As part of its agenda, Progressive Republican Party (TCF) adopted political and economic liberalism. Similar to the Committee of Union and Progress, the party condemned the governing Republican Peoples Party (CHP) for having dictatorial characteristics. In addition to committing to maintain national sovereignty and democracy, they emphasized the need of upholding traditional values, especially religious views.⁴⁶

Mustafa Kemal objected vehemently with the TCFs dedication to maintaining traditional values, especially religious beliefs, and deemed it unacceptable. Shortly afterwards, the Sheik Said Revolt, an uprising headed by Kurdish factions opposed to the secularization of society, further emphasized the social and national components of the developing Kurdish issue. The insurrection was named after Sheik Saad and may be attributed to traditional sheiks hostility to the changes.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid., 45-56

⁴⁵ Ibid., 56-60

⁴⁶ Ibid., 61-76

⁴⁷ Ibid., 77-79

To preserve the power of the government, the TCF was disbanded on June 5, 1925. This action was intended to consolidate the governing party dominance and prevent challenges to its authority.⁴⁸

The Serbest Cumhuriyet Frkas (Free Republican Party SCF) failed to establish itself as a credible opposition party within the realm of Turkish politics. Given the lack of a legitimate opposition, Mustafa Kemal founded the SCF artificially with the goal of projecting a favorable public image. By supporting this measure, the governing party intended to minimize popular unrest resulting from the worldwide economic crisis of 1929, now known as the Great Depression.⁴⁹

Former general *Fethi Okyar* formed the SCF on August 12, 1930, per Mustafa Kemals orders. It is essential to remember, however, that the SCF was not founded as a legitimate opposition party, but rather as a strategic move to handle public critiques and preserve political stability during a moment of economic difficulty.⁵⁰

However, attempts to build a system with multiple parties in Turkey were unsuccessful, ultimately strengthening the hegemony of a single political party. The dominance of the Republican Peoples Party (CHP) in Turkish politics was due to a number of issues. First, Mustafa Kemals conviction in the superiority of effective management was crucial. He individually expressed disapproval towards the notion of the division of powers and argued in favor of a strong central authority.⁵¹

In addition, to strengthening the one-party system the old vanguards of civil and military administrators from Ottoman administration actively participated. These people were

⁴⁸ Mete Tuncay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (Establishment of Single Party Administration in the Republic of Türkiye) (1923-1931)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013). 247-249

⁴⁹ Ibid., 247-249

⁵⁰ Ibid., 265-268

⁵¹ Ibid.

awarded key posts in the new government in recognition of their efforts to the independence movement. Their management approach enabled them to participate actively in political matters. As the old administration gave way to the new republican state, these elites changed their political philosophy to the new age. Consequently, the framework of political life in the new Turkish state remained mainly influenced by the governing party, and the political landscape remained firmly under control.⁵²

One perspective held by the elites was that the sovereignty of the Turkish nation was based on the people will. Contrary to popular belief, the Republican Peoples Party (CHP) was alone entrusted with the entire duty for the welfare of the nation. Consequently, although the notion of popular sovereignty existed in principle, the people role was restricted under the new state paradigm.⁵³

There was a prevailing belief among the general population that safeguarding the ruling elites was imperative for societal advancement and to mitigate any potential regression of Atatürk Reforms. This particular aspect was considered of utmost importance in order to sustain the progress of the revolution and establish a modern nation. This propensity also contributed to the accelerated development of some revolutionary processes.⁵⁴

This focus on keeping the governing elites and avoiding the bureaucratic past, as well as the Kemalist ideology rejection of the past, delayed the transition to democracy until 1946. In the early years of the republic, the emphasis on preserving control and the exclusion of some bureaucratic components prevented the full fulfillment of democratic ideals.⁵⁵

⁵² Özbudun and Genckaya, *Democratization and the Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey*.

⁵³ Özlem Denali, *Liberal Thought and Islamic Politics in Turkey*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Nomos Verlag gesellschaft mbh & Co. KG, 2018).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

As a consequence of this mentality, some segments in Turkish society obtained advantages while the middle class essentially disappeared. Comparable to the Ottoman Empire, elites came to hold enormous authority during the Republican period. *Recep Paker*, the general secretary of Republican Peoples Party, underlined the unification of the state and the party after the party fourth congress. Atatürk reportedly intervened to prevent Paker from steering the party in a fascist path.⁵⁶

Although Kamal Atatürk aimed to establish a multi-party system, the party initiatives have rejected the separation of powers following Atatürk statements during the collapse of the Free Republican Party (SCF). Moreover, the highest point of the integration between the government and the political party was achieved by the implementation of the *İnönü* circular in 1936. The circular explicitly named the Minister of the Interior as the General Secretary of the CHP, while also appointing governors to serve as party chairman in their respective cities.⁵⁷

2.2.4 Death of Leader and Era of Milli Şef (1938)

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk died away on November 10, 1938. *İsmet İnönü* was elected as the new president on the next day. During the month of December, a significant convention took place in which Atatürk received with the title of “*Everlasting Leader*” and İsmet İnönü was referred to as the “*National Leader*” or “*Milli Şef*”.⁵⁸ The congress also named İsmet İnönü as the party's leader for life. This made him the leader of “*the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*” (CHP, or Republican Peoples Party). The time when İsmet İnönü was in charge came to be called the Milli Şef Era.

The formation of opposition groups inside the Republican Peoples Party (CHP) could not be halted despite İnönü rising influence within the party. In addition to the CHP's solid

⁵⁶ Ertan Aydın, “Peculiarities of Turkish Revolutionary Ideology in the 1930s: The ‘Ülkü’ Version of Kemalism, 1933-1936,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 5 (2004): 55–82.

⁵⁷ Sarah P. McCally, “Party Government in Turkey,” *The Journal of Politics* 18, no. 2 (1956): 297–323.

⁵⁸ Feroz, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. 95

control, economic instability urged opposition inside the party, as the state-led initiatives adopted to address economic issues failed to stimulate a recovery.⁵⁹

Furthermore, the economic crisis was made worse by the tense environment resulting from the start of the Second World War, that corresponded with the presidency of İnönü. The impending potential of conflict contributed to the nation anxiety and unpredictability. Obviously, the worsening economic circumstances presented the opposition with a chance to intensify their public demands, seizing on the population unhappiness.⁶⁰

2.2.5 The Memorandum of the Four

President İnönü's remarks on June 7th, 1945, regarding the democratization process elicited a quick reaction from his opponents. During a public meeting, a quartet of legislators associated with the Republican Peoples Party (CHP), namely Adnan Menderes and Celal Bayar, introduced a document that has garnered attention as "*The Memorandum of the Four*". The contents of this paper encompassed a set of democratic requisites, which encompassed the implementation of a multi-party system, the facilitation of transparent and equitable electoral processes, Ensuring the protection of media freedom and implementing legislative supervision over the executive branch. It is worth noting that, apart from these four individuals, the collective stance of the CHP was mostly in opposition to the memorandum.⁶¹

Nonetheless, despite the CHPs initial opposition, the Ministry of the Interior gave consent, allowing the formation of political parties. *Milli Kalkınma Partisi* (National Development Party), formed by *Nuri Demiri* in 1945, was the first party to arise. In 1946, the authors of the

⁵⁹ Kemal H. Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System* (Princeton University Press, 1959), 137-168.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 140-168

⁶¹ Ibid., 143

preceding memorandum established “*the Demokrat Parti*” (Democratic Party), with Celal Bayar as its new head.⁶²

2.2.6 Turning point and Election of 1946

Within a short period, the Democratic Party (DP) experienced a significant expansion of its dominance all through Anatolia. This enormous growth is attributable to the efforts of both metropolitan center and rural village people. They played a crucial role by vigorously recruiting and creating party branches inside their own tiny towns, and then forging connections with the DPs central organizations in the cities.

The quick growth of the Democratic Party frightened the Republican Party, especially in light of the upcoming municipal elections. The government thus moved the 1946 presidential election from September to May. This choice was made to counteract the DPs momentum. In reaction, the DP made the strategic decision to boycott from the subsequent elections.⁶³

In addition to altering the schedule for municipal elections, the administration postponed the national elections from 1947 to 1946. The Democrats, who were not structurally prepared for an early election, responded with furious criticism to this rapid action. While their lack of preparedness, the Democratic Party chose to run in the general elections despite facing tremendous challenges. The election utilized an open ballot system with a secret arrangement. As a result, the Democratic Party gained 62 seats, increasing its oppositional position in Modern politics.⁶⁴

These events were crucial in expanding the Democratic Partys political power and authority, establishing them as a dominant force in the political landscape of the time.

⁶² Ibid., 169-196

⁶³ Kemal H. Karpat, “Political Developments in Turkey, 1950-70,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 8, no. 3 (1972) 349-75.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 349-75

2.2.7 Historical Landmark in Turkish Politics

The passing of the new Election Law on February 16, 1950 marked a significant milestone in the political trajectory of Turkey. This law ushered in significant reforms, including the establishment of the majority rule and secret votes in elections. On May 14, 1950, the next general election, the ramifications of this law were immediately apparent. With 408 seats and 53% of the vote, the Democratic Party (DP) emerged victorious. The Republican Peoples Party (CHP) secured a total of 69 seats in the election, representing 40% of the overall vote.

Celal Bayar assumed the presidency of the Republic of Turkey as its third person via a democratic election procedure on May 20, 1950. In contrast to his predecessors, Bayar elected to the presidency concurrently with his resignation as leader of the Democratic Party. From his standpoint, “*it is inappropriate for the president to undertake the position of party chairman*”.⁶⁵ and appoint Adnan Menderes, the distinguished leader of the DP.

The election outcome brought an end the regime of one-party system and to the Republican Party’s 27-year reign, signifying the conclusion of an era characterised by the exclusive dominance of one political party in shaping the political environment. The triumph of the Democratic Party and the ascension of Celal Bayar to the presidency signified a pivotal moment in the political history of Turkey and leading in an era of multiparty democracy.⁶⁶

A prominent Turkish historian, Kemal H. Karpat, summed up the Democratic Partys tenure in power as follows:

“The Democrats rule began with promises of constitutional amendments and institutional innovations necessary to consolidate democracy. They promised to uphold all the reforms of Ataturk and to refrain from resuscitating any controversy over past events. However,

⁶⁵Ahmad Feroz, “The Transition to Democracy in Turkey,” *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 7, no. 2 (1985): 211–26.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 211-26

they abandoned soon their promises and began to criticize the Republicans policies since such criticism seemed to create, at the beginning at least, some sympathetic reaction among the public. The Democrats soon became concerned with their own power and attempted to consolidate it by depriving the Republicans of some privileges obtained during the latters unopposed rule from 1923 to 1950.'⁶⁷

During its first term in office, the DP government took a number of steps to undermine the opposition, particularly *the Republican Peoples Party* (CHP). One of the measures undertaken encompassed the removal of senior military officials, particularly the Chief of the General Staff, who were perceived to have significant affiliations with the CHP. In lieu of this, the government appointed new military officers with no ties to the Republican Peoples Party.⁶⁸

In addition, the DP government seized the property belonging to the CHP due to the legislation enacted on August 8. These properties were later gifted to the national treasury. The primary aim of these activities was to induce terror and undermine the opposition, highlighting the DPs dominance and suppressing any possible pushback from the CHP. Following the 1954 election, the Democratic Party (DP) had a substantial surge in electoral backing, as its vote share escalated from 48% to 57%. In this triumph, the Democratic Party secured a grand total of five hundred and four (504) seats, whereas the Republican Party claimed thirty-one seats and the Nationalist Party secured Five seats. Despite this significant accomplishment, the second term of the Democratic Party (DP) government was marked by an increase in scrutiny towards opposition parties and the media.⁶⁹

Shortly after the elections, a law further constrained the medias freedom and independence by imposing restrictions on them. This action was intended to silence dissenting

⁶⁷ Karpaz, *Political Developments in Turkey, 1950-70.*, 352

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 354

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 356

voices and control the narrative in favor of the Democratic Party (DP). Concurrently, a new Election Law was enacted that prohibited current deputies from transferring parties and running for re-election during their current terms. This provision was enacted to limit political maneuvering and preserve the Democratic Partys grasp on power.

Ironically, these measures implemented by the Democratic Partys DP began to resemble those of an autocratic party, similar to the Republican Peoples Party (CHP), from which the Democratic Party (DP) had initially separated for similar reasons. Once viewed as a force of change and democratic progress, the Democratic Party (DP) was now exhibiting tendencies that stifled opposition, restricted media freedom, and consolidated their own power, resembling the autocratic practices they had previously criticized.

2.2.8 The Turkish Military Coup of 1960

In 1960, General Cemal Gürsel (Head of Land Forces), sent a passionate public letter pushing for comprehensive changes in the government. He strongly advocated for the removal of the existing president, the formation of a new government dedicated to democratic principles, and the repeal of any laws that threaten democracy.⁷⁰

In his letter, General Gürsel made it quite apparent that he wanted to see immediate and drastic changes made to the political system. His demand for a change in administration was a strong message about the need for new leaders who would put democratic ideals first and keep the country safe. The need to repeal rules that hamper the smooth operation of a democratic system was further underscored by his call for their repeal.⁷¹

On May 21, students from the Military Academy staged a protest against the current administration after the dissemination of General Gürsel lucid and powerful letter. Students

⁷⁰ George S. Harris, "The Causes of the 1960 Revolution in Turkey," *Middle East Journal* 24, no. 4 (1970): 438–54.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 438

rallied in favor of General Gürsel call for change and in opposition to the current administration, making it clear that they share his views.⁷²

Intent on executing a military coup in Istanbul, a group of troops left Ankara on May 26. When the army finally arrived in Istanbul, they split the city up into five sectors. Taking over the means of communication was their top priority; therefore, they seized the *Kadıköy* Post Office. The Istanbul Radio station was subsequently taken over by them. The seizure of Istanbul was surprisingly smooth and unopposed, with nothing in the way of resistance faced.⁷³

The military declared the takeover of Istanbul Radio on May 27, 1960. At the same time, military forces in Ankara stormed the presidential palace (*Ankara Köşkü*) and assumed power. The military took over the country early in the morning after successfully seizing Istanbul and the Presidential Palace in Ankara.⁷⁴

These happenings represented a watershed moment in Turkey's political history. The military was able to successfully grab power and establish its dominance over the country because to their fast and well-coordinated actions. The announcement of the military coup marked not only a transition in power, but also put in motion a chain of events that would radically alter the future of Turkish politics.⁷⁵

The Milli Birlik Komitesi (MBK), also known as “*The Committee of National Unity*”, took charge of Turkey following the military coup that occurred in the country. General Cemal Gürsel directed the committee. On May 28th, an association of notable academics began the process of creating a declaration to legitimize the coup d'état.⁷⁶

⁷² Ibid., 440

⁷³ Ibid., 443

⁷⁴ Ibid., 448

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 450

The committee primary objective was to provide the MBK with guidance and counsel regarding future policies and decisions. In addition to this responsibility, the group of professors also drafted the outline for a new constitution. This constitution would serve as the basis for the future governance and structure of the nation.⁷⁷

After the prohibition on political activities was lifted on January 13, 1961, Turkey's political life progressively returned to normalcy. Following the dissolution of the Democratic organization (DP), Ragıp Gümüşpala founded a new political organization called the Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*, AP). Former members of the DP undertook this initiative, and the *Adalet Partisi* (AP) was founded on February 11, 1961.⁷⁸

Turkey Workers organization (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*, TP) arose as a significant socialist political organization shortly after the formation of the *Adalet Partisi* (AP). Trade unionists regard *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (TP) as the nation's first significant socialist political party. Its creation immediately succeeded the formation of the *Adalet Partisi* (AP).⁷⁹

These political developments in Turkey marked the return of pluralism and the reappearance of various political ideologies. The Justice Party (AP) provided a platform for former DP members to regroup and continue their political involvement, while the TP introduced a socialist perspective into the political discourse. After the prohibition was lifted, political parties were able to operate openly and influence the future of Turkish politics.⁸⁰

In the October 15th general election, no political party achieved a substantial majority required to independently establish a government. The Republican People's Party (CHP) secured roughly 36% of the votes, and the Justice Party (AP) garnered around 34% of the votes.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 442

⁷⁸ Ibid., 454

⁷⁹ Jacob M. Landau, "Turkey from Election to Election," *The World Today* 26, no. 4 (1970): 156–66.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 157

This outcome marked the start of a new era in Turkish politics, as it indicated the emergence of a minority government, which deviated from the usual practice of majority control during the republican era.⁸¹

Both the CHP and the military establishment were taken aback by the proportion of ballots received by the AP. This unexpected level of support revealed a significant shift in public opinion and posed a challenge to the conventional political landscape. The parties shown reluctance in forming a minority administration as a result of their contrasting viewpoints towards the preceding military uprising. Nevertheless, the persistent involvement of the military in political affairs necessitated their collective agreement and establishment of a government.⁸²

The persistent influence of the military and the need for stability compelled the parties to surmount their differences despite their reservations and divergent perspectives. The realization that a cohesive government was required to navigate the complexities of the political landscape, with the military exerting its influence, ultimately drove them to reach a consensus.⁸³

After the death of Adnan Menderes, the ninth President of the Republic of Turkey, Süleyman Demirel became well-known in Turkish politics. In 1964, Demirel was elected as the leader of the Justice Party (Adalet Partisi, AP). An outstanding accomplishment of his was successfully convincing the military that the AP had no intention of replacing the Democratic Party (DP).⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ibid., 159

⁸² Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. 210

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Demirel advocated for the approach of granting the Turkish General Staff, de facto autonomy as a means to attain this goal. This involved renouncing the notion of placing the GKB under the authority of the Turkish Ministry of National Defense. This course of action alleviated military fears regarding the APs potential intervention in their activities and undermining of their authority.⁸⁵

In the succeeding election conducted in 1965, the AP won a remarkable 52 percent of the vote, allowing them to assume power on their own. Demirel served as Prime Minister while the party remained in power until 1971. During this time, Demirel implemented a number of policies and reforms that had a profound effect on Turkish politics.⁸⁶

2.2.9 Student Politics and the Protest of 1968

A number of students at Ankara University launched a campaign of boycotts. The boycott quickly gathered support and expanded to encompass more institutions in Ankara and Istanbul. Regrettably, a number of students lost their lives on June 29, 1968 while participating in a student rally held in proximity to the Turkish Grand National Assembly.⁸⁷ Simultaneously, there was a rise in labor demonstrations, leading to an escalation of tensions throughout the country.

The peak of internal tensions occurred on March 4, 1971, when the People Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) kidnapped four American soldiers from their stationed location in Ankara. The activists stipulated that the release of the American soldiers would be contingent upon the liberation of the revolutionaries who had been arrested during the protests. On the next day, a confrontation between students and security personnel resulted in the unfortunate loss of five lives and injuries suffered by 26 people. However, it should be noted that Deniz

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Emin Alper, "Reconsidering Social Movements in Turkey: The Case of the 1968-71 Protest Cycle," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 43 (October 2010): 63–96

Gezmiş was not situated inside the confines of the university premises. Consequently, the university was subjected to an indefinite suspension, leading to the arrest of around 200 students.⁸⁸

The release of the four American troops did not provide a noticeable effect on the rising tensions within Turkey. In reaction to recent instances, Chief of the General Staff, Memduh Tağmaç, held a meeting in Ankara with Army Commanding Officers for the purpose of conducting an investigation. The aforementioned move aroused apprehension among political authorities, who feared the possibility of a future military uprising. Consequently, Ankara was marked by a state of increased tension in anticipation of the military conference. While a few generals expressed their support for a coup, General Staff Chief Memduh Tağmaç regarded it as a measure to be used only as a last resort. Instead of carrying out a military coup on March 12, 1971, the commanders eventually chose to request the resignation of Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel through a memorandum generally referred to as the “*Muhtra*”.

The Memorandum blamed the government for the country poor economic conditions and political unrest and called for the formation of a new, strong government. Furthermore, it expressed apprehension on the potential for an ongoing conflict and indicated the military anticipation to step into government. The Memorandum was further presented to be debated in parliament, leading to the resignation of Süleyman Demirel from his position as prime minister. A transitional government commanded by Nihat Erim assumed power until the 14th of October 1973, when regular elections were conducted.⁸⁹

After the announcement of the Memorandum on 12 March, a wave of new political actors emerged within the realm of Turkish politics. Following the conclusion of the fifth congress of the party, Bülent Ecevit became leadership of the Republican Peoples Party (CHP).

⁸⁸ Ibid., 67

⁸⁹ Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. 311-322

The transition in leadership resulted in a notable surge in the Republican support during the 1973 elections, although it fell short of securing an independent majority to establish a government. As a replacement for the AP, Ecevit formed the coalition government on January 26, 1974, consisting of The National Salvation Party which was headed by Necmettin Erbakan. However, the minority administration broke down on the 18th of October of the same year as a result of ideological differences. Following Demirel leadership, a minority administration referred to as the initial National Front administration was formed in collaboration with Erbakan MSP and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) under the guidance of Alparslan Türkeş, a former colonel and MBK member. The dissolution of the coalition administration occurred on June 5, 1977.⁹⁰

2.2.10 May Day Massacre

Despite the rescheduled election, the country internal disturbances persisted. The establishment of new administrations only made worse current tensions as left-wing and right-wing conflicts escalated. The event commonly referred to as the May Day Massacre, which happened on May 1st, 1977, holds considerable significance among the other tragedies that unfolded during that period. Initially, the program in *Taksim Square* was proceeding ordinarily despite heightened security measures. As the meeting approached its conclusion, however, an unexpected shot of gunfire sparked unrest among the assembled crowd. There were 36 casualties as a consequence of the ensuing unrest, but only two were directly triggered by arms. The majority of casualties tragically resulted from the subsequent panic and overpopulation.⁹¹

The state of internal unrest had reached a critical threshold where security forces were unable to maintain control by 1978. The police department was divided into two distinct factions, the right and the left. The existing serious economic circumstances were exacerbated

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Feroz Ahmad, "Military Intervention and the Crisis in Turkey," *MERIP Reports*, no. 93 (1981): 5–32.

by the political instability, while a pattern of political polarization emerged as a significant factor contributing to societal divides. The ideological differences underwent a gradual transformation, ultimately emerging as sectarian conflict, particularly between the Sunni and Alevi groups. The elected leader, Ecevit, shown reluctance in proclaiming a state of emergency, despite the escalating incidents of domestic violence. He believed that if the principles of the rule of law were upheld, the tide of terrorist attacks would ultimately subside without the need to compromise fundamental rights and liberties.⁹²

2.2.11 Military Intervention in September 1980

The country government was taken over by the Armed Forces on September 12, 1980, and they operated under the authority of the Military High Council, commonly referred to as the MGK. The Military High Command (MGK) consisted of the General Command of the police, the Chief of Army Staff, and the Senior Officers of the Army. Following the insurrection, both the legislative and executive branches were dissolved. The imposition of martial law included the whole of the country, resulting in a prohibition on leaving of its citizens. Everyone was subject to a curfew beginning at 5:00 pm until further notice. The armed forces justified its action as a means of reestablishing democracy, which was considered out of control, and to maintain state authority. The primary objective was to put a stop to the widespread anarchy and terrorism.⁹³

In addition to political turmoil and unrest, a revival of Islamic ideology was viewed as a major contributor to the military conquest. A religious rally was organized by Necmettin Erbakan and his followers in the city of Konya on September 6, 1980. The event in question was subsequently mentioned by the military authorities as the driving force behind their action. Upon execution of all requisite changes the administration will be transferred to civilian authority.

⁹² Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 352-353.

⁹³ Ahmad, "Military Intervention and the Crisis in Turkey" 5-32.

2.2.12 Constitution of 1982

Following a referendum conducted on November 9, 1982, the 1982 Constitution, colloquially referred to as the “New Constitution”, was formally ratified and went into effect the same day. The commander in chief of General Staff, Kenan Evren, was elected president. The recently approved constitution included a transitional phase in which the selection of the next president was conducted via an electoral process outlined in Article 1 of the Provisional Constitution.⁹⁴ According to the provisions outlined in Article 2, MGK underwent a restructuring and transformed into the Presidential Council, which now operates under a six-year tenure. Politicians who were already in office, comprising party leaders and high-ranking officials, The article in question was subsequently revoked through a vote that took place on the 17th of May 1987. Prior to the referendum, prominent personalities including as Süleyman Demirel, Bülent Ecevit, Alparslan Türkeş, and Necmettin Erbakan were barred from engaging in political activities.⁹⁵

2.2.13 The Era of Weak and Intermittent Governments (1991-2002)

The Motherland Party also known as *The Anavatan Partisi* (ANAP), was established by Turgut Ozal on May 20, 1983. During that time, Ozal held the position of vice-prime minister in the interim administration. The ANAP, in its capacity as a political party, formulated a conservative nationalist tenet that prioritized liberal economic policies alongside conservative ethical standards. While the ANAPs party manifesto contained elements related to political conservatism, thirty-nine liberal economic policies served as its foundation. The party embraced moderate and inclusive political debate in an effort to cover the political void left by failed parties. Ozal, the founder of the party, formulated an original political ideology that incorporated liberal, Islamist, democratic, and nationalist concepts. This strategy, which

⁹⁴ Republic of Turkey, “Constitution of the Republic of Turkey” (National Legislative Bodies / National Authorities, November 7, 1982), <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b5be0.html>.

⁹⁵ Akçali, “Two Paths of Modernization.”

emphasized the concept of the state serving its citizens, improved ANAPs public perception and garnered widespread social acceptability.⁹⁶

Turgut Ozal became the seventh president of the Republic of Turkey, succeeding Kenan Evren, as a result of his political accomplishments. The ANAP, which had won the previous two general elections, finished second in the 1991 elections, behind Demirel DYP (True Path Party). Even though the DYP gained a significant number of seats, it was unable to establish a government on its own. The Turkish parliament also saw the victory of Ecevit DSP (Democratic Left Party), Erbakan RP (Welfare Party), and Erdal Nonü SHP (Social Democratic Populist Party), as they secured seats. A decade later, Turkish politics entered an era of minority government. Süleyman Demirel was designated as the Prime Minister of the DYP-SHP administration, which had a minority position. Demirel held the position of prime minister until the unfortunate passing of Turgut Ozal in 1993.⁹⁷

2.2.14 The Islamic Party of Erbakan's Ascendancy

The formation of Erbakan Islamist party, the RP (Welfare Party), during the minority administration period, marked an important a turning point. The RP won the 1995 general election with 21.4% of the vote, surpassing the ANAP (Motherland Party) with 19.0% of the vote. The DYP (True Path Party), commanded by Tansu Iller after Demirel presidency and obtaining 19.2% of the vote, failed to hold onto its chief position from the 1991 elections. President Süleyman Demirel entrusted Erbakan with the task of creating the administration. Due to his inability to establish a government, Erbakan transferred the authority back to the President. Following this, a solution was negotiated between Mesut Yılmaz, the chairman of ANAP, and Iller. With the backing of the DSP (Democratic Left Party), they established the first ANAYOL minority administration on March 6, 1996. Unfortunately, the ANAYOL

⁹⁶ Ibid, Hasret Dikici Bilgin, "Coalition Politics in Turkey: 1991-2002" (Thesis, 2011): 31-55

⁹⁷ Ibid., 31-55

administration fell due to political disagreements on June 6. Before the motion of no confidence against his government, Prime Minister Yılmaz tendered his resignation.⁹⁸

Following the collapse of the ANAYOL government, there was a progressive intensification of tensions within the Turkish political sphere. Necmettin Erbakan, the party leader of the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP), once again assumed the role of establishing the cabinet from the President. On June 28, 1996, Erbakan and Tansu Çiller reached an agreement, resulting in the establishment of the RP-DYP (REFAH-YOL) minority government. The rise of an Islamist party to power in Turkey represented a momentous event in the country political history, unparalleled in its significance. The formation of the new government encountered significant resistance from military and secularist business actors in Turkey, notably “*Turkish Industry & Business Association*” (TUSAD). The process of establishing a government only with the RP has already caused a division between Islamists and secularists throughout Turkish society. Furthermore, Erbakan expressions of Islamic ideology and visits to countries with Islamist governments, like as Libya, Iran, and Malaysia, elicited significant apprehension among secularist parties, including the military. These occurrences finally resulted in the overthrow of the administration, compelled by a combination of pressures exerted by both civilian and military entities.⁹⁹

2.3 Changes in Society, Government, and the Economy

In order to have a comprehensive understanding of the socioeconomic transformations that occurred following the Republican era, it is essential to initially understand the complex details of the social structure during the late Ottoman period. The social organisation of the Ottoman Empire is characterised by the presence of two primary segments: the ruling elite and the

⁹⁸ Angel Rabasa and F. Stephen Larrabee, “The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey,” 1st ed. (RAND Corporation, 2008), 31–50

⁹⁹ Ibid., 31-50

general population.¹⁰⁰ At the top of this hierarchical framework stood the Sultan, who commanded absolute power, with various representative subordinate to his authority. In addition to workers, traders, agricultural workers, nomadic tribes (religious minorities), and immigrants, the general populace, or subjects, also included nomads. This social structure was unlike other forms of classification, such as the caste system, in that it was not mainly founded on hereditary factors. Moreover, it permitted limited vertical mobility between social categories, but with limitations. Transformation on the Social, Political, and Economic Planes.¹⁰¹

The Ottoman Empire was an ethnically diverse, multinational empire whose subjects were governed by the Millet System. In the past century, the concept of “millet” was used to describe religious affiliations, and it acquired its current meaning of “nation”.¹⁰² A person's existence was beholden to the religious, administrative, and economic authority of their birth community (millet). Only through religious conversion was it possible to transition from one community to another, which was rare and generally discouraged.¹⁰³

In contrast to modern conceptions of minorities, millets were not regarded as such. The inhabitants of each millet were able to uphold their ethical principles and preserve their customs, languages, and traditions. They did not struggle with establishing their identities against the majority, nor did they have assimilation concerns. As a consequence of the limited interactions between millets, there were also few conflicts between them.¹⁰⁴ The application of the Millet System facilitated the governance of a vast region inside the Turkish Empire, including diverse nations.

¹⁰⁰ Fatma Muge Gocek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 1st edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). 20

¹⁰¹ Ibid, Gocek. 20-30

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

According to Max Weber, the Ottoman Empire may be classified as a traditional society, wherein its political structure is marked by the presence of patrimonialism or sultanism.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, as a result of the influence of various concepts, such as nationalism, which emerged in Ottoman society after the French Revolution, the empire started going through transformations. These nationalist beliefs fostered separatist tendencies among various millets. To combat these separatist nationalistic sentiments, the Ottomans adopted a monarchy based on constitutional principles, enabling the Sultan to share power with parliament and shifting away from absolute rule.¹⁰⁶

In the aftermath of lengthy wars and shifting borders, the Ottoman Empires socioeconomic landscape underwent profound changes. The Ottomans were forced to fight on multiple fronts against the Allied Powers during the First World War. The empires participation in the conflict ultimately lead to its end, and the Ottomans were eventually isolated to the Anatolian region.¹⁰⁷

2.3.1 The Demographic structure of Anatolia (1923- 1950)

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Anatolia, the main territory of the newly-formed Republic of Turkey, witnessed a major change in its demographic composition, particularly with regard to religious homogeneity. With the loss of territories, the Muslim inhabitants of these regions began migrating to the residual Anatolian lands. After the Ottoman-Russian Wars of 1878 and the Balkan War of 1912-1913, this migration of people intensified, resulting in an ongoing migration of Ottoman residents into the core. During the Republican era, a second distinct surge of migration occurred, marked by the migration of populations. It was an unprecedented phenomenon involving the forcible relocation of populations between

¹⁰⁵ Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. 51-55

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 53

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 55

Turkey and its neighbors. This complex demographic reorganization ultimately led to the formation of a more homogenous religious landscape in Anatolia.¹⁰⁸

The exchange of Greek and Turkish inhabitants was a central focus of the Sixth Convention of the Lausanne Peace Treaty. Therefore, Article Three is articulated as; “*Those Greeks and Moslems who have already, and since the 18th October, 1912, left the territories the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of which are to be respectively exchanged...*”¹⁰⁹

Turkey endeavors were instrumental in establishing a nation-state during one of history defining moments. Their objectives were twofold: first, to address the ongoing issue of addressing minority problems which had been manipulated by Western nations to interfere in Turkey's internal affairs. Second, Turkey endeavored to make a pathway for an independent nation whose majority adhered to the Muslim faith. The ruling party, the CHP, believed that attaining religious homogeneity in society would make the transition to a nation-state easier.¹¹⁰ This action was intended to strengthen Turkey's identity and reduce outside influence in its affairs, leading the way for a more united and unified nation-state.¹¹¹

The separation between the center of society and the periphery posed the greatest difficulty in Ottoman political and social life. The center in this context refers to the executive branch and the governing elites, whereas the periphery includes the people and their religious as well as social organizations. The Ottoman Empire maintained its diversified society with a method that was decentralized, allowing distinct communities to coexist in their own environments.¹¹² Despite having a centrally managed army and thus differing from feudal states

¹⁰⁸ “Turkey - Ottoman Empire, Geography, Culture | Britannica,” accessed May 5, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Turkey/History>.

¹⁰⁹ Lt.-Col. Lawrence Martin, “Treaty of Lausanne - World War I Document Archive” ((New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1924.), 2009), World War I.

¹¹⁰ H. Cevahir Kayam, “Turkish-Greek Population Exchange According to the Lausanne Peace Treaty and Discussing the Issue in the Turkish Republic,” *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* 9, no. 27 (1993): 581–608.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ebru Canan Sokullu, *Turkey in Transition: Politics, Society and Foreign Policy*, 2020. 19-39

in this respect, the Ottoman Empire failed to successfully connect its society with the center. This lack of assimilation resulted from the ongoing existence and impact of pre-empire groups, which contributed to a feeling of division inside the empire.¹¹³

During the Independence War, a significant animosity existed between the central and provincial regions, which was referred to as the center-periphery dichotomy inside the Grand National Assembly.¹¹⁴ Upon the Kemalists seizure of power and establishment of the new republic, the progress of this struggle witnessed an abrupt shift. Despite their triumph, a number of early Ottoman groups continued to exist during the early republic period.¹¹⁵ Concerns were raised about future divisions in Anatolia as these organizations aligned themselves according to their spheres of influence. Regarding religious matters, certain groups in Anatolia were influenced by religious community leaders, which prompted opposition from Kemalists who sought to establish a secular and modernized government.¹¹⁶ The modern group, which gained influence over the central government, comprised people from the military, intellectuals, and professions related to the government. The second group consisted of political leaders, religious leaders, business entrepreneurs, and previous local government officials.¹¹⁷

This conflict among the center and the periphery had a substantial impact on social transformation in Turkey. While the center and periphery continued, the center underwent a radical transformation from its Ottoman ancestor. Important to this transformation was the centers transition away from religious values, which led to the gradual formation of a secular republic. The abolishing of the Caliphate on March 3, 1924, which suffered a terrible blow to the Ottoman states legacy, marked the first important step towards this secular path.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 22

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 24

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 30

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 34

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

2.4 Educational Reforms

In the early republican era, Atatürk revolutionary reforms were distinguished by an independence from Ottoman traditions and a push toward westernization and secularization. The reorganization of the educational system had a crucial role in establishing the intended modern society and a fresh focal point for the emergent Turkish nation.

The modernization of the educational system was one of the most crucial and transformative measures implemented to modernize Turkey. During a period of profound social change, Turkey emphasized the significance of education for developing the desired community.¹¹⁹ On March 24, 1924, the statute on “*Unification of National Education*” (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat*) was passed, resulting in the abolition of the Ottoman-style education system. The religious organisation that formerly controlled Dervish Lodges (Tekke and Zaviye) were forced to stop their activities, along with the closure of madrasas (Universities). Under the authority of the Ministry of National Education, the educational system was unified as a result. Furthermore, this course of action led to the Modernization of education, since the closure of these institutions primarily offering religious-based curriculum took place.¹²⁰

Turkey adoption of a new orthography was an additional crucial step towards secularizing education. The replacement of the Ottoman alphabet with the Latin alphabet occurred in 1928, marking a shift away from the Persian and Arabic scripts from which the former alphabet had derived. The aforementioned series of reforms were implemented with the objective of preventing the dissemination of the Ottoman mindset and establishing the foundation for a modern nation.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Barak A. Salmoni, “Ordered Liberty and Disciplined Freedom: Turkish Education and Republican Democracy, 1923-50,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 2 (2004): 80–110.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

In addition to these reforms, in 1931 and 1932, respectively, the Turkish Historical Society (TTK) and the Turkish Language Association (TDK) were founded. These institutions played crucial roles in maintaining and encouraging Turkish history and literature as essential elements of the process of nation-building. The Turkish Historical Society was dedicated to researching and documenting the country history, whereas the Turkish Language Association was committed to standardized and enriching the Turkish language, thereby developing linguistic unity and national identity.¹²²

Adopting the Latin alphabet and establishing organizations such as the Turkish History Society and the Turkish Language Society were crucial steps taken in Turkey to promote secular education and shape a modern nation. The purpose of these reforms was to pull Turkey away from Empire traditions and establish a firmer foundation for the emergent Turkish culture and nation.¹²³

The Turkish Historical Society (TTK) possessed a mission that included investigating the diversity of Turkish culture and highlighting Turk contributions to world civilization. One of its primary objectives was to compile new history texts that would inculcate in the generations of the new republic an intense knowledge of Turkish identity and historical awareness. Following the decline of the Turkish Empire, there was a deliberate endeavour to broaden the Turkish historical account to encompass ancient times, particularly on Central Asia.¹²⁴

likewise, the Turkish Language Association (TDK) played a vital role in disclosing the essence and attractiveness of the Turkish language and defending it against the influence of

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*.

¹²⁴ Ibid, "Ordered Liberty and Disciplined Freedom."

foreign languages. The TDK aimed to preserve the sanctity and integrity of the Turkish language by fostering linguistic unity and shielding it from external dialect influences.¹²⁵

In basic terms, both the TTK and TDK performed crucial positions in Turkey's process of nation-building. The TTK was dedicated to highlighting the historical importance of Turkish heritage and culture while imparting an intense feeling of national pride and identity. On the other hand, the TDK sought to preserve the Turkish language, ensuring that it remained an effective instrument for interaction and cultural expression, uncontaminated by foreign linguistic influences. Collectively, these endeavors contributed to the formation of a unified and distinct Turkish national identity.

2.5 Role of Women, Rights and Modernization

During the period of nation-building, Turkey's social life underwent significant transformations, especially with regard to the role of women. Atatürk policies paved the path for women equality by granting them their first suffrage and electoral rights. In 1930, the passing of the 1580th law marked an important event as it granted women the right to both stand as voters and be elected in municipal elections, so facilitating their participation in the political system for the first time. Eventually, on December 5, 1934, voting became available to all adult citizens, both male and female, who had reached the age of 22. In the parliamentary elections held on February 8, 1935, a group of 18 female candidates used their right to participate and were elected as members of parliament. This was their first participation in the political process. In addition, the pursuance of westernization manifested itself in numerous facets of life, such as the adoption of the Gregorian calendar and the renaming of the weekend. These initiatives sought to modernize the nation and integrate it into the global community.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. 79-100

Additionally, Turkey experienced significant social advancements. Contrasting to the Ottoman era, the position of women underwent a significant transformation. By awarding women new rights, Atatürk policies played an essential part in enhancing the position of women in society. In the year 1934, a significant milestone was reached in Turkish history when women were granted the privilege to use their voting rights and participate in political candidature, marking a notable turning point.¹²⁷

The quest of modernization continued further to the abovementioned actions. One prominent example is “*The Hat Law of 1925*”, which stated that *man member of the nation was required to don Western attire rather than the customary fez*. These laws were seen as “Iconoclastic,” and during that period, the Kemalists supported the motto “*Lets smash the idols.*”¹²⁸ This perspective was validated by subsequent events. The Islamic calendar, that had been used traditionally, was abandoned the following year and replaced by the Gregorian calendar. This modification not only supported secularization, but also sought to modernize Turkey. The renaming of the holiday to Saturday and Sunday to better accord with international practices is a further instance of this integration.¹²⁹

In the way for pursuing modernization in new republic, old legal order was completely altered. Thus, the legal reforms took place in the form of modern nation state. For example, the presence of various legal systems that were established on the basis of the millet system was brought to attention. The socioeconomic framework during the initial democratic era lacked a diverse religious complexion. As a result, the Sharia courts were abolished in 1924. The Ottoman Civil codes underwent a reform and were replaced by the Swiss Civil code. The prison system was filled to capacity with the Italian prison code. The trade rules were modified by

¹²⁷ Ibid., 88

¹²⁸ Ibid., 92

¹²⁹ Ibid., 100

implementing a commercial code that drew inspiration from the legal frameworks developed in Germany and Italy.¹³⁰

2.6 Demographic Shift and Urbanization

Similar to other industrialized nations, expanding industrialization altered the country demographic composition, and as a natural consequence, the major political personalities (parties) have shifted since the advent of multiparty democracy in Turkey. In the 1950s, the consequences of the newly moved population on politics began to emerge. Hence, the trends of population change and urbanization in Turkey become vital determinants of the country social, economic, and political development. Urbanization had an important impact in shaping the social and political environment of Turkey throughout its rapid economic growth period. The economic improvements prompted a transformation in people lifestyles and opinions. There existed a poor relationship between the birth rate and urbanization. As a result, urban residents exhibited a tendency to keep small-sized households. The process of urbanization gave rise to the emergence of an entirely new lifestyle characterised by distinctive consumption patterns.¹³¹

2.7 Alteration of the Economy

The society economic development began to reshape its social and political structures. As a result of the catastrophic wars fought since the 18th century, the country social and economic foundation had been demolished. Due to the protracted conflict, economic life remained to be governed by the state during the era of the single party. The industrial revolution has been the main focus of the Turkish economy from the early years of the Republican period.¹³²

¹³⁰ Ibid., 91

¹³¹ Ibid., 135

¹³² Sevket Pamuk, "Political Economy of Industrialization in Turkey," *MERIP Reports*, no. 93 (1981): 26–32,

It was difficult to discuss the existence of a solid framework in the country economic life during the early republican era. Prior to the 20th century, highlighting the prominence of Turkish businesspeople in the economic affairs of the Empire was challenging.¹³³ The Republic inherited from the Ottoman Empire an inadequate economic structure. This phenomenon cannot be mainly explained to the lengthy nature of conflict. The economic development of the nation was largely influenced by minority groups, particularly Greeks and Armenians, resulting in a shifting demographic structure that significantly affected the economy in a detrimental manner.

In 1912, 15% of the commercial businesses belonged to Turkish people, while 49% and 23% belonged to Greeks and Armenians, respectively. As a result of the population swap, the most of the country economic leaders fled the country. According to additional figures, in 1922, Muslim communities comprised 4% of overseas corporations, 3% of carrying industries, 15% of wholesale establishments, and 25% of retail stores. In addition, 12 % of the industrial goods and 14% of self-employed firms were run by Turks in the early 1920s.

Prior to the formation of the Republic of Turkey, the Izmir Economic Congress was convened on the dates of 17 February and 4 March 1923 in response to the challenging economic circumstances faced by the nation. To ascertain the economic policies of the newly established nation, the legislative body assembled individuals with varied professional backgrounds, such as merchants, entrepreneurs, agriculturalists, workers, and banking personnel, along with other pertinent stakeholders. Furthermore, a primary objective of the conference was to identify strategies for maintaining rapid economic expansion.¹³⁴

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Michael M. Finebrock, "Laissez-Faire, the 1923 Izmir Economic Congress and Early Turkish Developmental Policy in Political Perspective," *Middle Eastern Studies* 17, no. 3 (1981): 375–92.

In the early stage of the era, which was marked by the supremacy of a single political party, the government implemented a laissez-faire economic strategy to stimulate the economy. This approach was influenced by the resolutions made at the Izmir Economic Congress. The first bank known as “İş-Bankası” was established in 1924 to meet the financial requirements of Turkish entrepreneurs. In order to stimulate foreign trade, the government implemented a reduction in customs duties. In order to provide a secure business climate for domestic firms, there was a hike in import tariffs. The Republic of Turkey, which was created relatively recently, faced a multitude of challenges including those related to infrastructure and modernisation.¹³⁵

Following the Great Depression, the Turkish government was compelled to initiate measures to foster economic growth. The Great Depression had a significant impact on world and Turkey international trade, particularly in relation to crucial agricultural commodities such as cotton, tobacco, and cereals. To combat this, the government imposed a monopoly on these crucial to the economy and producers of the country products. This strategy, known as *Etatism* or statism, sought to foster economic development through government intervention, allowing private enterprises to prosper before transferring industries to the public sector.¹³⁶

In contrast to the prior “era of chaos”, the governments adoption of *Etatism* resulted in a more organized approach. In 1933, the first five-year growth plan with an emphasis on rapid industrialization was put into effect. This plan emphasized the use of native natural resources for industrial expansion. Important industries included paper, fabrics, chemicals, and mining, which led to the founding of institutions such as *Sümerbank* (for textiles and paper) in 1933 and *Etibank* (for mining) in 1934, respectively. These state-owned corporations were

¹³⁵ Ibid., 375

¹³⁶ Birtok Faruk, “The Rise and Fall of Etatism in Turkey, 1932-1950: The Uncertain Road in the Restructuring of a Semi peripheral Economy,” *Research Foundation of State University of New York for and on Behalf of the Fernand Braudel Center* 8, no. 3 (1985): 407–38.

established under specific legislation. In addition, governmental money was distributed to underprivileged districts in order to stimulate economic development. The initial industrialization initiatives were financially manageable for the state, as they were financed by government monopoly earnings that were later allocated to investors in the industrial sector.¹³⁷

The government developed the second five-year development strategy in 1936 as a result of the successful completion of the goals outlined in the previous plan. However, the main goal of the second five-year development plan was to priorities the investigation and exploitation of underground resources, such as coal, iron, and petroleum. The implementation of the plan, agreed in 1938, was postponed due to the onset of World War II and the continuous attempts to prevent the conflict. The occurrence probability of the situation and the protracted recruiting process had a detrimental impact on the economy. The business sector faced a deadlock in the late 1940s as a result of an excessive amount of bureaucratic oversight. Thus, the concept of statism strayed from its concrete benefits.¹³⁸

The economic challenges not only precipitated the decline of Etatism, but also marked the conclusion of the era characterised by one-party governance. While Etatism did not fully achieve the intended outcomes, its underlying frameworks facilitated rapid economic expansion throughout the period characterised by several political parties. The government employed distinct strategies in the allocation of foreign economic resources compared to the previous time. The provision of foreign aid under the Marshall Plan, as well as the extension of loans by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, both played significant roles in fostering considerable economic growth.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ibid, Faruk. 413

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

Agricultural advancements and urbanization had a positive impact on the industrial sector. The initial phase of nondurable products import substitution industrialization has been completed. Furthermore, the process of localizing the durable goods industry, which started during the etatist era, may be said to have reached a state of near-completion. The process of industrialisation unfolded in two discernible stages. Firstly, these achievements were made feasible via the backing of private enterprises. The establishment of the Industrial Development Bank of Turkey (TIDB) aligns with the standards set out by the World Bank. Its primary objective is to facilitate the growth of private enterprises by providing assurances for both domestic and international funding.¹⁴⁰ In order to enhance the benefits of the public sector, the government aimed to facilitate the expansion of many state-owned enterprises. The government, in this manner, also boosted the capitalization of existing businesses.¹⁴¹

The economy expanded in the first year after multi-Party governance, but began to decline due to poor economic policies. Financial stability would worsen by the end of the 1950s as a result of foreign repayment and high inflation levels. Turkey submitted a formal request to become a member of the European Economic Community (EEC) in the early stages of the organization establishment in 1959. The choice of Turkey to join the European Customs Union (ECC) may have been significantly influenced by its present economic situation and the imperative to address its economic challenges. However, it should be noted that the ECC recognized Turkey's status as a supporting member rather than granting it full membership.¹⁴²

The period from 1963 to 1980, commonly referred to as the era of planned economy, was also characterised as the age of import substitution modernization. As a result of challenges pertaining to international payment systems, the decision was made to domestically

¹⁴⁰ Kemal H. Karpat, "Society, Economics, and Politics in Contemporary Turkey," *World Politics* 17, no. 1 (October 1964): 50–74

¹⁴¹ Şevket Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey since 1820* (Princeton University Press, 2018). 184-203

manufacture imported items. This trait was also observed throughout the central planning era. The preparation of the country inaugural economic development plan in 1963 duly considered the nation economic and social framework.¹⁴³ In addition to addressing the matter of employment, the plan encompassed the imperative of upholding the ideal of equality, including facets such as equal opportunities and the improvement of financial disparity. Furthermore, the plan encompassed the promotion of a highly educated unit of scientists, among other crucial elements.¹⁴⁴

The second and third economic new advances were carried out over the periods spanning from 1968 to 1972 and 1973 to 1979, correspondingly. In particular between 1963 and 1974, the Turkish economy was financially stable, and the country experienced fast economic expansion and modernization. In 1973, despite the fact that Turkey's economy was predominately dependent on agricultural products and had a modest industrialization, the ratio of industry to the gross national product surpassed the contribution of agriculture.¹⁴⁵

After the modern economic policy, which was the name given to the decisions made on January 24, 1980, Turkey's economic policy altered substantially. The government adopted several new neo-liberal economic measures. In place of modernization based on import substitution, export-oriented industrialization was implemented. Turkey has chosen a free market system, wherein prices are determined by competition between private enterprises and are not regulated by the government.¹⁴⁶

Özal believed in economic liberalism in addition to political liberalism. As a result, he had a preference for the private sector. Özal implementation of liberal policies resulted in economic progress. From 1980 to 1990, the average annual growth rate in question was 5.2%,

¹⁴³ Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey since 1820*.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Karpat, "Society, Economics, and Politics in Contemporary Turkey."

making the country with the second highest among the member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). In contrast, Turkish imports had a substantial surge, escalating from \$7,909 million to \$22.3 billion. Consequently, the ratio of net exports to import prices experienced a rise from 36.8% to 58.1%.¹⁴⁷

The growing economy not only played a role in the restoring of “national confidence” that had been eroded in the previous decade, but also made a positive impact on Turkish foreign policy. Turkey has begun to expand its influence in the region, leveraging its strong and thriving economy. As a result of the economic and political changes implemented by Ozal, Turkey has made notable progress in its trajectory towards attaining regional power status.

¹⁴⁷ Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey since 1820*.

Chapter 3

Pakistan's Quest for Modernity

The phenomenon of modernization has had a significant impact on several societies worldwide. The modernization endeavours undertaken by many nations have frequently been characterised by their rapidity and employment of coercive techniques. Egypt, Turkey, Iran, and, to a lesser extent, Pakistan, demonstrate the implementation of forced modernization by authoritarian and oppressive governments in countries with a Muslim majority.

During the early 19th century, Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805-1848) implemented a strategy of mandatory modernization inside the borders of Egypt. During the 1920s, Turkey had a period of modernization spearheaded by Mustafa Kamal Ataturk (1881-1938). During the reign of Mohammad Reza Pahl (1919-1980), Iran had a period of development in the 1930s. Pakistan initiated a modernization endeavour in the 1960s, led by General Ayub Khan. The examined cases of modernization displayed a notable degree of selection and authoritarianism. Autocratic governments in numerous countries spearheaded the push for modernization, without the need for popular approval to pursue their aims. As a result, the implementation of radical plans encountered obstacles.

Pakistan endeavours to achieve modernity is a multifaceted and continuous endeavour that encompasses several social, cultural, political, and economic dimensions. Modernity refers to the advancement of society through the adoption and integration of contemporary concepts, ideals, technologies, and institutions. The emergence of modernism can be attributed to the period before the division of the subcontinent. As the first chapter of thesis is the examination of the literary contributions towards modernity made by Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal. Since attaining independence in 1947, Pakistan has had challenges in delineating and pursuing a unique trajectory towards modernity. The nation founders envisioned a society that was both progressive and inclusive, founded on democratic values,

the pursuit of social justice, and the promotion of economic prosperity. Nevertheless, the pursuit of modernization has faced multiple impediments and paradoxes. Pakistan endeavour to achieve a harmonious equilibrium between tradition and development is a vital element of its quest of modernity.¹

Pakistan boasts a rich cultural legacy and a strong religious devotion based around Islam. The constant clash between traditional values and modern aspirations has greatly impacted the discourse surrounding modernity. Some segments of society advocate for a conservative understanding of Islam and resist certain aspects of modernization, while others endorse a more progressive and secular viewpoint. Pakistan has had periods of military rule, transitions towards democratic administration, and periods of political instability. The nations democratic institutions have encountered difficulties in establishing and consolidating power, ensuring accountability, and upholding adherence to legal standards. The contemporary era necessitates a robust democratic framework that protects the rights and liberties of its populace, promotes active participation in politics, and pushes for efficient governance.²

This chapter primary goal is to present a thorough depiction of modernity transitory phases. The chapter elucidates the trajectory towards modernization that transpired after to the partition from 1947 to 1999.

3.1 The Evolution of Modernity from 1947 to 1999

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the esteemed founder of Pakistan, vehemently rejected the authority of a religious government and instead fought for progressive ideals. Liaquat Ali Khan expressed his disagreement with the conversion of Pakistan into a theocratic state. Most of these individual perspectives also reflected the prevailing mindset of the educated Western-

¹ Tayyaba Batool Tahir, Ali Ammar, Fatima Bajwa, "Islam and Modernity: A Case Study of Pakistan's Political History," *Journal of Historical Studies* VI, no. II (December 2020): 341–57.

² Ibid.

influenced majority within the leadership of the Muslim League. Religious inquiries held little significance for them, maybe due to their Westernized worldview and limited engagement to traditional Islamic ideas. Concerning the practical dimensions of religion, the majority of people did not perceive any fundamental inconsistencies between traditional values and modernism.

After Pakistan gained independence in 1947, the religious ulama became influential in the political sphere because of their widespread appeal. Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani assumed responsibility of the Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam (JUI), which was founded in 1948, whereas Maulana Abul Ala Maududi led the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), formed in 1941. Following that, the JUI, JI, and other traditional religious academics called for the implementation of an Islamic system across the entire nation. From their viewpoint, the concept of a Western democratic government was seen incompatible with the essential tenets of Islam. The JUI has stated its intention to establish the positions of Shaikh al-Islam and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, as well as to form a commission lead by ulama to develop an Islamic constitution for the country.

However, advocates of modernity contend that the ulama understanding of the complicated systems involved in constitution formation is limited. In the first ten years after gaining independence, there was a clear dispute between proponents of modernity and adherents of traditional ideas. This clash was apparent in several instances. The events encompass the endorsement of the Objectives Resolution in 1949, the anti-Ahmadi movement in 1953, and the ensuing constitutional discussions that culminated in the establishment of the 1956 Constitution of Pakistan. The Talimat-i Islamiya, established in 1949, is a regulatory institution comprised of ulama. The goal of the document is to provide information and advice on issues that could result from the Objectives Resolution.

3.1.2 Reforming the Political System

The ideological uncertainty concealed fundamental concerns, such as defining the character of an Islamic state and its sovereignty, the drafting of a constitution, the establishment of social and provincial justice, and the development of an institutional framework. Nevertheless, these problems became the subject of disagreement and contributed to the state of uncertainty. Moreover, politicians from East Pakistan asserted their demand for equitable central representation, citing their substantial population and vast geographical region. They had strong feelings of displeasure towards the fact that their language was relegated to a subordinate status behind Urdu. Concerned about the inequitable distribution of economic development, they advocated for a significant modernization of the political system.³

The ruling elite in several sectors made concerted efforts to establish West Pakistan. Their primary objective was to establish a robust central government as the most effective means of safeguarding against the hostile neighbouring country, India. Thus, an attempt was made to address the problem of disparities between provinces by merging the less populous western province into a single administrative unit, on par with East Pakistan. Several other factors contributed to the political instability of the country, creating an opportunity for military intervention in 1958.⁴

3.2. 1956 Constitution

The initial constitution of Pakistan, which designated the nation as The Republic, was ratified on March 23, 1956. It was predicated on the declared objective of the objective resolution. An important provision embedded in the constitution of Pakistan prohibited the implementation of any legislation that contradicts the teachings of the Quran. The ratified modern norms of Islam, including the principles of democracy, equality, tolerance, and social justice, must be strictly

³ L. F. Rushbrook Williams, *The State of Pakistan*, Rev. ed (London: Faber, 1966): 145.

⁴ Ibid.

observed to. In accordance with the constitution guarantee of non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan the freedom to worship. Furthermore, the constitution guaranteed complete equality to the two provinces of East and West Pakistan.⁵

As the nation founding political party, the Muslim League exhibited a further lack of effectiveness in guiding the country towards democratic principles, stability, and economic well-being. The political party mentioned above faced difficulties associated with sectarianism, regional identity, and opportunism, which resulted in the primacy of personal gains and advantages over the national interest. The situation highlighted the weaknesses of the civilian administration while simultaneously bolstering the military capabilities. As a means of addressing the challenges presented by natural disasters and matters of law and order, the civilian administration has progressively adopted military and bureaucratic strategies. The military became deeply involved in civil affairs in 1953, following the Anti-Ahmadi disturbances that erupted in Punjab. Inability to manage the crisis effectively was demonstrated by the provincial government. Martial Law was proclaimed in Lahore on March 7, 1953. The situation was quickly restored to its earlier condition within a concentrated time of days due to the military intervention. Reflecting on the period of military rule in Lahore, The Daily Dawn reported the following:

*“Memories of the Army rule in Lahore will linger for a long time to come and the new look that Lahore has acquired and the sense of discipline among its people inculcated by the army will bear eloquent testimony to the good work done by Major General Azam Khan and his men.”*⁶

⁵ Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, “The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1956,” February 29, 1956, <https://factfocus.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/The-Constitution-of-Islamic-Republic-of-Pakistan-1956.pdf>.

⁶ “National Archives of Pakistan, Speeches, Interviews, Statement, Messages, and Condolences of Ayub Khan” (Dawn, 2012).

The Pakistani martial uprising of 1958 was not an unplanned military reaction. It was clear how, in the absence of effective political leadership, the military can become entangled in a political system. The military continues to pledge its allegiance to the civilian government. This establishment offers services aimed at addressing challenges related to natural disasters and law and order. The military eventually becomes a vital part of the decision-making process. On the other hand, a political crisis had become more severe. The prominent instances include corruption, political negotiating, nepotism, and localized affiliations. As said by Khalid bin Sayeed,

“Pakistan resembled Hobbes state of nature in which each political and provincial group engaged in conflict with every other group.” A never-ending and brutal struggle for power emerged. The majority of the leaders were preoccupied with their own interests, those of their families, or, at best, their provincial organizations; they showed Pakistan little attention. Pakistan was in desperate require of a remedy for this condition. The Leviathan was martial law, which arose to maintain public welfare and law and order through the use of force.”⁷

3.3. The Modernization of the Ayub Khan Era

General Ayub Khan, an ardent supporter of a progressive and liberal interpretation of Islam, was tasked with managing the modernization efforts in Pakistan throughout the 1960s. From 1958 to 1965, the leader exercised an authoritarian style of governance during the early phase of his rule. However, the government official Islamic policy clearly reflected his inclusive and progressive attitude towards Islam.

During this period, the modernization project was implemented through the application of public policies that were especially designed to bring about significant changes in the

⁷ Khalid B. Sayeed, *Pakistan, the Formative Phase, 1857-1948* (Oxford University Press, 1968).

constitutional, legal, and social aspects of the nation. Nevertheless, the activities indicated earlier displayed coercive preferences, shown a significant level of selectivity, and showcased authoritarian traits. Despite facing opposition and hostility from all segments of the population, the military regime persevered in executing its agenda for modernization.⁸

Nevertheless, between 1965 and 1969, an era that could be described as having a partially authoritarian nature, there was a significant change in the government official attitude towards Islam. The change can be linked to the decreasing popularity of the leader and his requirement for public backing to sustain his autocratic rule.⁹

Ayub Khans rule is divided into two separate phases: an initial phase from 1958 to 1965, which can further be subdivided into two sub-periods. Ayub Khan held the position of Chief Martial Law Administrator from 1958 to 1962, during which he administered the country. After martial law ended in 1962, he then served as President from 1962 to 1965. Ayub Khans early tenure as the leader was marked by an autocratic form of governance, facilitated by the enforcement of Martial Law. Ayub Khan endeavored to advance the modern interpretation of Islam by enacting governmental measures during this specific period. With the aim of modernizing Pakistani society, he enacted a range of constitutional, legal, and social reforms. The traditionalist leaders, who adhered to old beliefs and practices, strongly resisted the governments initiative to modernize.¹⁰

The period of governance that followed the election, from 1965 to 1969, can be described as a democratic system, but it is sometimes referred to as a “managed democracy”. The observed event involved a shift in governmental policies aimed at attaining modernity, as

⁸ Sarfraz Husain Ansari, “Forced Modernization and Public Policy: A Case Study of Ayub Khan Era (1958-69),” *Journal of Political Studies* 18, no. 1 (n.d.): 45–60.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Kunal Mukherjee, “Ayub Khan’s Basic Democracy and Political Continuity in Contemporary Pakistan,” *India Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (2016): 268–77.

the governing body abandoned its pursuit of a modernization objective. Multiple factors contributed to this change. The government policy reversal may mostly be ascribed to the considerable influence exerted by various parties, with religious leaders prominently contributing to a serious challenge to the legality of Ayub Khans authority.¹¹

3.3.1 The Islamic Viewpoint of Ayub Khan

The widespread recognition of Ayub Khans religious devotion as a devout Muslim is substantiated by the writings and statements of numerous individuals who maintained close associations with him. In his autobiographical piece entitled “Friends Not Masters,” Ayub Khan provides a detailed account of his religious upbringing. He clarifies that his father harbored a profound aspiration for him to acquire a solid foundation in the tenets of Muslim theology and the fundamental principles of Islam. It is significant to mention, nevertheless, that Ayub Khan completed his scholastic pursuits in Aligarh before transferring to the Sandhurst Military Academy located in the United Kingdom. The individual hobbies, which included grouse shooting on Scottish nobility-owned estates, golfing, and whisky consumption in the evenings, served as reflections of a way of life and a system of societal values that were shaped by the process of Anglicization. The analyst carefully notes that the era of Ayub Khan led to the support of Macaulay beliefs and the success of Sir Sayyed.¹²

Ayub Khan demonstrated a resolute dedication to the modernist and progressive-liberal interpretation of Islam. Ayub Khan offers a comprehensive articulation of his progressive attitude,

¹¹ Ibid, Mukherjee.

¹² Ibid, Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters, a Political Autobiography*, First Edition (Oxford University Press, 1967).

“We were privileged to have a religion that could serve as an umbrella for progress. But mythology and ritualism had given us a pessimistic perspective that was utterly at odds with the Islamic message.”¹³

Furthermore, he believes that the creation of Pakistan was not intended to produce a nation characterised by conventional leadership, but rather to foster the advancement of a liberal and progressive culture. During his address to an educational institution, he declared,

“This I consider a great disservice to Islam, that such a noble religion should be represented as inimical to progress. In fact, it is great injustice to both life and religion to impose on twentieth century man the condition that he must go back several centuries in order to prove his bonafides as a true Muslim.”¹⁴

Ayub Khan governed the nation with a dictatorial style from 1958 to 1965, particularly in the initial phase of his leadership. Throughout this period, he publicly displayed his inclination towards intellectual freedom and democracy within the framework of Islam, as exemplified by the implementation of a distinct Islamic agenda. The period from 1965 to 1969 was characterised by a government that exhibited quasi-authoritarian tendencies. During the initial years of Ayub Khans administration, there was a notable change in Pakistan official Islamic stance. Throughout this decade, there was a significant increase in religious modernism observed in both political and public spheres. The era marked a notable shift from the unclear and unresolved perspectives of the previous Modernist government to a distinct and definitive clarity that differentiated Islamic Modernism from the conventional position of fundamentalist conservatism.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid, khan.

¹⁴ Ibid, khan.

¹⁵ Fazlur Rahman, “Islam in Pakistan,” *Journal of South Asia and Middle Eastern Studies* VIII, no. 4 (1985): 43–44, 49.

In the early years, there was an apparent shift in the official Islamic policy, thus contributing some validity to the statement. Ayub Khan made efforts to reconcile the political structure with liberal secular ideas, while simultaneously working towards introducing codification of Islam into Pakistan political system. “He symbolized the difficult situation faced by Pakistan modernists”.¹⁶ However, his approach to executing the changes was marked by its aggressive style and the absence of active participation from people. His military background and professional views emphasized discipline, structure, and authoritative ideas instead of participating in political activities and promoting consensus through discussion and agreement.¹⁷ However, following the implementation of official democratic procedures within the country in 1965, this strategy was discontinued due to criticism from various segments of society.

During the initial years of Ayub Khans tenure, Pakistan constitutional, legal, and social frameworks experienced a series of gradual transformations.

3.3.2 Implementation of New Rules and Laws

Ayub Khans primary objective was to achieve social reform and modernization by means of legislative measures. The comprehensive analysis is provided by the 1961 Muslim Family Laws Ordinance. The establishment of a Commission on Marriage and Family Law took place in 1954, with the subsequent presentation of its findings occurring in June 1956. Nonetheless, the suggestions put out by the Commission were effectively executed in March 1961, coinciding with the tenure of Ayub Khan.¹⁸ Due to the controversy generated by the report, the

¹⁶ Saeed Shafqat, *Political System of Pakistan and Public Policy: Essays in Interpretation* (Progressive Publishers, 1989):34,96-97.

¹⁷ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan* (Macmillan, 2000), 94.

¹⁸ Ibid, khan, *Friends Not Masters, a Political Autobiography*.

Commission recommendations were unable to be implemented immediately after its submission.¹⁹

In 1961, through the implementation of the *Muslim Family Laws Ordinance*, a number of registration regulations related to divorces and marriages were established. The document mandated that judicial approval be sought for all subsequent marriages, including the original, and that divorces could exclusively be considered valid upon obtaining court consent. Additionally, the ordinance specifies that the minimum age for marriage is fourteen for females and sixteen for males. Ultimately, it confers the right of inheritance upon the grandson of a deceased son, affording him the chance to obtain the estate left to him by his grandfather. Numerous individuals regard The Ordinance as a crucial step in the endeavour of modernizing family life; it is regarded as the most recent interpretation of Muslim family law on the subcontinent to date.²⁰

Legislative bodies also passed the Child Marriages Prohibition Act and the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act in 1961. By deftly overcoming the objections raised by the ulama, Ayub Khan successfully secured the passage of the measure into the National Assembly. These Acts and Ordinance were implemented with the explicit objectives of prohibition of polygamy, safeguarding the lawful assets of spouses, and bestowing inheritance privileges upon descendants.²¹

The Ayub Government enacted the *West Pakistan Auqaf Properties Ordinance* of 1959, which established the Ministry of Auqaf for the management and oversight of religious properties, such as the graves and sanctuaries of Sufi Shaykhs. The principal aim of this

¹⁹ Sarfraz Husain Ansari, "Forced Modernization and Public Policy: A Case Study of Ayub Khan Era (1958-69)," *Journal of Political Studies* 18, no. 1: 45–60.

²⁰ Ishtiaq Ahmed, "Pakistan, Democracy, Islam and Secularism: A Phantasmagoria of Conflicting Muslim Aspirations," *Oriente Moderno* 23 (84), no. 1 (2004): 13–28.

²¹ Sarfraz Husain Ansari, "Forced Modernization and Public Policy: A Case Study of Ayub Khan Era (1958-69)," *Journal of Political Studies* 18, no. 1: 45–60.

legislation implementation was to reduce the influence wielded by religious authorities, specifically pirs and mullahs, with a particular focus on rural regions.²²

The Ayub Khan era had significant implications for Pakistan across all dimensions. Ayub Khan was resolute in his efforts to transform Pakistan into a modern nation that aligned with the prevailing global developments. For instance, this includes the development of new structures, acquisition of additional financial resources, and the establishment of a cohesive national character for Pakistan. He attempted to alter the name of Pakistan state from the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to just the Republic of Pakistan. He sought to modernize the populace and governance of the nation with a strict disciplinary approach. The Ayub dictatorship made several attempts to effect reform in different ministries, particularly in the army, which served as the backbone of his control for over a decade.²³

The Ayub dictatorship was cognizant of the notion that the military is the crucial factor in maintaining long-term control in Pakistan. In addition, the dictatorship was also instilling the Islamic ideology of Jihad in lower ranks of the army through indoctrination. Jihad is a religiously motivated endeavor for Muslims to engage in combat in order to protect an Islamic State, such as Pakistan in this particular instance. The regimes insistence on the use of Islamic terminology stemmed from the fact that the *Sipahis* were primarily recruited from villages in Punjab, where their comprehension of Islamic teachings was basic and primarily derived from their mothers and maulvi (religious scholars). The theological knowledge served as a source of inspiration for *Sipahis* to engage in the defense of Pakistan, as was shown in the wars of 1965 and 1971.²⁴

²² Ibid.

²³ C. Christine Fair et al., "Islam and Politics in Pakistan," in *The Muslim World After 9/11*, 1st ed. (RAND Corporation, 2004), 247–96.

²⁴ Ibid.

Ayub Khans focus on modernization stemmed from his ambition to prolong his tenure in power. Ayub Khans government implemented a range of policies aimed at launching novel projects across several industries. To achieve this, they established a variety of institutions. The Central Institute for research was established in 1961 and subsequently renamed the Islamic Research Institute in 1962. Its purpose is to provide guidance to the government on a wide variety of topics based on Islamic principles. Dr. Fazal Rahman served as the head of the organization. He provided counsel to the government regarding education policy and the national ideology. Traditional religious experts hindered Dr. Fazal Rehman endeavors to modernize the society. Due to pressure from traditional religious academics, the government of Pakistan was compelled to dismiss him from the Islamic Research Institute. The President Ayubs modernization initiatives were impeded by the formidable resistance from the orthodox ulema.²⁵

3.3.3 Modernity and Traditional Society of Pakistan

The modernization effort, instigated by President Ayub, aimed to revolutionize the conventional society of Pakistan, which, during that period, was heavily swayed by orthodox religious figures known as “*Mulla or Molvi*”. These clerics wielded significant religious sway over the rural populace of the nation. The Ayub regime weakened the clergymen authority, who mobilized the populace against the government imposition of modernization on society and its laws.²⁶

During that period, the Muslim population held a position of societal prominence. The Muslim community was thereafter fragmented into various sects, each of which was overseen by distinct pastors. These clerics belonging to various religious groups exert significant influence in forming the opinions of the rural population. The modernization initiative

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

encountered a significant obstacle when it faced strong opposition from the conservative faction of society. The Ayub dictatorship was compelled to revoke the several schemes it had previously implemented.²⁷

In addition, the traditionalist factions within Pakistani society strongly resisted the ideas and policies of modernist intellectuals and government officials. The conservative elements within President Ayub Khans government remained inactive. However, these elements persistently constructed a counter-narrative against several government initiatives among the rural population of the country. It is worth noting that during that time, the majority of society was agrarian and rural.

3.3.4 Constitution of 1962

In 1962, the Ayub dictatorship implemented a new constitution. The constitution sought to tackle basic challenges confronted by Pakistan during that period, including mounting apprehensions in East Pakistan and to confer legitimacy onto the government. The preamble of the constitution explicitly addresses the Islamic nature of the nation and affirms that no legislation shall be passed that contradicts the principles outlined in the Quran and Sunnah. Additionally, it was mentioned that Pakistan will be founded under the Islamic principles of social justice, tolerance, and equality. The government is required to establish an Islamic Ideology council that will assess if a proposed bill aligns with Islamic values. The purpose of this ideological council is to provide guidance to the several branches of the government regarding the regulations of business, ensuring that they align with the laws established by Islam. The government was not obligated to follow the advice of this council. The constitution also mandates the creation of an Islamic Research Institute, which will provide guidance to the

²⁷ Ibid.

people and institutions of Pakistan on how to align their lives and daily activities with contemporary Islamic values.²⁸

The constitution of 1962 was implemented by the Ayub dictatorship with the aim of modernizing Pakistan political system and establishing long-lasting reforms. Ayub intended for this constitution to shape the future political trajectory of the country. Nevertheless, the attempts made by the Ayub dictatorship to forcefully modernize politics were unsuccessful due to a multitude of circumstances. There was a significant disparity and lack of agreement between the traditionalist and modernist factions of society. The modernists primarily consisted of individuals from the urbanized, salaried class, while conservative forces predominantly held influence in the rural regions of the country.²⁹

Initially, modernist intellectuals advocated for a modernist interpretation of Islam for the newly formed state of Pakistan, while conservative factions opposed this approach. The Jamat-I-Islami and other conservative factions strongly opposed the government actions under Ayub Khans leadership, including the forced retirement of Dr. Fazal Rehman from the Institute of Islamic Research. Additionally, the Ayub Khan government failed to anticipate that the ulema would become vehement critics of the regime. As previously stated, the mosques in both rural and urban areas were under the authority of religious scholars known as *Molvis*. These *Molvis*, in turn, incited the general population against the progressive changes introduced by the Ayub government, such as the Muslim Family Law Ordinance of 1961. Furthermore, like to many autocratic regimes, the Ayub Khan government suffered from a lack of credibility among the general population. The Ayub Khan regime implemented a series of programs and measures aimed at modernizing Pakistani society.³⁰

²⁸ J. S. Bains, "Some Thoughts on Pakistan's New Constitution," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 23, no. 1/4 (1962): 209–24.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

He relinquished his notion of modernization in response to mounting pressure from conservative factions within society, who successfully reintroduced a clause from the Objective Resolution into the constitution in 1963, despite its omission in the original 1962 text. While it is indeed true that the dictatorship managed to establish its legitimacy, it harbored apprehensions regarding the potential backlash from the general populace in response to its efforts to modernize society. Despite the diligent endeavors of The Ayub dictatorship, it ultimately succumbed to the overwhelming force of public criticism, leading Ayub Khan to regretfully abdicate office in 1969.³¹

Following the downfall of the Ayub regime, neither the Pakistan People's Party nor the Awami League, which were the major political parties in united Pakistan, adopted the slogan of Islam to gain support. However, Mr. Bhutto did start using religious symbolism more frequently as he became aware of the composition of society in West Pakistan. This strongly suggests that the people of Pakistan were not swayed by religious extremism at that time. Moreover, the polity had robust left-leaning ideologies. Awami league led by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman and Pakistan People's Party was led by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, had been renowned for rejecting capitalist structure of Pakistani society, respectively. Mr. Bhutto was deeply influenced by communist ideologies and sought to capitalize on the widespread support of the working class by combining Islamic and communist slogans, such as *"Islam is our religion and socialism is our economy."*

3.4 Modernization During Butto Era

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto commenced his political career by becoming a member of Iskandar Mirzas cabinet. However, he disassociated himself from Mirza when Ayub Khans military successfully overthrew Mirzas administration in a coup d'état in 1958. Subsequently, Mr. Bhutto assumed

³¹ Ibid.

different ministerial roles within the government of Ayub Khan. During the peak of his political career under the Ayub regime, he attained the position of foreign minister. However, his relationship with the Ayub regime deteriorated due to divergent views on the Tashkent agreement with India following the 1965 war. Mr. Bhutto skillfully took advantage of the governments mishandling of the Tashkent deal. He adeptly utilized his eloquence to channel the prevailing dissatisfaction in the country towards Ayub Khans military rule. In response to the economic and military sanctions imposed after the 1965 war, the people initiated a political movement against the military regime of Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan was compelled to relinquish his authority in 1969. He relinquished control to Yahya Khan.³²

The short tenure of Yahya Khan was marked by widespread unrest in the streets. The military leadership attempted to retain power but ultimately yielded to the unwavering resistance of the people of Pakistan in their pursuit of an elected democratic government. The dictatorship conducted the inaugural general election in 1970, which was influenced by the Awami League in East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) held the majority, but lacked the ability to contest the absolute majority of the Awami League. Following his departure from the Ayub regime, Mr. Bhutto utilized populist rhetoric with a blend of Islamic and communist undertones.³³

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto proclaimed that his agricultural reforms will exert a more profound influence on the livelihoods of the common citizens of Pakistan in comparison to any other measure contemplated by his overtly socialist and populist administration. Following a period of almost seven years, the martial rule administration under the leadership of Zia-ul-Haq published a White Paper that assessed the success of Bhutto government. Zia had taken control

³² Hussin Mutalib and Taj ul-Islam Hashmi, eds., *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1994): 45-79.

³³ Ibid.

of the country through a coup in July 1977. The White Paper alleges that Bhutto government employed land reforms as a deceitful political maneuver, including manipulative strategies, favoritism, victimization, corruption, and misuse of authority. Paradoxically, a crucial component of Bhutto strategy to “rescue”. Pakistan is highlighted in a White Paper that aims to rationalize the demise of the previous Prime Minister, who enjoyed widespread support. It is noteworthy that Bhutto, despite his personal background in a feudal society, aligned himself politically with men from similar aristocratic backgrounds.³⁴

Mr. Bhutto unusual emphasis on agrarian reform was rhetorical. The aim of the reforms was to restore a sense of “dignity” and “self-respect” among the marginalized rural population and guarantee their “salvation.” In addition, the reforms sought to curb the economic and political sway of a prosperous feudal class and foster the modernization of agriculture, which formed the basis of the country economy.

3.4.1 The Elimination of Feudalism and Land Ceilings

The jaghirdar system of land tenure in Pakistan is synonymous with feudalism. A jagir was a land acquisition granted upon military commanders in remote and less manageable territories. They had the privilege of gathering income from the land, but were required to uphold law and order and supply a group of individuals for state obligations when necessary. Both precolonial and colonial states utilized these donations without producing any revenue. The jagirs were deemed feudal in a restricted legal sense due to the fact that the overlords were entitled to military services, and the states authority was confined to the lord’s people. The lords had both political and economic power and influence.³⁵

³⁴ Ibid, Mutalib and Hashmi, *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State*.

³⁵ Ronald J. Herring, “Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the ‘Eradication of Feudalism’ in Pakistan,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21, no. 4 (1979): 519–57.

The incorporation of the ceiling reform as the primary objective in the fight against feudalism is fascinating, yet it coordinates effectively with established norms in Pakistan. While Bhutto statements may promote radical transformation, the underlying thought and the reasons behind his proposed improvements mostly replicate past experiences. In Pakistan official vocabulary and political jargon, “feudalism” denotes the existence of non-progressive landlordism that lacks practical relevance. The critique of feudalism in this particular situation may be traced back to the initial stages of the Pakistani state, as evidenced in planning documents. The First Five Year Plan classified landlordism as a “historical aberration” in which the majority of landlords acquired their lands through “uncertain means” or were bestowed them “by British rulers as an expression of appreciation for their unwavering supporting in establishing and consolidating their dominion over this country. The planning documents expressed strong disapproval and condemnation towards the prominent landowners, likening them to the notorious Zamindars of India and describing their practices as “feudal”. They were characterized as unpatriotic, parasitic, and perceived as impeding progress.³⁶

However, the planning documents in Pakistan were thorough in making a clear distinction, just like the British colonial policy, between feudal landlords who exploit others and agricultural capitalists who are forward-thinking and deserve to be encouraged and supported rather than eliminated. Mr. Bhutto policy rationale adhered precisely to the same principles. His 1972 ceiling was approximately equal to the one proposed in the First Five Year Plan, and for very similar reasons. The purpose of setting a low ceiling was to dismantle the large estates owned by feudal lords and facilitate the redistribution of confiscated land, which was a significant symbolic goal. However, it was crucial to avoid setting the ceiling too low as to discourage innovative farmers. These policy ideas have a striking resemblance to the British colonial concept of an enlightened upper class that leads the way in modernizing the less

³⁶ Ibid.

developed rural population. The reference group represents the highest level of the rural social stratification system. These persons possess a lifestyle, preferences, and requirements that make them unsuitable for agricultural professions unless they offer significantly higher benefits compared to what the average farmer receives.³⁷

3.4.2 Bhutto Tilt Towards Islam in 1969-70

During his election campaign, Mr. Bhutto strategically focused on the prominent landowners and capitalists in the country, specifically employing the rhetoric surrounding the 22 influential families. At the beginning of his campaign, Mr. Bhutto advocated for scientific socialism as a potential solution to social problems and resource inequality. Nevertheless, when conducting his campaign in the plains of Punjab, he came to the realization that the inhabitants of the rural community in Punjab were not very enthusiastic about his rhetoric for socialism. He revised his socialist speech and veiled it with Islamic symbolism, as shown in his declaration at his 1969 address to the Hyderabad Bar.³⁸

*“Islam is our religion. Pakistan came into being because we were Muslims. We will sacrifice everything for Islam. Islam means the strengthening of the Muslim people. If you want to serve Islam, Pakistan, Make the people powerful, and in this way, you will be doing a service to your God, to your prophet, to your country. There is undoubtedly the principle of democracy in Islam, it also contains the principle of equality. Islam emphasized equality [more] than on anything else. We cannot see equality in Pakistan. We want to create equality but when we talk of equality, of socialism, we are dubbed anti-Islamic.”*³⁹

As a cunning politician, he strategically retained his conservative support base in the rural regions of Punjab and Sindh, which were his two strongholds. He adeptly utilized his

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Mutalib and Hashmi, *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State*.

³⁹ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *Awakening the People* (Pakistan Publications, 1973): 240.

persuasive speaking abilities to attract the support of the rural voters. In addition, he utilized his election emblem, a sword, to promote his religious beliefs by referring to it as the “Sword of Zulfiqar,” a sword linked to the fourth caliph Ali (R.A). His utilization of Islamic tales and examples was appropriately in accordance with the views of the rural population in these two regions. During his speech at Liaquat Bagh in 1970, he responded,⁴⁰

*“We are first Muslims and then Pakistanis. Unlike “Islam Pasands” we not only like Islam, we love Islam our foremost principle is “Islam”. In Islam, socio-economic equality or Musawat has been given highest priority. The Prophet (peace be upon him) emphasized the importance of Musawat. We shall, therefore, bring about Musawat (equality).”*⁴¹

The manifesto of his party was to establish a just and equal society. Mr. Bhutto interpreted his party manifesto is inspired by the egalitarian values of Islam.

Mr. Bhutto became the inaugural civilian to hold the position of Civil Martial Law Administrator following the failure of 1971. He played a crucial role in creating a single, cohesive document for a country known as the Constitution of 1973. The extensive document contains several Islamic provisions. Mr. Bhutto implemented multiple provisions in the constitution in an attempt to gain support from his conservative voting base. However, his efforts were unsuccessful due to the strong resistance of religious scholars affiliated with the mainstream religious groups. Mr. Bhutto was charged with engaging in extensive electoral manipulation during the 1976 elections. The opposition parties were advocating for a new election. Nevertheless, Mr. Bhutto declined to conform and instead implemented a series of measures in response to the religious parties. These actions can be seen as attempts to strike a

⁴⁰ Ibid, Mutalib and Hashmi, *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State*: 50.

⁴¹ Ibid.

balance and appeal to the excessively religious factions of society who were united under the flag of “Nizam-i-Mustafa”.⁴²

3.4.3 Religious Reforms by Bhutto

Mr. Bhutto implemented a number of symbolic religious measures with the support of his government, including declaring Friday as a holiday and imposing a complete prohibition on the sale of alcoholic beverages in the country and military messes. The Islamic changes implemented by Mr. Bhutto were primarily symbolic in character. These efforts were intended to appease the prevailing religious sentiment of society. In 1974, he officially classified *Qadianis* as non-Muslim, so fulfilling a longstanding request from religious groups like Jamat-i-Islami and JUI. In addition, he renamed the Red Cross as the Red Crescent and instructed the authorities to ensure that copies of the Holy Quran are available in all first-class hotels in the country. Furthermore, he formed the Ministry of Religious Affairs, marking the first time this ministry was created in Pakistan. Advocate for an extended duration of religious programming on radio and television, as well as the promotion of Arabic language in educational institutions and through the media. He also promoted the training of Shariah to Sunni youngsters in schools. In addition, he orchestrated an international symposium on the life and contributions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). He alleviated the challenges encountered by pilgrims on the hajj pilgrimage.⁴³

3.4.4 Reorientation of Foreign Policy

Mr. Bhutto fostered strong and amicable relations with the countries of the Middle East. He was a vehement critic of Israel and a staunch champion for the cause of Palestine. Mr. Bhutto provided military support to the Arab alliance against Israel during the Third Arab-Israel war in 1973. In 1974, Mr. Bhutto organized the second Islamic Summit conference in Lahore. This

⁴² Anwar Hussain Syed, *Pakistan: Islam, Politics, and National Solidarity* (New York, N.Y: Praeger, 1982): 126.

⁴³ Ibid.

summit elevated the reputation of both Pakistan and Mr. Bhutto throughout the Muslim world. He was regarded as a prominent figure in the Muslim world. He augmented the export of labor force to the Arab world, significantly bolstering Pakistan economic indices.⁴⁴

Mr. Bhutto made a significant impact on the structure of Pakistani society. Despite being unjustly executed by another military dictator, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, his discourse continues to maintain popularity in Pakistani politics even after fifty years.

3.5 Islamization of Zia-Ul-Haq

In the wake of political activity that was begun by the opposition of Mr. Bhutto. Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, the former army head, perceived a chance to topple Mr. Bhutto government. On July 5, 1977, he seized control of the government with the assistance of military officers. He apprehended Mr. Bhutto and pledged to conduct nationwide elections over a span of 90 days. The promised he never fulfilled until his demise in an aviation accident eleven and a half years later. The repercussions of his erroneous and poorly executed efforts to promote Islam as the dominant ideology may still be observed in Pakistani culture. He transformed the accepting visage of society into one characterized by radicalization and extremism. In order to establish the legitimacy of his authority, he implemented numerous contentious measures that intrinsically endangered minority groups, making them vulnerable to violence from zealous religious mobs.⁴⁵

Shortly after seizing power by force, he strategically exploited the religious sentiments of society to gain support, exemplified by the implementation of *Nizam-I-Mustafa*. The religious parties promptly embraced the ideology of *Islami Nizam* (Islamic System). General Zia implemented a number of directives to incorporate Islamic principles into the governing

⁴⁴ Ibid, Mutalib and Hashmi, *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State*.

⁴⁵ Mumtaz Ahmad, "The Crescent and the Sword: Islam, the Military, and Political Legitimacy in Pakistan, 1977-1985," *Middle East Journal* 50, no. 3 (1996): 372–86.

structure of Pakistan. For instance, he commanded that the perpetrators engaged in a range of abhorrent actions be subjected to public flogging. Despite facing strong criticism both domestically and internationally, Gen. Zias order received significant attention. Eventually, the regime was compelled to cease this practice.⁴⁶

3.5.1 Gen Zia and Inclusion of Jamat-I-Islami in Cabinet

General Zia was profoundly influenced by the Islamic ideology of *Abu ul Alaa Maududi*, the head and founder of JI. JI strongly opposed the seizure of power by any tyrant. Nevertheless, the former leader of JI, Mian Tufail, fervently supported Gen. Zias objective of establishing an Islamic regime in the nation. As a reciprocal gesture, he extended a range of positions in the cabinet to members of JI. Since the establishment of Pakistan, the Jamat has consistently been ignored by succeeding governments. However, they were prompt in accepting positions for the first time in Pakistan history. The JI members took on the role of advisors to the new military dictatorship, providing guidance to the government on different administrative measures in accordance with Islamic principles and laws. Nevertheless, JIs tenure in Gen Zias ministry was brief.⁴⁷

The Jamat realized that the activities of the military dictatorship are gaining disfavor among the general population and consequently stepped down from their posts in the cabinet. The JI argued that it is not advisable to implement shariah punishments in the absence of the necessary socio-economic conditions, a viewpoint strongly supported by Maududi. Furthermore, JI was resolute in its decision to participate in the upcoming November elections as pledged by General Zia. In addition, while withdrawing from the November elections, Zia persisted in expressing his intention to enforce the Islamic system supported by Maududi.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Anita M. Weiss, *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State* (Syracuse University Press, 1986): 126.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

3.5.2 Islamization of Laws and Judiciary

In 1978, Zia initiated the process of implementing Islamic principles in the legal system and judiciary. He declared his intention to align the laws of the nation with Islamic beliefs. He declared the establishment of a permanent law committee that will streamline the legal process and modify laws as necessary to align them with Islamic principles. The objective of the military regime was to establish all laws in accordance with shariah. In 1979, Zia declared the establishment of Shariat benches within the judicial system. The primary objective of these *shariat* benches was to provide counsel and evaluate the prevailing judgments. Furthermore, alongside these *shariat* benches, a bench consisting of five judges was constituted in the supreme court. The purpose of these benches was to scrutinize the verdicts and legal disputes in accordance with traditional Islamic jurisprudence.⁴⁹

In February 1979, Zia implemented a new set of Islamic Laws to coincide with the celebration of Eid-Milad-un-Nabi. The military dictatorship sought to implement political, religious, economic, and social reforms in accordance with the principles and teachings of Islam. During a news briefing in 1983, he stated:

*“My only ambition in life is to complete the process of Islamization so that there will be no turning back the Islamization process, its aims and objectives are straight on the path of righteousness. And that is what I call Islamization.”*⁵⁰

General Zia also implemented symbolic measures to impose Islamization on the population, particularly during the holy month of Ramadan. During this sacred month, particular importance was placed on the magnificence linked to fasting, and establishments serving food were instructed to close until sunset. Another significant gesture was the implementation of veils worn on the faces and heads of women. This hierarchy infiltrated every

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Mutalib and Hashmi, *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State*: 63.

aspect of women public life. They were instructed to wear a veil during their television appearance and when going outside in public places such as streets, colleges, and markets. Special programs related to the Hajj were introduced. The television and radio used to broadcast live scenes of government officials leading prayers and welcoming pilgrims in Saudi Arabia.⁵¹

Under the guidance of Gen Zia, numerous institutes, colleges, and seminaries were established in the country with the specific purpose of promoting religious instruction among the population. Regularly, conventions and conferences were conducted on religious subjects. In 1979, a Shariat Faculty was created at Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad. This faculty later transformed into the Islamic International University.

General Zia also implemented the Zakat ordinance and applied it universally across all religious groups. Nevertheless, Fqih Jafriah (Shite) vehemently opposed this action and exerted pressure on Islamabad. As a result, the military dictatorship was ultimately compelled to grant them an exemption from the Zakat law in 1981. The outcome was a consequence of the regimes attempt to symbolically label itself as an Islamic regime, which ultimately had negative repercussions. Another contentious legislation enacted in 1983 was the introduction of *Qanoon e Shahadat* (law of Evidence). This legislation can be characterized as a statute that discriminates against women and was vehemently contested by women advocacy organizations. Under this law, the testimony of women was diminished by half in compared to men. The conservative ulema believed that a woman testimony is solely necessary in matters concerning women.⁵²

General Zia was the mastermind behind the resurgence of Islamic principles in Pakistan. Nevertheless, his endeavors failed to achieve the desired Islamic renaissance and

⁵¹ Ibid, Mutalib and Hashmi 64-65.

⁵² Ibid.

instead exacerbated societal divisions in Pakistan by capitalizing on religious divisions. He seized control through sheer force. Although he held authority, he failed to implement any tangible measures to improve the socio-economic circumstances of the community. Moreover, he bestowed significant authority upon extremist factions by granting them unrestricted access to state resources. Following his demise, the Pakistani society became profoundly fragmented.

3.6 1990s: Struggle between Secular and Conservatives

Following the demise of General Zia, elections were conducted and triumphed by Benazir Bhutto, the offspring of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Ms. Bhutto received her education in the Western world and held a preference for secular beliefs. She spearheaded numerous projects aimed at promoting gender equality and empowering women. She was the inaugural democratically elected female Muslim head of state. Nevertheless, she encountered staunch resistance from the traditionalist factions of society. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and his party PML(N) successfully attracted the conservative voter base. He employed religious iconography and openly endorsed religious aspects in his election rallies and public speeches.⁵³

The PPP (Pakistan People's Party) mostly attracted secular components, while the PML(N) had a significant presence of religious and conservative forces. Throughout the 1990s, both parties were involved in trivial political activities and neither of them managed to serve a full term in government. Furthermore, neither party tolerated any long-term projects. The initiatives undertaken by PML(N) were deemed futile and vice versa. The military assumed control of the government, so bringing an end to the last tenure of PML(N) in power.⁵⁴

3.7 Challenge of Extremism and Enlightened Moderation of Pervez Musharraf

Pervez Musharraf, like those who came before him, deposed the democratically elected government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1999. During his ascension, the

⁵³ Naveeda Khan, "Flaws in the Flow," *Social Text* 24, no. 4 (2006): 87.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

world was undergoing upheaval in economic, political, and cultural domains. General Musharraf also strongly opposed the radical interpretation of Islam. He publicly championed the opinions previously articulated by his predecessor Ayub Khan. Nevertheless, he diverged from Ayub Khans path and established a novel notion known as “*enlightened moderation*”. He voiced his respect for the government system of Kamal Ata Turk in Pakistan.⁵⁵

3.7.1 The Question of Legitimacy

Like his predecessors he also faced the question of legitimacy. On one hand he strongarmed popular political leaders to abdicate or shun politics while on the other hand he allowed his cronies or puppets to contest election to legitimize his otherwise dictatorship. It is pertinent to mention that the vacuum that was created by the ouster of political leader was filled by extremist elements. The religious elements formed coalition by the name of “*Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal*” to contest election held under the patronage of Gen. Musharraf. The alliance was successful in forming governments in N.W.F.P (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and in Balochistan. To legitimize his rule, he allowed the extremist elements to roam free in these two volatile regions.⁵⁶

The US-led military campaign against terrorism in Afghanistan forced extremist elements to flee and seek refuge in the former Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. As a result of the US invasion and the influx of refugees, these two western provinces of Pakistan became breeding grounds for terrorist activities. Meanwhile, General Musharraf was actively promoting his concept of enlightened moderation to Western audiences. He deliberately ignored the progress taking place at the several religious seminaries scattered over Pakistan.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Afiya Zia, “Faith-Based Politics, Enlightened Moderation and the Pakistani Women’s Movement,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* 11, no. 1 (January 7, 2013): 225–45.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Religious seminaries, generally referred to as “madrassas,” originated as a result of the Afghan Jihad in the 1980s. These religious schools proliferated in large numbers over the prior years and in the 1990s, partly due to the generous donations from wealthy Gulf countries. These religious seminaries served as a fertile environment for combating coalition forces in Afghanistan. Likewise, when the Pakistani government attempted to thwart the recruitment efforts of these extremist factions, they retaliated by launching a series of lethal suicide assaults around the country, resulting in the loss of tens of thousands of Pakistani lives.⁵⁸

3.7.2 Media Freedom

General Musharraf granted permission for the establishment of private media channels in order to present his dictatorship as progressive and accepting of opposing viewpoints. The decision was also influenced by the belief that media independence will disseminate modernist ideas among the public. General Musharraf also expanded the licenses in the telecommunications sector to enhance communication amongst individuals. Nevertheless, his endeavors failed to provide the intended outcomes. As an instance, instead of disseminating high-quality information that would foster meaningful discussions among society, newly established media channels have prioritized trivial political talk programs. In addition, they fostered the growth of extreme factions by endorsing and promoting discriminatory content targeting minority groups.⁵⁹

The modernization project in Pakistan has not been a complete failure; it has primarily influenced a small segment of society that received education in Western-style modern educational institutions. Meanwhile, students from religious seminaries have largely remained confined to narrow religious interpretations within their respective sects. Throughout history,

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Zafar Iqbal, “media and Musharraf: a marriage of convenience,” *European Scientific Journal* 8, no. 3 (2012): 1–27.

it is clear that both military and civilian governments have experimented with the ideas of modernity and conservatism. However, they have been unsuccessful in creating a fully functional society. With each new government, society has become more intolerant and radicalized in terms of politics, social issues, religion, and culture.

Chapter 4

Comparative Analysis of Turkish and Pakistani Quest for Modernity

Despite being located in opposite parts of the world, the modernization processes of Turkey and Pakistan share numerous similarities. Despite their diverse historical, cultural, and religious foundations, both nations have launched on parallel paths of development and transition in an effort to modernize their societies and conform to global trends. Significant modernization-related reforms have been implemented in both Turkey and Pakistan, but with differing degrees of success. Both nations have struggled to maintain a balance between tradition and modernization, along with political turmoil and economic prosperity. Moreover, both nations have been influenced by international forces of modernity, such as the growth of Western culture, the advent of industry, and the advancement of technologies. These forces have led to the development of Turkey's and Pakistan's societies and economies, albeit at different rates and to diverse degrees.

Political transformations have occurred in both Turkey and Pakistan as a result of their respective modernization processes. In late 19th-century and early 20th-century Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established the Turkish Republic. The objective of Atatürk's Kemalist policy was to modernize and secularize the Turkish nation. In 1947, Pakistan also achieved independence from British colonial rule and established an Islamic Republic. In the subsequent years, both nations suffered ideological upheavals, military coups, and democratic periods of power, underscoring their mutual quest for political stability and progress.

Both Turkey and Pakistan have undergone huge social confusions in pursuit of modernity. Finding a balance between preserving traditional values and adopting progressive social standards, both nations have struggled with the contradiction between tradition and modernity. In Turkey, Atatürk's reforms ushered in sweeping changes, such as the replacing of Arabic script with Latin script, the introduction of Western-style clothing, and the emancipation

of women through access to legal rights and education. Similarly, Pakistan has undergone societal transformations, such as the advancement of women rights, the growth of education, and the development of urbanization. These societal developments reflect both nations willingness to adapt to the unique challenges of modernity.

As a result of their own modernization processes, both Turkey and Pakistan have experienced economic progress and growth. Both countries have strived to grow their economies, reduce poverty, and improve the living conditions of their respective populations. Strategically located between Europe and Asia, Turkey has pursued economic reforms and modernization to become a significant regional force. To stimulate economic expansion, Pakistan has prioritized agricultural expansion, industrial development, and human capital investment. Despite difficulties such as disparities in wealth and corruption, both countries have achieved tremendous economic progress, demonstrating their shared goal for modernization.

4.1 State-Religion Relations

The relationship between the state and religion has been a subject of controversy in both Turkey and Pakistan during the process of modernisation, sometimes referred to as westernization, in the republican era. During the initial years of the Turkish Republic, religious groups were subject to limited participation in political affairs, as the ruling regimes displayed a proclivity for exerting control over these groups. In the context of Pakistan, religious groups have actively engaged in the realm of practical politics. Following its independence, Pakistan faced a significant hurdle in the form of constitution-making, during which religious leaders sought to establish it as an Islamic Republic. Regrettably, the introduction of Muslim modernism by Modern scholars posed challenges in the implementation of secular initiatives within the constitutional framework. Liaquat Ali Khan, under his modern beliefs, embraced the democratic system in formulating the inaugural constitution of 1956. The religious groups anti-

western discourse was perceived as a hindrance to the process of modernisation at different points in time.

In the context of Muslim societies, particularly in Turkey and Pakistan, there has been a notable evolution in the perception and formation of societal and political orientations following the end of the colonial era and monarchy. This transformation has involved a shift in Islamic identities, in which Turkey transitioned from an Islamic sultanate to a secular system while Pakistan grappled with the endeavor to establish Islam as a public identity. Consequently, this dynamic has fostered an environment in which religious groups have emerged to contest the dominance of secularism within these nations. Islam in Pakistan is closely linked to the formation of the state, with a key focus placed on the prohibition of legislation that opposes the fundamental tenets of Islam. Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Islam was systematically marginalized from public and political domains, being attributed with the responsibility for the reactionary tendencies and deficiencies that ultimately led to the downfall and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey chose a strongly secularist approach with the intention of diminishing the religious influence and sacred nature associated with the Ottoman monarchy and the caliphate. This strategy aimed to remove any components with religious themes from the public realm. Secularism played a vital role in strengthening the Kemalist ideology, which sought to modernize the new Turkish state. In this context, secularism established a tangible position within the Kemalist ideology of the Republican Peoples Party (CHP) and the constitution of 1937. Hence, all religious-related developments, situations, and formations were regarded as being of a reactionary nature. The government had imposed restrictions on their participation in the public domain, thus confining them to the realm of private life.

In contrast to Turkey, people living in the sub-continent express a strong emotional connection to their religious beliefs, whether they identify as Hindus or Muslims. Prior to the independence of Pakistan, Maulana Syed Abul Ala Maududi, a prominent traditional religious scholar, initiated a movement aimed at countering Muslim modernism within the country. This movement, known as Jamiat-ul-Hind, initially sought the establishment of a separate Muslim nation. However, following the attainment of independence, this organization underwent a transformation and became known as Jamiat-ul-Islam. The primary objective of the organization was to establish a traditional Islamic country as opposed to a modernized Islamic state. Therefore, Muslim intellectuals who embraced modernization were influenced by the ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and Muhammad Iqbal. These intellectuals challenged conventional Islamic scholars by contributing to the initial formulation of a constitution. The Objective Resolution was formally presented in the Constituent Assembly on March 7, 1949, by Liaquat Ali Khan as a significant legislative proposal. A comprehensive discussion over five days was conducted by representatives from both the governing and opposition parties. One of the primary principles of the objective resolution was the recognition that sovereignty is vested in Allah Almighty, while the exercise of authority is entrusted to the people of Pakistan.

Furthermore, the act of crafting the proposal for the constitution might be regarded as a commendable representation of democratic principles. In his speech, Liaquat Ali Khan acknowledges the pressure exerted by traditional intellectuals to fulfill their objectives. However, he emphasizes the need to present a progressive image of Islam to the global community.¹ During its early stages, Pakistan endeavored to uphold secular principles within the framework of modernized Islamic ideology.

¹ G. W Choudhury, "Documents and Speeches on the Constitution of Pakistan" (Green Book House Dacca (East Pakistan), (1967), <https://pakistanspace.tripod.com/archives/49liaq12.htm>.

Moreover, General Ayub Khan was an ardent advocate of a progressive-liberal and Modern understanding of Islam, undertook the task of overseeing the modernization endeavors in Pakistan throughout the 1960s. Throughout the initial period of his government, spanning from 1958 to 1965, the leader employed an autocratic style of governance to exert control over the nation. However, the official Islamic policy implemented by his government can be seen as a concrete representation of his inclusive and modern stance towards Islam. Following the declaration of Islamization by Zia-ul-Haq in 1977, traditional Islamic ideologies gained prominence.²

Similarly, Islam has had a significant presence within a range of social, cultural, and political settings across the geographical area that would eventually become the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on August 14, 1947. The analysis and comprehension of Islam in Pakistan have been the central subject of various scholarly and popular debate that extend a diverse array of perspectives and interpretations. Following the formation of Pakistan as a sovereign nation, the Islamic community underwent a process of dispersion, resulting in the emergence of several sectarian orientations. The creation of those conditions can be traced to a variety of socio-political variables, encompassing internal as well as external influences. These factors encompassed differing viewpoints regarding the Islamic identity of Pakistan among both secular and religious elites, the dispute over Kashmir in 1947, the increasing sectarian tensions between Shia and Sunni sects, particularly heightened after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, the participation in the Afghan jihad since 1979, and the emergence of non-state Islamic militant organizations at both regional and global scales, such as Al-Qaeda, along with the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban.

² “National Archives of Pakistan, Speeches, Interviews, Statement, Messages, and Condolences of Ayub Khan.”

In the present context, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that the Turkish state has consistently prohibited the coexistence of multiple authorities, namely religious and secular, in its administration. Contrary to Pakistan, the constitutional proclamation of Turkey as a secular state underscores the states commitment to maintaining a neutral stance with respect to religious beliefs. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the state is not entirely disconnected from Islam. The states stance of religious neutrality served as a way to exert influence over and advance Islam by advocating for the importance of scientific logic, while highlighting the democratic and secular principles maintained by the state. In contrast to Pakistan, this jurisdiction has imposed limitations on religious entities in their ability to establish an independent state and offer authoritative legal interpretations and instructions regarding issues related to religion. The Directorate of Religious Affairs in Turkey is responsible for monitoring and governing several aspects of Islamic affairs, such as the regulation of religious sermons delivered in mosques around the country.

From a historical perspective, one notable distinction between Turkey and Pakistan is in the Turks creation of a unique Islamic identity within the greater framework of the Arabian Islamic world. The Turks wisely integrated their cultural values alongside their religious beliefs in the domain of government, the formation of their administrative structures, and the implementation of their military strategies. In summary, the Turkish people has demonstrated a proclivity towards pragmatism rather than extremism in their reactions to the continuous transformations observed in socio-political affairs. From a political perspective, a modern secular governance system was implemented, wherein the state consistently exercised authority over matters pertaining to religion. Turkey has effectively managed to reduce the internal spread of incorrect interpretations of radical Islam by implementing a policy that prohibits the simultaneous existence of two sources of authority, particularly religious and secular.

In contrast, South Asian Muslims, shown that they were lacking in institutional capacity to establish their own unique Islamic identity. As a result, people embraced the practice of Sufism, a Central Asian Turkish tradition that had been introduced to the region around the 13th century. Following the period of British colonization in India, Indian Muslims faced a significant challenge due to the absence of a sovereign Islamic state. As a result, the group encountered internal divisions related to the preservation of fundamental principles of Islam and the maintenance of their Islamic identity amongst a context of varied societal transformations. Consequently, there was an increase in the emergence of non-state Islamic organizations that focused on the responsibility of safeguarding Islam in both the social and political spheres. The provided context highlights the notable influence of Islam, encompassing many sectarian orientations, in the political mobilization that culminated in the formation of Pakistan, an Islamic state, during the partition of India in 1947. This uprising has left on the newly formed country of Pakistan a complex and arduous legacy. The historical context involved a conflict between supporters of modernism seeking to establish a Pakistan with a secular orientation, and the religious elite who aspired to construct a Pakistan grounded in Islamic principles. One of the primary problems in this context pertains to religious addresses that endorse sectarian attitudes and agendas, which are delivered by independent and often influential religious figures.

In the realm of state-religion interactions, Turkey and Pakistan exhibit notable differences with respect to the presence of a state ideology. The state ideology of Kemalism was progressively adopted as a result of Atatürk reforms, and it subsequently became the prevailing political framework in Turkey with the foundation of the republican administration. Pakistan was founded based on the principles and ideals of Islam. Following the attainment of independence, a Muslim modernization strategy was adopted in order to manage the state in accordance with secular policies. However, the policies of the state were influenced by the

ongoing discussion between Islamic traditionalists and Islamic modernizers, resulting in a synthesis of both Islamic and secular elements. Consequently, Modern policies were implemented until the 1970s. The political landscape of Pakistan saw significant transformations subsequent to the process of Islamization, primarily driven by external influences and economic challenges.

4.2 Comparison in Economic Development

Turkey and Pakistan both adopted the secular policies to enhance their economy. During the period encompassing the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in World War I and afterward the creation of the Republic, it is notable that the Turkish economy exhibited signs of underdevelopment. Specifically, the agricultural sector relied on outdated methodologies and substandard livestock, while the industrial foundation of Turkey remained feeble. Additionally, the limited number of factories engaged in the production of fundamental goods, such as sugar and flour, were subject to foreign dominance due to the imposition of capitulations. The initial phase of the Turkey Republic characterised by the dominance of a single political party; the government adopted a laissez-faire economic approach as a means of boosting the economy.

Turkey and Pakistan faced economic challenges after independence. The economy of both countries was based on agriculture sector. After independence both countries had tried to shift their economy model from agriculture to industrial. However, different policies were adopted to reduce inflation in the country. As in the case study of Turkey, The Great Depression had a significant impact on Turkey's international trade, particularly in relation to important agricultural commodities such as cotton, tobacco, and cereals. In response to this issue, the government implemented a monopolistic control over the production and distribution of these vital products that play a significant role in the economy of the nation. This particular approach, referred as *Etatism* or statism, aimed to promote economic progress by means of government

intervention, facilitating the growth of private firms prior to transitioning industries into the public sector.

In the case of Pakistan economic condition, shortly after the partition, Pakistan began the process of establishing its fundamental structures. In contrast, the equitable allocation of resources within the country was not achieved, as the assets were divided with a ratio of Seventeen to India and Five to Pakistan. Notably, a significant portion of the irrigated land was situated in Pakistan, along with a substantial canal system. During that period, Pakistan exhibited characteristics of a dominant undeveloped agrarian economy, with a relatively little presence in the services, industrial, and infrastructure sectors. This economic landscape was further complicated by the large number of refugees. Hence, achieving a higher degree of growth during that period was unattainable.

The periods from 1947 to 1950 were characterized by limited economic expansion, mostly attributed to the fact that the 1950s marked a period of strategic economic planning aimed at shifting from an agrarian-based economy to a partially industrialized one. However, significant advancements were observed during the course of the decade. The Colombo Plan, established in 1951, was succeeded by a sequence of five-year programs from 1955 to 1958. A long-term ten-year perspective plan and a shorter-term three-year development plan were then implemented. The Korean War had a positive impact on Pakistan export industry, leading to an increase in exports. Additionally, the government implemented regulations on imports to mitigate any potential strain on the economy. As a consequence of these factors, Pakistan had a substantial increase in its Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

During the period from 1958 to 1968, Pakistan achieved a significant milestone in its developmental trajectory. During this particular period, the governance of the nation was under the authority of General Ayyub. The rate of economic growth in the South Asian region was

thrice higher compared to other countries in the same area. The annual growth rates surpassed 20 percent, demonstrating substantial development in both the agricultural and industrial sectors. The separation of the country was a significant turning point, as it was accompanied by substantial expansion in both the industrial and agricultural sectors. The manufacturing sector experienced a growth rate of 17%, while the agriculture sector witnessed a growth rate of 6%. During this period of development, a system of capitalism was implemented with bureaucratic support. Nevertheless, there are individuals who offer criticism towards his non-liberal policies within the bureaucratic capitalism framework, arguing that these policies have contributed to the rise of income inequality. Furthermore, they contend that the rapid

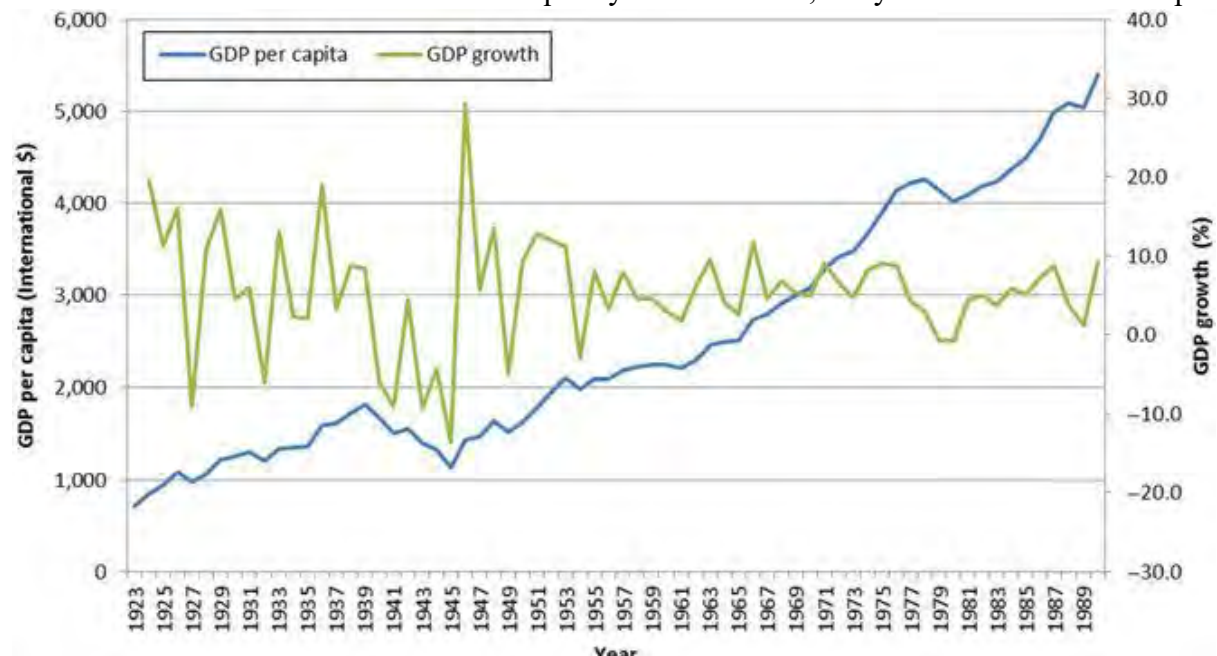


Figure 1: Turkey GDP Growth from 1923 to 1989. Source: Compiled and drawn based on Maddison, "Statistics on World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1 -2006." Available at: www.ggdc.net/

development achieved under this model was accompanied by the exploitation of East Pakistan and the labor class, ultimately leading to a political crisis in the early 1970s and culminating in the partition of East Pakistan.

Similarly, Turkey adopted another policy for economic stability from 1963 to 1980. This policy commonly called the planned economy policy. During the period from 1963 to 1974, the Turkish economy exhibited a state of financial stability, accompanied with notable

instances of rapid economic growth and modernization inside the country. In the year 1973, Turkey's economy, which was primarily reliant on agricultural goods and had experienced modest industrialization, witnessed a notable shift in the relative importance of the industrial sector compared to agriculture, as measured by the industry-to-gross national product ratio.

In contrast, Pakistan encountered economic challenges following its independence, primarily stemming from issues such as the unequal sharing of resources, immigration concerns, and a dearth of industrial development. The conversion of an agriculturally based economy to an industrial one effectively reduced these economic challenges. One notable example is the Ayub industrial reforms, which had a significant role in shaping the economic policies of the country. These reforms resulted in the establishment of Pakistan's inaugural oil refinery in Karachi in 1962. In addition, Ayub administration facilitated the establishment of an economic alliance between Iran and Turkey, referred to as the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). The primary objective of the aforementioned agreement was to foster the growth and advancement of trade, commerce, and industry among its member entities.

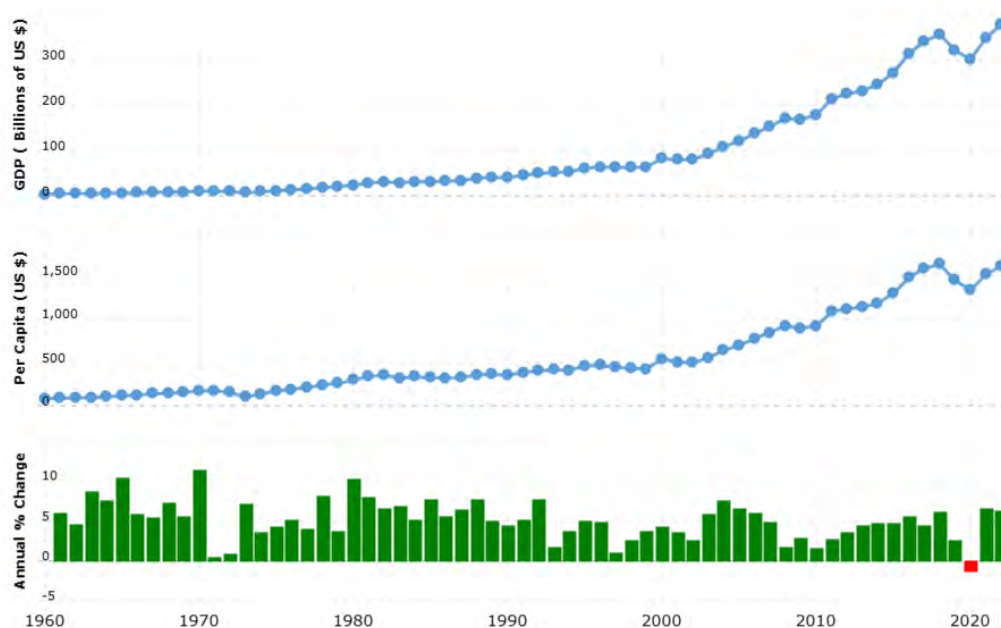


Figure 2: Pakistan GDP growth from 1960 to 2020;

Source: <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/PAK/pakistan/gdp-gross-domestic-product>

Aforementioned figures show the GDP of both countries. Unfortunately, Pakistan economy increased during Ayub Era due to his industrialized policies. The involvement of different religious sentiment and pressure from external and internal forces stop the growth of economy. Despite the fact, the separation movement from Bengal, sectarian conflict, and changing pattern in political turmoil contributed to the decline of economic growth in Pakistan. Prior to Pakistan, Turkey industrialized strategies afterward 1951 contributed in their economic growth. For instance, the Özal economic liberalism. The application of liberal policies by Özal led to an improvement in the economy. During the period from 1980 to 1990, the average annual growth rate of Turkey positioning it as the second highest among the member nations of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

However, both countries adopted the model of industrialization which is the foremost characteristic of modernization. Both countries follow modernized strategies to enhance their economic sector by converting traditional agrarian society into industrial one.

4.3 Comparing Political System

Pakistan and Turkey have numerous military-dominated political histories. The Armed Forces in both states have participated in politics either by overthrowing civilian governments or indirectly by pushing popular administrations to resign. Military has played a vital part in politics in both nations, and most society views it as a savior in unpredictable scenarios like civil wars, political upheaval, and natural disasters. Turkey and Pakistan share a same historical background in terms of the military influence on political affairs. Turkey has seen three instances of direct military coups throughout its political history, specifically in the years 1961, 1970, and 1980. In addition to the above instances of direct military intervention in politics, there have been multiple cases where democratically elected governments were forced to resign power due to military pressure. The prominent role of the military in the political landscape of Turkey can be traced to its significant historical involvement in politics. During

the pre-republican era, the military assumed an essential part in the process of state-building. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the esteemed founder of the modern Turkish state, came from a military background and assumed the presidency of the republic for a duration of nearly fifteen years. His legacy persisted beyond his death, and the military acquired a prominent part in the political landscape of the nation. The military prominent position in Turkish society may be attributed to its function as the protector of the Kemalist ideas of secularism, modernisation, and westernization.

Likewise, in the context of Pakistan, the military holds significant influence on the realm of politics. Since achieving independence, the country has had a significant impact on the political trajectory of the nation. The Pakistani military has historically engaged in the political landscape of the country three times, particularly in 1958, 1977, and 1999. These interventions involved the removal of democratically elected civilian government and the suspension of the constitutional framework. The involvement of the military in politics can be linked to various factors, including the presence of a hostile neighborhood environment, insufficient growth of democratic institutions, a lack of successful governance, the perceived danger of communism, the dynamics of the Cold War, and substantial military support from Western powers, particularly the United States. Moreover, they have shared characteristics. In both states, the military exerts influence over the formulation of foreign and security policies, holding a dominant position over the government. In contrast, Pakistan has seen directly military control, whilst Turkey has witnessed the military assuming a guardian role and establishing indirect influence over governance.

4.4 Education System

Education has a pivotal role in transmitting a nations political philosophy, expediting economic progress, generating responsible and proficient human capital, and empowering individuals to acquire practical and intellectual knowledge. In the societies like Turkey and Pakistan people

were bound to religious education. In the case of Turkey and Pakistan, western education has played a vital role in generating ideas of modernization. Likewise, Union and Progress Society in Ottoman Empire established to modernized their thought and enlightened their society. They used modern literary works as a basis for analyzing the concept of social change, utilizing words such as “constitution”. In the year 1908, the authoritarian rule of the monarch was successfully brought to an end, leading to the restoration of the 1876 Constitution. During the period from 1908 to 1918, the nation was governed in accordance with these new ideas, which were formulated subsequent to the rise of the first political party in Turkey.

In contrary, writings of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and other Muslim modernists in sub-continent shape the ideas of Indian Muslims into scientific and rational based. Scientific Society of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan was made for the purpose to translate western books and search for valuable books of Asian authors. The primary objective of the society was to inject modernized ideas in the Muslim society and establishment of fruitful relations with British authorities. In his opinion, cure of all kind of sufferings and difficulties facing the Indian Muslims lay only in western education. Therefore, his motto was to adopt education and only education. Furthermore, the Muslim of India prior to independence, Sayyid's writing and efforts, avoided sending their children to English schools because they were bound to religious. They were sincerely worried that their children might divert from religion under the influence of western education.

Following independence of both countries, adopted to modernized their policies in shaping the society. Struggle and writings of Ziya Gökalp, a notable actor in the advancement of Turkish nationalism, joined the Union and Progress party in 1911. He ardently supported the establishment of a nationwide educational framework in Turkey. The primary aim of national education is to foster the growth of individuals who embody the principles and attributes of their nation, so making significant contributions to the advancement of national culture and the

collective progress of the nation. In contrary to Tukey, from 1947 to 1951 various recommendations and suggestion were put for national education unfortunately, these recommendations remained weak till 1951 in Pakistan. Hence, the foundation of modern national education in Pakistan was laid during the first military rule imposed by general Ayub Khan. Aforementioned recommendations incorporated into missive report prepared by Sharif Commission constituted by Ayub Khan government in 1958. The Sharif commission report became the magna carta of Pakistan educational system.

4.5 Women rights and Administrative Initiatives

During the period of nation-building, Turkey underwent significant transformations in its society, with a special focus on the status and role of women. The measures enacted by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had an important role in promoting the cause of gender equality, since they allowed women the first rights to participate in the political system and exercise their right to vote. In the year 1934, the Turkish government granted voting rights to women, so enabling them to participate in the electoral process. After the passage of one year, a total of 18 women were successfully elected to the Grand National Assembly, consequently granting them free involvement in the process of decision-making. Furthermore, different secular laws were adopted related to outfits, family laws, and protection of women rights.

The recognition of women issues as a distinct political and planning concern was first addressed during the implementation of the Fifth Five Year Development Plan (1985-1990). Consequently, the establishment of the “General Directorate for the Status and Problems of Women” in 1990 served as a national mechanism to address these issues. Since 1991, the General Directorate, which was aligned with the Prime Ministry, has been conducting its affairs under the responsibility of a State Ministry. Its many actions aim to preserve women rights, promote their position in social, economic, cultural, and political life, and ensure equitable use of rights, opportunities, and talents.

In contrary, Ayub Khan implemented various reforms aimed at improving the social standing of women. During his authoritarian reign, there was a concerted effort to advance women education and enhance their presence in government. Furthermore, women were actively encouraged to pursue careers in journalism, the sciences, and the public sector. The Family Ordinance implemented by Ayub Khan was a substantial endeavour aimed at the reformation of Pakistan family law. A large majority of women in Pakistan were unaware of their rights and were unaware of the privileges and entitlements granted to them by law. However, the implementation of the 1961 ordinance was an important step in Pakistan persistent attempts to promote gender equality and empower women. The Pakistani women movements played a vital role not only in the enactment of the ordinance as legislation, but also in spreading the knowledge regarding women legal entitlements.

During the 1970s, there was a notable rise in the involvement of women in academic and professional organizations, alongside the emergence of new work opportunities within the labor market. In terms of social dynamics, a significant aspect of the Bhutto era included the implementation of laws that imposed restrictions on the total value of dowry, bridal gifts, and presents to Rs.5,000. Additionally, regulations were put in place to limit the expenditure on wedding festivities to Rs.25,000. Furthermore, it was mandated that all dowries and gifts be displayed, and a list be submitted to the Registrar of marriage. Women were allowed to enter all public services after the 1972, including police, district administration, and foreign services. Additionally, the 1973 Constitution designated Pakistan an Islamic Republic and based its laws on the Quran and Sunnah. The constitution granted women equality before the law, the right to hold governmental posts, and full involvement in all aspects of society.

Hence, the safeguarding of women rights and their contribution to societal progress is an essential component of the process of modernization. Both nations endeavored to safeguard

women rights by implementing secular initiatives and policies. Despite the existence of many traditional attitudes, women engagement in all aspects of a country growth has been hindered.

Conclusion

As part of modernization attempts to promote democracy, the state has implemented restrictive laws against socio-political religious organization, leading to anti-modernist and anti-secular sentiments. The broad influence of their religious sociocultural settings made these socio-political religious groupings hostile entities in religiously oriented political and social movements. Thus, comparing the historical developments of Turkey and Pakistan towards modernization with a subsequent focus on democratization. within the framework of social, economic and political aspects.

The journey of Turkey towards modernization started in the early 18th century during ottoman empire for instance, implementation of reforms in different institution such as military and infrastructure called as *Tenzimat and Islehat*. But the actual modernization or forced modernization policies were implemented under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk through a series of ambitious reforms. The leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk aimed to bring about a fundamental societal shift in Turkey, aspiring to establish a secular and Western-oriented society that would diverge from the religious and feudalistic tradition of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey modernization endeavours are characterised by a notable capacity to adjust and develop throughout the course of time. Turkey has experienced continuous political instability, instances of military intervention, and even occurrences of coups d'état. However, the country has managed to preserve a democratic system that is mainly defined by a secular viewpoint. The continuous struggle of maintaining a balance between secularism and Islamism has given rise to ongoing discussions on the role of religion in public life and education. Furthermore, the Turkish economy has experienced substantial modernization, resulting in its emergence as one of the foremost and most diversified economies in the area. The economic expansion of the country has been boosted by its engagement in global markets and substantial investments in infrastructure.

Similarly, the process of modernization was purely started in Indian sub-continent after British imperialism. Coming of imperialist administrator who had greatly contributed in the ideas of rationality and modern approach. Furthermore, debates related to modernity and traditionalist had a deep influence on the Indian people. Modernist philosophers see the idea as a gift whereas, traditionalist who were attached to their religion see as a threat. Hence, Muslim modernist argues, to gain benefit from these ideas and established well designed civilization. The ideas of Muslim modernist further contributed to movement to have separate country for Muslim.

The quest of modernity in Pakistan has been characterized by a different factor. The creation of the country in 1947, with the objective of providing as a homeland for Muslims, was mainly based on religious identity. However, it also had a population characterised by its diversity and multi-ethnic composition. The aforementioned circumstance has resulted in challenges related to the building of a complete national identity which includes both Islamic as well as various cultural factors. In comparison to Turkey's more centralized approach to secularization, Pakistan has continually faced challenges in reconciling religious and secular forces. The evolution of democratic institutions was hindered by periods of military governance and political instability. The emergence of religious extremism and militantism has introduced new challenges to the ongoing process of modernization. Pakistan has made economic progress in the era of Ayub Khan due to its modernized policies. As a result of power politics between ruling elite, religious traditionalist and external powers that had hindered the process of economic development in Pakistan. Furthermore, Cold War between capitalist and communist blocs had largely contributed in stopping the modernization process in Pakistan. Similarly, confronts obstacles such as economic inequality, a lack of infrastructure, and political error has been a major factor to attain sustained economic development and expansion.

Furthermore, modernization project in Pakistan has not been a total failure; rather, it has predominantly impacted a limited portion of society that has been educated in Western-style modern educational institutions. Meanwhile, students from religious seminaries have predominantly adhered to limited religious views within their specific sects. Throughout history, it is evident that both military and civilian governments have conducted trials with the concepts of modernism and conservatism. Nevertheless, their attempts to establish a completely operational community have proved fruitless. With the advent of each successive government, society has witnessed a steady rise in intolerance and radicalization across various domains such as politics, social concerns, religion, and culture.

Hence, histories of both nations serve as examples that demonstrate the pursuit of modernity is not a straightforward progression, but rather a complex process shaped by historical successions, cultural conditions, and geopolitical factors. Although, Turkey has achieved a higher degree of success in reconciling tradition and modernity. While, Pakistan struggle continues in persuading modernity.

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