

A Comparative Study of Secularism in India and Turkey in the Post-Cold War Global Politics

**ABSTRACT OF
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Abstract

Introduction

The Turkish Grand National Assembly (1923-1928) and the Indian Constituent Assembly (1946-1949) played decisive roles in enshrining secularism in the legal systems of these countries. However, a closer examination of the debates that took place in these assemblies reveals that while the separation of religion and state was a central tenet of Turkish and Indian secularism, both allowed the state to intervene in religious affairs. In both cases, the state sought to transform the dominant religion into a modernized and secularized form that would align with the national identity (Madra, A. 2015).

Nevertheless, the Turkish and Indian models of secularism differed in their approach to state intervention in religion. Turkish secularism adopted a "restrictive intervention" approach, which sanctioned state interference in the construction of a unified national identity. In contrast, Indian nationalist leaders adopted an "emancipative intervention" approach that aimed to create a comprehensive national identity while maintaining the cultural and religious diversity of the society. While the former type of secularist intervention limited the public visibility of religion and subjected it to state control, the latter sought to eliminate and reform religious practices that hindered social justice and equality. In light of this analysis, it can be argued that secularism is a tool that state authorities use to advance the political project of constructing a modern nation.

The study has tried to explore secularism in India and Turkey after the post-Cold War era in global politics to investigate the Historical analysis, Constitutional aspects, Judicial interpretation, Legislative, and Executive actions concerning secularism in both the countries. The research aims to reveal why the word "secular" was added to the preamble of the Indian and Turkish constitutions through constitutional amendments? Additionally, the study investigates whether India and Turkey were secular before the 42nd Amendment Act of 1976 in India and the 1924 amendment in Turkey, respectively. The researcher believes that the experiences of centuries of

toleration and co-existence in cultural and religious diversity in Turkey and India can inspire many other nations and states in preventing conflicts around the globe. The study has tried to investigate how secularism works as an ideology and practice of the state and how it affects and alters the religious sphere in India and Turkey.

The study begins with the debates that took place in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (1920-1931) and the Indian Constituent Assembly (1946-1949) that established and constitutionalized the secular systems in both countries. The debates in these assemblies provide valuable resources for understanding the normative and practical reasons behind the adoption of secularism in Turkey and India. The study will consider the competition among nationalist elites at the founding moment of these regimes and how they expressed and protected diverse perspectives concerning the attractiveness and convenience of secularism in their particular societies. The study will also investigate the institutional measures shaping the relationship between the political and religious spheres and the ideological consequences of secularism in these negotiations.

India follows a secular system, which means that the government does not discriminate on the basis of faith and sects but protects to all religions. The Constitution of India guarantees religious freedom to every citizen and prohibits any form of religious discrimination. India recognizes and respects all major religions, including Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, and Zoroastrianism. On April 10, 1928, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) abolished Islam as the state religion and eliminated the constitutional articles that mandated its deputies and president to take an oath before God after their election. The preamble to the legislation clarified that the purpose of separating religion and the state was not to promote irreligion, but to ensure that religion would not be manipulated by those in power (Aysel, M. (2015).

The TGNA believed that the separation of religion and state would prevent religious authorities from wielding political influence and would prevent the state from using religion for its own purposes. By disestablishing Islam as the state religion and eliminating the requirement for elected officials to take an oath before God, the TGNA sought to establish a secular state where all citizens were equal regardless of their religious beliefs (Kartal, C. B. (2017). The TGNA's decision to separate religion

and state was a fundamental shift in Turkish politics and society. It marked the beginning of a new era in which the state would play a more significant role in shaping the country's political and social institutions, and where religion would be relegated to the private sphere.

The Indian Constitution includes several provisions that promote secularism. For instance, Article 25 guarantees the right to freely profess, practice, and propagate any religion. Article 26 allows for the management of religious affairs and the establishment and maintenance of religious institutions. Article 27 prohibits the government from imposing taxes on citizens for promoting or maintaining any particular religion or religious institution. Article 28 ensures that no religious instruction is given in government-run schools.

Both Turkey and India adopted secularism as a fundamental principle upon the establishment of their respective nation-states. In 1923, Turkey was declared a republic after an independence struggle against European powers and the imperial authority of the sultan-caliphate in the aftermath of World War I. Similarly, India declared its independence in 1947 from the British Indian Empire, following the partition into two countries, and ending its formal connection with Britain, which lasted for over two centuries through the East India Company and the Raj. These early years of the republics saw secularism embraced by Turkish and Indian nationalist leaders as a symbol of modernity and a unique aspect of their national identity.

It's important to acknowledge that India is a diverse country with a complex political and social landscape. The success of India's secular system depends on a variety of factors, including the government's actions, the attitudes of the population, and the ability of different groups to work together for the common good. In Turkey, secularism has been a central principle of the state since its founding in 1923, and has been upheld by the military and the judiciary as a bulwark against the influence of religion in public life. However, in recent years, the ruling AKP party has been accused of seeking to undermine the secular character of the state and promote a more Islamist agenda. The headscarf issue, in which women wearing headscarves were initially barred from attending university or working in public sector jobs, was one of the most contentious debates in Turkey in the early 2000s. The decision to convert the

Hagia Sophia Museum back into a mosque in 2020 was seen by many as a further erosion of Turkey's secular character.

The differences between India and Turkey's approach to secularism can be attributed to a number of factors, including historical legacies, the nature of the political system, and the role of religion in society. India's secularism has been shaped by its colonial history, in which religious divisions were exploited by the British to maintain control. Turkey, on the other hand, has a long tradition of state-sponsored secularism dating back to the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The political systems of the two countries also differ, with India being a federal democracy and Turkey a presidential system. Finally, the role of religion in society is also a significant factor, with Turkey being a predominantly Muslim country and India being home to a diverse range of religious communities. Turkey's constitution has been changed several times since it was first adopted in 1924. The most recent constitutional change was in 2017. Here is a brief overview of the major constitutional changes in Turkey:

1924: Turkey's first constitution was adopted following the country's transition to a republic after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. 1961: The military coup led to the adoption of a new constitution that aimed to establish a more democratic system of government. 1982: Following another military coup, a new constitution was adopted that established a presidential system with limited civilian oversight. 2007: Several amendments were made to the constitution to strengthen the independence of the judiciary and expand civil liberties. 2010: Another round of amendments were made to the constitution that expanded the powers of the judiciary and increased civilian oversight of the military. 2017: The current constitution was adopted after a national referendum. It established a presidential system of government that concentrated power in the hands of the president.

The reasons for these changes vary. Some changes were made to adapt to changes in society, while others were made to address specific political or economic challenges. Some changes were made as a result of military coups or other political upheavals. The most recent constitutional change in 2017 was controversial and sparked protests due to concerns about the concentration of power in the presidency and the erosion of democratic norms.

Whereas, India's constitution has been amended a total of 104 times as of September 2021. The reasons for these amendments vary widely, and some of the most significant amendments are:

The First Amendment (1951): This amendment was made to restrict the freedom of speech and expression in the interest of public order, decency, and morality. The Seventh Amendment (1956): This amendment made changes to the way states were reorganized, particularly in relation to the boundaries of states. The Forty-Second Amendment (1976): This amendment was made during the period of emergency to give more power to the government and restrict fundamental rights. The Seventy-Third Amendment (1992): This amendment gave constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj system and decentralized power to local governments. The Ninety-Seventh Amendment (2011): This amendment provided for the inclusion of the Right to Education as a fundamental right in the Constitution.

These are just a few examples, and there have been many other amendments made in Turkey for various reasons, including to give more power to certain institutions, to update the Constitution to reflect changing social and economic conditions, and to clarify certain provisions. The reasons for these changes vary. Some changes were made to adapt to changes in society, while others were made to address specific political or economic challenges. Some changes were made as a result of military coups or other political upheavals. The most recent constitutional change in 2017 was controversial and sparked protests due to concerns about the concentration of power in the presidency and the erosion of democratic norms.

India and Turkey both profess a commitment to secularism, the way this principle is understood and practiced differs significantly. The challenges posed by the rise of religious politics in both countries highlight the ongoing struggle to reconcile the demands of religious diversity with the ideals of secularism. Secularism in India and Turkey share some similarities, but they also have some significant differences. Both countries have a secular constitution that separates religion from the state. The governments of both countries are officially secular and do not have an official state religion. India is a secular democracy, while Turkey is a secular republic. In India, the democratic system allows for greater participation and representation of religious minorities in the government, while in Turkey, the military has historically played a

significant role in shaping government policy and maintaining secularism (Sula, İ. E. 2021).

In India, the concept of secularism is defined as "Sarva Dharma Sambhava," which means the equal respect and protection of all religions. In contrast, secularism in Turkey is based on the principle of "laiklik," which aims to keep religion out of the public sphere. The role of religion in public life differs significantly between India and Turkey. The level of religious diversity is also different in both countries. India is home to many religions, including Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and Sikhism, while Turkey is predominantly Muslim, with a small Christian and Jewish minority. Overall, both India and Turkey have adopted secularism as a guiding principle and the implementation and interpretation of secularism differ significantly between the two countries (Madra, A. 2015).

Why Comparative Study of Secularism?

Comparing secularism in India and Turkey is important for several reasons, both countries have a secular constitution, which means that the government is not aligned with any particular religion. However, the practical implementation of secularism in these two countries has been different, and a comparative study can help us understand these differences. Secondly, India and Turkey are both multi-religious and multi-ethnic countries, which presents unique challenges for implementing secular policies. A comparative analysis can provide insights into Size, GDP, Sectoral Composition, Economic Growth, Trade and Exports.

Whereas, adoption of secularism in both corresponds with the foundation of a particular nation-states. Turkey was declared a republic in 1923 subsequent the independence struggle waged against European powers and the imperial authority of the sultan-caliphate follows World War I. India on the other, declared its independence in 1947 from the British Indian Empire, followed by the partition into two countries and ending its formal connection with Britain which remained over two centuries through East India Company and the Raj. These were the beginning years of the republics while secularism was embraced by Turkish and Indian nationalist leaders as a sign of modernity and a module of national uniqueness (Anidjar, G. 2006).

Research Gap

The comparative analysis of secularism in India and Turkey, explores deep into historical and constitutional contexts of secularism in both countries, exploring the relationship between religion and state, legislative provisions. These practices have resulted in unrest, disharmony, and violations of some fundamental principles of secularism, human rights, and the constitution post-Cold War era. The research aims to fill a gap in the literature by providing a detailed analysis of the contemporary paradoxes of secularism, legislative provisions, and constitutional provisions in India and Turkey. It highlights the importance of constitutional provisions and legislative measures in promoting and protecting secularism and human rights, and shed light on the challenges of maintaining secularism in multi-religious societies. This study provides valuable insights into the role of political parties in shaping public discourse on religion and state, and the need for robust constitutional protections to ensure the preservation of secularism and human rights in India and Turkey.

Research Problem

Both India and Turkey, political parties have been known to use religion as a means to garner support and advance their political agenda. This has led to clashes and tensions between different religious communities, and challenged the secular principles enshrined in their respective constitutions. It is important for governments to uphold the principles of secularism and ensure that all communities are treated equally and with respect. This includes protecting the freedom of religion and expression of all citizens, while ensuring that religion does not become a tool for political gain. The study will address the following Questions:

- How freedom of religion is practiced and protected in India and Turkey?
- What types of issues and challenges are being faced by these two Countries to keep stability between Secularism and religion?
- How should Secularism respond to religious diversity and pluralism? Should strictly wall of separation of state and religion be introduced to India and Turkey? Or Is there any other way?

Scope and Significance of the Study

Secularism is a concept that is vital for maintaining a democratic and pluralistic society. It entails the separation of religion and state, which means that the state does not discriminate against any particular religion and that all citizens are treated equally irrespective of their religious beliefs. However, in practice, secularism has often been misused and distorted for political gains, leading to the emergence of pseudo-secularism in many countries, including India and Turkey. Turkey is a secular republic that was founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923. Atatürk's vision of secularism was based on the idea of a strong central government that would unify the country's diverse ethnic and religious groups under a single national identity. However, in recent years, Turkey has witnessed a growing trend of Islamic conservatism, which has threatened the country's secular identity. The Turkish government's crackdown on opposition groups and the media has also raised concerns about the erosion of democratic principles.

Post-Cold War issues and crises have also affected the secular fabric of both India and Turkey. In Turkey, the 2016 failed coup attempt against President Erdogan's government led to a crackdown on opposition groups, journalists, and academics, leading to a decline in freedom of expression and the rule of law. The ongoing conflict with the Kurdish minority has also raised concerns about the Turkish government's commitment to pluralism and human rights. Both, India and Turkey are complex societies with unique socio-historical backgrounds. While both countries have constitutional guarantees of secularism, the practice has often been distorted for political gains. It is crucial for both India and Turkey to uphold the principles of secularism and democracy to maintain a pluralistic society that respects the rights of all citizens, irrespective of their religion or ethnicity.

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine Secularism and its practice post-Cold War in India and Turkey.
2. To make a comparative analysis of the politics in India and Turkey and the course of actions that led to affect the political outcomes.

3. To scrutinize identity politics and how it has been presented to achieve political mileage in the name of caste, religion and other identities that affect secularism in India and Turkey.
4. To understand Globalization and secularism in global politics.

Hypotheses

1. Attempts are underway in both the countries i.e. India and Turkey to bring about drastic changes in the prevailing political culture and constitutional provisions. Apparently, it appears to be contrary to the discourse accepted on secularism.
2. There is an intrinsic conflict between democracy and majority rule in both the countries as they are in deep mode of change and transformation in the post-cold war global political changes.

Research Methodology

This thesis applies a multi-faceted approach to investigate and compare secularism in India and Turkey. The research methodology consists of theoretical analysis, historical examination, and qualitative inquiry. By utilizing these methods in conjunction, a comprehensive understanding of secularism in both countries can be achieved.

Theoretical Analysis: The theoretical framework serves as the foundation for this study, allowing for a conceptual understanding of secularism. Various theoretical perspectives on secularism, such as liberal, Modernizations, and critical approaches, are explored to comprehend the diverse interpretations and implications of the concept. These perspectives inform the systematic framework used to analyze secularism in India and Turkey.

Historical Examination: A historical analysis is conducted to trace the evolution and development of secularism in India and Turkey. This examination explores significant events, policies, and societal factors that have shaped the implementation of secularism in each country. Historical contextualization provides insight into the

factors that have influenced the trajectory of secular governance and its outcomes in both India and Turkey.

Qualitative Inquiry: Qualitative research methods are employed to gather rich, contextual data such as legal documents, policy papers, and scholarly works, is conducted. This allows for a deeper understanding of the official discourse and narratives surrounding secularism in both countries. Thematic analysis is employed to identify and analyze recurring patterns, themes, and perspectives within the qualitative data. By employing this mixed-methods approach, combining theoretical analysis, historical examination, and qualitative inquiry, this thesis aims to provide a holistic understanding of secularism in India and Turkey.

Chapters Plan

This Research has been divided into Seven Chapters.

Chapter-I: Introduction

The first chapter deals with an Introduction to secularism, Why Comparative Study of Secularism, Review of Literature, Research Gap, Research Problem, Scope and Significance of the Study, Objectives of the Study, Hypotheses, Research Methodology, Study Plan and References.

Chapter-II: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical and conceptual framework is presented, laying the foundation for the study. The primary focus is on examining various theories of secularism and their implications. The chapter also provides a detailed explanation of the variables considered in the study. The conceptual framework establishes the concepts and definitions used throughout the study. It clarifies the understanding of key terms and constructs, ensuring consistency in their usage. For example, the conceptual framework defines secularism, religion, state-religion relations, and other relevant concepts.

Chapter-III: Historical background of Secularism in India and Turkey

In this chapter, a historical of secularism in India and Turkey is conducted. The aim is to examine the development, evolution, and impact of secularism in these two countries over time. The historical analysis begins by providing an overview of the historical context in which secularism emerged in India and Turkey. This includes discussing the political, social, and cultural factors that influenced the adoption of secular principles in these nations.

Chapter-IV: Globalization and Secularism.

In this chapter, the focus is on exploring the relationship between globalization and secularism, specifically examining how secularism contributes to the process of globalization in the world. The chapter begins by providing an overview of globalization, highlighting its key features and implications. It discusses how globalization has facilitated increased interconnectedness and interdependence among nations, leading to the spread of ideas, cultures, and practices across borders.

Chapter-V: Rise of Identity Politics and its Inter-relationship with Secularism in India and Turkey

In this chapter, the focus is on studying the rise of identity politics and its inter-relationship with secularism in India and Turkey. The aim is to understand how identity politics has influenced and shaped the secular landscape in these two countries. The chapter begins by providing an overview of identity politics and its key characteristics. Identity politics refers to political movements and mobilizations that prioritize the interests and demands of specific identity groups based on factors such as religion, ethnicity, language, or caste. It discusses how identity politics has gained prominence in various parts of the world, including India and Turkey.

Chapter-VI: Assessment of Secularism in the 21st century in India and Turkey

The assessment of secularism in the 21st century in India and Turkey is a complex issue with various perspectives. While both countries have constitutional provisions

that uphold secularism, the practical implementation and the extent of its realization can be subject to debates and challenges. The religious diversity and occasional tensions in India and the evolving dynamics of secularism in Turkey contribute to the complexities surrounding the issue in both countries.

Chapter-VII: Conclusion, Findings and Observations of the Study

This chapter includes detail summary of the study like, Conclusion, Findings and Observations of the Study.

Conclusion

Secularism is a political and philosophical principle that advocates for the separation of religious institutions and affairs from the state and the governance of public affairs. It promotes the idea that the state should remain neutral and unbiased in matters of religion, treating all individuals equally regardless of their religious beliefs or non-belief. The concept of secularism promotes religious freedom, allowing individuals to practice their faith or choose not to follow any religious beliefs without interference from the state. The Enlightenment era, which emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe, played a significant role in shaping the ideas of secularism. Thinkers like John Locke, Voltaire, and Thomas Jefferson advocated for religious tolerance, individual freedom, and the separation of church and state. With the development of nation-states, the need for a unified political structure separate from religious institutions became apparent. This led to the idea of separating religious authority from state power to ensure equal treatment of citizens with diverse beliefs.

The religious conflicts and wars that occurred throughout history, such as the Thirty Years' War in Europe, highlighted the need to establish a more inclusive and tolerant society that could accommodate religious diversity. The idea of secularism emerged as a way to mitigate religious conflicts by removing religious influence from politics. The French Revolution in the late 18th century played a pivotal role in the development of secularism. It marked a significant break from the influence of the Catholic Church in French society and saw the adoption of the principle of *laïcité* (secularism) in the French Constitution. The interpretation and implementation of

secularism, however, can vary across different countries and regions depending on cultural, political, and social contexts.

Some countries are widely recognized for having a strong tradition of secularism, although determining the degree of secularism can be complex and subject to change over time. Here are a few examples. The United States has a unique approach to secularism. The country's constitution, particularly the First Amendment, provides for the protection of religious freedom and prohibits the establishment of a state religion. This has often been interpreted as endorsing a principle of separation between religion and state. France has a longstanding history of secularism and is often regarded as one of the most secular nations worldwide. The principle of *laïcité* (secularism) is entrenched in the French Constitution, advocating for a strict separation between religion and state. Japan, despite its diverse religious landscape, is known for its secular approach to governance. The Japanese Constitution guarantees freedom of religion and upholds a clear distinction between religion and state. Sweden is renowned for its high level of secularism. The country has witnessed a decline in religious affiliation, and the government is dedicated to upholding a secular society that respects and safeguards the rights of individuals, irrespective of their religious beliefs. The Netherlands is frequently cited as one of the most secular countries in Europe. It has a long-standing tradition of religious tolerance and a strong commitment to the separation of religion and state. Canada is recognized for its multiculturalism and commitment to religious freedom. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees freedom of religion and ensures that the government remains impartial in matters concerning religion.

India and Turkey have distinct approaches to secularism, influenced by their unique historical, cultural, and political contexts. India is officially a secular country according to its Constitution, which ensures freedom of religion and prohibits discrimination based on religious beliefs. Indian secularism is often described as "positive secularism" or "principled distance" where the state maintains an equal and impartial stance towards all religions, aiming to protect the rights and interests of all religious communities. However, the concept of secularism in India is intertwined with the idea of cultural and national identity. The Indian state, while striving to maintain religious freedom and equal treatment, also places an emphasis on

preserving and promoting Indian culture and nationalism. This approach seeks to accommodate religious diversity within the broader framework of Indian identity.

Whereas, Turkey also identifies itself as a secular country, known as "laiklik," which was established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey. Turkish secularism, in principle, emphasizes a strict separation of religion and state. The state aims to maintain neutrality in religious matters and ensure equal treatment of citizens, regardless of their religious beliefs. However, in recent years, there have been concerns about the erosion of secularism in Turkey. Critics argue that the government under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's leadership has taken steps that challenge the principles of secularism. There have been instances of increasing religious influence in public life, such as changes in education policies and the promotion of conservative Islamic values. These developments have sparked debates and raised questions about the true adherence to the concept of secularism in Turkey. Some argue that the government's actions have violated the principles of secularism, undermining the impartiality and neutrality of the state in religious matters.

Both India and Turkey identify themselves as secular countries, their interpretations and implementations of secularism differ. The idea of dharma, in the context of Indian philosophy and spirituality, refers to the moral and ethical principles that guide an individual's conduct and duty. India's secularism aims to protect religious freedom while navigating the complexities of cultural and national identity. However, there are concerns about its effective implementation. In Turkey, there have been debates about the erosion of secularism due to increasing religious influence in public life. It is important to note that secularism is a dynamic concept that evolves within each country's specific context, and its effectiveness is subject to ongoing discussions and interpretations.

Both India and Turkey have different approaches to democracy and secularism, and the extent to which these principles are protected can vary in each country. Here is an analysis comparing the protection of democracy and secularism in India and Turkey. India has a long-standing tradition of democratic governance. It is the world's largest democracy, with a multi-party system, free and fair elections, and a vibrant civil society. India has maintained a robust democratic framework that allows for political participation, freedom of expression, and the rule of law. India's Constitution declares

the country as a secular nation, with principles that protect religious freedom and promote equal treatment of all citizens, regardless of their religious beliefs. India's secularism is aimed at accommodating and respecting the diverse religious communities within the country.

Whereas, Turkey has experienced periods of democratic governance throughout its history, but in recent years, concerns have been raised regarding the erosion of democratic institutions and practices. The government's consolidation of power and restrictions on freedom of expression, media, and civil society have raised questions about the state of democracy in Turkey. Turkey officially identifies as a secular state, with a principle known as "laiklik." However, there have been debates and controversies surrounding the implementation of secularism in recent years. Critics argue that there has been an increasing influence of religion in public life, with changes in educational policies and an emphasis on conservative Islamic values. These developments have raised concerns about the erosion of secular principles in practice. Turkey has a diverse population with various ethnic and religious groups. While Turkey has made efforts to protect minority rights, challenges persist. Minorities, such as the Kurdish population, have faced ongoing struggles for cultural and political recognition. Concerns have been raised regarding the protection of minority rights and the equitable representation of diverse communities in decision-making processes.

When comparing the present situation in India and Turkey regarding the protection of secularism and policymaking for national development, several contrasting observations can be made. The Indian government, in line with constitutional principles, strives to protect secularism by ensuring the freedom of religion and maintaining a secular state. The Indian government has implemented various policies aimed at national development, including infrastructure projects, economic reforms, and social welfare programs. These policies aim to foster inclusive growth and address social and economic disparities across the country. The government's emphasis on initiatives such as Make in India, Digital India, and Swachh Bharat (Clean India) reflects its commitment to national development. The Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CCA) is a piece of legislation enacted in India in December 2019. It provides a path to citizenship for certain religious minorities from neighboring

countries, namely Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis, and Christians, who have faced persecution in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. While the CCA has been positioned as a measure to protect minority communities. The abrogation of article 370 in August 2019 was a necessary step to integrate Jammu and Kashmir more closely with the rest of India and to strengthen national unity. The special status under Article 370 had created a sense of separatism and hindered the region's development. The abrogation of Article 370 was also seen as a measure to address security concerns in the region, particularly with regards to terrorism and cross-border infiltration.

Whereas, Concerns have been raised about the violation of secularism in Turkey in recent years. Critics argue that the government under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's leadership has taken steps that challenge the principles of secularism. There have been instances of increasing religious influence in public life, including changes in educational policies, the promotion of conservative Islamic values, and restrictions on freedom of expression. Concerns about democratic backsliding have arisen in Turkey due to restrictions on press freedom, limitations on civil society, and the consolidation of power in the hands of the executive branch. These challenges can impact the overall policymaking process and potentially hinder comprehensive and inclusive development initiatives. The Turkish government, under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's leadership, has pursued policies that promote a more conservative Islamic agenda. This includes measures such as increasing the role of religion in public life, changing educational policies to emphasize religious education, and promoting conservative social values. There have been limitations on freedom of expression in Turkey, particularly regarding criticism of religious or conservative values. Journalists, academics, and activists who express views contrary to the government's religious agenda have faced legal action, harassment, or imprisonment.

The Turkish government has exerted increasing control over key institutions, including the judiciary and media, which raises concerns about the independence and impartiality of these institutions in upholding secular principles. The Turkish government has implemented changes in the educational system that critics argue promote a more religiously oriented curriculum. These changes have been seen as undermining the secular nature of education in Turkey. There have been concerns

about the protection of minority rights in Turkey. Minority religious groups, such as Alevi and non-Muslim communities, have raised issues of discrimination and unequal treatment, which can be seen as undermining the secular principle of equal protection and freedom for all religious communities. The erosion of secularism in Turkey has raised broader concerns about democratic backsliding. Restrictions on freedom of expression, limitations on civil society, and consolidation of power in the executive branch have weakened democratic institutions and checks and balances. The Kurdish issue in Turkey has been a long-standing and complex challenge, characterized by historical, cultural, and political factors. It involves the demands for greater recognition of the rights and cultural identity of the Kurdish population, which is the largest ethnic minority in Turkey.

After conducting a detailed study of secularism in India and Turkey in the post-Cold War era, it is observed that the two countries have experienced contrasting developments regarding secularism under their respective governments. India, with its diverse religious and cultural landscape, has traditionally upheld secularism as a guiding principle. India's democratic institutions, such as an independent judiciary, free media, and active civil society, contribute to the protection of secularism and the preservation of democratic values. The country's commitment to religious pluralism and cultural diversity is enshrined in its Constitution. The erosion of democratic principles in Turkey, such as restrictions on freedom of expression, limitations on civil society, and consolidation of power in the executive branch, has raised concerns about the state of democracy in Turkey. These challenges impact the protection of secularism and the democratic fabric of the country.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which came into power in India, has implemented policies aimed at national development while maintaining a secular system. The government has emphasized economic growth, infrastructure development, and social welfare programs to address socio-economic disparities. Concerns have been raised about the violation of secularism in Turkey under the current government. Critics argue that the government, led by President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has taken steps that challenge the principles of secularism, leading to increased religious influence in public life. India's democratic institutions, such as an independent judiciary, free media, and active civil society, contribute to the protection of secularism and the preservation of democratic values. The country's commitment to religious pluralism

and cultural diversity is enshrined in its Constitution. Violations of secularism in Turkey have also had implications for the rights of minority communities. Concerns have been raised about discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities and the infringement of their rights, including the freedom to practice their faith and preserve their cultural identity.

India and Turkey both profess a commitment to secularism, the way this principle is understood and practiced differs significantly. The challenges posed by the rise of religious politics in both countries highlight the ongoing struggle to reconcile the demands of religious diversity with the ideals of secularism. Secularism in India and Turkey share some similarities, but they also have some significant differences. Both countries have a secular constitution that separates religion from the state. The governments of both countries are officially secular and do not have an official state religion. India is a secular democracy, while Turkey is a secular republic. In India, the democratic system allows for greater participation and representation of religious minorities in the government, while in Turkey, the military has historically played a significant role in shaping government policy and maintaining secularism.

The differences between India and Turkey's approach to secularism can be attributed to a number of factors, including historical legacies, the nature of the political system, and the role of religion in society. India's secularism has been shaped by its colonial history, in which religious divisions were exploited by the British to maintain control. Turkey, on the other hand, has a long tradition of state-sponsored secularism dating back to the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The political systems of the two countries also differ, with India being a federal democracy and Turkey a presidential system. Finally, the role of religion in society is also a significant factor, with Turkey being a predominantly Muslim country and India being home to a diverse range of religious communities. Turkey's constitution has been changed several times since it was first adopted in 1924. The most recent constitutional change was in 2017.

As size and GDP India has a larger economy than Turkey in terms of GDP. In 2020, India was the fifth-largest economy in the world, while Turkey ranked around 19th. In Economic Growth India has experienced relatively high economic growth rates in recent years, although growth slowed down in 2019 and 2020. Turkey has also shown periods of strong growth, but it has faced economic challenges and fluctuations in recent years. Sectoral Composition India has a diverse economy with significant

contributions from sectors such as services, manufacturing, agriculture, and information technology. Turkey also has a mixed economy with sectors like services, industry, and agriculture but now started decline. In term of Trade and Exports both countries are active participants in international trade. India has a more diversified export base, with its major exports including textiles, pharmaceuticals, petroleum products, and IT services. Turkey's exports primarily consist of automotive products, textiles, machinery, and chemicals.

In conclusion, the post-Cold War era has seen a contrasting trajectory of secularism and democracy in India and Turkey. While India, with its democratic system, maintains a secular ethos and strives to uphold democratic values, concerns persist. The BJP government has focused on development. On the other hand, Turkey has faced challenges with the erosion of secularism and democratic principles under the current government. Violations of secularism and concerns about minority rights have raised questions about the country's commitment to a truly secular and democratic system.

Findings

1. India has been largely successful in upholding secularism as a fundamental principle of its democratic system. Present BJP's Govt. has played a significant role in protecting secularism and promoting nationalism. In contrast, Turkey has faced challenges in maintaining secularism foundation established by its founding father, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.
2. In India, identity politics has been employed by various political parties to gain political advantage. The Indian National Congress, has been accused of engaging in dynastic politics by leveraging the identity of prominent political families. In Turkey, there has been a violation of secularism, after AKP government came into power. Religious minorities in Turkey have faced challenges and limitations on their rights and freedoms, raising concerns about the erosion of secularism and the impact on minority communities.
3. In a secular system, the state cannot be dictated by religious doctrines or allow religious institutions to exercise political power. In this context, religion can not dictate over the state. If religious practices or beliefs lead to actions that

threaten public order, violate human rights, or disrupt social harmony, the state has the right to intervene and protect the interests of its citizens.

4. The collapse of the USSR, combined with the United State's military and economic dominance, initially created a unipolar world. However, the emergence of new powers, regional dynamics, and changing global alliances have gradually shifted the world towards a more multi-polar order, where multiple actors exert influence and shape international affairs.

Observations of the study

- Interfaith dialogue can help promote understanding and harmony among people of different religions. The government can encourage interfaith dialogue through various initiatives, such as hosting interfaith conferences, promoting interfaith education, and funding interfaith initiatives.
- The government should not promote or favor any particular religion. The state must remain neutral when it comes to religious matters and treat all religions equally.
- Turkey can establish an independent judiciary that is not subject to political pressure, ensuring that the law is applied fairly and equitably without any religious or ideological influence.
- Turkey can promote freedom of speech and freedom of the press, allowing people to express their ideas and opinions without fear of retribution. This will enable the people to discuss and debate issues related to secularism.
- Turkey can encourage the growth of civil society organizations that support secularism and provide a platform for the public to voice their concerns about the erosion of secularism.
- Turkey can seek to learn from other countries that have successfully maintained secularism in the face of religious and political pressures. This could include participating in international forums and collaborating with experts in the field of secularism.