

# Table of contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter I: Muslim politics from British India to Pakistan</b>	
<b>1.1. From East Indian Company to the British Raj</b>	<b>5</b>
1.1.1 The first steps towards colonization	5
1.1.2 The 1857 Revolt	7
<b>1.2 Muslims, the enemies of the Raj</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.3 Neutralizing the Muslims</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.4. The new political and constitutional framework of the Raj</b>	<b>13</b>
1.4.1 Assessing the causes of the Rebellion	14
1.4.2 Between appeasement and control, the new policy of the Crown	16
<b>1.5. Muslim's organizations and responses to the British rule</b>	<b>18</b>
1.5.1 Cooperating with the British, the Aligarh Movement	19
1.5.2 Resisting the British	24
* The Deobandis	24
* The Ahl-e-Hadith	29
* The Nadwat-ul-Ulema	33
1.5.3 Accommodating/ignoring the British	35
* The Barelwis	35
* The Farangi Mahalli	37
<b>1.6 Moving towards Muslims' rehabilitation</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>1.7. The emergence of the first indigenous political parties</b>	<b>39</b>
1.7.1 Being politically Muslim	39
1.7.2 From political awareness to political parties	41
1.7.3 The All-India Muslim League (AIML)	48
<b>1.8 The politicization of the ulemas</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>1.9. Muslims and the struggle for independence</b>	<b>52</b>
1.9.1 Panislamism and the First World War	52
1.9.2 The interwar period	55
1.9.3 The Khilafat-Swaraj Movement(s)	57
1.9.4 Vision, divisions and the end of the Khilafat Movement	61
1.9.5 Between fears, expectations, and communal hatred	63
1.9.6 The fear to be a permanent minority	64
1.9.7 The 1935 provincial elections and the failure of Muslims' political parties	66
1.9.8 The ways out of the impasse	68
1.9.9 Building mass support	70
1.9.10 Moving towards a double partition	72
1.9.11 Pakistan, a religious dream?	74
<b>1.10. The Muslims' opposition to Pakistan</b>	<b>77</b>
1.10.1 The Deobandis	77
1.10.2 The Ahl-e-Hadith	82
1.10.3 The Jamaat-i-Islami	84
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>92</b>

## Chapter II: Methodology

<b>2.1. Delimiting the object of the study</b>	<b>96</b>
2.1.1 Identifying the Islamist parties	97
2.1.2 The choice of the parties	97
2.1.3 Defining the concepts	99
* What is a political party?	99
* What is an Islamist party?	114
<b>2.2. Questioning the subject of the study, state of arts</b>	<b>122</b>
2.2.1 The Pakistani political parties	122
2.2.2 The Islamist parties of Pakistan	126
Conclusion	131
<b>2.3 Fieldwork</b>	<b>132</b>

## Chapter III: Theoretical approaches to party formation

<b>3.1. The institutional approach</b>	<b>135</b>
3.1.1 Duverger's theory on parties' origin	136
3.1.2 Duverger's theory and the developing world	138
<b>3.2 The historical-situation approach or the crisis theory</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>3.3. The historical-conflictual approach or the cleavage theory</b>	<b>141</b>
3.3.1 The paradigm of four cleavages	143
3.3.2 The paradigm's <i>raison d'être</i>	144
3.3.3 The concept of cleavage	145
3.3.4 From cleavages to political parties	148
3.3.5 Cleavages and classification of political parties	149
3.3.6 The paradigm as a theoretical model	153
3.3.7 How to apply the model?	154
3.3.8 Making the model travel	157
3.3.9 Limits and criticisms of the model	161
3.3.10 Reforming the model	163
3.3.11 Cleavages, leadership, and the test of time	166
<b>3.4. The developmental approach</b>	<b>169</b>
3.4.1 Primary variables to parties' emergence	169
3.4.2 Secondary variables to parties' emergence	171
3.4.3 Preconditions and types of parties	174
* Conditions for competitive parties	175
* Conditions for non-competitive parties	177
<b>3.5. The socio-organizational approach</b>	<b>180</b>
3.5.1 The genetic model	181
3.5.2 Institutionalization	183
<b>3.6. The sociological approach</b>	<b>184</b>
3.6.1 The primogenesis	184
* The pre-party circles	185
* The time of party creation	185
* The organizational form of the party	185
3.6.2 Shaping the party product	186
* Building a conventional front	186
* The founder's impact on parties	188
Conclusion	189

## Chapter IV: Applying party formation theories to the Islamist parties of Pakistan

<b>4.1. The institutional approach</b>	<b>191</b>
4.1.1 The Jamaat-i-Islami (JI)	193
4.1.2 The Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI)	195
4.1.3 The Jamiat-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP)	198
4.1.4 The Markazi Jamiat Ahle-e-Hadith (MJAHA)	199
Conclusion	200
<b>4.2 The historical-situation approach or the crisis theory</b>	<b>200</b>
4.2.1 The Islamist parties	202
Conclusion	203
<b>4.3. The historical-conflictual approach or the cleavage theory</b>	<b>203</b>
4.3.1 Is the paradigm inappropriate for British India?	205
4.3.2 Critical juncture(s)/revolution(s)	206
* The colonization	207
4.3.3 The cleavages	218
* The center/periphery cleavage	218
* The Hindus/Muslims cleavage	221
* The Muslims/Muslims cleavage	223
4.3.4 From cleavages to political parties	225
Conclusion	231
<b>4.4. The developmental approach</b>	<b>233</b>
4.4.1 The existence of a structural conflict	233
4.4.2 A certain level of modernization	234
4.4.3 The necessity to resort to popular masses	237
4.4.4 The conviction that party means power	238
4.4.5 The Islamist parties	238
4.4.6 Preconditions and types of parties	238
Conclusion	241
<b>4.5. The socio-organizational approach</b>	<b>243</b>
4.5.1 The Jamaat-i-Islami (JI)	244
4.5.2 The Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI)	255
4.5.3 The Jamiat-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP)	262
4.5.4 The Markazi Jamiat Ahle-e-Hadith (MJAHA)	265
Conclusion	268
<b>4.6. The sociological approach to party formation</b>	<b>269</b>
4.6.1 The Jamaat-i-Islami (JI)	270
* Primogenesis	270
* Shaping the party product	277
Conclusion	287
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>294</b>
Bibliography	297
Sitography	316
Annex: List of enlisted political parties	317