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RELIGIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF JAMAAT-E -ISLAMI

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ABSTRACT

Religion and politics have a strong link, and it continuously growing as a significant theme in the political system, apart from the fact that the modern world is based on the freedom to have any religion and stress is there on the separation of state and religion. This study is an attempt to critically analyze the changes in the organizational structure and agenda of JI with the idea of the creation of Pakistan, and to highlight the influence of declaration of Pakistan political and religious standing of JI as an Islamic party. Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) is one of the prominent groups with religious ideology that deals for its political objectives through legitimate means. This party was created in 1941, with its own proper written constitution. With the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, JI as a religious party started to fulfil its objectives, keeping in consideration the defined boundaries of the constitution of the Pakistani state. JI consider Islam as the single and sole significance of life that encompasses over all purposes of life and gives no significance to all the other aspects of existence. This core belief of these religious groups enables all their groups a justification to establish an Islam-based political system in Pakistan. JI is operating in a democratic system as a political party, but its vision is to look at the state of Pakistan through an Islamic lens. Although apparently there is no contradiction to the democratic principles by this party, it takes all the other ethnic identities and plural diversity as insignificant.

Keywords: *Federalism, Islam, Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan, Religious political parties.*

INTRODUCTION

Islamic political parties a developed as an influential and intimidating force worthy of serious consideration in Pakistan. They have a unique place among the influential cohorts determining Pakistan's political procedures and choices, which include not only the military, bureaucratic, Punjabi, and business elites, but also these Islamic groups. Their influence has endured not just during the Afghan struggle, but also in contemporary politics as a result of their links with other terrorist organizations that incite trouble in areas such as Jammu and Kashmir. Despite their poor success in Pakistan's election systems throughout the years, these parties wield significant power and mobilize large numbers of people on the streets. The JI, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam known as JUI, and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan known as JUP, while unable to secure more than a combined six National Assembly seats, occupied the forefront of discussions concerning topics like introduction of Shariat Courts, as well as the enactment of legislation regarding usher, zakat, and blasphemy. In this article the author will try to describe Jamaat-e-Islami's idea of state. Furthermore, this article will study four aspects majorly; first is how the conceptualization of the Pakistani state shaped the agenda and organization of JI in a post-

partition scenario. Secondly, the contextual analysis of JI will be utilized to comprehend that conceptualization of the Pakistani state by religious and ideological political groups means for the connection between the Pakistani state and society. Third thing is JI has become a national political party from that of a simple religious party especially in 1980s and onwards? Fourthly, Whether, JI's political methodology given Islamic philosophy appears to be clashing with existing factors of federalism, ethnic and majority rule yearnings of the Pakistani state.

Religious political parties and ideologies have a considerable say in the Pakistani politics. The construction of an Islamic and social, political and economic order in Pakistan was the demand by religious political parties, regardless of their ideological and sectarian differences. Their conception of the Pakistani state as being exclusively Islamic forms the basis of their demand for an Islamic order. (Ahmad, 2011) Their conception of politics and the state was based on religion, and this led them to conclude that democratic norms and procedures were wholly insufficient to bring about the changes they desired for an Islamic order in Pakistan. There are two stages in the evolution of religion's influence on Pakistani politics. The political mobilization of Muslims during the pre-partition era was defined by their assertion of their religious identity, however, the political importance of religion declined during the post-partition era as a result of the achievement of statehood. There were essentially two important Islamic political groups in the era before Pakistan: JI and Jamiat Ulema Hind (JUI). (Britannica, 2020)

While arguing that Islam is a universal religion that is essentially unconstrained by state boundaries, these religious groups were generally concerned about the territorial restrictions of Muslim nationalism. They first opposed the concept of a distinct state based on religious identity as a result of this. JI was more of an ideological movement during the British era, aiming to spread Islamic principles throughout the Sub-Continent.

Jamaat-e-Islami was established by Maulana Maududi in the year 1941 in Lahore and is viewed as one of the first organized and sensible political party of Pakistan. One of the essential philosophies of party ideology is based on the idea that this state is the representation of Islamic System of rule, with the Islamic religious scholars as the main part of top-level decision making. Major Islamists accept that response to the country's concern exists in the requirement of Islamic regulation, a complete code of life.

The JI initiated a campaign against Pakistan's Ahmadis in 1953 to purge the community of what it saw as abnormal conduct. This campaign resulted in approximately 2,000 killings, the imposition of martial control in the state of Punjab, and the toppling of Governor General Ghulam Mohammed. promoted repression Abolishing the Federal Cabinet is Ahmadiyya. The anti-Ahmadi movement gave rise to a bill in 1974 that declared Ahmadis to be a non-Muslim minority and was successfully approved by the National Assembly (NA) under the supervision of Prime Minister (PM) Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. (GULFAM, 2009)

The JI backed the Islamization policy of the Zia government under party leader Mian Tufayl Muhammad, although they disagreed in 1984 over the government's choice to forbid the student union. Student government). At a Pakistani university, Jamiat-e-Tulaba-e-Islam became aggressive and fought with other student organizations. Emerging student activists who support religious causes congregated at Jamiat-e-Turaba to have an impact on public policy. Additionally, a big source of JI recruits was Jamiat-e -Tulaba-e-Islam. JI supports an Islamic state and rejects capitalism, socialism, and westernization, which include policies like bank interest, contraception, and social norms. (Abbott, 1957)

Is Jamaat-e-Islami a failed political organization that hasn't gained any parliamentary clout despite having existed for 74 years? Assume that the only metric by which successes and failures are evaluated is the representation of political parties in the assemblies. However, judging Jamaat-e-success Islami or failure solely on this metric would be excessive given that the organization is more than just a political party and represents a broad intellectual, ideological, and reform movement. Political conflict was not its primary activity, but rather one component of it. The ideological organization Jamaat-e-Islami has fought for the longest to advance Islamic thought, put the Islamic system into place, and create a

just, just Islamic, and democratic society in the nation. Consequently, it can only be ingested.

When Pakistan separated from the Pakistani state in 1971, JI's agenda and structure underwent major modifications. The organization is known as JIP in Pakistan and Jamaat-e-Islami Hind or JIH in India. Despite having comparable ideological goals, the context in which the Pakistani and Indian branches of the JI parent organization were presented gave varied discourse and direction. JIH began in India as a cultural movement that prioritized combating communalism and secularism while viewing democracy as incompatible with Islamic beliefs. Additionally, JIH forbade its members from running in elections in favor of building a network of educational institutions in India. However, JIH eventually came to terms with India's secularism and democratic principles for pragmatic reasons.

Aside from the argument over whether Jinnah envisioned a secular or Islamic state, his statements from 1940 to 1947 gave the impression that the new state was envisioned as an Islamic state since the "Two Nation Theory" that motivated Pakistan's independence struggle was founded on Islamic doctrine. Later, Pakistan proclaimed a democratic state with equal rights for all of its citizens under the Objective Resolution of 1949, with the primacy of Islam serving as the state ideology. In addition, against the backdrop of JI's active participation in the anti-Ahmadi riots in February 1953, the provincial elections in 1954 gave JI a chance to participate in politics as a national political party. (Qazi, 2017)

Research Questions

The following are research questions of this study;

- How does the constitutional declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic state transform the political standing of religious political parties?
- How did the idea of a Pakistani state anticipated by JI shape its agenda and organization?

Data and Methodology:

This research is based on a secondary qualitative method in order to explore and analyzed all the existing qualitative data from published research articles and books and reports etc. The qualitative method is suitable for this research as it requires in-depth analysis and detailed insight regarding the how JI conceptualizes Pakistan. Qualitative secondary data for this research study has been collected through different online authentic sources and websites for more rationale and detailed discussion based on credible data.

Literature Review:

How did Pakistan's constitutional declaration as an Islamic state transform the religious and political standing of religious political parties?

As per the constitutional declaration of Pakistan and considering Islam as a state religion, Islam is an integral part of every aspect either political, social or economic, etc. The constitution of 1973 has given the right of creating any association or political party. With the exception that no political party may advocate for sectarian, ethnic, or regional enmity or hostility or claim to be a violent group or section.

According to accepted practices, Jamaat is the most well-organized democratic party in Pakistan. It was founded by the supporters of Maulana Maududi's supporters in a convention at Pathankot in year 1941 under the presidentship of Maududi himself. The major purpose of Jamaat was to develop a constitution in democratic ways to guarantee an Islamic way of life. This purpose was later enshrined in the party's constitution, which was adopted in 1957. At first, it wasn't an electoral party because running for office wasn't one of its goals. However, in 1957, this changed. One argument is that JI's claims that it is the most democratic party as for as its internal structure is concerned and works well to attract new and prospective members. Its comprehensive constitution is 101 pages long and is broken down into eleven chapters. (Zubaida Zafar and Dr. Umbreen Javaid, 2019)

One of the significant works done on the contribution of JI being an influential force in the politics of Pakistan is done by Yilmaz and Shukri (2024), especially focusing on the era of the establishment of Pakistan and the era of the dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq. This study has analysed the work of JI as a party that focused on welfare and supported military regimes rather than of focusing on military reductionism. JI was highly influential during the regime of Zia and

played its role in the politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as a major coalition party. Although this political party remained unsuccessful in gaining government in the centre single-handedly, but remained a part of the government in the form of a coalition. The structure of the party on the internal level is highly organised, systematic, and democratic as compared to other parties in Pakistan. This study is very significant in understanding the intricate role of JI in the politics of Pakistan both as a political party and as a Islamic force. The fundamentalist trend in Pakistan was fostered by the Indian menace, as is clear from Pakistan's political history. In 1956, 1962, and 1973, respectively, Pakistan produced three constitutions as a result of her quest for political stability. The main sources of instability have been disputes over executive authority, power allocations, and the interaction of religion and state. Any state having a religious foundation will view Islamist or religious political parties as an important fundamental among all other parties in the state. In the case of Jamat I Islami, they have evolved from a reformist religious party to a political religious party which also played an important part in the evolution of Pakistani politics. In considering the alliances with other parties or with other institutions, Jamaat has been seen as very active even though their performance is not good enough in electoral politics. (Kumar, 2001)

The Jamaat will only function as a pressure group in Pakistani politics unless it decides to switch from conservative to moderate politics. The party unlike the other parties having religious foundations is distinct as it was founded by Maulana Maududi, the party's ideologue and a proponent of a particular reformist Islamist worldview. Due to this novel philosophy developed by the opposition Traditionalists, the party also faces resistance from secularists who favor keeping religion out of politics. (Akhtar, 2009)Pakistan, being a state created in the name of the religion Islam, always had its focus on the introduction of the Islamic system along with that of democratic principles. All the governments in the country, whether these were democratic governments or dictatorships they always focused on the introduction of Islam in the state affairs, and Islamization remained a major consideration. According to Ahsan et al., (2023), has discussed the role of JI in the introduction of Islam in the politics and constitution of Pakistan and had declared the era of Maulana Maududi as the most influential era of JI, not only as a political and democratic platform but also as a active force for the introduction of Islam in country. This study has further explored the vision of Maulana Maududi as the combination of Islamic ideals and democratic principles in a balanced way. This study has also critically analysed the impact of JI on the Socio-Political landscape of Pakistan by highlighting the performance and participation of the party in different elections of the country and its campaigns and demand for the introduction of Islam in the country.The analysis of Jamaat's path demonstrates how a political movement had to endure hardships that are based upon Islam and adapt different tactics throughout her eighty-year battle to defend Islamic ideals and the identities of Muslims. The Jamaat's interactions with liberal and religious political platforms provide insight into Pakistani politics, which can be summed up as a conflict between secular and Islamic forces. Nationalists, secularists, and the elite class have all rallied to support the westernized trends rather than making changes to Islamic trends, posing a formidable obstacle to the Islamic trend. As seen by the impending "Arab spring" and the earlier Iranian Revolution, the Muslim world is moving toward creating democratic Islamic model states. (Engineer, 1996)

Before Independence, many of the fundamentalist and religious parties were not in the support of the ideology of the separation of India and introduction of new country in the form of Pakistan because it somehow contradicts orthodox Islamic ideals. Gradually these parties got to understand that to survive in this state, they should support the notion of establishing an Islamic state in Pakistan. (Khalid Rahman, 1999), They claimed that since the state was established based on Islam, the next political goal should be for the state to become an Islamic one to combat this alienation. Islam thus enabled these religious parties to carve out a niche for themselves and promote their nationalist credentials while having no roots in the new state. Since Pakistan was created as a religion-based state, the country's political development evolves and change on the religious spectrum also. Introduction of

Objective Resolution, different reports of Basic Principle committees agitations in Pakistan against Ahmadis, The anti-Ahmadiyya riots, the Objectives Resolution, the report of the Basic Principles Committee, and the 1962 Constitution all brought attention to the part played by religion in Pakistan's political development. Today, there are fundamental doubts over how Pakistan came to be. The significance of religion in the development of Pakistan's political system becomes relevant and current when a party that claims itself to be the "founder of Pakistan" seriously questions the country's very origins.

The attempts by the secularists to draught a constitution for Pakistan were rejected by the Jamaat. The adoption of an Islamic constitution for the nation was made a priority. Through its propaganda, the Jamaat persuaded secularist politicians and ulama to change their minds and chose a course of action that served as the foundation for a transient understanding.

Over the years, Pakistan's Islamic parties have established themselves as significant players. They have carved out a distinct niche for themselves among the different elite groups, including the military elites, bureaucracy, Punjab based elites, and businessman, who control Pakistan's political systems and are having major role in decision making. Even though they have never been able to perform well in terms of votes in Pakistan's elections, they have a huge impact on the country's politics and a ton of street power. (Joshi, 2003)

During the General Zia era (1977–1988), aiding Islamization through an undemocratic regime was a departure from Jamaat's prior commitment to democracy. The representation of Jamaat as a democratic party and its recognition by serving as a logistical partner in the jihad in Afghanistan. Currently, the party is more dedicated to democratic norms but also wants to see reforms in the electoral process.

How the idea of a Pakistani state anticipated by JI shaped its agenda and organization?

Religious political parties in Pakistan must strive to accomplish their objectives through democracy. Their main concerns are Islamic state governance and mass socialization. The idea of Pakistan was founded on the teachings of Islam. Religious arguments are used to start an ideological discussion. The first benefit that the Islamic Movement would face with the analytical decision made in 1949. According to the applicable constitutional recommendation, Zia-ul-Haq will also impose Sharia law through laws that the Parliament has prepared. Despite some notable victories, Islamic political parties continue to pose challenges to the future by removing Islamic doctrine from the world. Additionally, they discussed religious socialization, which corresponds to their political objectives. They are crucial to their success, and the movement of religious society in culture is becoming increasingly noticeable. Eventually, religious zeal attempts to introduce Islam in all spheres of life. The following are the six essential elements: Islam has been politicized through reform movements, Sufism, dawa and Raleigh, militancy, and sectarianism, as well as through preaching and acceptance of Islam. These factors are also taken into account by the majority of Islamic political parties and their electoral campaigns. (Simeone, 2010)

Jamaat has so far had only modest success in parliamentary elections, even though its ideological influence has been fairly widespread. This is due to several factors. The unique organizational design of Jamaat is commonly mentioned as the cause of its scant electoral success. Some observers pointed out that rather than necessarily parliamentary elections, our organizational structure is more suited for a revolutionary battle. Another open organization having broad base that is fit for political campaigning has been called for by Jamaat leaders including Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Khurram Murad, and Khurshid Ahmad. This is true even though Jamaat is regarded as Pakistan's most internally democratic party and is particularly obsessed with winning elections as well as being eager to participate in them. In the early 1990s, jamaat experimented with the Pakistan Islamic Front and a young group called Pasban, causing quite a stir in national politics, but elections arrived too soon for them to prepare adequately. To maintain organizational cohesion following the 1993 elections, these creative mechanisms that caused conflict between the old guard and the recruits within the organization were rolled back.

Another problem is that winning elections isn't the goal. The organization of Jamaat has a

complex ideological and social goal that requires a lot of time and money. Other political parties concentrate only on winning elections. A proposal on the table right now is to establish a separate political branch that would nonetheless report to the central emir. It looks that this topic will get more traction following the 2018 midterm elections. Before it, the Jamaat's leadership will probably need to choose the situation. If and when this choice is made, it will provide a way for the now-outside-the-party but more capable cadre of affiliates to join. Because of Jamaat's regimental structure and demanding organizational efforts, which they find challenging to keep up with, many people prefer to remain on the periphery. The new organization would also enable the political wing to keep its attention on elections and would create a supportive climate with a softer 75-member Central Shura. (Anderson, 1958)

The only political party among them, Jamaat-e-Islami, has since its beginning focused its efforts on fostering internal democracy rather than enslaving the populace with phony democratic slogans. It is undergoing a process to instill the very essence of democracy at the grassroots level. The opinions of the party's regular members are respected in its affairs and policies. It has created a just democratic process for choosing its ruler, leader, or Ameer and has a reliable system of mutual discussion and consultation from higher to lower level in the party structure. A developing nation like Pakistan has allowed it to develop into a live political organism. Jamaat-e-Islami was named one of the most democratic parties in Pakistan in the 2015 PILDAT assessment for this reason.

After the emergence of Pakistan as an independent state, JI transformed its political activities and transformed itself in the context of evolution and democratization. The goals of JI Pakistan as well as the effects of the organizational struggle on Pakistan's politics, society, and the constitution. To actively take part in electoral politics, it was turned into a political party in 1953. The Jamaat's departure from the clergy perspective of Ulamas prompted her to lead a distinct Islamization agenda in Pakistan, which culminated in the introduction of modern trends in the politics of the country. This specific trend is exemplary for the modern Muslim world countries. The Jamaat lost the backing of traditional ulamas, because they were hesitant to accept any shift in tradition. This was mostly due to Maulana Maududi's unique intellectual and religious attempt to define Islamic politics. (Khanyari, 2014)

Jamaat is criticized and attacked as having anti-democratic attitude due to its role as a supporter of various military dictatorships in Pakistan. Although jamaat played a role in reformation of democracy still, public considers its role for military dictators as negative for democracy.

The Jamaat has always led the charge to advance Islamization because of its ideological preferences. And its support for Pakistan has brought the Jamaat close to military regimes, where it has offered assistance during the fall of Dhaka and the Afghan Jihad. This issue raised doubts about Jamaat's campaign for democracy. The Jamaat has occasionally joined forces in electoral politics that supported Islamization with like-minded secular forces. Struggle of jamaat has increased the strength of partial Islamist vote bank as compared to secular and nationalist one in Pakistan. The Jamaat was unable to become a major political force because of sectarian religious politics and competing ethnic and secular political parties, but even with a small following, it has successfully advocated Islamization and an Islamic vote bank. (Afridi, 2016)

As per the constitutional law, Pakistan as a state is bounded to follow the principles of Islam but still, the financial, economic, and banking system works on the principles of western countries. Such Facts also act as a challenge for a religious party in moving their masses on their lines. Even the literate communities did not get to understand the objectives of the party. Immorality and the common acts that are considered forbidden in Islam as a barrier and try to support the promotion of different Islamic norms in order to prepare general public to support the struggle of Islamization of Pakistan. The party did not plan the actual strategy to increase its vote bank, despite of the fact that they are highly organized truly democratic group that provides social services. The Jamaat's political agenda must be developed in a balanced way in light of the obstacles it faces as it equally affects its followers and supporters also. Due to their hostility to Jamaat's plan to force Islamization of the state and society, post-Islamism, traditionalist religious groups, and ethnic nationalist

communities, all provide significant challenges. (Kamran, 2015)

Being a pioneer Islamist Social Movements in Pakistan, the Jamaat boasts four National Assembly seats, making it one of the Parliament's weakest and least represented parties. By all accounts, the Jamaat has failed as a political party and prospects look equally unpromising. So why did the party fail? The Jamaat suffered from an acute identity crisis, both anti-statism and a desire to develop into a competitive political force in Pakistan. It is positioned as a purely Islamic movement that wanted to refrain from participating in the nation-state model while characterizing itself as a domestic political force led to confusion about the organization's mission and divisions within the party ranks. Today, when Jamaat-e-Islami is flourishing as a domestic political force and has resolved its ideological divisions, its consistent electoral failures can also be attributed to the period when the ruling status quo was authoritarian.

Findings and Conclusions

In Pakistan Islamic political parties are considered as the elite force that is having a strong influence over the decision making and are tough to reckoned and among those parties one of the major names is JI. This study is also significant because of those beliefs that often originated about their devotion and faith. For instance, Islam has conventionally held that all the people ae subject to Allah Almighty that creates an inevitable conflict between religious and political factors.

However, practices and beliefs in religion also have support of the politics in various ways. Now the for and way of support to politics is as inevitable to the philosophers of politics as there is the chances of conflict.

This study has come to the conclusion that JI has remain a part of the politics and elections since the very initial general election of Pakistan. In between this whole time period of general elections two were boycotted by the JI which were elections of 1977 and 2008. However, JI was able to boost up the overall turnout but these elections had severe setbacks for JI. It had lost its base of supporters, its ability to influence voters, its infrastructure for doing so, and its ability to stand out against other political parties in elections. In different elections including elections of 1951, elections 1964-65, elections 1977, elections 1988, 1990 and 2002 it contested elections with the support of different other parties. During these coalitions, JI had share in power but there was loss of identity of JI because of repeated electoral campaign on the symbol of other parties. In the elections of 1970, and 2013 party contested elections without any coalition with any of the political party. Also, it contented elections on its own electoral symbol and tried to intact its identity but did not have good results. In some elections JI did not perform up to the mark however, in some elections it had many seats that put it in a position of forming government and having major role in decision making.

The perspectives of the party especially on matters of Islam have inspired its members to step up efforts to these extents in the hopes that they will increase the number of supporters for the organization while also bolstering the public's confidence in Islam. Another element of the Jamaat's plan, connected to the first tightly, was the group's conversion into a political party. Leading political parties in Pakistan have other goals in mind than advancing the actual Islamic culture; instead, they want to gain support by getting society ready for the desired Islamic outcomes.

The Jamaat is not acceptable to mainstream western leadership or conventional religious leaders because it is a party led by an ideologist and an Islamic scholar. A culture that still harbors the idea of slavery does not trust any political party that is laid on the foundations of any religion to be able to govern a nation in the modern era. The Jamaat's agenda includes reforms in inclination the concept of Islamization of the political system, and the economy, and the conversion of various laws into Islamic ones through legislation. The majority of voters did not favor the Jamaat's platform when it was pitted against nationalism, socialism, and other agendas or reforms in electoral politics. The Jamaat was supposed to overtake traditionalists, but it was unable to establish itself as a popular modernized Islamist movement. As a result, the mainstream Islamic democratic forces PTI and PML (N) arose as semi-Islamists to fill the void. Even the secular political tendencies in Pakistan were beaten by the

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