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The Leadership of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan: An Assessment of the Leadership Characteristics of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad (1972-2009)

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Abstract:

This article presents an assessment of the leadership qualities of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad, who remained Central Presidents (Ameers) of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan from 1972 to 2009. Through a comprehensive analysis, this study aims to evaluate their leadership styles, approaches, and effectiveness within the context of Jamaat-i-Islami's political and social endeavors. Drawing upon historical records, interviews, and scholarly literature, this assessment explores the nuanced qualities and contributions of both the leaders, shedding light on their impact on the party's ideology, organizational structure, and public perception.

Key Words: Leadership, Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, Ameer, Comparasion, Mian Tufail Muhammad, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Leadership Qualities

Introduction: A renowned Muslim scholar of Indo-Pak subcontinent Maulana Syed Abual Alaa Maududi (1903-1979) founded Jamaat-i-Islami on 26th August 1941 at Lahore in the

undivided India (Shafique, M., 2021). Jamaat-i-Islami has set the following motto for its political and religious pursuits, “The entire system of human life in all its fields, thoughts and views, beliefs and ideas, religion, morals, character, education and training, civilization, culture, society, economy, politics, law, court, peace, war and international relations, must be ordered on the guidance of God revealed through His Holy Prophets” (Usman, 1988).

Jamaat-i-Islami was registered as a political party after the creation of Pakistan in 1953 with its goal to transform Pakistan into an Islamic polity (Gulfam, S. 2016). Despite the prevalent use of Islamic rhetoric during the Pakistan movement, the post-independence leadership of the Muslim League inclined towards a more secular state. This shift sparked resistance from religious scholars, who advocated for an Islamic constitution. Anticipating the efforts to separate religion and state, figures like Syed Maududi actively campaigned for an Islamized constitution. Therefore, the presentation of Objective Resolution in 1949 followed by enactment of 1956 and 1973 constitutions are important milestones of the political struggle of Jamaat-i-Islami after creation of Pakistan (Islam, F. 2013).

Research Questions:

1. What are the similarities and differences in the leadership characteristics of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad?
2. How did the policy shifts during the leadership tenures of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad compare, and what specific changes did each leader implement?

Theoretical Framework:

Analyzing the leadership of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad from 1972 to 2009 through the lens of transformational leadership theory provides valuable

insights into their respective approaches and impacts. Transformational leadership theory, popularized by Bernard Bass and expanded by James MacGregor Burns, emphasizes leaders' ability to inspire and motivate followers, promote innovation and change, and foster collective vision and values.

Transformational leadership emphasizes the ability of leaders to inspire and elevate followers by fostering a sense of purpose and vision. Leaders act as ethical role models, earning admiration and trust, while articulating a compelling vision that motivates followers through enthusiasm and optimism. They encourage innovation and critical thinking, fostering a culture of creativity, and provide personalized support and development, recognizing each follower's unique needs and strengths. This theory highlights how leaders can drive significant positive changes within organizations by aligning followers' goals with the collective vision (Turan & Sny, 1996).

Organizational Structure of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan:

As per article-5 of its constitution, Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan has been termed as political party and for this purpose, it is elaborated that “In order to realize its objective and mission, the Jama’at shall never use such ways and means that are against veracity and honesty or may cause ‘mischief on the earth’”. Moreover, article 11 of the same constitution describes that “System of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan shall be consultative, and the organization shall consist of Central and various regional disciplines”.

As per constitution, Jamaat’s affiliates are divided into categories of Rukn (core member, plural Arkaan), Umeedwar Rukniyat (candidate for membership) and Karkun (worker). Among them Rukn is the highest category of membership who have the right to vote to elect Ameer (Central President), Shura (Central Consultative Council), Provincial

Ameer, Provincial Shura and district and local Ameers and all tiers of Shuras including districts and local (Azeem, 2021).

Standard and Procedure for election of Ameer, Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan:

As per Section-13 of constitution of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, the following attributes shall be kept in view for the election of its Ameer (Azeem, 2021):-

- (1) “That he should not be a candidate for presidency nor should there be any such thing as may be showing that he has been seeking or striving for the post”.
- (2) “That Jamaat members should have confidence in his piety (taqwa), knowledge of the Book and Sunna, trustworthiness and honesty, divine insight, understanding of Islamic movement, firmness of opinion, thoughtfulness, decision-making ability, perseverance and steadfastness, in the way of Allah and his ability to run the Jamaat discipline”.

The election of Ameer is carried out through its own centrally designated election commission after every five years. Only Arkaan are entitled to cast their vote under Jamaat’s organizational framework as per prescribed manner (Azeem, 2021).

As evident from the above-mentioned laid down electoral process and party’s decision-making procedure, Jamaat-i-Islami has been rated as the most democratic party in Pakistan. (PILDAT, 2015).

Definitions of Leadership:

The political leadership put an impact on decision-making and political outcomes of their party. Therefore, it is closely associated with leadership style. Political leaders govern the party through a set mechanism and have no power to impose their will on the society.

Rather they must align with or create coalitions that allow them to rule. Hence the political leadership is shaped by vast undercurrents of processes, decisions, and resistance (Friedman, 2018).

Political leadership refers to those who lead, work for, manage, govern and contract. Organizations have to deal with diverse and sometimes competing interests, with individuals and groups sometimes vying for power and influence and sometimes collaborating with others to achieve outcomes (Hartley, 2010). In this article, by applying the transformational leadership theory, an attempt has been made to analyze the leadership qualities of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad as Ameer Jamaat-i-Islami from 1972 to 2009.

Brief Profile of Mian Tufail Muhammad (Second Ameer, 1972-1987)

Born in Kapurthala, East Punjab, India in an Arain family, Mian Tufail Muhammad was the second Ameer of Jamaat-i-Islami. He received his B.A. (Hons) in Physics and Mathematics degrees from Government College, Lahore, with distinction in 1935. He completed his LL.B. in 1937 from the University Law College, Lahore, securing second position (Editor, 2022).

When Jamaat-i-Islami was founded in August 1941, Mian Tufail Muhammad was one of its 75 founding members. He left practicing law on January 23, 1942. In March, 1944, he was appointed the first permanent Secretary General (Qayyim) of the party. When Syed Maududi resigned as Ameer in October 1972 due to health reasons, Mian Tufail Muhammad was elected Ameer for five years.

During his tenure as Ameer, he faced the authoritarian government of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in 1970s wherein he was arrested and tortured. He joined Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) so as to save the party from coercion of PPP government. The

general elections of 1977 were turned down by the political parties on the charges of rigging, PNA started countrywide agitation. Therefore, General Zia imposed martial law and announced Islamization of the country.

During his tenure, the important events are Jamaat's support to military rule, Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, Iranian revolution, sectarian violence, referendum of General Zia in 1984, party-less election of 1985 and Jamaat's participation in these elections although other major political parties had boycotted. He refused to become candidate for 4th term as Ameer due to his declining health in 1987 (Kumar, 2001). On 7th June 2009, he had a brain hemorrhage and breathed his last on 25th June 2009 at the age of 95.

Brief Profile of Qazi Hussain Ahmad (Third Ameer, 1987-2009):

Born on 12th January 1938 at village Ziarat Kaka Sahib, District Nowshera, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Qazi Hussain Ahmad was the youngest Ameer with the age of 42 years who replaced Mian Tufail Muhammad in 1987 as third Ameer (Rehman, 2013).

Qazi joined IJT, students' wing of Jamaat-i Islami, when he studied at school level. He got Master's degree in Geography from the University of Peshawar. He started his professional career as lecturer at Jehanzeb College Swat. However, due to his differences with the ruler of Swat (at that time Swat was a princely state), he resigned from service and started his own business in Peshawar (Islami, J., 2024).

In 1970 he became Rukn of Jamaat-i Islami and remained Ameer of Peshawar district in 1970s. Then he was elevated as the provincial secretary and Ameer in Khyber Pakhtunkhwah. In 1978 he got the responsibility as Central Secretary General of the party (Kokab, 2016). He replaced Mian Tufail Muhammad who step down as Ameer due to his health condition in 1987.

Qazi's health condition, however, didn't allow him to continue his political struggle furthermore. He stepped down from the position of Ameer in 2009. Qazi died of a cardiac arrest on 5th January 2013 and buried at his native village Ziarat Kaka Sahib (Qazi, S.R., 2024).

Literature Review:

A lot of research work has been done on Syed Maududi, Jamaat's organizational structure, political policies, electoral strategies, and electoral performance. However, there is no such comparative study and research about the leadership style and significant policy shifts implemented during the tenure of these two successive leaders. The current research study is an attempt to fill this gap about the leadership qualities of these leaders of Jamaat-i-Islami from 1972 to 2009. While existing literature extensively covers the party's organizational framework and strategic approaches, it lacks a focused analysis of how leadership styles of these two leaders influenced policy directions and party dynamics.

By examining the distinct leadership approaches of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad, this study aims to offer new insights into their impacts on Jamaat-i-Islami's evolution. This literature review integrates existing research on the party's structure and strategies while highlighting the unexplored dimensions of leadership dynamics, filling a critical gap in the academic discourse on Jamaat-i-Islami. In this regard, the following literature was found more relevant to the research topic of this article.

The election of Qazi Hussain Ahmad as the new Ameer infused fresh energy, optimism, and enthusiasm among members of the IJT. Qazi, while upholding the party's fundamental ideological goal of "Islamization of the constitution and system," expanded the

party's agenda to incorporate socioeconomic issues, aiming to connect with the general populace (Mehmood, W., 2018).

Qazi Hussain Ahmad, actively worked to redirect his party's focus from its 'vanguardist' stance towards a 'mass-based' approach, which emphasized broader social, economic, and political issues, including a more pronounced anti-Western agenda (Nelson, M. J., 2015).

It is generally blamed that Mian Tufail Muhammad unconditionally supported General Zia's martial law and the said support continued in 1984 presidential referendum conducted by the General. However, Shura passed a resolution in 1984 wherein the presidential referendum only 14 weeks before the general election was resented (Ahmad S. I., 2017).

The relationship between JI and the military regime from 1977 to 1988 began on amicable terms but gradually soured over time. Though JI's collaboration with the Zia regime yielded benefits, it also tarnished the party's democratic reputation significantly (Rafi, M. I., 2022).

General Zia reaffirmed his alignment with the ideological stance of Jamaat-i-Islami not only due to his shared ancestry with the party's leader at the time, Mian Tufail Muhammad. This alignment served as part of a comprehensive campaign aimed at achieving various domestic and international policy objectives (Ahmad Z. S., 2012).

In 1987, Qazi Hussain Ahmad actively worked to transition the party's focus from a primarily 'vanguardist' approach to a more 'mass-based' orientation. This shift aimed to address broader societal, economic, and political issues, including a more pronounced anti-Western stance (Nelson, M. J., 2015).

The Jamaat suffered a significant setback when it lost its key electoral stronghold, Karachi, to the MQM. While Zia's regime had presented a unique opportunity for Jamaat to share in governmental power and implement Islamic initiatives, the party experienced both short-term gains and long-term setbacks. Support to military regime left a stain on the Jamaat's reputation (Haq, F. 2009).

Soon after defeat of the newly launched PIF in 1993 general elections, a meeting of Shura was convened. JI's senior leaders were unhappy on the bitter experience of PIF. So heated debate started among the Shura members led to the resignation of Qazi. Intraparty election was held for the new Ameer, but Qazi was elected again for the next five years with greater majority (Bangash, Z. 2009).

The 1988 elections took place amidst a significant shift towards the restoration of democracy. Despite the ruling regime's reluctance to relinquish power, the establishment remained supportive of the ruling party. Remarkably, it marked the first instance in Pakistan's history where an electoral alliance known as the IJI was formed, comprising former ruling figures from various political factions, united against the PPP (Bukhari, S. T., 2020).

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan along with the COAS General Aslam Beg and DG ISI General Hameed Gul, played a significant role in promoting and utilizing the IJI for political purposes. This collaboration involved nine different political and religious parties joining forces against the PPP during the national elections of 1988 (Afzal, M. I., 2020).

Movement for Restoration of democracy (MRD) was dominant by PPP whose leadership had made blunders and gave the military to takeover in 1977. Supporting MRD by the Jamaat was tantamount to help PPP to come into power and restore its fascist rule.

Moreover, the MRD turned into a violent platform which disturbed the law-and-order situation in interior Sindh and put the people's life at stake (Saleemi, 2013).

The 1985 non-party elections introduced numerous new faces to the assembly, many of whom were willing to collaborate with the military regime. Their primary focus was on personal gain rather than national issues, as they benefited from the system established by the military ruler and held favorable views towards Zia. Pro-Zia political entities i.e. Muslim League (Functional) and Jamaat-i-Islami unofficially supported these candidates. As a result, the composition of the parliament became mixed (Mahmood, A., 2017).

In 1997, Pakistan witnessed its fifth consecutive election within a span of twelve years, as no elected government or assembly managed to complete its constitutional term. The elections proved to be a significant setback for religious political parties, with both Jamaat-i-Islami and JUP boycotting the electoral process, citing various allegations and pretexts (Azhar, 2015).

Before elections in 1997, JI demanded accountability of the corrupt politicians so that they could be stopped from entering the Parliament. However, this demand was not acceded to by the Government. Moreover, in 2007, government-imposed Emergency and hence tried to manipulate the elections results. Therefore, he preferred to boycott both the elections (Ahmad, Q. H., 2009).

Research Methodology:

The research methodology employed in this study is obtained through a pre-tested semi-structured, close-ended questionnaire from Arkaan throughout Pakistan. Its primary objective is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the roles and responsibilities undertaken by successive Ameer. Data through questionnaire was collected from Arkaan physically at

Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Dir Lower, Buner, Abbottabad, Rawalpindi, Faisalabad, Multan, Bahawalpur, Wah Cantt, Kasur, Sukkur, Hyderabad, Larkana and Quetta whereas from other areas, data was collected online through Google Doc keeping in view the financial and time constraints.

Sample Size:

Arkaan being the central pillar of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan were target population. Total number of Arkaan of Jamaat-i-Islami is 45436. For collecting quantitative data from Arkaan, Yamani sampling method

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N \times (0.05)^2}$$

was applied.

$$n = \frac{45436}{1 + 45436 \times (0.05)^2}$$

Total sample size =396

Data Analysis Techniques:

Thematic Analysis: Data obtained through quantitative analysis was divided into relevant thematic areas. This process involved coding and categorizing the data to extract meaningful insights regarding the roles and responsibilities of these two successive leaders and its impact on national politics.

Comparative Analysis: A comparative analysis was conducted to examine the differences and similarities of these two leaders with regard to their leadership styles and policy shifts during their respective tenures as Ameer.

The response of interviews was divided into the following thematic areas and the respective response is given under each theme as given below: -

Theme-I Comparison of the Leadership Qualities of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad:

Question-1 Do you agree that Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad had the following leadership Qualities?

(i) Decision-making power:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	260	65.7	372	93.9
Neutral	93	23.5	16	4.0
Disagree	43	10.8	8	2.0
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

For Mian Tufail Muhammad, out of 396 respondents, 260 (65.7%) agree that he possessed strong decision-making power, 93 (23.5%) respondents opted to remain neutral on this matter. Additionally, 43 (10.8%) respondents, disagreed to the notion.

In contrast, a substantial majority of respondents i.e. 372 (93.9%) agreed that Qazi Hussain Ahmad had strong decision-making power, only 16 (4.0%) respondents remained neutral whereas a smaller group of 8 (2.0%) showed their disagreement to the statement.

This comparative analysis suggests that Qazi Hussain Ahmad is viewed as a more decisive leader than Mian Tufail Muhammad. The overwhelmingly positive response towards

Qazi Hussain Ahmad's decision-making power indicates that he is widely recognized and respected for this quality.

(ii) Flexibility in attitude:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	221	55.8	288	72.7
Neutral	103	26.0	55	13.9
Disagree	72	18.2	53	13.4
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

For Mian Tufail Muhammad, the results indicate that a majority of respondents i.e. 221 (55.8%) agreed that he demonstrated flexibility in his attitude, 103 (26.0%) respondents remained neutral, whereas 72 (18.2%) disagreed with the statement.

In contrast, for Qazi 288 (72.7%) respondents agreed to the statement, 55 (13.9%) opted to remain neutral, while 53 (13.4%) respondents showed their disagreement to the notion.

In summary, both the successive leaders were evaluated by the same number of respondents, and the results show that Qazi Hussain Ahmad is generally seen as more flexible in his attitude as compared to Mian Tufail Muhammad.

(iii) Fearlessness:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent

Agree	321	81.1	382	96.5
Neutral	52	13.1	9	2.4
Disagree	22	5.6	5	1.3
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

Mian Tufail Muhammad was deemed fearless by a significant majority, with 321 (81.1%) respondents in agreement, 52 (13.1%) remained neutral, and 22 (5.6%) disagreed.

Conversely, Qazi garnered overwhelming support for his fearlessness, with 382 (96.5%) respondents in agreement, 9 (2.4%) expressing neutrality, and 5 (1.3%) in disagreement.

In summary, both leaders were recognized for their fearlessness, yet Qazi Hussain Ahmad received a substantially higher endorsement compared to Mian Tufail Muhammad.

(iv) Political insight:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	252	63.6	352	88.9
Neutral	90	22.7	20	5.1
Disagree	54	13.6	24	6.0
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

When asked about their opinion on Mian Tufail’s political insight, 252 (63.6%) individuals agreed, 90 (22.7%) chose to remain neutral, and 54 (13.6%) disagreed with the statement.

The same respondents also evaluated the political insight of Qazi Hussain Ahmad. A significant majority i.e. 352 (88.9%) respondents concurred with the statement, 20 (5.1%) chose to remain neutral, whereas (6.0%) expressed disagreement with the view.

The survey results reveal varying perceptions of the political insight of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad among the respondents. A majority agreed with Mian Tufail Muhammad's political insight. In contrast, Qazi garnered widespread agreement.

(v) Honesty and truthfulness:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	367	92.7	374	94.4
Neutral	27	6.8	18	4.6
Disagree	2	0.5	4	1.0
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

Regarding the question of honesty and truthfulness, a substantial majority, comprising 367 (92.7%) individuals, affirmed that Mian Tufail Muhammad possessed these qualities. 27 (6.8%) individuals chose to remain neutral, while only 2 (0.5%) disagreed with the statement.

Inquiries regarding the honesty and truthfulness of Qazi Hussain Ahmad revealed that a notable majority, specifically 374 (94.4%) respondents agreed with the statement. Meanwhile, 18 (4.6%) chose to remain neutral, and 4 (1.0%) disagreed with the statement.

In conclusion, the survey findings highlight a strong consensus among respondents regarding the honesty and truthfulness of both the successive leaders. The overwhelming majority expressing affirmation for these qualities indicates widespread trust in the integrity of both leaders.

(vi) Teamwork:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	294	74.2	304	76.9
Neutral	83	21.0	58	14.8
Disagree	19	4.8	34	8.3
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

Regarding the quality of teamwork related to leadership ability, 294 (74.2%) respondents agreed that Mian Tufail Muhammad had this quality, 83 (21.0%) expressed neutrality, while 19 (4.8%) did not agree with this statement.

Concerning the concept of teamwork in relation to Qazi Hussain Ahmad, 304 (76.9%) respondents endorsed the statement, while 58 (14.8%) opted to remain neutral, and 34 (8.3%) expressed disagreement with the notion.

In conclusion, the survey findings reflect a significant level of consensus among respondents regarding the perception of teamwork as an essential quality in leadership in the context of both the successive leaders. The majority endorsement for both leaders suggest a recognition of their ability to foster collaboration and unity within their respective spheres of influence.

(vii) Popularity among the masses:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	146	36.9	379	95.7

Neutral	105	26.5	11	2.8
Disagree	145	36.6	6	1.5
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

146 (36.9%) respondents expressed agreement with Mian Tufail Muhammad's popularity among the masses, while 105 (26.5%) opted to remain neutral, and 145 (36.6%) disagreed with the notion.

A vast majority, i.e. 379 (95.7%) respondents affirmed that Qazi Hussain Ahmad enjoyed greater popularity among the masses. Meanwhile, 11 (2.8%) respondents chose to remain neutral, and 6 (1.5%) disagreed with the statement.

In conclusion, the survey reveals distinct perspectives on the popularity of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad among the masses. While opinions on Mian Tufail's popularity were divided. However, there was a clear consensus regarding Qazi's widespread popularity, with an overwhelming majority affirming it.

(viii) Popularity among youth:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	134	33.8	370	93.4
Neutral	112	28.3	16	4.0
Disagree	150	37.9	10	2.6
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

Regarding the assertion of Mian Tufail Muhammad's popularity among the youth, 134 (33.8%) respondents expressed agreement, 112 (28.3%) chose to remain neutral, and 150 (37.9%) disagreed.

A significant majority of 370 respondents (93.4%) confirmed that Qazi Hussain Ahmad was more popular among the youth. Meanwhile, 16 respondents (4.0%) opted to remain neutral, and 10 (2.6%) disagreed with the statement.

The survey results portray a clear contrast in the popularity of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad among the youth. Qazi Hussain Ahmad garnered overwhelming support, with a substantial majority confirming his popularity among the youth.

(ix) Popularity among women:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	124	31.3	317	80.1
Neutral	157	39.7	60	15.1
Disagree	115	29.0	19	4.8
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

When asked about Mian Tufail Muhammad's popularity among women, 124 (31.3%) respondents agreed, 157 (39.7%) chose to remain neutral, and 115 (29.0%) disagreed with the notion.

A substantial majority of 317 (80.1%) respondents concurred with the statement that Qazi Hussain Ahmad was more popular among the women. Meanwhile, 60 (15.1%) respondents chose to remain neutral, and 19 (4.8%) disagreed with the statement.

In the assessment of Mian Tufail Muhammad's popularity among women, the survey reflects a divided opinion. Conversely, Qazi Hussain Ahmad gathered substantial support among women, with an overwhelming majority concurring with his greater popularity.

(x) Popularity among minorities:

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	124	31.3	317	80.1
Neutral	160	40.4	61	15.4
Disagree	112	28.3	18	4.5
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

When inquired about Mian Tufail Muhammad's popularity among minorities, 124 (31.3%) respondents agreed, 160 (40.4%) remained neutral, and 112 (28.3%) disagreed with the statement.

A significant majority of 317 (80.1%) respondents agreed with the statement that Qazi Hussain Ahmad was more popular among minorities, 61 (15.4%) opted to remain neutral, and 18 (4.5%) disagreed with the notion.

In assessing Mian Tufail Muhammad's popularity among minorities, the survey reveals a mixed perspective. Conversely, Qazi Hussain Ahmad garnered significant support among minorities, with an overwhelming majority agreeing with his greater popularity.

Theme-II Comparison of the Political and Organizational Policies of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad:

Question-1 Do you agree that as Ameer, Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad led Jamaat-i-Islami in a more traditional way?

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	294	74.2	124	31.3
Neutral	69	17.4	54	13.6
Disagree	33	8.4	218	55.1
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

The majority of respondents i.e. 294 (74.2%) agreed with the statement indicating that Mian Tufail Muhammad led Jamaat-i-Islami in a more traditional manner. Meanwhile, 69 respondents (17.4%) remained neutral, and 33 (8.4%) disagreed with the statement.

124 (31.3%) respondents agreed to the statement that Qazi Hussain Ahmad led Jamaat-i-Islami in a more traditional way, 54 (13.6%) remained neutral and 218 (55.1%) disagreed to the statement.

The survey results suggest that a significant majority of respondents agreed with the notion that Mian Tufail Muhammad led the party in a more traditional manner. Conversely, regarding Qazi's leadership style, a smaller proportion of respondents, representing just over a quarter, agreed that he led in a traditional manner.

Theme-III Comparison between Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in adoption of Innovative ideas:

Question-1 Do you agree that as Ameer, Mian Tufail Muhammad conducted more innovative experiments in Jamaat-i-Islami?

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	55	13.9	361	91.2
Neutral	84	21.2	17	4.3
Disagree	257	64.9	18	4.5
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

A minimal number of respondents i.e. 55 (13.9%), agreed with the statement suggesting that Mian Tufail Muhammad conducted more innovative experiments during his leadership tenure. Meanwhile, 84 individuals (21.2%) chose to remain neutral, and 257 (64.9%) disagreed with the view.

A substantial majority of respondents i.e. 361 (91.2%), agreed with the statement indicating that Qazi Hussain Ahmad implemented more innovative experiments during his tenure as Ameer. Meanwhile, 17 individuals (4.3%) opted to remain neutral, and 18 (4.5%) disagreed with the notion.

The survey findings reveal contrasting perceptions regarding the leadership styles of both the successive leaders. While a minimal number of respondents acknowledged Mian Tufail Muhammad's innovative experiments during his leadership, a substantial majority expressed agreement with Qazi Hussain Ahmad's implementation of innovative initiatives.

Theme-IV: Comparison of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in Utilization of Media more Effectively:

Question-1 Do you agree that as Ameer, Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad used media platforms more effectively for the promotion and expansion of Jamaat-i-Islami?

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	72	18.2	327	82.6
Neutral	122	30.8	49	12.4
Disagree	202	51.0	20	5.0
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

Only a small fraction of respondents, specifically 72 (18.2%), agreed with the statement suggesting that Mian Tufail Muhammad effectively utilized media platforms for the promotion and expansion of Jamaat-i-Islami, 122 (30.8%) chose to remain neutral, and 202 (51.0%) disagreed with the statement.

A considerable majority of respondents i.e. 327 (82.6%), endorsed the statement indicating that Qazi Hussain Ahmad effectively employed media platforms for the promotion and expansion of Jamaat-i-Islami, 49 (12.4%) remained neutral in their stance, whereas 20 (5.1%) disagreed with the notion.

The survey results highlight differing perspectives on the effectiveness of media utilization by both the leaders for the promotion and expansion of Jamaat-i-Islami. A small fraction of respondents acknowledged Mian Tufail Muhammad's efficacy in this regard. In

contrast, a considerable majority endorsed Qazi Hussain Ahmad's effectiveness in employing media platforms for Jamaat's promotion and expansion.

Theme-V: Comparison of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in Making Jamaat-i-Islami a more Popular Party:

Question-1 Do you agree that as Ameer, the roles of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in making Jamaat-i-Islami a popular political party has been more prominent?

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	91	23.0	376	94.9
Neutral	131	33.1	12	3.0
Disagree	174	43.9	8	2.1
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

Regarding the significance of Mian Tufail Muhammad's role in elevating Jamaat-i-Islami to a popular political party, 91 respondents (23.0%) expressed agreement, while 131 (33.1%) chose to remain neutral, and 174 (43.9%) disagreed with the statement.

When questioned about the significance of Qazi Hussain Ahmad's role in elevating Jamaat-i-Islami to a prominent political status, a substantial majority, comprising 376 (94.9%) respondents affirmed the assertion, 12 (3.0%) remained neutral, and 8 (2.1%) expressed disagreement with the statement.

The survey outcomes reveal varying perspectives on the significance of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in elevating Jamaat-i-Islami to political prominence. While a minority of respondents agreed with the notion of Mian Tufail Muhammad's role in this elevation, an overwhelming majority affirmed the significance of Qazi Hussain Ahmad's role in elevating Jamaat-i-Islami to a prominent political status.

Theme-VI: Comparison of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in Making Jamaat-i-Islami Ideologically more Stable:

Question-1 Do you agree that as Ameer, the roles of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad have been more prominent in making Jamaat-i-Islami ideologically stable?

Response	Mian Tufail Muhammad		Qazi Hussain Ahmad	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Agree	312	78.8	214	54.0
Neutral	62	15.7	87	22.0
Disagree	22	5.5	95	24.0
Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

A substantial majority of 312 (78.8%) respondents agreed to the notion that Mian Tufail Muhammad was more prominent in making Jamaat-i-Islami ideologically stable, 62 (15.7%) opted to remain neutral, whereas 22 (5.5%) showed their disagreement.

Over half of the participants, i.e. 214 (54.0%) respondents concurred with the notion that Qazi Hussain Ahmad played a more significant role in ensuring the ideological stability

of Jamaat-i-Islami, 87 respondents (22.0%) chose to withhold their stance, while 95 (24.0%) respondents expressed dissent with the statement.

The survey findings suggest differing perspectives on the roles of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in ensuring the ideological stability of Jamaat-i-Islami. A substantial majority of respondents agreed with the notion that Mian Tufail Muhammad was more prominent in this regard, while Qazi Hussain Ahmad's role was more divided, with over half of participants concurred the statement.

Theme-VII: Comparison of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in Agitational Politics:

Question-1 Do you agree with the decision of Jamaat-i-Islami under the leadership of Mian Tufail Muhammad against the government of the then Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Agree	223	56.3
Neutral	96	24.3
Disagree	77	19.4
Total	396	100.0

When questioned about their stance on Jamaat-i-Islami's decision to join the PNA under the leadership of Mian Tufail Muhammad to oppose the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977, 223 (56.3%) respondents expressed agreement, 96 (24.3%) opted to stay neutral whereas 77 participants (19.4%) disagreed with the statement.

Question-2 Do you agree with the decision of Jamaat-i-Islami under the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmad to protest and sit-in against the government of the then Prime Minister Mrs. Benazir Bhutto in 1996?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Agree	263	66.4
Neutral	43	10.9
Disagree	90	22.7
Total	396	100.0

A notable majority of 263 (66.4%) respondents expressed agreement with Jamaat-i-Islami's decision, led by Qazi Hussain Ahmad, to protest and stage a sit-in against the government of Prime Minister Mrs. Benazir Bhutto in 1996, 43 (10.9%) maintained a neutral stance, whereas 90 (22.7%) disagreed with the notion.

Theme-VIII: Reaction of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad to Military Regimes:

Question-1 Do you agree with Jamaat-i-Islami decision under the leadership of Mian Tufail Muhammad to support General Zia-ul-Haq's Martial Law in 1977?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Agree	92	23.2
Neutral	83	21.0

Disagree	221	55.8
Total	396	100.0

In relation to support of Mian Tufail Muhammad to General Zia's martial law in 1977, 92 respondents (23.2%) expressed agreement, 83 individuals (21.0%) maintained a neutral position whereas 221 participants (55.8%) disagreed with the statement.

Question-2 Do you agree with Jamaat-i-Islami decision under the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmad to oppose General Musharraf’s military rule in 1999?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Agree	338	85.4
Neutral	10	2.5
Disagree	48	12.1
Total	396	100.0

In response to the question regarding Qazi Hussain Ahmad opposition to General Musharraf's military rule in 1999, an overwhelmingly majority i.e. 338 (85.4%) respondents agreed to the statement, 10 (2.5%) opted to remain neutral, whereas 48 (12.1%) showed their disagreement to the notion.

Theme-IX: Comparison of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad in Joining Political / Electoral Alliances:

Question-1 Do you agree with the decision of Jamaat-i-Islami under the leadership of Mian Tufail Muhammad to join the PNA in the General Elections 1977?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Agree	230	58.1
Neutral	90	22.7
Disagree	76	19.2
Total	396	100.0

Regarding Mian Tufail Muhammad's decision to join PNA in 1977, 230 (58.1%) respondents agreed, 90 (22.7%) remained neutral, while 76 (19.4%) expressed disagreement with the statement.

Question-2 Do you agree with the decision of Jamaat-i-Islami under the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmad to join the IJI electoral alliance in 1988 and 1990 General Elections?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Agree	153	38.6
Neutral	69	17.5
Disagree	174	43.9

Total	396	100.0
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In relation to the decision of Jamaat-i-Islami, led by Qazi Hussain Ahmad, to align with IJI in 1988 and 1990, 153 (38.6%) respondents supported the stance, 69 (17.5%) remained neutral, and 174 (43.9%) opposed the decision.

Theme-X: Decisions of Electoral Boycott by Jamaat-e-Islami under the leadership of Mian Tufail Muhammad and Qazi Hussain Ahmad:

Question-1 Do you agree with the decision of Jamaat-i-Islami under the leadership of Mian Tufail Muhammad to participate in the non-party elections of 1985 during the Martial Law regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, nevertheless the nationwide boycott by all major political parties of Pakistan?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Agree	235	59.3
Neutral	79	19.9
Disagree	82	20.8
Total	396	100.0

Regarding Jamaat's decision, under the leadership of Mian Tufail Muhammad, to participate in the party-less elections of 1985 conducted by General Zia's military regime, in spite of all major political parties boycotted these elections, 235 individuals (59.3%) of respondents supported the notion, 79 (19.9%) remained neutral, while 82 (20.8%) opposed it.

Question-2 Do you agree with the decisions of Jamaat-i-Islami under the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmad to boycott the general elections of 1997 and 2008 though all mainstream political parties participated in these elections?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Agree	69	17.4
Neutral	51	12.9
Disagree	276	69.7
Total	396	100.0

When queried about Jamaat's decisions, led by Qazi Hussain Ahmad, to boycott the general elections of 1997 and 2008, whereas all mainstream political parties participated in these elections, 69 (17.4%) respondents expressed agreement, 51 (12.9%) chose neutrality, while 276 (69.7%) respondents opposed the notion.

Conclusion:

Applying the theory of transformational leadership and considering the quantitative analysis, it is evident that Qazi Hussain Ahmad significantly advanced Jamaat-i-Islami beyond the achievements of Mian Tufail Muhammad. While Mian Tufail Muhammad

excelled in enhancing the ideological stability of the party, particularly in Theme VI, the survey results indicate that Qazi Hussain Ahmad outperformed his predecessor in most other areas.

Despite the controversial decisions to boycott the 1997 and 2008 general elections, which were not well-received by respondents and left lasting impacts on the party, Qazi Hussain Ahmed introduced innovative strategies that boosted the party's popularity. These included nationwide initiatives such as the 'Caravan Dawat-wo-Muhabbat', the establishment of the youth organization Pasban, the experiment with the Islamic Front, the Million March, and the politics of sit-ins.

A notable accomplishment of his leadership was distancing the party from its previous image of supporting military regimes by clearly opposing General Musharraf. This comparative analysis clearly demonstrates Qazi Hussain Ahmad's effectiveness in engaging with the public. He successfully attracted a diverse demographic, including youth, minorities, and women, to Jamaat-i-Islami, and played a dynamic and influential role in national politics through various political and electoral alliances.

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