

LEADERSHIP CRISIS AMONG THE RELIGIOUS AND NON-RELIGIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN

Nafisah Wali*

Shabana Shamaas Gul Khattak**

Abstract: *As the growing importance of leadership in the worldwide politics, this study is endeavoring to focus on the appealing issue of leadership crisis in the political sphere of Pakistan with special references to religious political parties. The scholarship about the religious political parties in Pakistan and their leadership crises are limited in terms of their cause and effects relationship in the local politics. Therefore, we attempted to engage our readers with the assessment of the leadership crisis among the religious political parties and the aftereffects on Pakistani politics. This study considers quanto-qualitative method of research, following explanatory research design of two phases of mixed-method research approach. The findings of the study show that distance from modern education, conflict among different school of thoughts, vague understanding of Islam, gap between practice and theory, and low education qualifications are some of the basic causes of leadership crisis among Pakistani religious political parties. This leadership crisis affects Pakistani politics in different perspectives, however at the same time acclaimed that this leadership crisis is more common among non-religious political parties based on character duality, dishonesty and corrupt culprits.*

Keywords: Leadership, Crisis, Religious Political Parties, Politics, Pakistan,

*Nafisah Wali is MPhil Scholar at National Institute of Pakistan Studies (NIPS), Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.

**Shabana Shamaas Gul Khattak is a Corresponding Author and working as Assistant Professor at Department of History and Pakistan Studies, International Islamic University, Islamabad.

Introduction

Leadership crisis is a common global subject. The problem is more prevalent in South Asia, specifically in democratic suffering countries, Pakistan is one of them. To precede the research paper, first we would define the phrase “leadership crisis”. In general, the word leadership is a quality, ability or capacity to lead mass or followers in true direction. According to Yates (2003-2004) leadership is a person or more than one person those who give transparent farsighted vision of the future in contemporary era to his/her followers in a kind way that the followers pursue the vision as light in darkness. The true leaders act as a model to the people. So, to speak about an ideal leader maintains individual uniqueness of their followers with unity; in a sense always does effort to grow unity with crushing detested diversities.¹

The interconnected word of leadership and crisis, which means vary from researcher to researcher as well as situation to situation or phenomenon to phenomenon, however, our focus is on political crisis in the scene of leadership. According Webster;

The word, ‘crisis’ means an unstable or crucial time of state, country, nation affairs in which a decisive change is impending: especially one with the distinct possibility of a highly undesirable outcome for instance financial crisis or the nation’s energy crisis.²

Thus, to focus on “leadership crisis”, which is a burning topic of discussion and analysis of the postmodern age, therefore, cannot confine the subject to limited definitions. In political narrative “leadership crisis” is a premature strategy of leaders to address and deal mass appealing issues, low level of motivation to lead mass, incapability to maintain unity among people, and ambiguity in manifesto itself as well as gap between leaders’ words and actions. Furthermore,

¹Michael, Yates. *The 4E’s – Envision, Enable, Empower and Energize* (Paris: Oxford Executive Education, 2003-2004).

²Ekpo Aloysius B and Onweh Vincent Eze, “Coping with the Global Economic Crisis: A Challenge to Technical Vocational Education and Training in Nigeria,” *An International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia* Vol. 6 No. 3 (2012): 166.

leadership crisis mostly analyzed on bases of leaders' performance like how to tackle the unseen crisis and so on.³

The phenomenon is more common in social, political and religious spheres, especially in third world countries. According to Elman and Warner;

Religious political parties are political parties that are recognized as organizations that participate in the elections to win political offices and advance (or advance) religious-inspired goals, including parties that have not won political office or achieved marginal success only in doing so. Religious politics propose or develop religious-inspired goals in a variety of ways, and the goals may differ in themselves: the common thread is that they are religiously motivated in some way. Some religious political parties may be coincident with ethnic parties; that is, the nature of the religion and ethnicity are such that the two almost always go together.⁴

In Pakistan, there are many religious political parties (RPPs) but for the purpose of this study we will focused on the following mainstream political parties; Jumat-i-Islami Pakistan, JamiatUlema-i-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman Group), Sunni Itehad Council, JamiatUlema-i-Islam Pakistan, Mutahida Deeni Mahaz, and the upraising party Tehrik-e-Labaik Ya Rasullul Allah.

It is worthwhile to briefly review the under-study RPRs for our readers.

Jumat-i-Islami Pakistan (JI)

JI came into existence in 1941 by Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi, a renowned religious scholar of the Indian Subcontinent. It is one of the oldest Islamic revivalist movement and political party. The ideology of this social movement was to promote Islamic values and practices in British India and to serve the Muslim community under the banner of Islam. Initially, Maudoodi rejected the creation of an independent state for Muslim, but after

³Jaques Tony, "Crisis leadership: a view from the executive suite," *Journal of Public Affairs* Vol. 12 No. 4 (2012).

⁴Miriam Fendius Elman and Carolyn Warner, "Democracy, Security, and Religious Political Parties: A Framework for Analysis," *Asian Security* Vol. 4 No. 1 (2008) 17.

independence, he moved to Pakistan and struggled for making Pakistan an Islamic model state. Maudoodi portrayed the JI as the moral guardians of Pakistan, a holy community that keep itself away from the politics⁵. The manifesto of JI emphasized the formation of government through the democratic process and rule of the Quran and Sunnah.

In 1948 JI participated in the country's politics through their campaign of establishing an Islamic state. It served as a pressure group⁶. In 1953, JI led 'Direct Action' against the *Ahmadiyya*, who the JI believed should be declared non-Muslims. Although the party failed to control the central power of the state but has a vital role in significant political events in the history of Pakistan. For instance, JI occupied a central role during the constitutional debate of 1956 and 1973, resulting in the inclusion of the Islamic provisions in the constitution of 1973. The party was not in favour of Zia's Islamization, Afghan war and martial law.⁷ Siraj ul Haq is the present Ameer of JI.

Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman Group) (JUI-F)

JUI-F is a religious political party that believe and participate in parliamentary politics of the state. It was originated by Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman in 1980 as result of rejecting General Zia 's military rule and enforcement of Wahabi Islam in Pakistan. JUI-F follows the Sunni Deobandi school of thought.⁸

The ideology of the party aspires to the enforcement of Sharia Law in Pakistan⁹. According to party manifesto, the state must adopt an Islamic constitution defining "Muslim" to entail belief in the finality of the Prophet Muhammad, thus excluding Ahmadis; allowing

⁵Roy Jakson, *Mawlana Mawdudi and Political Islam: Authority and the Islamic State* (Routledge, 2010)

⁶Sheikh Jameil Ali, *Islamic Thought and Movement in the Subcontinent: A Study of Sayyid Abu A'la Mawdudi and Sayyid Abdu Hasan Ali Nadwi* (New Dehli: D.K. Printworld, 2010)

⁷Manzoor Khan Afridi, TabiUllah, and UzmaGul, "Electoral Politics of Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan (1987-2009)," *Global Social Sciences Review* Vol.1 No.1 (2016): 58-76.

⁸Sidra Karamat, Ali Sha

n Shah, and Bilal Bin Liaqat, "JamiatUlema-e-Islam (F) Pakistan: From Political Conservatism to Modernity 2002-2018," *Global Regional Review (GRR)* Vol.4 No.4 (2019)

⁹Zia Ur Rehman, "Militants Turn Against Pakistan's JUI-F Islamist Party," *CTC Sentinel* Vol.1 No.4 (2012)

only Sunnis to serve as head of state; making congregational prayers compulsory, and banning perceived “anti-Islam” missionaries. The manifesto also addressed social issues such as equal housing and job opportunities, the free dispensation of justice and freedom of the press. Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Islam (F) 2013 Election manifesto include the equal rights of minorities in Pakistan under the state’s law. It also assured the freedom of religion, human rights, and unbiased access to justice to the religious minorities.

The party condemned the militant activities and terrorism in the Tribal Belt of Pakistan adjoining Afghanistan and encouraged peace talks between the State forces and the Taliban. Besides, JUI-F has control of a large madrassa network in Pakistan¹⁰. The party has functioned primarily as a “party of the masses” for which electoral success is critical. That has provided it opportunities to establish provincial governments and access to federal cabinets.

Sunni Itehad Council (SIC)

In May 2009, the Bareilvi political parties and apolitical groups aligned as *Sunni Itehad Council* (SIC) against the religious extremism and terrorism in Pakistan. The main factor behind this alliance was repeated attacks on shrines across Pakistan during 2006 by the militants.¹¹ The members of SIC included JUP, Jamaat Ahl e Sunnat (JAS) and Sunni Tehreek and Tanzeemul Madaris (STTM). SIC strongly opposed any amendments to blasphemy laws and supported the assassin (Mumtaz Qadri¹²) of ex Punjab governor, Salman Taseer.¹³

On 14 August 2009, SIC held a demonstration and organized a Peace March in Rawalpindi in order to condemn religious extremism and terrorism and to express solidarity with the state’s military in the war against terror in Swat valley. The party also held a demonstration in Punjab against extremist attacks on sufi shrines and the government’s inability to stop them. In November 2010, SIC organized a convention in Islamabad for the same cause, in which more

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Muhammad Suleman, (2018). Institutionalisation of Sufi Islam after 9/11 and the Rise of Bareilvi Extremism in Pakistan. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(2), 6-10.

¹² Assassinator of ex Punjab Governor late Salman Taseer in 2011, after he publicly voiced his support for Asia Bibi (Christian woman accused for blasphemy)

¹³ Joshua T White, “Beyond moderation: dynamics of political Islam in Pakistan,” *Contemporary South Asia* Vol.20 No.2 (2012): 179-194

than 5000 Barelvi scholars participated, and organized Long March from Islamabad to Lahore. SIC also issued a *fatwa* against suicide bombing.¹⁴

The current chairman of SIC is Sahibzada Hamid Raza. Although SIC was established as a non-political platform it is registered as a political party with the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) in 2010.

Jamiat-e-Ulema-i-Islam Pakistan (JUP)

The origin of Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) is traced to 1948, a year after the independence of Pakistan. It was under the leadership of Barelvi Ulema Akhunzada Mohammad Abdul Ghafoor Hazravi, who played an active role in the Pakistan Movement (1940-47) by supporting the Muslim League. The party was formally established on 28th March 1948 at *Madrasah-i-Islamiah Arabiah Anwaral al ulum*, Multan, the Markazi (Central) Jamiatul-Ulema-i-Pakistan (MJUP)¹⁵. JUP manifesto and ideology focused on the strict enforcement of Shariah law and making Pakistan a true Islamic state. It also propagated Islamic teachings among the Muslims and encouraged the spirit of *Jihad* (Holy war) among the young people. It also struggled for the recognition of Prophet (SAW) and his deeds.¹⁶

Until 1970 JUP worked as a religious party, but during 1970 general election the party launched as a religio-political party to participate in the country's policies implementation and gain power. It was under the leadership of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani. The party remains successful in this general election and won seats in the National Assembly. During the reign of General Zia, JUP opposed the military rule due to Zia's adoption of Wahabi Islamic structure. JUP also opposed the anti-Soviet *Jihad* in Afghanistan.

During the 1990 election, the party's relationship with PML-N split it into two groups. The faction of Noorani joined the *Pakistani Awami Ittehad*, while the faction of Maulana Abdul

¹⁴AarishUllah Khan, "Sunni Ittehad Council: The Strengths and Limitations of Barelvi Activism against Terrorism," *Institute for Regional Studies* Vol.1 No.7 (2011)

¹⁵Muhammad Rizwan, Manzoor Ahmed, and Saima Gul, "Ideology and politics of Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (1947-1973)," *Global Social Sciences Review* Vol.3 No.1 (2018): 44-55.

¹⁶Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst, 2012)

Sattar Niazi, another JUP leader joined PML-N. After the death of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani's in 2003, the party experienced internal disputes that affected its strength and position in politics. Currently, JUP exists as a skeleton organization. The party played a rightist role in the interplay of Islam and politics in Pakistan.

Mutahida Deeni Mahaz (MDM)

The Muttahida Deeni Mahaz (MDM) was formed during the 1993 election. It was a group of five religious parties under the leadership of Maulana Sami ul Haq of the Jamiat-Ulema-i-Islam-Sami (JUI-S)¹⁷. It was an alliance of Sunni religious parties to contest the 1993 election and to win it strategically. The most prominent parties of MDM were *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan* (SSP) and JUI-S. Unfortunately, MDM met with a huge failure to attract and gain the attention and support of the voters and lost the chance to win a big victory as they only secured 3 slots of the National Assembly seats and failed to achieve a good proportion of electorates support.

Tehrik-e-Labaik Ya Rasullul Allah (TLYRA)

Tehrik-e-Labaik Ya Rasullul Allah was formed in 2016 following the execution of Mumtaz Qadri. It was basically a movement led by the religious leader Khadim Hussain Rizvi, an Islamic scholar from the Barelvi School of thoughts. Later this movement transformed into a hard-line politico-religious party known as *Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan* (TLP). The party manifesto included promises to make Pakistan a welfare state, to end terrorism and corruption, to uphold the sanctity of Islam's Holy Prophet (SAW), and to safeguard the belief in the finality of Prophethood. It demands the establishment of Sharia law as the fundamental law in the state.

Within the political arena, TLP strongly supports the efforts to strengthen the blasphemy laws, advocating the death penalty for those proposing amendments to blasphemy laws in Pakistan¹⁸. They carried out demonstration and protests against the reforms in blasphemy laws and criticized the government of Pakistan for changing the *Khatm e Nabuwat* (finality of

¹⁷Andrew R Wilder, "Changing patterns of Punjab politics in Pakistan: National assembly election results, 1988 and 1993," *Asian Survey* Vol.35 No.4 (1995): 377-393.

¹⁸Muhammad Suleman, "Institutionalisation of Sufi Islam after 9/11 and the Rise of Barelvi Extremism in Pakistan," *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* Vol.10 No.2 (2018): 6-10.

Prophethood clause) from ‘solemnly swear’ to ‘declare’.¹⁹ They demanded the resignation of Mr. Zahid Hamid, Law and Justice Minister for his alleged role in this connection. Along with criticizing the government for providing the opportunity for softening the blasphemy laws, it slammed the other (Non-Barelvi) religious leaders for not protesting against the amendment in the Election Bill 2017.

As a movement, TLP remained part of the politics of agitation, mass protest; demonstrations, sit-in, and rallies. They grew stronger with the support of the young people from lower-middle-class of the Barelvi community. It has employed social media platforms to propagate its manifesto and ideology. Currently it is promoting extremism against the Ahmedi community along with blasphemy law.²⁰

Research Statement

We scrutinize leadership crisis of RPPs and its effects on political crisis in Pakistan.

Aims and Objectives

We have two broad aims in this study;

- To examine leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan
- To explore causes and effect’s relationship of RPPs leadership crises on Pakistani politics

Methodology

Quantitative and Qualitative methods are employed in a sequence. Data is collected through questionnaires distribution among students at Office for Information Research Centre, Islamabad. The questionnaires possess both close-ended and open-ended questions. The data collected through questionnaires was analyzed by data analysis tool excel. In the second section, we collected data through qualitative channel by conducting interviews of a Jamat-e-Islami(JI) leader in his Islamabad office, who was randomly selected for this semi-structured interviews.

¹⁹Abdul Basit, “Barelvi Political Activism and Religious Mobilization in Pakistan: The Case of Tehreek-e-Labaik Pakistan (TLP),” *Politics, Religion & Ideology* Vol.21 No. 3(2020): 374-389.

²⁰Muhammad Suleman, “Nationalisation of Sufi Islam after 9/11 and the Rise of Barelvi Extremism in Pakistan,” *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* Vol.10 No.2 (2018): 6-10.

This study will discuss and analyse the JI leaders' point of views through lexical coding for generalization. Research ethical considerations; interviewees' confidentialities and anonymity were guaranteed.

This study is not free of limitations, for example, the study has done a small questionnaires survey. The sample of the study is only researchers of the Office of Research Innovation and Commercialization (ORIC), Islamabad. To speak face to face, interviews were conducted of the only one JI leader due non-availability of other leaders in Islamabad, time constraints of the project due date; and scarcity of resources. It is suggested that future researchers overcome the limitations of the study that can be useful to conduct research on a large-scale survey in different location of the country, interviewing major RPPs' leaders. More studies can verify the correlation of cause and effect relationships by comparing different Muslim countries. Those comparative studies of RPPs and non-RPPs in Pakistan would be desirable.

Literature Review

It is explored as world phenomenon among RPPs, that they lost their true spirit whenever tried to fit their notion in existing democratic system of the country in order to enhance their political end. For the purpose of access to common voters beyond religious voters, they (RPPs) endeavor to moderate their motives in accordance of the prevailed situation.²¹ This strategy mostly becomes cause of their political crisis because they do not able to justify two diverse notions at the same time, as a result people loss confidence on them (RPPs) whatever they do social work, free of corruption and high morale.²²

These RPPs play very dominant role in politics of Pakistan because of politicizing Islam in the new born state since its inception. The emergence of RPPs or Islamic Political Parties (IPPs) has divergent by its origin. One founded Islamic party further divided in many fractions. Each party sticks to its own school of thought. The rigidness is always there in the political

²¹Nazeer, Ahmad. *Political Parties in Pakistan along Way Ahead*, (Islamabad: Centre for Democratic Governance, 2004).

²²Ibid.

nature of RPPs/IPPs. The divergence and rigidness create absence of true leader as well as craft internal crisis and become cause stumpy reflection of Islam in international level.²³

There are many types of political parties such as democratic, liberal, conservative, leftist, rightist and religious. The Islamic or religious-political parties are one of them. These RPPs are prominent phase in politics of the world. This phase can emerge to the towering point; the impediment in their way to elevation is their diverse ideology.²⁴ However, there is none any other dominant RPPs in Pakistan except Jumat-e-Isami.²⁵

According Dijk and Kaptein, Islamic or religious political party is an organization or platform, where Muslims have license to be part of the organization and actively participate in political activities under supervision of the party's leadership.²⁶

The existing literature on RPPs in Pakistan reflects that in Pakistan they are dominant political parties but at the same time failed to compete or get ahead with the other political parties in Pakistan as well as on international level. Most of the literature on the subject shows the reasons of diverse ideology and lack of democratic and political understanding. Thus, we would attempt to explore leadership crises among RPPs and causes of their failure in Pakistani politics. There is lack of literature to investigate the impact of RPPs crisis in Pakistani politics. The study will probe, what are effects of leadership crisis among RPPs on politics of Pakistan and would give a baseline for future researcher and fill the gap and to extend in the existing literature.

²³Asia Report, "Islamic Parties in Pakistan" International Crisis Group, accessed July 30, 2018.
<https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/216%20Islamic%20Parties%20in%20Pakistan.pdf>.

²⁴Hussain Haqqani, "Islamism and the Pakistani State," *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* Vol.15 No.1 (2013).

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Kees van, Dijk. and Nico JG. Kaptein. *Islam, Politics and Change: The Indonesian Experience after the Fall of Suharto* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016).

Data Presentation from Quantitative Perspective

Our questionnaires were divided into three parts: the first one was demographic information; the second part was close-ended questions and the third part was open-ended questions about leadership crisis. The questionnaire contained fifteen close-ended questions and three open-ended questions were distributed among 50 participants at ORIC during May, 2018. The questionnaire asked participants about the causes and its effects of leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan. They were asked about the nature of the RPPs: either democratic or not, the existence of leadership crisis in RPPs as compare to other political parties in Pakistan.

Furthermore, we tried to explore, whether *madrasah* education is cause of leadership crisis or distance from modern education is impediment in the way of producing effective leadership in RPPs in Pakistan? We also endeavored to know participants perceptions about the narrative that lack of consensus among RPPs is because of different schools of thoughts which generates hostility among leadership of RPPs for party end. The questionnaire also asked participants whether RPPs have leadership qualities of the Muslim leader like our role model Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him) or not?

We analyzed and tabulated the collected data. The statements are justified through five levels: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, and Neutral, Agree and Strongly agree as shown in below table;

Table 1.1

tem. No.	Statements	S D 1				A
.	RPPs in Pakistan are democratic parties	0 .14%	3%	4%	9%	0
.	RPPs are facing difficulty in leading people because of their leadership crisis.	0 %	4%	4%	2%	0%
.	Leadership crisis is more common in RPPs as compare to other non-RPPs.	1 0%	3%	4%	3%	0%

	Is <i>madrasah</i> education isa main cause of lacking effective leadership among RPPs?	5 %	3%	9%	3%	%
	RPPs failed to win elections with majority due to their lack of sources.	0 %	4%	9%	3%	4%
	Distance from modern education among RPPs is hindrance in producing an effective leadership in Pakistan	1 0%	9%	9%	8%	4%
	Leadership crisis among RPPs effects politics in Pakistan.	1 0%	4%	%	3%	3%
	RPPs choose their party leader according to the four rightly guided caliphs' method	3 8%	3%	%	9%	%
	RPPs are more skilful in religious matters as compare to political matters.	5 %	0%	9%	3%	4%
0	Conflict among different religious schools of thoughts is also a cause of leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan	0 %	0%	4%	2%	4%
1	I avoid casting vote to religious political parties due to their orthodox thoughts.	1 0%	%	4%	8%	3%
2	I wish RPPs win election 2018	1 4%	0%	8%	9%	9%
3	If RPPscame in power they, will launch Islamic system in Pakistan successfully	0 %	4%	3%	8%	%

4	There is a wide gap between Leadership of Pakistani RPPs and the leadership of Prophet Muhammad (SAW)	0%	%	%	2%	8%
5	RPPs properly conduct intra party election	0%	0%	3%	3%	4%

We strived to explore answers of the research questions through the above said results to explore leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan, as shown from the above table leadership crisis is more common among RPPs as compare to non-RPPs in Pakistan. 52% participants were agreed that leadership crisis exists in RPPs in Pakistan and 33% respondents were disagreed about the statement. In the questionnaires the research put different but common undertaken causes of leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan such as; *madrasah* education, lack of modern education, conflicts among religious schools of thoughts, and a gap between leadership of Pakistani RPPs and the universal role-model for the Muslim leadership the Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

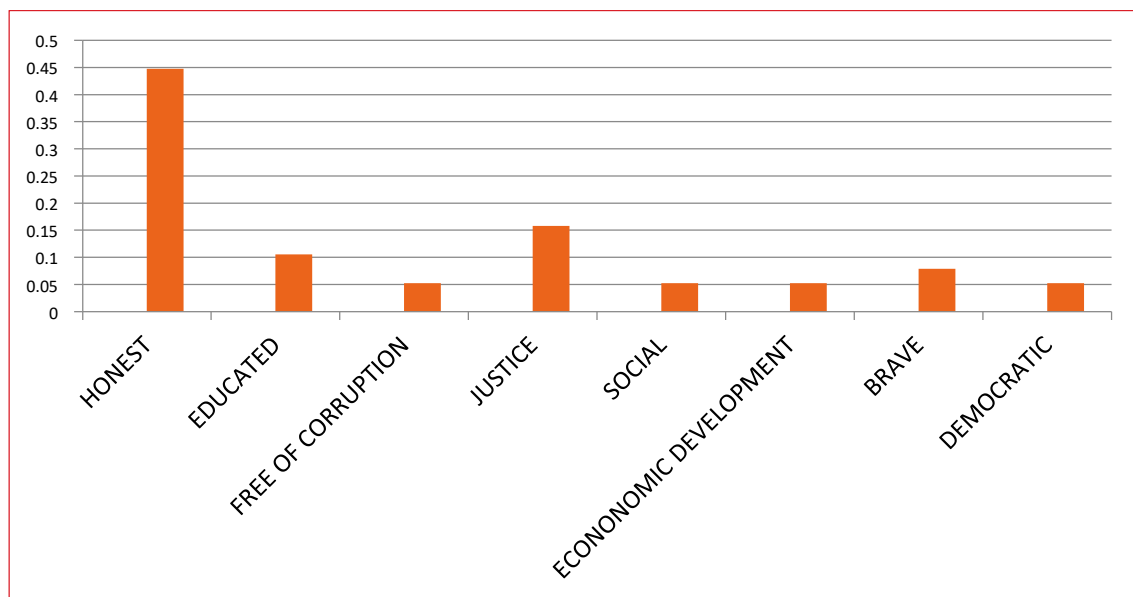
Furthermore, 43% participants were disagreed and 33% were agreed that *madrasah* education is cause of leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan. 38% participants believed that distance from modern education is a main hurdle in producing an ideal leadership among RPPs. Merely 19% were disagreed and 19% went with the neutral option. Majority of the participants (42%) were agreed and 48% were strongly agreed that there is gap between leadership of Pakistani RPPs and the universal prominent leadership of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

According to the questionnaire result, 52% agreed that the main cause of RPPs leadership crisis is conflict among their religious school of thoughts. However, an unacknowledged cause of the leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan is immature political skills and leanings of the day. The results show that 43% respondents were agreed and 28% were strongly agreed that religious political leaders are more skillful in religious matters as compare to political ones.

Section Two; Open-ended Questions

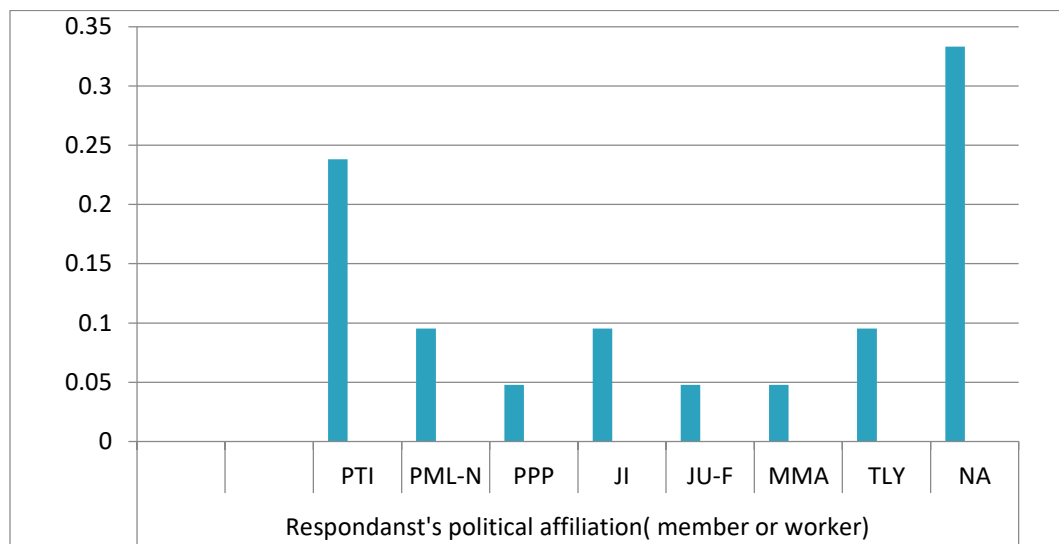
Along the close-ended questions we also asked two-open ended questions. The first question was asked to write any three characteristics of an ideal leadership. First, we categorized data in to different themes, and then presented in shape of chart. Here, in the chart 57% participants have idealized “honesty” as the foremost characteristic of an ideal leader in RPPs in Pakistan, while 15% respondents claimed “justice” is crucial feature of the good leadership. Only 10% participants have given priority to education. Free of corruption, courage, social interaction and democratic behavior remained in parallel of 5%.

Figure 1.1: Participant’s perception of an ideal leadership in RPPs in Pakistan



In the second open-ended question the participants were asked to show affiliation of any political party or religious political party in Pakistan. The purpose of this question was to explore, young generation preference and interest in their chosen political party, also, to understand the participant’s tendency and support to the political or RPPs in Pakistan. Their results are shown in the following graph.

Figure: 1.2

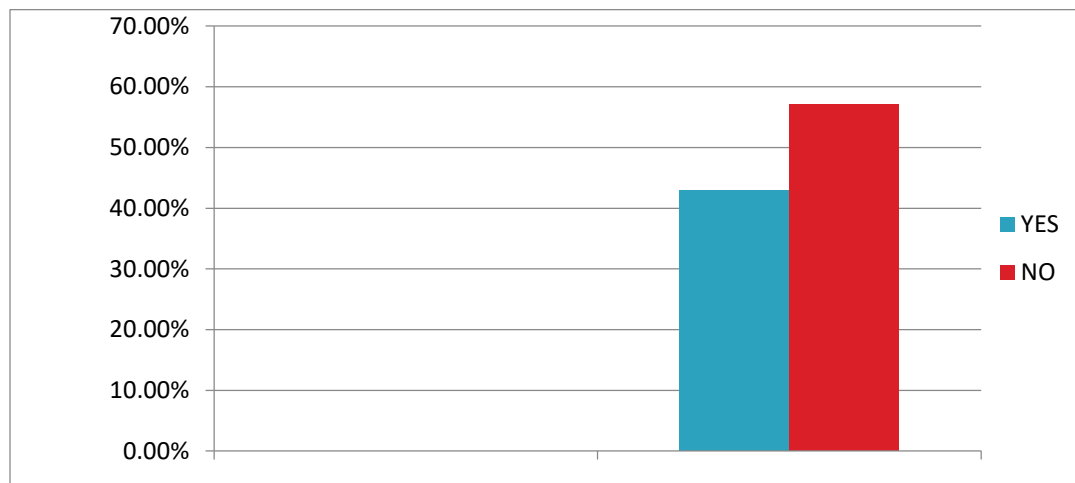


Here we can see that 24% associated to PTI. TLY, JI and PML-N are in same balance of 10%. MMA, PPP, and JUI-F are found in low priority of the participants as compared to 5%. 33% participant asserted, they have no affiliation with any political party in Pakistan and have no intention to get association in future, that is shown with code word NA (not applicable).

However, not a single respondent mentioned a reason of why they are avoiding participating and affiliate in political parties and only three participants noted down time period of their affiliation with political parties that was between 3-6 years. Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf merged as a popular party among the young people. However, two RPPs such as Tehrik-e-Labaik and Jamat-e-Islami also got some popularity along Pakistan PML-N.

We endeavored to trig out the opinion of the young people whether they believe the RPPs leadership can be a cause of any future Islamic revolution in Pakistan by asking an open-ended question from the participants of the research study. The participant's responses are being displayed in form of chart for facile understanding.

Figure 1.3: Do you think RPPs can provide a true and effective leadership to bring Islamic revolution in Pakistan? Yes, or not justify in a statement?



In this column we examined that 57.14 % participants were optimistic about RPPs capacity to provide a prominent and effective leadership to bring Islamic Revolution in Pakistan because of their orthodox thoughts, lack of commitments, more interested in their political party and personal interests. They were far-away from latest education and constant in conflict within RPPs itself. Some participants reacted that in Pakistan RPPs failed to win election of NA, then how they can cause an Islamic Revolution? In the history of Pakistan, whenever they are able to form any provincial government, formed with collation of other political parties. 42.86% respondents were optimistic that RPPs would provide true and effective leadership to bring Islamic revolution in Pakistan and also showed sentiments that they will do it. In the way, the participants also argued that lack of resources is a major impediment in the path of RPPs good intention.

Qualitative Data Presentation

We conducted face to face semi-structured interview with Jamat-e-Islami leader at their JI office in Melody Islamabad to possible comprehensive understanding of the study and explore hidden dimensions in words. Also, the interview helped to validate the quantitative data.

The JI leader while answering various semi-structured questions stated that voters should vote a leader (candidate) who possesses four characteristics such as: good character, qualification, his/ her services to masses and good companions. For him, Islamic political leaders especially JI leaders possess mostly all these characteristics as compare to other political leaders

in Pakistan. He further asserted if there is any democratic party in Pakistan that is JI positively. He further added;

Jumat-i-Islami provides opportunities to common people be part of a political party. Other political parties are political properties. Our Ameer, Siraj ul Haq belongs from lower middle class, has studied in government school. He is Ameer-e-Jamat of the South Asian's big Party.

The interviewee stressed on comparison of JI with non-RPPs instead of focusing on the characteristics of true leadership, mostly like politicians averted bitter facts and mechanized sweep statements to beat around bush.

According to the interviewee in the third world countries, specifically in Pakistan, money plays big role in elections. Political lords do ragging in election. IPPs, especially JI will come in power when election system becomes transparent, without money interference in politics and candid role of interim government. Election reforms should be there but the question arises what role RPPs would play to deploy reforms? The politics and democracy of Pakistan is non-functional. The politicians are labeled with stains of corruption except JI, in this regard our think-tanks believed that they did not assumed power enough to be deep economic and financial corrupt. As compare to other political parties' Islamic parties are free of corruption labels specially JI leaders have decreased assets when they enter in politics. He criticized non-RPPs for their corruption by posing question, "*tell me who have increased in factories, mills, companies; political parties or Islamic parties, I am not only talking about JI, I am talking about all religious political parties*".²⁷

The participant defended the formation of MMA by responding;

all political parties make collation government when it becomes necessary, so RPPs also makes collation because RPPs are also part of politics, they are not aliens. We made collation government with PTI in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, when they accepted our 13 points agenda. JI supported PTI against corruption movement, but JI first preferred court rather than protest. However, JI believed peaceful protest is the real beauty of democratic political system. And for a

²⁷ Interview with an official leader (Jamaat-Islami Islamabad), (May 17, 2018)

democracy and functional government best opposition is essential. Now, we made alliance of MMA just not for political end but to counter anti-Islamic propagandas. Islamic sectarian conflicts have divided Muslim world. Pakistan is considered an Islamic country but since 70's till now we found Pakistan closer to secularism. MMA was formed in 2002 for Islamic purpose but end in 2008 that was not good. So, once again RPPs endeavored to revive it". He claimed "I would say with great confidence that though RPPs have lot of sectarian conflict but are better than other political parties in Pakistan. All other non-RPPs are committing ideological, ethical and political corruption.

We are assured of that true and tough opposition is beauty of a democratic government at the same time there should be representation of justice. The RPPs are representation of justice as compare to other corrupt, mafia. He stated;

I would like to inform that a thief never stands against other thief for accountability and justice. All political parties are mostly corrupt. Their politics revolve around their own family. So, it is note able that even scholars, elites, justice and common people accept that if someone qualifies according 62/63 article of 1973 constitution of Pakistan, he is the Ameer of Jamat-i-Islami, Siraj ul Haq.

The interviewee mostly conceptualized a true leadership in terms of personal character and ignored other essential leadership skills to sort out issues from which people suffer.²⁸

Furthermore, he propagated regular presence of JI leaders in cabinet session as good indicator of sincere leadership he further responded:

Even members of NA and Senate did not present on the session, for instance Naeema Kishwar JUI worker is called best performer of the year in NA Pakistan, and four JI workers are part of top ten performers in NA. Siraj ul Haq is also one of the top ten regular senators. These things do matter a lot.

The interviewee highlighted that our society is unaware about the politics of the Holy Prophet (SAW) that is the basic reason of leadership crisis regardless RPPs and non-RPPS. The

²⁸Ibid.

Holy Prophet (SAW) used to say that politics is task of prophets because politics means reforms but unfortunately today, we take it as an abuse, or in wrong connotation.

“The main tragedy of our society is that we all time bother or concern about members, individuals and ignore the system and structure”. However, he averted to answer (interviewer intervened) but system is being made by individuals, so how can we exclude individuals? He highlighted main issues such as; terrorism, corruption, unemployment and lack of justice are the main issues of Pakistan. The most alarming issue is terrorism. People’s life is in danger.²⁹

He claimed that *“Our party has scholars, researchers and advisors who are doing research to encounter and solve these issues”* but not responded on question what practical solution is specially for defrosting of terrorism. He was optimistic for flourishing of RPPs, by stating; *“Insha’Allah, Insha’Allah, Allah will succeed RPPs alliance and we will win the forthcoming election with majority of seats because now people are more aware”.* The interviewee claimed that people have acknowledged that solution and destiny of Islamic Republic of Pakistan is by the RPPs. Hence, he comparatively stated that Pakistan went in loss after death of our charismatic leader and founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in the same way JI also went in loss after death of Mulana Maududi Sahib. However, leadership is better than that of non-RPPs. He also criticized non-RPPs by stating that *“how parties manipulate and misuse radically their founder names because of their Machiavellian type of politics. RPPs, especially JI is transparent in such cases”.* Herejects the notion that RPPs are unable to win election because of leadership crisis and that leadership crisis is due to *madrasah* education. He stated that *“it is a misconception of masses that madrasah education is Islamic education”*, however he agreed on that RPPs are distant from modern education by asserting *“Yes I do accept that RPPs members, workers and leaders are somewhat away from the so called modern education that is education of Cambridge and oxford because as I have mentioned earlier that we do prefer good character first than look for other things”.*³⁰

Qualitative Data Analysis

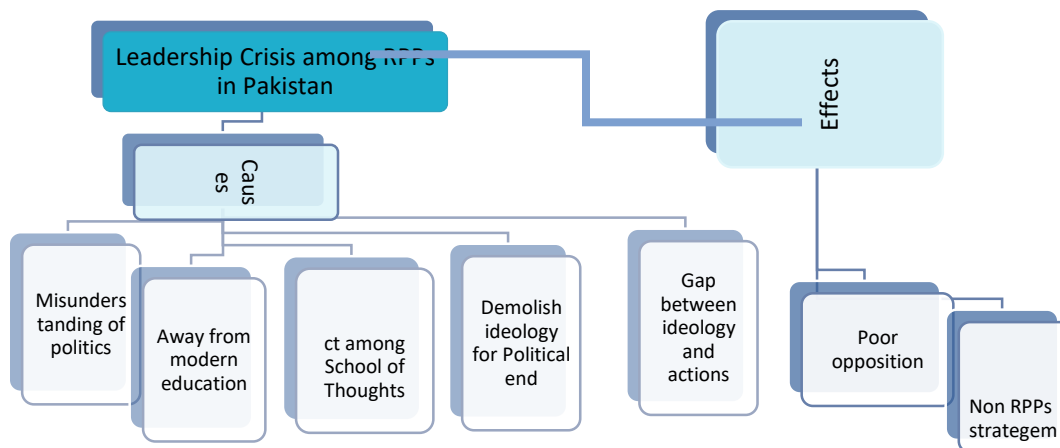
To analysis the qualitative data of our interview by lexical coding, the data showed an

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

interrelationship of causes and effects of RPPs leadership crisis in on Pakistani politics. We draw five causes of the leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan, and three effects of the RPPs leadership crisis in Pakistani politics and shown in flow chart below. The causes are; misunderstanding of true soul of politics, distance from modern education, and conflicts among different schools of thoughts, demolish ideology for political end and gap between theory and practices and effects are; absence of tough and true opposition that further results in lack of accountability and check and balance of the ruling party.³¹

Figure 1.4



The causes such as; misunderstanding of true soul of politics, distance from modern education, and conflict among school of thoughts are due to low or lack of contemporary education qualifications of a leader. A leader with low education qualifications will not be able to handle the uprising conflicts among party and with other parties as well. Similarly, demolish of ideology for political end is indication of ideological crisis among the parties. It is necessary to elaborate that RPPs and non-RPPs ideology is contradicted to each other. In the interview, the interviewee accepts that RPPs political collaboration like JI did with PTI to form Khyber Pukhtunkhwa government and JU-F collation with PML-N. We also noticed, misuse of religion Islam for political collation such as; formation of MMA and is for the purpose to counter

³¹Michael Kalin and Niloufer Siddiqui, *Religious Authority and the Promotion of Sectarian Tolerance in Pakistan* (Washington DC: United State Institute of Peace, 2014).

national and international challenges from one platform. There was a gap between theory and practice is another dilemma of the leadership crisis among political parties. While answering a question the interviewee finds out terrorism, as a top and foremost issue of Pakistan. However, the history shows that RPPs are associated with many defined terrorist groups such as Sipah Sahaba Pakistan and Lashkar-e-Taiba etc. Another noticeable element was the ability of the interviewee to outline the issue but failed to provide any transparent and clear solution of the problem.³²

For further understanding of the causes and effects we will here highlight the characteristics of an ideal leader determined by the JI leader. The four characteristics are shown below in the flow chart and showed to what extent the RPPs possess these qualities. The characteristics that have been determined by the JI leader are crucial in analyzing the interview data. Here, we noticed that the first characteristic that is “good character”; prevails in the entire interview. It shows that the interviewee stressed on the good character of the leader and asserted that RPPs are rich in this character as compare to non-RPPs in Pakistan. As our interviewee referred Chief Justice of Pakistan’s statement that only Siraj-ul-Haq is eligible as leader according article 62 and 63.³³

The last characteristic is “his company”, that he may refer to the uprising scandals of leaders especially non-RPPs in Pakistan. According to the interviewee these two characteristics are in RPPs in Pakistan and non-RPPs are in crisis in essence of these two basic characteristics of RPPs. The two remaining qualities have been discussed with causes and effects above.

Discussion and Conclusion

The leadership crisis among RPPs in Pakistan is the core heart issue since the foundation of these RPPs. It is a meta-narrative that the leadership crisis is more prevalent among RPPs as compare to non-RPPs in Pakistan. This is evident that all RPPs failed to win the general elections

³² Siraj ul Haq (Ameer Jumaat-i-Islami), an Interview with Neo TV Network *Siraj.ul.haq/jamat.e.islami/*, PBS, April 23, 2018.

³³ Mian Muhammad Aslam (Ex MNA from NA-48 Islamabad-1 (2002-2007), of Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba) an Interview with *Sama News*, PBS, April 03, 2013.

due to their lack of resources. The study results show that leadership crisis is more common among non-RPPs as compared to RPPs in Pakistan because money interferes in political game of Pakistan that's why RPPs fail to win general elections to come in to power as a sole representative party/ies of the county. However, RPPs are blamed to be supported financially by different national and international organization.³⁴ As Nadeem Paracha explored historical facts regarding RPPs used as interest groups in different events through granting money by different Pakistani government regimes like Ziaul-Haq (1979-1988) boosted up the notion of Jamat-e-Islami.³⁵ History is full of such examples like that of religious political member's involvement in terrorists' activities of Al-Bader and Al-Shamas organizations.³⁶

Similarly, Haqqani asserted that the RPPs are prominent phase in politics of the world. This phase can emerge to the towering point; the impediment in their way to elevation is their diverse ideology.³⁷ This study also validates the notion that conflict among different schools of thoughts is basic cause of leadership crisis in RPPs in Pakistan.³⁸

*Tareekh Aghar Dhoondegi Saani e Muhammad
Saani tu barh icheet hay, saya bhi na milega [Urdu]*

Translation

The prophet is inimitable, if history endeavored to found someone similar to the Prophet, it will fail to find out even like shadow of the prophet (SAW).

The Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW) is a universal ideal political leader. He (SAW) never did any sort of political stratagem for political ends. His agreements such as Misaq-e-Madina, Sulah-e-Hudaiba and many others are historical political agreement but were not for political end that was for ordinary human. In this study, we find out that the proclaimed followers' religious political leaders of the Holy Prophet (SAW) have had practically failed.

³⁴Maulana Fazlul ur Rehman (president Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F)), an Interview with BBC (Urdu) Pakistan, PBS, November 1, 2017).

³⁵Nadeem F. Paracha, "Pakistan's first two militant Islamist groups: Al-Badar and Al-Shams," *Let Us Build Pakistan (LUBP)*, March 13, 2011.

³⁶Ibid

³⁷Husain Haqqani, *Islamism and the Pakistani State*,

³⁸Ibid.

Their political stratagem like that of MMA formation is for political end rather than human benefits. They use name of Islam in politics but did nothing like teaching of Islam.

To conclude the study, we can say that the politics suffers from the leadership crisis in Pakistan but RPPs are severely criticized because of their misinterpreting the teaching of Islam, misusing of Islam and their involvement in different terrorist activities in the name of peaceful Islam. If there is no corruption allegation on RPPs in Pakistan, in sense of money as compared to non-RPPs, the RPPs are considered corrupt in sense of terrorism, prevalence of sectarian conflicts and mass destruction by creating agitation against state as well as other sects.³⁹The findings indicate that absence of strong religious political leadership severely affects the politics of Pakistan such as poor opposition increase non-religious political stratagem that can lead to corruption, barbarism, despotism and killing of merit. The point to ponder and necessity to explore is what type of political and religious changes occur due to RPPs leadership crisis in Pakistan? What is the permanent solution of the crisis of RPPs in Pakistan? May be these questions base study does not truly solve the issue but can contribute in decreasing the issue and creating awareness among Pakistanis. We can make and display positive image of Pakistan by pondering and reforming such unacknowledged but important issues generally of the world, specifically of third world Muslim countries like Pakistan.

³⁹Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, et al., *Political Role of Religious Communities in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Institute For Security and Development Policy, 2008), 20.