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The Role of Mosque to Avoid Violent Extremism: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Countries

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ABSTRACT

The present project aims to conduct a comparative study between Eastern and Western countries on the role of mosques to avoid violent extremism in society analyzing their functioning. The purposes of the study are to explore the link between mosques and extremism and to draw a policy outline to avoid violent extremism. This is a qualitative study including formal and informal interviews, observations, and secondary data. Theoretically, the concept of Avoid Violent Extremism has been described in the light of a theory, Iannaccone and Berman's (2006) Religious Extremism, and traced the relevant situation in the Pakistani context. Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, and Quetta are the target cities from the Eastern side while Ottawa, New York, Paris, and London are from the Western side. This study reveals that sectarianism is deeply rooted in Pakistani mosques, variety in internal control systems, and lack of administrative regulations. In Western countries, there is scope for the training of Imams with the administrative checks on the performance of mosques and Imams and promoting nationalism. This project outlines a Nation Action Plan to incorporate the role of mosques in the welfare of the country and to avoid violent extremism and promote community resilience.

Keywords: Religious Authority, Freedom of Speech, Check and Balance, Imam, Sectarianism, Community Resilience.

INTRODUCTION

The present study aims to explore the comparative role of contemporary mosques in Eastern and Western countries to analyze the position of mosques in society to Avoid Violent Extremism and to promote community resilience. It deals with the questions, what is the actual role of a mosque, how can it contribute to community resilience, how are contemporary mosques functioning and how do the mosques in Western countries function differently from the mosques in Eastern countries? The purpose of the present study is to suggest an outline for policymakers and practitioners. The institution performed several roles and adopted magnificent architectures throughout Muslim history. The historical practical flexibility and the core characteristics of the mosque, highlight the importance of the study as well, offering a certain opportunity to mold it to meet the contemporary challenges of extremism by making the founding function of mosques more effective and secure.

Hussain Haqqani's Pakistan between Mosque and Military (2005) and the following the Lal Masjid Operation (2007) developed a sense for the role of the mosque that it is anti-government and causes extremism. Later the role of madrassas (religious seminary), notably by previous explicit affiliation with Taliban during the Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989), gained the attention in academia (Looney, 2003; Malik, 2007; McClure, 2009; Qadri, 2018; Hanif, Ali & Shaheen, 2019; Butt, 2020) and law enforcing agencies, however, no research has explored the functioning of mosques in Pakistan. The mosque could not gain much attention in academia to explore it as an institution to contribute to counter violent extremism (CVE) measures, although the mosque has a huge potential to CVE which can be assessed by several studies exploring its contributions to the social, educational, and spiritual development of a community. Although madrassas have direct and indirect relations with mosques. Comparatively a

mosque has a more open and direct relationship with the general public as compared to a madrassa. A madrassa is an education institution for regular students while a mosque is a place of worship, community, and education center open for all Muslims without any formal admission agreement.

Mosque studies is a vast subject overlapping to numerous other studies e.g., architecture, Imam (religious leader/ cleric/chaplain), mosque management committee, mosque custodian, and attendants. Imam has been a center of debate (Hashas,2018; Peter, 2018; Asri, 2018; Gürlesin,2020), the management committee has also got some attention in financial issues and mosque performance (Mohamed, Ab Aziz, Masrek& Daud, 2014; Abdullah& Aini, 2017) while the role of custodian needs to be studied because he works as a head or president having its direct influence on the management committee and Imam.

AVOID VIOLENT EXTREMISM

The phrase, "Avoid Violent Extremism" (AVE), is neither new nor famous, used by Tartakoff (2017) and Baba (2020) with connotations more than a phrase merely to the extent of policy and practice for peace building community to enhance social resilience. For peace builders, Counter Violent Extremism (CVE), a popular term, has been explored through multiple disciplines and employed through numerous strategies (Stephens, Sieckelinck & Boutellier, 2019) and Holmer (2013) seems at the challenge to define 'violent extremism' because of its diverse factors, psychological and social elements within the various societies and often unpredictable aspects which make it complex. But Daniel Benjamin, as a coordinator of the State Department of Counterterrorism, defines CVE in its broader sense with special reference to Pakistan as "efforts to stop those most at risk of radicalization from becoming terrorists" (USIP, 2012). Here distinctively AVE is preferred to be defined as, "to replace the opportunities offering violent extremism by welcoming healthy and beneficial activities".

The switching from 'Counter' to 'Avoid' is not the rise of a new vocabulary merely as nearly happened between 'Counter' and 'Prevent' as P/CVE (EC, 2017) although Stephens, Sieckelinck, and Boutellier (2019) tried to describe the difference between 'Counter' and 'Prevent' through reviewing the literature. For an explicit view, a brief semantic study of these possible literal alternatives in the vast discipline of violent extremism seems

significant. 'Counter' gives the sense of 'combat', 'Prevent' of 'stop', and the sense of 'choose other' can be extracted from 'avoid'. According to this literal meaning, CVE is the state of war, PVE is the state of control but not resolved and AVE will be the next step to resolve by launching alternative and mutually beneficial tasks. These three terms can be translated into easy understanding through Iannaccone and Berman's (2006) theory of "Religious extremism: The good, the bad, and the deadly". CVE is used for deadly in which violent extremism is needed to be countered through armed measures. PVE is used for the bad in which extremism can be controlled through dialogues and other measures. AVE can be used for the situation which is stable while people are being impressed and involved in extremism or the factors which can lead the people to violent extremism must be replaced by the healthy factors and opportunities to make the people busy in beneficial tasks to avoid violent extremism.

AVE is also significant in CVE because when violent extremism factors are controlled by using arms and forces then some healthy factors must be launched to avoid the people's re-engagement with violent extremism factors. Although CVE is also explained as a soft approach against terrorism (Stephens, Sieckelinck & Boutellier, 2019; Rana, 2015), it does not deal with the concept of providing a good option to avoid bad. CVE has been emerged to counter terrorism in a broader effort by international and national security policymakers (Holmer, 2013). While, in AVE, the local institutions dealing with violent extremism have to provide healthy opportunities to the people which makes them busy in healthy and beneficial activities; in this way, people will be avoided automatically from violent extremism.

After the PeP declaration, the ideological and physical support of the terrorists and violent extremists has been blocked at the national level and the situation is no longer deadly although it cannot be called well because of prevalent terrorism instinct. So, the situation is between deadly and good which can be turned either way. To gain the ultimate results of the NAP, the bad should be replaced by good. For this purpose, the project explores the status of the contemporary mosque and its role in AVE.

MOSQUE

The literal meaning of 'Mosque' is the 'place of prostration' (Warraich & Feroze, 2007; Sulaiman, Siraj,

& Ibrahim, 2008). Ibn Manzūr (1990) also described the root of the word 'Masjid' as *sajada-yasjudu-sujūdan* means prostration, bowing, and submission (Lisan al-Arab, 1997). Oxford Dictionary defines it as "a place of Muslim worship" (Malik & Hamid, 2014). It is the place of spiritual and educational practices (Ab Rahman et al., 2012; Zaimeche, 2002).

The founding function of a mosque is worship, but it had been maintained as an administration office, its pulpit (minbar) was authorized as a constitutional chair, and it was an educational institute as well. In the period of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), security matters, social aspects, economic aspects, and management of state were dealt with in the mosque (Razak, Hussein, & Muhammad, 2014). Arab had become a developed society from primitive times because of the mosque which also played its role as an educational institution (Khan, 1985). Now, especially in Pakistan, the state administration has little authority on mosque affairs. The change in the roles of mosques is gradual which spread across centuries. By the inclusion of monarchy in the Islamic state, the constitutional status of the pulpit was moved, de facto, to the monarch's throne, while the judges (Qadhi) were the Imams and mosque also flourished as a school and a university during the medieval period (Collins, 2011) and continued until the colonial era (Tamuri et al, 2012). Later, in the colonial period and afterward, especially in the subcontinent, a mosque was considered solely a place of worship. British Indian government could not regulate mosque affairs to avoid the repulsion and Muslims after 1857 rebellion and it developed into a self-reliant community center having entire freedom with the condition that they will not rebel against the government.

The Unique Importance of The Mosque

A mosque is the emblem of Islamic society (Isgandarova, 2009). Muslims gather five times a day to offer prayer leaving their business, family, and the rest. A weekly gathering is held on Friday and Islamic teaching, values, beliefs are delivered by a sermon. All Muslims appear diligently leaving material benefits in the mid of the day and listen to sermons carefully and offer prayer without any special invitation and foodstuff or lunch. Such diligence and care shape their feelings and thinking patterns. This significance can be figured out by comparative efforts of an event to gather one thousand men in office time of a working day, whereas from 150 to 5000+ men gather by their own in capital mosques on

Friday. So, this unique importance indicates that the mosque is the most powerful and influential institution as compared to any other authority and institution.

Mosque as a tool of Moderation in The Light of the Holy Quran

Mosque as an institute promotes moderation in the community. The Quranic theory of mosque is centered on moderation. In Quran, Muslims are called a moderate community (2:142) and the mosque (the house of Allah) is a place of utter peace (2:125). Allah Almighty addresses the Muslims by the name of 'the believers' (Mo'min) because of their efforts (of being moderate) through patience and worship (2:153) in Heavenly trial through fear and hunger and loss in wealth, fruits, and lives (2:155). Patience seems the final stage of moderation, one has to adopt it in the time of disturbance to avoid being extremist. A believer (moderate Muslim) remains steadfast in prayer (2:3). The duty of establishing worship makes people organized and restrains them to be extremists like psychotherapists. It enhances a balance between professional life and spiritual purification (The Friday, 9).

The piousness (Tak'wa) is a cardinal trait for the moderation of a Muslim, and it has been declared essential for the mosque system, management, and attendants. The primary and founding function of a mosque is the worship of Allah Almighty (72:18), the key to moderation because of fear in the hearts of worshipers (23:2). Moderation (piousness, awe) is the condition to enter a mosque, and the person who infringes the founding function is the extremist (2:114). Mosque leader and Imam are two significant pillars of the mosque on which the quality of the role is based. According to the Qur'anic charter of the mosque, the guardian or leader of the mosque must be the person who is the most moderate (piousness) in the community (8:34). Similarly, the Imam who leads in the prayer and offers sermons to the community in the mosque is pointed out with his knowledge and notably the piousness trait (25:74, 35:28) which aggrandize him as a moderator. Mosque maintenance is the responsibility of monotheists who are moderators (piousness), believe in Hereafter, and fulfill the duties of prayer and welfare (9:18). Without piousness, a Muslim can't be a believer, and, in a Muslim society, the communal affairs are preferred to be addressed by the moderate people otherwise extremism prevails. So, it can be said that mosque, in CVE measures, is the most significant tool for

moderation in the light of the characteristics which have been described in the Holy Quran because all the characteristics deal with piousness and moderation.

METHODOLOGY

This project has been designed as a comparative study to get a step closer to its aim of exploring the role of mosques to avoid violent extremism. This is because comparatively a lesser number of violent extremism acts is reported in Europe. Secondly, the academic research has focused on the European mosques through various perspectives while the performance and structures of Pakistani mosques lack academic attention. Thirdly, Freedom of Speech (FoS) is common in selected countries and cities because of democratic systems of government.

Locale and Duration

The review and analysis of the study took place in 4 cities of Pakistan and 4 cities from European countries in the last quarter of 2020. Lahore, Karachi, Quetta, and Peshawar have been selected from Pakistan whereas Ottawa, New York, Paris, and London have been selected from European countries. These cities have been preferred because of their representative status. For instance, Lahore is the capital and representative city of Punjab and Paris is the capital and representative of France. The variety has been selected to check the ethnolinguistic and socio-cultural impact on the role of the mosque.

Research Tool

For an in-depth analysis, both primary and secondary data have been used. The process has been started by establishing protocols of the research by interviewing the 8 experts, 4 researchers, and 4 Islamic scholars, of mosque studies and community resilience for a better understanding of the main factors. The head of the research team is also an Islamic scholar and has experience of 20 years of delivering a sermon and leading Friday prayer in Karachi and Lahore. So, it is a type of fieldwork, including qualitative formal and informal interviews and observation. The research tool has been designed as structured open-ended questions for formal interviews but the sensitivity of the topic and the respondents' sense of being investigated lead. The researchers were called to informal interviews and observation. The interviews of the respondents from the Western cities of the world have been conducted using Skype and WhatsApp, whereas the data from inside the

respondents from the Pakistani cities have been collected face to face.

Sample Size

A total of 80 Jamia mosques (the grand mosques where the large congregation of weekly Friday prayers and annual Eid prayers are held), (10 from each selected city,) were selected randomly. Within Pakistan, the researcher attended all Friday sermons to observe the content and public behavior of the content. From the West, 30 recordings of Friday sermons were sent to the researchers by the Imams. The remaining 10 sermons were downloaded from the content available on the internet. In Pakistan, one housing society was selected from each city and for the formal interviews of the heads of mosques. The researchers visited two mosques for the interview of Imams, 4 mosques were selected from the old and densely populated residential areas located inside cities while 4 from the commercial areas.

Data Analysis

Formal interviews were transcribed verbatim while the key points were noted through informal interviews and observation. The Collected data was translated into the English language. After the completion of transcription, the data was analyzed manually and was divided according to the factors of violent extremism which overlap with mosque functioning. The data has been reviewed intensively to develop more possible and adaptable recommendations in the light of the opinions of religious and legal authorities.

LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

The early experience of the data collection was much unexpected. Even after being informed of the purpose and nature of the study, some of the respondents refused to participate and some others hesitated. Two of the respondents rhetorically asked about the affiliation of the research with any secret agency. After this experience, it was decided that data will be collected indirectly, and the questions were changed into statements that let them relax and speak about the research focus. Usually, Imams and ordinary people are not aware of the research studies. Moreover, regarding violent extremism, it was not easy to win the trust of the respondents. So, the respondents were approached through personal relations, the persons of trust, and described the study, research question, and purpose of the study.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Mosque System

It is rather a complex task to highlight a common model of mosque functioning. Diversity was noted in mosque functioning because of the presence of many self-regulated systems as a single central regulatory system was found missing in Pakistan. Usually, the imam is dependent and answerable to a mosque committee and custodians who direct him for the sermon topics. Simultaneously, on the other hand, in mosques, the Imam is independent and even deals with its financial issues. Generally, imam, custodians, committee, and attendants are dependent on each other and come up with their internal regulations. So, it was difficult to reach on lack a hard and fast rule to analyze the functioning of all the mosques. Even the developed housing societies, having a very high literacy rate and economically affluent population, do not have uniform mosque regulation systems. It depends on the heads of the mosques to control them at their best. Moreover, a great number of mosques are being controlled directly by the madrassas though not physically attached to the mosques. In Pakistan, mosques are mostly establishing a sectarian basis.

Appraisal

Apart from all desperations and criticism of the contemporary mosque, its achievements and functioning are certainly adorable. Three experts have endorsed to notice the positivity. Almost all the mosques are peaceful, well-functioned, and self-financed. Management committees pay full attention and devotion to their affairs. Imams enjoy respect, love, consideration, and appreciation to an unbelievable extent even within very low pays as compared to the public servants. All the prayers gatherings are performed and executed punctually on time without any minor delay. Above all, in Pakistan, any concern has not been ever recorded by Imams. Almost all Imams are loyal to their countries and governments despite the fact that they are criticized for one reason or the other. They cooperate to every possible extent. Every Friday after prayer, Duais conducted for the security, welfare, and stability of the state. Importantly, mosques in Pakistan have a silent power which has been observed by their regular functioning during COVID19 lockdown; while, in all other countries these are strictly closed. An almost similar situation has been observed in Western countries.

Sectarianism

It is observed that the majority of the mosques are established in the name of a sect or a religious school of thought in Pakistan same as Madrassas. An expert mention, "it is rare one can find a mosque in Pakistan because sect names are being preferred to the name of Allah Almighty in establishing the mosques". So, sectarianism has a strong influence on mosques even after the NAP and PeP by the dint of its founding narrative. In irregular slums societies and unplanned residential areas, people prefer to offer prayer in the mosque of the sect they follow and also indulge in sectarian debates inside and outside mosques which sometimes turns into violent extremism. It is observed that some mosques have been established only because of the sect while already a mosque existed in the same area. A spiritual-religious leader mentions, "he has twice denied joining inauguration ceremony of mosques established merely on a sectarian basis in the locality where already a mosque exists". Defense Housing Authority (DHA) Lahore has controlled the sectarian factor ideally by promoting its slogan, "All Mosques for All Muslims", which leads to zero sectarian cases reported. Without the same words of the slogan, the same narrative has been noticed in the mosques of other developed housing colonies in Pakistan which reported sectarianism causes to its least level without any violence and extremism.

Literacy

Literacy is an important factor affecting sectarianism inside and outside Pakistan. It is reported that in Europe, people argue for their religious school of thought, but a high literacy rate helps them to manage the scholarly atmosphere ethically and avoids getting extremism but in Pakistan, people become emotional and violent when they argue for their school of thought. The factor is also observed in the developed housing societies where people avoid sectarian arguments or deal ethically and scholarly, but they rarely find enough time to be engaged in such activity.

Ethno-linguistics

Beyond sectarianism, mosques have also made good contributions to reducing violent extremism because of political, racial, and linguistic factors both inside and outside Pakistan. It is observed that members of various parties and political thoughts belonging to different races and speaking different languages offer prayers under one roof, standing shoulder to shoulder in one

disciplined row in the leadership of one Imam. In European countries, there are Muslims from various linguistics and socio-cultural backgrounds that have their mosques and prefer to offer prayer there while the other Muslims are also warmly welcomed. The mosques where sermons are delivered in the national language, Muslims gather there from all sects and races.

Imam

Imam is the person who is most highlighted among Muslims and there are no other personality who is close to the people to such extent available in every city, town, and village. So, he is the man having a vast impact on the whole community. Other religious and political leaders draw the policy on the higher level while it is Imam who makes people ready to practice the outlined policy. He remains in contact with the community time and again, five times a day during offering prayer, community ceremonies like marriage, funeral and post-funeral occasions, festivities, and so many other moments. An expert mention, "Imam and public both are dependent on each other, he is appointed by the public and it shapes the opinion of the public".

Currently, in Pakistan, an Imam is only subjected to a mosque committee and a custodian or his appointment and dismissal as the legal procedure is absent. Imam can be arrested for making any anti-state statement or sectarian violence. Imams are still beyond legal consideration regarding their roles and limits which don't let them highlight their responsibilities. While in Europe, Imams can be deported in case of any disobedience of state which attains huge attention. Examples of 'taming Imams' can be observed in the two incidents. 12 Imams from France in 2004 and 50 from the UK in 2005 were deported. The Justice, Freedom, and Security (EU Commission) (2007) reported that Imams are no longer magnates for radicalism (Special EUROBAROMETER 290). Governments of European countries have a legal check on mosques affairs even a defined number of gatherings is allowed in the mosques according to their capacity whereas it is not the same in Pakistan.

DHA Lahore hires Imams who have a religious degree from Madrassa and a master's degree from any HEC recognized university, while DHA Karachi prefers to hire one having double Masters' degree. Both the housing societies regularly organize workshops and seminars for their training which helps to maintain the scholarly atmosphere and a good instance of AVE.

Training System

In Europe, the training system of Imams can be traced to the 1980s which got vivid attention in the 2000s (Peter, 2018). The European Council of Moroccan Ulema (CEOM) conducts seminars and workshops in some parts of Western Europe for the training of Imams. The council follows the declaration presented by Dr. Ahmed Toufiq (Moroccan Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs) in 5th conference of World Religious Leaders in Astana, Kazakhstan (June 2015) accentuating the model for the training of Imams by addressing their religious, political, and social roles to meet the public needs (Hashas, 2018). In Pakistan, there is a deficiency in the training of Imams at the national level. It is mentioned by the religious scholars, during Madrassa classes, the module is absent for the responsibilities of Imams. The researchers observed that Imams have a dire need of training to make them aware of the modern social issues and modes of transforming them to the public according to the contemporary era. In Pakistan, such training is being conducted by the Housing Societies and their impact on Friday sermons has been vitally observed. DHA Lahore organizes training seminars for improving sermon delivering style, advocating religious harmony avoiding sectarianism and modern social issues.

FINDINGS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

While having sectarian titles and establishing a base of mosques, the internal Check and Balance (CnB) system seems not enough to avoid violent extremism. There is a need to intervene in its internal system through a soft welcoming policy. During the data collection, the majority of the respondents in Pakistan have demanded improvement in the responsibility of the mosque for social and national reformation, and willingness to cooperate with the governments. To avoid sectarian content, a soft policy should be outlined to make religious people and Imams busy in the task of social reformation. To get the final successful results of the National Action Plan, it is needed to launch another Nation Action Plan to make people realize their social and national responsibilities. The instances of the Netherlands and Turkey can be observed advocating nationalism using pulpit and Friday sermons (Gürlesin, 2020). The content of sermons should be switched to the public responsibility of cleanliness, anti-corruption, stand for justice, the essentiality of honesty, the importance of female education, household

responsibilities to reduce domestic violence cases, ideal parentage, personal and social welfare to increase social bonding.

Nation Action Plan should be based on 4 steps. At first, the self-reformation by God-fearing (Tak'wa) and God-sincerity (Ikh'las) should be focused on for a specific time. Second, the personal self-responsibilities should be addressed through personal religious duties like offering prayer, seeking knowledge, good manners, ethics, and love. Third, social responsibilities should be practiced through making people aware of their religious duties to their relatives like being a father, mother, brother, husband, servant, boss, etc. At last, national responsibilities should be emphasized to eliminate corruption, promote justice, follow the laws, cooperate with the administration, and have sympathy with the poor. This plan can be seen through the lens of the Islamic mode of training called Tarbiyat, a process of character building and learning to become morally and socially responsible. This includes the process of understanding and accepting the most fundamental social principles, such as justice and citizenship (Halstead, 2004; Al-Hashimy, 2006; Al-Refai & Bagley, 2008). To be a peaceful and strong society in the world, Pakistan should have sincere, accountable, and tolerant citizens (Yousuf, Qadri & Osmanov, 2019; Arif, Nadeem & Ali, 2020).

In the plan, all the relevant departments should share the issues and let the religious scholars get busy coping with their solution. As madrassas have direct and indirect control over mosques, so in this plan, Madrassas should play their vital role. In spite of competing for the value and status, the government should consider the strength and importance of religious leaders and Madrassas and push them through legal bounding through their responsibility of the individual, social and national reformation. It can be believed that numerous problems have been generated for many decades because of rivalry actions against madrassas and religious leadership and consequently rebellious nature of Madrassas. It is time to consider the achievements of religions to collaborate with them to outline and distribute the defined responsibilities through strong legislation as demanded by the Pagham e Pakistan declaration. In Pakistan, religious leaders already have de facto religious authority, which now they should be made (de jure) legally responsible and answerable. Religious authority is significant for rapid societal

change in times of crisis (Sunier, 2018).

During the influx of sectarianism and even in the decades of sectarian violent extremism, all schools of thought in Pakistan were able to produce collectively agreed opinions in the favour of peace and stability of the nation. Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) consists of all Islamic schools of thought to produce a collectively agreed opinion. Beyond public institutions, Ittihad-e-Tanzeemat-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP) represents the unity of Islamic schools of thought and has been able to produce a collectively agreed opinion. After the masterpiece of PeP as an agreement between the government and collective religious authority, the prevalence of sectarian violence and extremism becomes a question mark on the government.

A syllabus should be compulsory for Imams outlining the modern, social and national, and legal values for their specialization to address the public because regular studies of Dars-e-Nizami (religious syllabus of Madrassas) lacks it. After this specialization, seminars and workshops should be organized to address the new and upcoming challenges.

Custodian and Imam are two major pillars, none of whom should be ignored. Mosque system can be improved by making custodians directly subjected to the district administration, seems significant to distribute powers, to create an administrative check on the internal system and FoS. Custodians should be selected by the mosque committee. The appointment of the mosque committee should be made after considering their experiences and skills (Abdullah & Aini, 2017).

Judges and administrators are holding the whole burden of reformation and management of society while Imams are unaware of the social and managerial problems. A joint meeting and operations should be added in the Nation Action Plan to transform the social responsibilities towards the public by the respectable Imams.

Muslims in the UK have more trust in and a positive attitude towards the government as compared to the Christians (Maxwell, 2010) and in France, they liked to feel French (Maxwell, 2014). While, in Pakistan, the ordinary religious authority even the nonpolitical one exhibits a lack of trust, as has been noticed in the research, on the state administration. This situation needs an in-depth study to explore its history and factors. The lack of trust in the administration, freedom without legal responsibility, and the silent power of

mosques call for immediate legislation. Otherwise, these factors being silently precipitated by an annual addition of thousands of graduates from madrassas along with a rising religious-political opposition may cause a political revolution or any big challenge.

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