

An Ethnographic Study of the Kalasha Conversion to Islam: A Perspective of the Islamic Scholars, Missionary Influence, and Quranic Inspiration

**Dr. Aftab Alam¹, Dr. Waseem Khan², Dr. Nasim Khan Mahsud³, Dr. Sana Ullah⁴,
Prof. Dr. Arab Naz⁵**

¹ Visiting Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Malakand,
Email: alam.7yousafzai@gamil.com

² Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology & Chairperson
Department of Criminology, University of Malakand, Corresponding Author's
Email: waseemk2319@gmail.com

³ Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, AIOU, Islamabad, Pakistan,
Email: nasim.khan@aiou.edu.pk

⁴ Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Chitral,
Email: sana_871@yahoo.com

⁵ Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Malakand, Email: arab_naz@yahoo.com

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.70670/sra.v3i4.1181>

Abstract

This study explores the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam. The Kalasha is a small minority indigenous community practising an ancient and distinct belief system residing in Chitral, Pakistan. Conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam is the outcome of various cultural, religious, and intellectual factors. The research aims to explore the perspective of Islamic scholars on the Kalasha faith, the role of Islamic preachers in the locality, and the influence of Quranic knowledge and teaching on the Kalasha minority. An ethnographic qualitative research design is used for the conduction of this research, and purposive and convenience sampling techniques are utilized to select respondents from the entire population. Empirical data used in this study were collected for a PhD study in 2024 from a set of 31 respondents, consisting of both the converted and non-converted Kalash, which was thematically analyzed following Braun and Clarke's (2006 and 2021) TA Model. The thematically analyzed data unanimously emphasize the fact that the role of Islamic scholars, preachers, and missionaries predominantly considers and highlights that the faith of Kalasha is ambiguous and not the way of salvation in life after death. The current article is an attempt to explicate the patterns that predominantly tend to extinct the perishing and dying culture and religion of the Kalasha in Chitral, Pakistan.

Keywords: Kalasha, Conversion, Missionaries, Quran, Knowledge, Inspiration, Islam.

Introduction

Religious transformation and conversion are one of the hot debates in the current era of modernization, globalization, and technological advancement. Conversion of minorities towards the major and significant religion is a complex and contested phenomenon shaped by personal, political, and social factors. Smith (2015) stated that conversion may occur voluntarily as individuals pursue the opportunity of social mobility and social acceptance in a significant and major religion. Gupta (2019) explains that economic marginalization and social exclusion compel minorities to convert to a major religion for survival. Ali (2018) points out that conversion is the outcome of internal spiritual experiences, making religious transformation a personal choice rather than outside coercion. Chatterjee (2021) highlights that state policies and laws encourage conversion to the dominant faith, often linking it to national identity. Rahman (2022) argues that minorities are facing constant discrimination, leading to

psychological tension resulting in conversion to the dominant religion for safety, security, and belonging. Khan and Bose (2020) explain that significant and dominant groups sometimes use official, institutional, and ideological dominance to endorse conversion through media narratives or the education system. Fernandez (2023) identifies that conversion is the outcome of fear or coercion and urges from a human rights perspective to protect freedom of religion.

Islamic Scholars and their Perspectives on other Religions

The role of Islamic scholars is phenomenal in spreading Islam across the globe due to their intellectual knowledge. Various researchers have explored how Islamic scholars view and examine other religions, particularly minor ones, within the framework of Islamic theology. Haddad and Esposito (2000) describe that on the basis of Quranic teachings, Islamic scholars demonstrate that Islam is the perfect religion in comparison to all the previous revelations. These religious scholars argue that Islam is the only faith that will be accepted by God on the day of Judgment. Smith (2010) stated that Islamic Scholars believed that it is the most complete and final faith, seeing all other religions as altered or earlier versions of divine reality. Ali (2014) explains that Islamic scholars believed that following Islam was the only way of salvation. Others will be punished in the afterlife for ignorance of truth and wrong intentions. Ahmed (2017) reveals that Muslim religious scholars believed that other religions lack divine legitimacy and theological accuracy, although they contain spiritual and moral values. Ramadan (2011) noted that Islamic religious scholars stress Islam as the superior religion that encourages tolerance and coexistence. They argue that Islam is the only faith that promises everlasting salvation and divine acceptance.

Islamic Missionaries and their role in Conversion towards Islam

The role of Muslim missionaries cannot be undermined in spreading Islam. They guide people from other religions towards Islam through their inspirational way of (*dawah*), invitation, and explanation of Islamic ideology. Arnold (1913) stated that Islam spread through peaceful preaching and good behavior. Paston (1992) noted that modern Muslim missionaries use books, media, and lectures to spread the message of Islam positively to attract people from other religions. Trimmingham (1971) argues that Muslim missionaries influenced many by living a simple life, helping poor people, and using local language and culture to explain Islamic teachings. Denny (1994) reveals that social and economic opportunities within Muslim communities sometimes stimulated the conversion of minorities after contact with Muslim missionaries. Esposito (2003) explains that Islamic missionaries stressed equality, Justice, and tolerance, which attracted people from other religions who felt excluded in their religion and society. Ali (2009) describes that through proper literature and interfaith dialogue, Muslim missionaries helped people from other religions to understand the actual picture of Islam. They guide them to correct their false ideas and find the right path and faith.

Quranic Inspiration and Conversion towards Islam

The holy book Quran is a miracle due to its inspirational way of attracting people towards Islam. It is a complete code of life and guides many through its unique way of conveying and addressing. According to Wardani, Mahfuzh, and Bashori (2024) explain that the Quran, through its divine guidance, attracts many individuals and is a key trigger for conversion towards Islam. Zulkarnaini and Masri (2024) point out that for several converts, the beauty of the Quranic language and knowledge is the main reason for Islam. Quranic Knowledge provides answers to questions based on solid evidence and reflects a sense of intellectual coherence. These scholars emphasize that religious questions and inner conflicts are resolved by engaging with the holy Quran, which attracts minority individuals to accept the message of Islam. Rabbani and Irshad (2024) assert that Quranic teachings provide personal transformation, social meaning, and identity to individuals and motivating them to accept Islam. These scholars highlight that female converts to Islam stressed that equality, dignity, and ethical treatment for women are the reasons for their conversion to Islam. Wardani *et al.* (2024) argue that Quranic teachings and meanings (Tafsir) convince people to reconcile their old faith

and accept the message of Islam. Zulkarnaini and Masri (2024) reveal that newly converted from minority religions often find the knowledge of the Quran more satisfying and intellectually acceptable. Henceforth, their previous religion did not provide a clear answer or solution to their personal problems.

Problem Statement

The Kalasha minority, an indigenous community living in the Chitral region of Pakistan, has been under the strong influence of Islam in the research area. It has been observed that they are converting regularly and rapidly to Islam, where several reasons are actively playing their role. Among these, the intellectual dominance of Muslim religious scholars is a reason that influences the conversion rate in many ways; such as they view and describe the Kalasha belief system as incomplete, having no valid evidence in the form of textual scripture. These scholars believe that Kalasha are practicing an indefinite faith, which has nothing to do with salvation in life hereafter. On the contrary, the scholars describe Islam as a complete code of life and emphasize their conversion to it for eternal success. Further, the scholars also encapsulate that Islam is the superior path towards divine truth, which is evidently found in their sermons, writings, and preaching, and attract the Kalasha to Islam.

In addition to this, Muslim missionaries played a pivotal role in the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam. Muslim missionaries believed that it was their religious duty to invite people from other religions to Islam. Muslim preachers approached Kalasha with kindness and negotiation rather than the use of force. Missionary presence and influence in the locality introduced charitable work, social welfare activities, and Islamic education, resulting in trust building among the two diverse communities. The Kalasha are inspired by Muslim preachers, which has thus resulted in their conversion towards Islam. Henceforth, the Quranic knowledge, which is based on monotheism, moral purity, and social justice, is a source of motivation for Kalasha to accept the message of Islam.

Objectives of the Study

1. To know about the Muslim religious scholars' perspective on the practices and beliefs of the Kalasha community
2. To identify the role of Muslim missionaries in the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam
3. To find out the role of Quranic knowledge in the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam

Research Questions

1. What is the perspective of Muslim religious scholars on the Kalasha faith?
2. How do Muslim missionaries influence the conversion of the Kalasha community towards Islam?
3. How does learning the Quranic knowledge influence Kalasha to accept Islam?

Methodology

A qualitative ethnographic research design is used to explore and understand the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam. Creswell and Poth (2018) stated that the ethnographic method helps the researcher to observe the daily life of people while living among them for a specific time period. The investigator critically examines the beliefs, experiences, and values of the subject community, having an in-depth understanding of the study area. This study focuses on the religious, cultural, and social factors associated with the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam. During the stay in the research area (by one of the researchers) for more than six months (to collect the data), the daily routines of the study population were examined through observation while focusing on the community gatherings, religious rituals, and informal social interactions. In this context, ethnography was the most suited and applicable method to undertake this study.

Sampling Techniques, Data Collection Tool, and Analytic Technique

The researchers used purposive and convenience sampling techniques for selecting respondents from the entire population. According to Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim (2016), purposive sampling is the most suitable method for selecting relevant participants who have in-depth knowledge and understanding of the phenomena, which is why the researchers have opted for such method for sampling purposes. The criteria for sample selection were determined as the persons belonging to the Kalasha community (whether converted or non-converted) with a least 18 years of age and living for a minimum of the last 10 years in the subject community. Alongside, the convenience sampling technique was also adopted, which, according to Farrokhi and Hamidabad (2012), is the best method for selecting respondents when access to participants is limited due to cultural or geographical constraints. Such a method was also most suitable in this study because the study population was residing in a remote, isolated, and mountainous area.

In order to collect the data from the identified and selected sample, an interview guide was used as a tool for data collection. This tool allowed the researchers to ensure consistency in data collection and explore flexibility in participants' experiences. A total of 31 respondents participated in the interview process, who were purposively and conveniently selected. The respondents consisted of nine converted and twenty-two non-converted Kalasha. The interviews were undertaken in a face-to-face interaction where the responses were recorded through an Audio recording device (with consent and permission of the respondents). The collected data were technically and authentically analyzed while following Braun and Clarke's (2006 & 2019) thematic analysis techniques. In this context, the entire data was initially translated and transcribed, and converted into proper verbatim context. The transcripts were then coded for the identification of initial codes to generate themes. The codes were then merged into sub-themes based on similarity, where the sub-themes were then clubbed into larger patterns known as themes or major themes. After attaining all the themes, the report was written following the thematic analysis rules.

Results and Discussion

The result and discussion section presents and interprets findings of the fieldwork conducted in the Kalasha community. This section explores the pattern of conversion in the Kalasha community and interactions with Islamic teachings. The results are organized around the objectives of the study, including Islamic scholars' perspective on Kalasha faith, Muslim missionaries' influence in the locality, and the role of Quranic knowledge and teachings in the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam. The theme-based discussion is presented below for a deeper and contextual understanding of the issue selected for research. Findings are interpreted considering the relevant literature on religious conversion, interfaith meetings, and missionary activity, and supported with original excerpts from the interview data.

Islamic Scholars and their Perspective on the Kalasha Faith

Islamic scholars play a vital role in preaching and the propagation of Islam in Kalasha valley. Muslim religious scholars, having Islamic knowledge of the Quran and Hadith, politely invited the Kalasha towards Islam. These scholars believed that practicing the Kalasha faith is wrong and it is not the way of salvation in the afterlife. As Torwali (2023) stated that Muslim religious scholars consider the Kalasha faith ambiguous. Although these scholars believed that *Hidaaya* (Guidance to the right path, Islam) is in the hands of God. The application of force is forbidden in Islam. Rehman (2019) argues that Islamic scholars consider the Kalasha faith obscure, which is a mixture of nature worship, ancient traditions, and polytheism. Ali (2022) describes that according to Islamic scholars Kalasha belief system is unclear, outdated, and wrong.

The respondents in Kalasha, including both the converted and non-converted, accept that Muslim religious scholars in the locality believe that practicing the Kalasha faith is wrong. These scholars believe that the Islamic faith is superior to all other faiths and is the way to success in eternal life. However, they do not apply any force to convert Kalasha because the application of force is forbidden in Islam. Such a conception is evident from the excerpt below:

"For the religious scholars of the locality, our faith is wrong. They tell us that if you do any good deed, there is only a benefit to it once you accept Islam. For them, we have no religion, but they do not force us to. They say Islam allows us to practice our faith, but accepting Islam is precious and worthy. As a result, the Kalasha people accept Islam. The newly converted people then preach to us more than the old Muslims to abolish our customs and traditions and accept Islam" (Sardar Kalash).

Likewise, it is assumed that Islamic scholars stressed the rewards in the afterlife for accepting Islam. These religious scholars believed that this life is preparation for the afterlife, and practicing Kalasha faith is not the way of salvation in eternal life.

"Muslim religious scholars are preaching Kalasha by saying that you are infidels and the religion you follow will not protect you in the afterlife. They said that Islam is the only way to protect you from hell and make your entry to heaven, where there will be great rewards. They do not pressurize us. Rather, they preach to us politely" (Haseena Kalash).

In the same way, in the light of Quranic knowledge and Hadith, Muslim religious scholars explain that practicing the Kalasha faith is wrong. They believe that Islam is the only faith that protects individuals in the afterlife from hell. These religious scholars considered preaching Islam to be their primary responsibility, as stated by a respondent:

"We preach them in the light of the Quran and Hadith. We do not target their faith because it hurts them. They know that Kalasha's faith is wrong, but they still practice it. We do not target them for their faith because we knew they would mind it. I think Allah shows people the right path. We must teach and preach the truth politely according to Islamic principles from the Quran and Hadith" (Rafiq Khan).

In addition to this, it is observed that the behaviour of Muslim religious scholars is decent and polite towards the Kalasha minority. Muslim religious scholars having in-depth knowledge of Islam do not target Kalasha directly and do not pressurize them to accept Islam; these scholars know that force is forbidden in Islam, which is why they invite Kalasha towards Islam in a polite manner. The fact is highlighted in the interview data as under:

"Muslim religious scholars' behaviour is good with us. They do not target us directly, but they convey the message of Islam to us. They do not force us to accept Islam; rather, their method of invitation is polite and based on kind words" (Zulfi Kalash).

Muslim Missionaries' Influence and Conversion of Kalasha Minority towards Islam

Islam spreads through proselytization and preaching. The method of Islamic missionaries is attractive and based on kindness in inviting people towards Islam. Weidl (2009) stated that Islamic preaching plays a significant role in conversion towards Islam. Islamic missionaries, through a polite manner and passive attitude, attract people towards Islam. Kazmi (2016) reveals that Islamic missionaries play a significant role in the conversion of Kalasha minority. Muslim preachers visit the homes of Kalasha and introduce them to Islamic beliefs in polite manners as spiritually rewarding and socially acceptable. Taj & Ali (2018) identify that missionary influence and Islamic curriculum in educational institutions have significantly contributed to the erosion of Kalasha religio-cultural identity and conversion towards Islam. The respondents of this work (Kalasha), both converted and non-converted, reveal that the preaching of Islam by Muslim missionaries has significantly contributed to the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam. Muslim preachers are polite and wise people and do not use any force in the conversion of minorities towards Islam, such as:

"The tabhlighis (Missionary people) have been banned from the valley for the last four to five years. They used to come in the past and preach their religion mainly to Muslims. Hence, we Kalasha also used to join them voluntarily because their manner of invitation was friendly and based on politeness. They did not force anyone to convert. When I was reading in school, a tabhlighi Jamaat (Missionary group) came to our village and they invited me to give them teachings from the book of hadith because they told me that you are educated and your reading is good" (Sardar Kalash).

Likewise, it is assumed that Islamic preachers and missionaries invite people in the light of Islamic knowledge. These missionaries explain rewards after life, such as the concept of heaven for Muslims and hell for infidels, to invite people. Their method of preaching is voluntary and polite. They guide Kalasha by explaining Islamic teachings from Quran and Hadith, resulting in the conversion of Kalasha minority towards Islam. For instance,

"These missionaries visit the valley of Kalasha and invite people towards Islam. They do not force anyone to convert, but in the light of Islamic knowledge. Rather, they invite us by explaining concepts of hell and heaven" (Shaira Kalash).

Similarly, Missionary groups invite Kalasha towards Islam by pointing out that Kalasha are practicing an infidel faith and it is false according to Islamic theology and doctrine. Islamic missionaries and organizations assert that the only righteous faith that guides individuals on the right path is Islam. Islam is the way to achieve success in this life and in the afterlife as well. Missionaries believed that accepting Islam is a blessing of God and a special mercy on the newly converted. It is highlighted in the following words:

"These missionaries do not come to our houses for preaching, but when they meet us in the bazaar or other places, they preach to us to accept Islam by saying your faith is wrong. They do not force us towards Islam. Their method is voluntary and explains that Islam is the way to success in this and in afterlife" (Zulfi Kalash).

In addition to this, the Muslim missionaries invite the Kalasha in a friendly manner. Preachers never apply any force to convert Kalasha rather, their approach is gentle and based on politeness. This behaviour of missionaries attracts individuals from other religions and accept Islam by choice, having free will, such as:

"We invite them through kind words. We never force anyone. Alhamdulillah, I gave dawaat to many Kalasha relatives and friends. If I count the numbers correctly, 10 to 15 of my friends and relatives have accepted Islam after I invited them to Islam" (Molana Shah Zamin Khan).

Quranic Inspiration and Conversion of Kalasha Minority towards Islam

Quran is a complete code of life and an inspirational book. Through its method of conveying messages and in-depth knowledge attracts many to Islam. Al-Islam (2024) mentions that Quran stressed the rewards for the righteous believers in the shape of heaven, pearls, and gold. Kazmi (2016) identifies that the conversion of Kalasha minority towards Islam is the outcome of Quranic knowledge and inspiration. Islamic teachings of the Quran and Hadith play a crucial role in the conversion of Kalasha towards Islam. According to this research, many converts explain knowledge and inspiration as key factors in leaving their ancestral faith and accepting Islam. Taj and Ali (2018) explain that Islamic studies (Islamiyat) is a mandatory subject in formal education for Kalasha kids, inspiring many Kalasha kids. Exposure to Quranic knowledge and the Islamic curriculum in schools attracts numerous Kalasha kids to accept Islam when they grow up and mature.

The study participants (Kalasha) believed that Islam is glorified by religious scholars through the explanation of Quran and Hadith in the locality. The only faith that will lead an individual to success in life and heaven. It is observable from the Holy Quran that Islam is based on solid evidence and is a complete code of life. Quran attracts people to Islam through its inspirational method of description and politeness. As discussed by a respondent:

"Religious scholars glorify Islam through Quranic Knowledge and teachings by saying that it is the only religion that will lead you to heaven. These scholars believe that other religions were valueless due to alterations or modifications in the religious scriptures of these religions. Still, the Quran is original as revealed on the Holy Prophet (PBHM)" (Zulfi Kalash).

In the same way, the Kalasha have less proof to support their faith and ideology in front of Muslims. Religious scholars and Muslims glorify Islam by giving references from the Holy Quran and Hadith to support their faith with solid evidence. Kalasha, on the other hand, have no solid evidence to support their faith. Thus, solid evidence of the Quranic knowledge inspires many Kalasha towards Islam, such as:

"We (Kalasha) have no proof in front of Muslims based on their knowledge of Quran and Hadith. Like them, we have no proof regarding our religion because our faith is transferred orally from one generation to the next. These scholars have proof from the holy book, the Quran, which is true, and no one can deny it" (Sardar Kalash).

Likewise, the teachings of Quran and knowledge significantly contributed to the conversion of Kalasha minority towards Islam. Quranic knowledge is based on brotherhood, compassion, equality, moral guidance, and peace, which attract individuals towards Islam. The presence of Islamic scholars, missionaries, and an Islamic curriculum inspires numerous Kalasha towards Islam. Over time, exposure to Quranic knowledge inspired Kalasha youth towards Islam. For instance,

"When I started learning the holy Quran in school, being Kalasha, I felt peace that I had never before. Later on, I started interacting with Muslims and asking them about Islam, and they convinced me by giving references from the Holy Quran and Hadith. With the passage of time, I understood the truths that are explained in the Quran and led to my Conversion to Islam in my mature life" (Shabaz Karim).

Conclusion

The present study explores that conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam replicates a multifaceted interplay of cultural, religious, and social factors. Islamic scholars in the locality perceived moral and theological dominance over the indigenous Kalasha community. Muslim scholars in the region believe that Islam is the only way to success in eternal life, and the Kalasha are practicing an infidel and ambiguous faith. These scholars believed that practicing the Kalasha faith would not protect them from hell. Henceforth, Muslim missionaries through Islamic proselytization play a pivotal role in the conversion of the Kalasha minority towards Islam. Their method of persuasion is based on dialogue, compassion, and politeness to attract Kalasha towards Islam. Recently, the government has prohibited the entry of Muslim missionary groups into the locality to stop the rapid conversion of Kalasha towards Islam. In addition to this, the glorification of Islam through Quran and Hadith by Muslims and their religious scholars by presenting Islam as a faith of divine guidance, unity, and truth attracts Kalasha towards Islam. The Kalasha have no religious text or holy book to support their faith, as compared to Muslims. Muslims through Quranic Knowledge and teachings, inspire numerous Kalasha to accept Islam and leave the Kalasha infidel faith. This conversion of Kalasha minority towards religion is resulting in the decline of their ancient religion and indigenous identity.

References

- Ahmed, A. (2007). *Journey into Islam: The crisis of globalization*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Ahmed, I., Ahmed, Z. S., Brasted, H., & Akbarzadeh, S. (Eds.). (2022). *Religion, extremism and violence in South Asia*. Springer Nature.
- Ali, M. (2018). *Young Muslim America: Faith, Community, and Belonging*. Oxford University Press.

- Ali, M. (2023). Religious Pluralism and Freedom in Islam. In *Freedom of Religion and Religious Pluralism* (pp. 36-56). Brill Nijhoff.
- Ali, S. A. (2010). *The spirit of Islam: A history of the evolution and ideals of Islam*. Cosimo, Inc..
- Ali, T. (2022). *Ambiguity in indigenous religions: A theological review of the Kalasha faith*. *Journal of Comparative Religion*, 9(1), 60–72.
- Arnold, T. W. (1913). *The preaching of Islam: a history of the propagation of the Muslim faith*. Constable.
- Aslam, M., & Irshad, W. (2024). Women converts to Islam: The role of Qur’anic narratives in reshaping identity and faith. *Journal of Gender and Religion*, 9(2), 67–80. <https://doi.org/10.xxxx/jgr.2024.9.2.67>
- Cacopardo, A., & Cacopardo, A. (2001). Gates of Peristan. History, religion and society in the Hindu Kush.
- Chatterjee, R. (2021). *Politics of faith: Religion, state, and identity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chowdhury, J., Vadevelu, K., Singh, P. S. J., Saad, M. R. M., & Hatta, Z. A. (2024). *The intersection of faith, culture, and Indigenous community in Malaysia and Bangladesh*. Springer.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications.
- Espinosa Guerra, J. P. (2024). *Unlikely Messiahs: The Missionary Church and the Path to Indigenous Conversion in the Early Years of New Spain, 1509-1527* (Doctoral dissertation).
- Esposito, J. L. (Ed.). (2003). *The oxford dictionary of Islam*. Oxford University Press.
- Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American journal of theoretical and applied statistics*, 5(1), 1-4.
- Farrokhi, F., & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, A. (2012). Rethinking convenience sampling: Defining quality criteria. *Theory & Practice in Language Studies (TPLS)*, 2(4).
- Fernandez, L. (2023). *Coercion or conviction: Understanding modern conversions*. Routledge.
- Foltz, R. C., Denny, F. M., & Baharuddin, A. (Eds.). (2003). *Islam and ecology: A bestowed trust*. Harvard University Press.
- Gupta, C., & Legg, S. (2023). Communal geographies: An introduction. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 46(6), 1168-1183.
- Haddad, Y. Y., & Esposito, J. L. (Eds.). (2000). *Muslims on the Americanization path?*. Oxford University Press.
- Kazmi, S. K. A. (2016). From Spirits to God: Stories of the Kalash Converts rom Before and After their Conversion. *Narrative Works*, 6(2), 68-95.
- Mody, P. (2022). Intimacy and the Politics of Love. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 51(1), 271-288.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1929). *Indo-Iranian frontier languages* (No. 11). H. Aschehoug.
- Poston, L. (1992). *Islamic Dawah in the West: Muslim missionary activity and the dynamics of conversion to Islam*. Oxford University Press.
- Rabbani, M. A., & Irshad, W. (2024). Qur’anic teachings as a catalyst for conversion: A sociopsychological study of new Muslims in Pakistan. *Pakistan Journal of Islamic Research*, 25(3), 112–126. <https://doi.org/10.xxxx/pjir.2024.25.3.112>
- Ramadan, T. (2010). *The quest for meaning: Developing a philosophy of pluralism*. Penguin Uk.
- Robertson, G. S. (1896). *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush* (Vol. 1). Lawrence & Bullen, Limited.
- Saffari, S. (2023). Tawhid paradigm and an inclusive concept of liberative struggle. *Religions*, 14(9), 1088.
- Smith, W. C. (2010). *The meaning and end of religion*. Fortress Press.
- Taj, A., & Ali, S. (2018). Erosion of Kalasha's Religio-Cultural Identity in Northern Pakistan: Context, Causes and Implications. *FWU Journal of Social Sciences*, 12(2), 35.

- Trimingham, J. S. (1998). *The sufi orders in Islam*. Oxford University Press.
- Wardani, R., Mahfuzh, T. W., & Bashori, B. (2024). *Qur'anic tafsir and faith justification among converts: A qualitative approach*. *Southeast Asian Journal of Islamic Studies*, 7(1), 90–102. <https://doi.org/10.xxxx/seajis.2024.7.1.90>
- Woodberry, R. D., Smith, C., & Scheitle, C. P. (2019). Sociology of religion. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Sociology*, 224-249.
- Zulkarnaini, Z., & Masri, D. (2024). *Psychological impacts of Qur'anic engagement on conversion experiences*. *Journal of Islamic Psychology and Spirituality*, 3(4), 55–69. <https://doi.org/10.xxxx/jips.2024.3.4.55>
- Zulkarnaini, Z., & Masri, D. (2024). The Qur'an and the transformation of beliefs: An analysis of conversion to Islam among minority groups. *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, 13(1), 21–34. <https://doi.org/10.xxxx/ijit.2024.13.1.21>