

Chapter 5 Pakistan

Need to Go Back to Founding Principles

Bushra Khaliq and Kashif Aslam

August 11 is a historic day that marks the celebration of Minorities' Day in Pakistan. It was on this date that the father of the nation, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in a speech at the first Legislative Assembly of the country on 11 August 1947, i.e., three days before the official announcement of the creation of Pakistan, proclaimed all minorities as equal citizens of the new nation. The Government of Pakistan subsequently declared August 11 as "Minorities Day". The day got an official reorganization in 2009 due to the efforts of former minister of Pakistan Minority Affairs Clement Shahbaz Bhatti, who was murdered on 2 March 2011 by the Tehreek-e-Taliban in Islamabad.

At the time of its formation, the rhetoric around Pakistan included rights to freedom of religion. The forefathers of the State envisaged a free state where each minority group would have the right to profess their beliefs freely, without fear of being persecuted. Unfortunately soon after its creation, the political religious parties, purporting to be guardians of Islam, hijacked the State of Pakistan. And, today, intolerance towards pluralism and inter faith harmony has seeped into the general populace and the apparatus of the state.

Attacks on minorities and forced conversions are a common occurrence resulting in mass exodus of the minorities, as in the case of Hindu minorities of Sindh. The Constitution and other laws and policies officially restrict religious freedom. The government's limited capacity and will to investigate or prosecute the perpetrators of extremist attacks

against religious minorities is promoting further intolerance, allowing impunity for those who take the law into their own hand.

Each year there have been several reports of societal abuses or discrimination based on religious affiliation, belief, or practice, a trend that is unfortunately increasing. Violent extremists in the country have demanded that all citizens follow their authoritarian interpretation of Islam and threatened brutal consequences if anyone chooses not to abide.

Bushra Khaliq, State of Minority Rights in Pakistan.¹

This chapter discusses the condition of religious minorities in Pakistan. The attempt is to report on the conditions and not so much to analyse and identify the factors and drivers that create the conditions, although some effort has been made in that direction too. However, given that this is the first ‘annual report’ on the state of minorities in this series, our attempt was also to develop something like a baseline for future annual documentations. This necessarily meant that we had to go back into history to understand among other things the context and the evolution of the structures of today that have implications for minorities. The chapter uses the UN minority rights framework in looking at minorities’ various rights – to life and security; non-discrimination in services and opportunities; participation; and to culture and identity. This is also how the paper is structured. It begins with a quick overview of who the minorities in Pakistan are with a focus on religious minorities and what the constitutional framework is for them.

Minorities in Pakistan

According to the last official Census (1998), religious minorities made up 4 per cent of the total population of Pakistan (close to 5 million persons in a total population of 132.4 million).² Christians formed the largest group, numbering between 2-3 million (1.69 per cent of the population), equally divided between Catholics and Protestants living in urban centres as well as in rural areas mostly in Punjab province. Occupationally, most of them were landless labourers, farmhands and sweepers. There were 2.5 million (1.4 per cent) Hindus. A vast majority lived in Sindh province, with half

1. Based on the reports by National Commission on Justice and Peace, Women in Struggle for Empowerment (WISE), Asian Human Rights Commission-Hong Kong, Human Rights Committee-UK.

2. The current population is estimated at 199 million.

of that number in Tharparkar district alone. Most worked as farm labour, many of them 'bonded'. Dalits formed a large section (0.33 per cent of the total population). Smaller non-Muslim minorities included Sikhs, Parsis, Bahais and Buddhists, numbering in thousands. Among Muslim minorities, Ahmadis, numbering between 500,000-600,000, made up 0.35 per cent of the population (although these figures may have been very under-reported), with most concentrated in Rabwah in Jhung district in Punjab province.³ Shias made up a quarter of the country's Muslim population with large concentrations in Karachi and other urban centres as well as in rural areas of Baluchistan (mostly Hazaras) and Punjab (MRG 2002:1; Zia, 2010:144).

Urdu is the national language and most Pakistanis converse in or understand it. Yet it is the first language of only about 10 per cent of the population – the *mohajir*, or post-partition immigrants. Regional languages, Punjabi, Balochi, Pushtu and Sindhi, among others form other linguistic groups with Punjabi being the language of the majority (MRG, 2002). English was the official language until 2015.⁴ Territorially, Pakistan is made up of four provincial and three administrative territories – Azad Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), with over a dozen religious and ethnic groups. Language, ethnicity and regionalism which are the markers of identity combine and overlay each other to determine outcomes for citizens and political contestations across these identity divides often also resulting in conflicts, as best seen in the case of Baluchistan. Religion is thus one of the ways in Pakistan's case-determining minority status of a community. But both language and ethnicity also play a role in determining the minority status of its citizens.

Minority rights framework – the successive erosion of a plural space

The foundational debate in post-independence Pakistan that had implications for minority rights was about differing visions of the objectives of the (pre-partition) demand for Pakistan: protecting the rights of India's largest minority versus establishing an Islamic state. Whilst M.A. Jinnah stood

3. In 1974, Ahmadis were officially deemed non-Muslim, thus making them a non-Muslim minority.

4. Replaced recently by Urdu (See <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34215293>).

5. One view holds that Jinnah maintained some ambiguity about the relationship between the two.

for the former,⁵ a strong section saw the movement providing an opportunity for establishing an Islamic state. Contributing to the crisis was the fact that Pakistan was not a territorial state, and its leaders were at a loss to find its purpose as many leaders of the Muslim League were without a constituency in the newly formed state. This state of limbo was a process that entailed a delay in democratic decision-making. In the absence of such a process, the authorities resorted to the language of Islam to provide validation for their governance strategies. Most found it convenient to do so in religious terms. Jinnah's early demise, the particular situation that a fledgling Pakistan found itself in and the vested interests of the ruling class wanting to maintain the status quo meant that the Islamist sections won the day.

The outcome was the Objectives Resolution adopted by the first Constituent Assembly (March 1949) that settled the Islamic credentials of Pakistan. It accepted the premise that 'sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone, and that the state of Pakistan would exercise authority within the limit prescribed by Him' (Ispahani, 2016:41)

The Objective Resolution opened the doors for a further push by Islamist parties. Over the years, the plural character of the state has been compromised with each of Pakistan's successive constitutions enhancing its Islamic content, consequently narrowing the space for minority rights. An early straw in the wind indicating what was to come was the mass sectarian violence against Ahmadi Muslims in 1953 (an estimated 2,000 were killed) and the mobilization against their fundamental right to freedom of religion.

But the state's compromises with Islamists were no insurance against loss of power; 1953 was also the year when the first bloodless coup took place supported by a strong military-civilian bureaucracy combined that took power away from a duly elected government. This, Ispahani notes, signalled the 'rise of the national security establishment, that would repeatedly use religion to tighten its grip over power,' in opposition to popular legitimacy obtained through elections (Ispahani, 2016).

Pakistan's first Constitution was announced in 1956. The Objective Resolution became its Preamble (Article 2A). Pakistan was designated 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' where 'the principles of freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam would be fully observed' (Zia, 2010: 150). Part 3 contained Directive Principles of State Policy that included many Islamic provisions including the declaration that 'steps shall be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan... to order their lives in accordance

with the Holy Quran and Sunnah.’ The Constitution barred non-Muslims from holding the office of head of state. Part 12 titled ‘Islamic provisions’ called for Islamic research and education.

More significantly, Article 198 proclaimed, ‘No law shall be repugnant to the injunctions of Islam, as laid down in the Quran and Sunnah.’ The Constitution also sought to bring existing laws in conformity with Islamic injunctions (Zia, 2010).

Observers have noted that the long state of limbo – with there being no constitution and elections put off for most of the first 10 years of the country’s existence - allowed for the founding ideas of Pakistan, as espoused by its founder, M.A. Jinnah, to be questioned and compromised with Islamist parties and the military-bureaucratic leadership gaining centre-stage in place of elected politicians (Ispahani, 2016).

In 1958, Ayub Khan staged a coup and took power establishing a military dictatorship with a focus on national security and conflict with India. This focus also had adverse implications for Hindus who were seen as Indian sympathizers. Ayub Khan was a strong believer in Pakistan as an Islamic ideological state (as against secular). The second Constitution that he devised in 1962 mirrored the 1956 Constitution with regard to the minorities. It incorporated Islamic provisions, including the setting up of a Council of Islamic Ideology, to recommend changes to bring laws in conformity with Islamic injunctions (Ispahani, 2016: 68). The Constitution ‘legitimized the view that religious minorities lived in the country only at the sufferance of the Muslim majority’ (Ispahani, 2016: 71). Ayub Khan also oversaw the revision of school curricula. Social studies was introduced in classes 6 to 10 and Islamic studies in classes 6 to 8 as a means to indoctrinate young minds reflecting the thinking of the ideological state that he sought to build.

Observers see Ayub Khan using Islam to bolster the authoritarian system he envisaged for Pakistan (Ispahani, quoting Khalid bin Sayeed, 2016: 68). His successors put Islam to similar cynical purposes. Yahya Khan, who took over from Ayub in 1969, issued the Martial Law Regulation 51 (1970), penalizing publishing or possession of any book, pamphlet ‘offensive to Islam’ attracting a penalty of seven years rigorous imprisonment. This was the precursor to the draconian blasphemy laws to come later. The slide into further homogenization as reflected in law was quick and so was further marginalization of minorities.

The secession of East Pakistan to become Bangladesh in 1971 was in part the consequence of these homogenizing tendencies. It reduced the minority composition of Pakistan's population to about 4 per cent that was a significant drop. The larger Hindu population in united Pakistan had given a measure of voice, however limited, to its minorities. That was no longer the case. Tellingly, 'having achieved a measure of purity in relation to non-Muslims within Pakistan, Islamists were now getting ready to purify the country of unorthodox groups hitherto identified as Muslims' (Ispahani, 2016:96).

The third Constitution, 1973, that emerged out of a compromise that an elected government (Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party) struck with the powerful Islamist plank retained the Islamic provisions of previous constitutions. Additionally, Islam was made the state religion (Article 2) and the President and Prime Minister were required to be Muslims (Article 41 and 91 respectively). Notably, succumbing to Islamist parties and to Bhutto's own interests in limiting his exposure to this issue just as he had launched a massive army operation against the Baluch independence movement, the PPP government amended the Constitution, declaring Ahmadis as non-Muslims in response it claimed, to 'the will and aspirations of the Muslims of Pakistan' (1974). 'Qadianis', as Ahmadis are pejoratively called, were included as a minority (Article 106, Clause 3) and the Constitution also sought to define 'Muslim' (new clause to Article 260), to effectively exclude Ahmadis from the category. This amendment to outlaw Ahmadis who consider themselves Muslims, has been the source of severe violence against and disenfranchisement of the Ahmadi community. Their legal status is such that by practicing their religion, Ahmadis break the law of the land. In later amendments, access to citizenship services – passports, identity cards, public sector jobs and the like – were made contingent on Muslims negating Ahmadism, thus foreclosing these rights for Ahmadis. The amendments paved the way for the draconian anti-Ahmadi ordinance of 1983.

In 1977 Zia ul Haq took power through another coup and ruled as martial law dictator for 11 years legitimizing his rule by claiming the mantle of Islamization. According to Ispahani (2016: 110), '(the) end of Bhutto's government marked the end of efforts to strike a balance between Jinnah's vision of a pluralist Pakistan and the demands of Islamists for an Islamic state.' Zia ul Haq undertook a series of amendments to the Constitution and penal codes that were meant to emphasize his Islamic credentials. These changed the spectrum of policies and attitudes towards minorities (and women) (Hussain, 2010:191). These included:

- i. the 'hudoob' decree (1979) creating sharia courts, with stringent punishment for four offences (intoxication, theft, adultery and false allegations) to emphasize the Islamic codes of personal behaviour;
- ii. blasphemy laws (1980, 82 and 86), criminalizing any act deemed as dishonouring the Prophet, his family, *sahabas* (companions) and Islamic symbols;⁶ and
- iii. the presidential ordinance XX (1984) against Ahmadis basically barring them from being Muslims and making their 'outraging the religious feelings of Muslims, by whatever means', punishable by imprisonment.

Offences were vaguely defined, and there were little procedural safeguards. In the hands of interested parties – jihadist groups as well as malicious neighbours and fellow workers, among others - these discriminatory laws became handy tools for harassing the minorities.

To sum up, 'fundamental rights, liberties and liberal principles were duly incorporated in the 1956 Constitution and retained in the 1962 Constitution and the Legal Framework Order, 1970 and the 1973 Constitution. However, alongside was the parallel constitutional debate flowing from the Objectives Resolution, which produced the incorporation of "Islamic provisions"' (Zia, 2010:150). Zia ul Haq's discriminatory legal order brutalized minorities. This left a legacy of denial of rights and marginalization of the minorities that has proved difficult to roll back to this day.

Constitutional provisions and minorities

We now discuss provisions regarding minorities with regard to fundamental rights, protection and religious practices. Article 36 of the Constitution guarantees right to protection of religious minorities. Article 28 guarantees protection of language and culture and Article 33 discourages racial, sectarian and provincial prejudices. There are other provisions too that guarantee equality and non-discrimination. But a closer examination reveals that many constitutional provisions are negated while some others are compromised by other laws. Thus, quite apart from the poor implemen-

6. In a 2013 reply to the Human Rights Council's (HRC) Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process, while rejecting recommendations for repeal of blasphemy laws, the Pakistani government stated, 'while the government has accepted and is already implementing measures that call on it to prevent the misuse of blasphemy law, there is no national consensus on the repeal of these laws' (Pakistan's statement during the Adoption of UPR Report in its 22nd Session of the Human Rights Council, Geneva, 2013).

tation of many rights' provisions, many laws themselves are discriminatory and violate international human and minority rights covenants contained in statutes such as the UN Minorities Declaration (1992) and the Durban Declaration on Racism and Racial Discrimination (2001).

Article 20 guarantees right to freedom of religion but it has many provisos. It states 'every citizen shall have the right to profess, practice and propagate his religion.' However, other constitutional provisions and laws impose limits on this right, which is 'subject to law, public order and morality' opening the floodgates to complaints of violation of this freedom against Muslims and non-Muslims, especially Ahmadis (US State Department, 2014: 2). Further, the constitutional requirement for all laws to be consistent with Islam means that many provisions of the right to freedom of religion are neutralized.

According to the Constitution and Penal Code, (1978 amendment, Clauses C and D of Section 298B of PPC) Ahmadis are not Muslims and are prohibited from calling themselves Muslims or their belief in Islam as well as from preaching or propagating their religious beliefs, proselytizing or insulting the religious feelings of Muslims. These put definitive restrictions on Ahmadis' right to freedom of religion.

Ahmadis being declared non-Muslims also has other implications as their rights are denied to them:

- i. The Constitution provides for 'freedom to manage religious institutions,' but Ahmadis cannot call their place of worship a mosque thus effectively barring them from this right.
- ii. Ahmadis are barred from propagating their faith or publishing religious texts something that the Constitution allows the minorities.
- iii. Passports, national identity cards and electoral rolls designate religious affiliations. Applicants for public sector employment too require that the religion be mentioned. In both cases, Muslim applicants must negate the Ahmadi movement and denounce its founder. This effectively disenfranchises Ahmadis denying them access to citizenship rights and public sector jobs.

Article 25 guarantees equality before law and equal protection of law. But many provisions of the Constitution discriminate against minorities:

- i. Freedom of speech is subject to ‘reasonable restrictions in the interest of the glory of Islam,’ as stipulated in the Penal Code. Blasphemy laws too are Muslim specific (that is only against Islam) and prescribe extremely strong penalties (Sections 298A, 298B and 298C of the Pakistan Penal Code). Persons are subject to death for ‘defiling Prophet Muhammad,’ to life imprisonment for ‘defiling, damaging, or desecrating the Quran,’ and to 10 years’ imprisonment for ‘insulting another’s religious feelings.’ Speech or action intended to incite religious hatred is punishable by up to seven years’ imprisonment. And Ordinance XX (1984), targeting Ahmadis is particularly discriminatory with its vague definition of offence and draconian punishments. According to one estimate, up to 1992, 1,790 criminal cases had been filed under this ordinance (Lau, 2006: 114-115).
- ii. The Hudood laws too discriminate thus contravening Article 25. Witnesses against a Muslim accused are required to be adult Muslim males. There is no such restriction for non-Muslim accused. And the presiding judge (in a case involving a Muslim) must again be a Muslim. Besides violating the guarantee to equality this also violates the guarantee given under Article 227 (3) that nothing under the Islamic provisions section would affect the personal laws of non-Muslims or their status as citizens (Zia, 2010:155).

There is no system of civil or common law marriages, marriages being performed and registered according to individuals’ religions. But the government does not have a legal mechanism to register the marriages of Hindus and Sikhs causing women from these religious groups difficulties in inheritance, accessing health services, voting, obtaining passports and buying or selling property (US State Department, 2014: 3). It was only recently, in February 2016 that the parliamentary panel approved the Hindu Marriage Bill 2016 and the Sindh Assembly passed the bill, 2016 (*The Hindu*, 2016).

Article 22 assures freedom from forced religious instructions.

Article 22 guarantees that no person shall be required to receive religious education other than his own, prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion alone with regard to admission in educational institutions and receiving public assistance and allows affirmative action by public authorities for the advancement of disadvantaged groups. Islamic studies are compulsory for all Muslim students in state-run schools, which in itself

is a violation of individual rights. And although students of other religious groups are not legally required to study Islam, they generally are not offered parallel studies in their own religious beliefs and by default are required to take up Islamic studies (*The Hindu*, 2016).

Article 27 guarantees non-discrimination in public service appointments. But violating that is Article 41 which stipulates that only Muslims can be the head of state and the mandatory oath of office for the Prime Minister (swearing that he/she is a Muslim and believes in the unity of god and finality of the Prophet) effectively debars non-Muslims and Ahmadis. Non-Muslim judges and advocates are discriminated in the Federal Supreme Court and under the Hudood Ordinance unless the accused is a non-Muslim (Zia, 2010: 167). Applicants for public sector employment, designating themselves as Muslims, must sign a declaration negating their Ahmadi beliefs and its founder.

Right to life and security

It is the state's duty to provide security to its citizens, ensuring protection of their lives, security and property regardless of their religious, ethnic or linguistic affiliations. Minorities in any context expect the state to perform this basic state function and so do minorities in Pakistan. However, as recent events demonstrate the Pakistani state is increasingly unable to guarantee this basic right, especially to its minorities. The latest Pakistan edition of the US State Department International Religious Freedom report, comments that the country represents one of the worst situations in the world for religious freedom, with Pakistan continuing to experience chronic violence targeting Shia Muslims, Christians, Ahmadi Muslims and Hindus – Pakistan's principal religious minorities (USCIRF, 2015: 109). To give an idea about the kind of attacks on minorities in Pakistan, we refer to some incidents in 2015 when an estimated seven cases of organized assaults on minorities took place; of these terrorist organizations affiliated to Islamist parties attacked on four different occasions. In one such attack on 15 March on St. John's Catholic Church and Christ Church in Lahore left 19 dead and 70 injured. Identical attacks against Christians took place on 26 and 27 May 2015.

Attacks on minorities on questionable grounds of blasphemy, occurred on two occasions in 2015. In one instance, there was an attack on a factory belonging to a member of the Ahmadi community in Jhelum district.

Life and security of minorities

Different laws like the ones on blasphemy and attacks by a variety of extremist groups on different minority communities have increased over time. This section catalogues the many ways in which life and security is denied to the minorities using a historical lens but focusing on recent trends. This section is arranged based on the intensity of violence that principal religious minorities have suffered in recent years. Thus, we begin with the Shia community, followed by Ahmadi Muslims, Christians, Hindus and Sikhs. The last section discusses the issues of both omission and commission by the state to point out its inability to protect its minorities from the attacks that are increasing throughout the country at an alarming rate.

Attacks on Shias

Recent trends of assaults on the Shia community are a worrisome tendency that started developing in the mid-1980s. The site of many of these attacks was Punjab province – especially Jhang district - as well as urban areas across the country. According to available reports, between 1985 and 1989, over 300 Shias were killed in Jhang. Between 1989 and 2003, 1,468 Shias were killed and 3,370 injured in approximately 1,813 incidents. Over time anti-Shia violence has spread to other parts of the country, especially large urban centres. According to one report, in Karachi alone 293 people died of whom 200 were Shias in different riots between 1994 and June 2002 (Online Encyclopaedia of Mass Violence). According to a report by the Jinnah Institute, violence against Shias peaked in 2012-15: 'The overall number of bomb blasts and targeted attacks have reached unprecedented levels with 1,304 people killed from explosions, and another 601 people falling victim to targeted killings.' The number of people injured in bomb blasts was 950; 23 Imambarahs also came under attack in 2012-15.

The severity of violence targeted at Shias is given in *Table 1*.

In recent years, ethnic Hazaras, predominantly Shias, have been facing violent attacks, especially in Balochistan province. Since 2008, an estimated 500 Hazaras have been killed in different attacks. This has resulted in large-scale migration (nearly 30,000 Hazaras, according to one report) of Hazaras from Balochistan in the last five years. On 21 January 2014, a suicide bomber attacked a bus carrying Hazara Shia pilgrims in Balochistan's Mastung district killing 24 and injuring 40. On 23 October of the same year,

a gunman fired on a bus transporting Hazara traders killing eight persons (US State Department, 2014: 11). Attacks on Shia mosques, some with deadly consequences, have become common – in a two-month period in early 2015, 90 Shias were reported killed in three major attacks against Shias in Shikarpyr (Sindh), Peshawar and Rawalpindi (Punjab) (SATP, 2015). Poor security for Shias has also been facilitated by the increasing Shia-Sunni tensions, some of which at least were fanned historically by Zia ul Haq’s Islamization drive in the 1980s deepening sectarian tensions in Pakistan.

Attacks on Ahmadis

Ahmadis, another Muslim minority, have faced the brunt of attacks and violence. The first large-scale violence against minorities in post-independence Pakistan against Ahmadis was in 1953 when an estimated 2,000 persons were killed by rampaging mobs in Rabwa town in Jhang district, Punjab. A repeat of this mass violence in 1974 in the same area resulted in the death of 42 persons of whom 27 belonged to the Ahmadi community (Online Encyclopaedia of Mass Violence). The frequency of anti-Ahmadi violence and its intensity have increased since (*see Table 2*). The constitutional change in 1974, resulting in Ahmadis being declared non-Muslims, vitiated the atmosphere against them making them further vulnerable to attacks.

A recent study on Ahmadis reveals the seriousness of the assault on the community from 1984 to 31 December 2015. (*see Table 3*).

Many Ahmadis continue to be labelled as blasphemers and violent attacks by mobs against Ahmadis occur at regular intervals. In 2014, 11 Ahmadis were killed in mob attacks. According to media reports, on 16 May 2014 one Khalil Ahmad, an Ahmadi, was in police custody allegedly for committing blasphemy. He was shot dead in police custody by someone who walked in and fired a gun at him. On 26 May, Dr Mehdi Ali Qamar, a Canadian-American cardiologist who had come to Pakistan was shot dead by two strangers. On 27 July 2014 a mob attacked an Ahmadi neighbourhood in Gujranwala and burned down eight houses because some members of the community had posted blasphemous material on Facebook (HRCP, 2015: 131-134; US Department of State).

Ahmadi places of worship too are not spared the violence. In early October 2005, an Ahmadi mosque was attacked in village Mong near Mandi

Table 1. Statistics on Targeted Violence against the Shia Community in Pakistan

Time period	Number of attacks	Killed	Injured	Targeted bombing	Targeted shooting
July 2012 to June 2013	54	514	769	17	28
July 2013 to June 2014	54	222	289	11	29

Source: Compiled by the author from Factsheet Pakistan, August 2014 (US State Department 2014: 3-4).

Note: We are unable to provide more up to date data as more recent data on violence, disaggregated by religion is not available.

Table 2. Statistics on Targeted Violence against the Ahmadi Community in Pakistan

Time period	Number of attacks	Killed	Injured	Targeted bombing	Targeted shooting
July 2012 to June 2013	40	17	28	1	20
July 2013 to June 2014	10	10	1	0	4

Source: Compiled by the author from Factsheet Pakistan, August 2014 (US Commission on International Religious Freedom, pp. 3-4).

Note: We are unable to provide more up to date data as more recent data on violence, disaggregated by religion is not available.

Table 3. Statistics on human rights violations of Ahmadis (From 1984 to 31 December 2015)

Type of Incident	Number
Ahmadis killed	248
Ahmadis target-killed this year	2
Ahmadis assaulted for their faith	323
Ahmadi mosques demolished	27
Ahmadi mosques sealed by authorities	32
Ahmadi mosques set on fire or damaged	20
Ahmadi mosques forcibly occupied	16
Ahmadi mosques whose construction was barred by authorities	52
Ahmadi bodies exhumed after burial	39
Burial of Ahmadis was denied in common cemetery	65
Incidents of Kalmia (Islamic creed) removal from Ahmadi houses and shops	43
Incidents of Kalmia removal from Ahmadi mosques	102

Source: A Report on Persecution of Ahmadis in Pakistan During 2015 retrieved from: <https://www.persecutionofahmadis.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Persecution-of-Ahmadis-in-Pakistan-2015.pdf>.

Bahauddin. The attack took the lives of eight Ahmadis, another 18 persons were injured. In 2006, five different Ahmadi places of worship came under attack. In February, 2009, another mosque of the community was attacked (South Asians for Human Rights, 2010:144). On 23 January 2014, some unknown persons burned down an Ahmadi place of worship. On 26 January of the same year, another Ahmadi mosque was attacked in Faisalabad. In June, some men accompanied by the police destroyed an Ahmadi mosque in Dera Ghazi Khan (HRCP, 2015: 133).

Attacks on Christians

Attacks on Christians too have been common. They spiked immediately after western intervention in Afghanistan in 2001. On 28 October 2001, 18 Christians were gunned down inside the St. Dominic Church in Bahawalpur, Punjab. On 17 March 2002, four grenades were thrown inside a church in Islamabad, an incident that claimed the lives of five people and injured over 40. In a suicide bomb attack on 8 May 2002, 14 people were killed including 11 French naval engineers who were associated with a submarine project with the Pakistan Navy (Online Encyclopaedia of Mass Violence).⁷ Over the years, attacks against Christians have become regular (*Table 4*).

Often Christians are accused of blasphemy, and often immediately after being accused they fall prey to attacks by majoritarian mobs. A Christian couple (Shama and Sajjad) in Kot Radha Kishan, Punjab were lynched in 2014. They were beaten to death and then burned on the pretext that they had desecrated a copy of the *Quran* (HRPC, 2014: 129; US Department of State:12). A serious attack on Christians took place in September 2013 in Michael Town, Korangi, Karachi, when 300 Christian homes were burned down in mob violence forcing the victims to flee (HRCP, 2015: 130).

In the same year, a Muslim mob of more than 3,000 persons in retaliation against alleged blasphemy, burned 100 Christian homes in Lahore's Joseph Colony (US Department of State: 8).

Attacks on churches takes place frequently in Pakistan. In 2005, *madrassa* students pulled down an under-construction church on the grounds that it was being erected in close proximity to a mosque. Local Muslim religious leaders declared that a church could not be constructed

7. The post-2001 situation saw an increase in the attack and this point was well accepted in different reports. Mention could be made of Minority Rights Group International (2013: 7).

Table 4. Statistics on Targeted Violence against the Christian Community in Pakistan

Time period	Number of attacks	Killed	Injured	Targeted bombing	Targeted shooting	Rapes
July 2012 to June 2013	32	7	33	0	3	3
July 2013 to June 2014	22	128	185	1	5	3

Source: Compiled by the author from Factsheet Pakistan, August 2014 (US Commission on International Religious Freedom, pp. 3-4).

Note: We are unable to provide more up to date data as more recent data on violence, disaggregated by religion is not available.

in close proximity to a mosque (South Asians for Human Rights, 2010:143). One of the largest attacks against Christians took place in September 2013 when a suicide bomb attack killed more than 100 persons at the All Saints Church in Peshawar (Minority Rights Group International, 2013: 7). Attacks on churches continue. On 15 March 2015, at least 15 people were killed and 70 injured when two Taliban suicide bombers attacked churches in Lahore (*Dawn*, 2015a). And, in yet another instance of suicide bombing, this time on Easter Sunday on 27 March 2016 over 70 persons were killed in Lahore city.

There are other forms of violence too against Christians. According to a report of the Movement for Solidarity and Peace in Pakistan, every year around 700 Christian women were abducted, forcibly converted to Islam and then married to Muslim men. As a consequence of this violence and lack of security, thousands of Christians have migrated out of the country (HRCP, 2015: 129-130).

Attacks on Hindus

Violence against Hindus is also commonplace. *Table 5* provides data on anti-Hindu violence in recent years.

Most of the violence against Hindus takes the form of forcible conversions, especially of women, to Islam. Cases of Hindu girls being abducted and then being forcibly converted to Islam and married to Muslim men is common. The Secretary-General of the All Pakistan Hindu Panchayat reported that approximately 1,000 girls in Sindh had been victims of forced conversions to Islam (HRCP, 2015: 126). However, many incidents of forced

conversions go unnoticed and are hence not reported (South Asians for Human Rights, 2010: 162). Kidnapping of Hindu traders too takes place with regularity, especially in Balochistan (HRCF, 2015: 126). Attacks against Hindu places of worship too are common. Reports point to the destruction and takeover of temples after Partition. A recent report commented that ‘thousands of temples have been destroyed or converted into mosques in the years since then, and there are an estimated 360 temples remaining (with a smaller number still functioning).’ In retaliatory violence against the destruction of the Babri Masjid in India in 1992, there was a spike in temple attacks in Pakistan (Hindu American Foundation, 2015: 67). According to *The New York Times* (8 December 1992), Muslims attacked more than 30 Hindu temples across Pakistan on 7 December 1992.

A recent HRCF report cites cases of such attacks. In January 2014, a Hindu temple was attacked in Peshawar; the police suspected it to be a militant attack. On 15 March just before midnight another temple in Larkana, Sindh, was attacked by a mob and subsequently burned down after a rumour spread that a member of the Hindu community had desecrated a copy of the *Quran*.⁸ Incidents of an identical nature were also witnessed in different corners of the country:

- i. on 17 March a temple in Badin was attacked,
- ii. on 28 March a small Hindu temple was torched in Hyderabad,
- iii. on 30 March the Faqir Par Braham Ashram in Tharparkar was desecrated, and
- iv. on 21 November an idol of Hanuman and some religious books were burned down in the Sindh area.⁹

The first half of 2015 also saw a spike in incidents at Hindu religious sites. In February 2015, three Hindu temples in Sindh were attacked:

- i. Makli Mata temple in Makli district;
- ii. Radha temple in Mirpurkhas; and
- iii. Krishna temple in Hyderabad (Hindu American Foundation, 2015: 68).

8. Reuters (2014). The same incident was reported in other reports that dealt with the issue of minorities in the same year. See, for instance, United States Department of State:14).

9. The attack on 21 November in the Sindh area was reported in different periodicals. See, for instance, Dawn, 21 November 2014 at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1145998>.

Table 5. Statistics on Targeted Violence against the Hindu Community in Pakistan

Time period	Number of attacks	Killed	Injured	Targeted bombing	Targeted shooting	Rapes
July 2012 to June 2013	10	2	2	0	3	5
July 2013 to June 2014	4	0	1	0	0	0

Source: Compiled by the author from Factsheet Pakistan, August 2014 (US Commission on International Religious Freedom, pp. 3-4).

Note: We are unable to provide more up to date data as more recent data on violence, disaggregated by religion is not available.

The trend of attacking temples continued in 2016 as one of the leading Indian newspapers *The Hindu* reported on 2 February 2016 that a 60-year-old temple in Karachi was attacked on 21 January. The land mafia in Pakistan has occupied temples for different commercial purposes without the consent of the Hindu community (see, for instance, South Asians for Human Rights, 2010: 142).

Sustained attacks against Hindus have resulted in a steady migration of Hindus out of Pakistan, mostly to India. As a result, the Hindu population's ratio in Pakistan declined from 15 per cent in West Pakistan in 1947 to just 2 per cent in 1951. In Karachi, there was a sharp decline in the number of Hindus (from 51 per cent in 1947 to approximately 2 per cent in 1951) (Hindu American Foundation, 2015: 60). The number fell to just 1.85 per cent according to the 1998 Census. The increase in violence has resulted in large-scale migration of the Hindus, out of Pakistan to India (The Times of India, 2014). According to Ramesh Kumar Wankwani, a PML-N lawmaker and head of the Pakistan Hindu Council, around 5,000 Hindus have migrated from Pakistan to India every year due to religious persecution (See HRCP, 2015: 127).

Attacks on Sikhs

Details of the violence against Pakistan's Sikh community in recent years are given in *Table 6*.

On 3 September 2014, unidentified gunmen killed a Sikh in his shop in Shaheedan Bazaar, Mardan. Three days later, in another instance, there was open firing on three shops run by Sikhs in Hashtnagri, Peshawar. One Sikh was killed and two others were injured. Kidnapping and abductions are also

common against the Sikh community across the country. The abductors often demand a large amount and in many cases the Sikhs are unable to pay and hence the kidnapped Sikhs are killed (HRCP, 2015: 124-125). Killing of Sikhs is also reported elsewhere like <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-3043102/Spate-attacks-shake-Pakistans-dwindling-Sikh-community.html>.

Pakistan is an important place for the Sikh community. Guru Nanak Dev, the founder of the Sikh faith was born in Nankana, a town in Pakistan Punjab. A large number of Sikh pilgrims visit the country every year and there are many important gurdwaras across the country. But the security of these religious sites is in question. In September 2004, a violent mob attacked the famous gurdwara in Nankana Sahib. In 2008, a Sikh temple in Lahore was forcibly taken over by a group of Muslims (South Asians for Human Rights, 2010: 140). A HRCP report (2015: 125), said this on the security of Sikh places of worship: 'the Sikh community said they were afraid to go to gurdwaras to worship and many of their religious places were closed due to the poor security situation in the region. A lot of Sikhs also had to close down their shops. Many parents were not sending their children, especially boys, to school because they could be easily identified by their headdress.'

Attacks on other communities

Other minority groups have also been attacked. Zikris, concentrated in south-western Balochistan, is one such vulnerable community. They fear that they will suffer the same fate as the Ahmadi community as there have been demands from certain majoritarian groups to identify Zikris as a non-Muslim minority on the ground that they are predominantly Baloch ethnic groups (upi.com, 2015). Sunni/Namazi Muslims, belonging to different fundamentalist organizations have launched attacks against Zikris (Malik, 2002). Their places of worship have come under attack. One such instance occurred when Khana-i-Zikr in Teertej in Awaran was attacked in late August 2014. Six persons were killed in the attack by unidentified gunmen. *Dawn* (2015b) reported that 'soon after the attack in Teertej, other cases targeting Zikris were also reported from across Awaran. It included instances where Zikris were identified while travelling and asked to step down and were looted.'

Omissions by the state

It is difficult to state categorically who the actors are that have unleashed the reign of terror against minorities in Pakistan. The responsibility for the

Table 6. Statistics on Targeted Violence against the Sikh Community in Pakistan

Time period	Number of attacks	Killed	Injured	Targeted bombing	Targeted shooting
July 2012 to June 2013	2	1	0	0	0
July 2013 to June 2014	3	2	0	0	1

Source: Compiled by the author from Factsheet Pakistan, August 2014 (US Commission on International Religious Freedom, pp. 3-4).

Note: We are unable to provide more up to date data, because more recent data on violence, disaggregated by religion is not available..

attacks on Shias has been attributed to Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LEJ) and other militant organizations with avowed anti-Shia interests. As for the other minorities, there is no clearly identifiable group. Overall, it will be safe to say that although Pakistan does not present itself as a case of state sponsored massacres that often take place in other South Asian countries, non-state actors are actively engaged in attacks on different minority communities, something that the state is unable or unwilling to contain. The United States Department of State noted ‘there were several incidents involving the abuse of religious groups by individuals or organizations designated as terrorist organizations by the U.S. government, and by armed sectarian extremist groups with strong links to such organizations, including Lashkari Jhangvi, TTP, and Sipah-e-Sahaba.’ Other reports such as those by FIDH and HRCF, highlight the ‘...impunity for systematic attacks against members of minority groups by State and non-State actors’ (See FIDH, 2015).

In any case, minority religions do not receive the same protection that Islam has been granted under the law. All fundamentalist forces seem to have exploited this gap in the law to launch assaults against religious minorities. At the same time, attacks on minorities should be seen in the wider context of terrorist violence in the country and the overwhelming of the state by different terrorist organizations launching assaults on different occasions. The 2014 annual report of the State of Human Rights reported that 1,723 Pakistanis had lost their lives and 3,143 were injured in 1,206 terrorist attacks, including 26 suicide hits in 2014 (<http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/national/18-Apr-2015/hrcf-s-state-of-human-rights-report-1-723-pakistanis-lost-their-lives-in-terrorist-attacks-in>). A large proportion of the victims belonged to different religious minorities.

Commissions by the state

It must, however, be noted that it is not only non-state actors - armed organizations designated as terrorists and violent majoritarian mobs – who unleash attacks on religious minorities. There are also cases where the state machinery has been accused of carrying out attacks on religious sites. The HRCP annual report (2015: 122) notes:

US Commission on International Religious Freedom pointed out that Pakistan topped the list of countries that jailed citizens for allegedly attacking religion. Though courts gave death sentence to people who were charged with blasphemy, no one had ever been executed by the state. However, the accused often faced mob attacks and vigilante violence. A majority of the people charged with blasphemy were Muslim. More Ahmadis were booked under these laws than Christians, Hindus, and Sikhs.

The army was reportedly planning to demolish a Hindu temple in Rawalpindi to build a barrack and an educational complex. In March, an unauthorized development project also threatened a 160-year-old Shri Ratneshwar Mahadev Mandir in Clifton, Karachi when Bahria town started digging up the road leading up to the temple to build a flyover. It was reported that the vibration from the excavators was damaging the roof of the historic underground temple. On the basis of a HRCP letter (2015: 128), the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court summoned relevant officials. To meet this challenge, the Evacuee Trust Properties Board (ETPB) was set up with a mandate to protect the properties of minorities such as Hindus and Sikhs. But a survey conducted by the All Pakistan Hindu Rights Movement (APHRM) in March 2014 reported that out of the 428 places of worship, only 20 were operational, the remaining 95 per cent had been leased for residential and commercial purposes by ETPB itself (Minority Rights Group International, 2013: 22). In a similar manner, in June 2014 the police forbade Ahmadis from building a place of worship in Narowal (HRCP, 2015: 133).

Another important point is use of the blasphemy laws to penalize members of minority communities where the state has an active involvement. In 2014, 12 cases were registered under blasphemy laws. Sometimes the police itself crosses the line in using blasphemy laws. Mohammad Asghar, 70, a psychiatric patient, was arrested for claiming to be a prophet. He was shot by a police officer. His cell mate, a Christian pastor was arrested for blasphemy and was shot dead during an attack by the same police officer

(HRCP, 2015: 133). There have also been cases where individuals were penalized by the judiciary for merely expressing their views that some sections of the population thought were blasphemous. Mention can be made of Younis Sheikh who was arrested under blasphemy laws in early 2005. He was sentenced to death by the Anti-Terrorism Court, Karachi on the ground of writing 'blasphemous material' in his book *Shaitan Maulavi* (Satanic Cleric) (South Asians for Human Rights, 2010: 147).

Penalization of members of the Ahmadi community by the police is perhaps the most telling example of commission by the state. In 2015, 19 persons were charged by the police on religious grounds in eight cases (See A Report on Persecution of Ahmadis in Pakistan during the year 2015 (Summary): 139).

A report notes: 'Between 1927 (year in which Britishers introduced section 295-A) and 1986, there had been only seven reported cases of blasphemy. However, 1986 onwards as many as 4,000 cases have been reported. Between 1988 and 2005, Pakistani authorities charged 647 people with offences under the Blasphemy Laws. Fifty percent of the people charged were non-Muslims. More than 20 people have been murdered for alleged blasphemy. Two third of all the cases are in the Punjab Province of Pakistan' (http://www.eepa.be/wcm/dmdocuments/EP_Hearing_Pakistan/Blasphemy_law_fact_sheet.pdf). So widespread is the misuse of blasphemy laws that in its 12th Regular Session, the General Assembly of the Human Rights Council of the United Nations observed: 'Since 1986 blasphemy laws have been frequently used to intimidate and persecute religious minorities and to settle personal vendetta. Hundreds of innocent people have been imprisoned, forced to leave the country or killed by Islamic extremists' (See <http://un.op.org/en/node/2814>).

We have already seen the nature of attacks by Muslim fundamentalist groups on temples, churches etc. There have been some attempts to resist such attacks. On one occasion, in the aftermath of the church attacks in March 2015, the Sindh provincial government announced that it would hire 2,000 Hindu and Christian police officers to protect temples and churches. There is no denying that the initiative is a noble one, but one is unclear whether this has been implemented and how effective it has been or will be (Hindu American Foundation, 2015: 68).

A consequence of these relentless attacks on the minorities has been the drastic fall in their population in the country – many who could, have migrated. This seems to be an outcome of the tendency of a section of Pakistan’s leaders to declare Pakistan as an Islamic state, a case of abandoning Jinnah’s idea of a secular Pakistan. In the 1960s, it was also accompanied by a sustained anti-Hindu (often Bengali) sentiment which resulted in regular violence against Hindus across the country. From 1970s onward (to be specific from 1974), with Zia ul Haq’s rule, a process of Islamization took roots. Islamization is a term used by some scholars to denote an all-out effort to make legislations and a legal framework in the country in tune with Sharia law. It is in this context that the Ahmadis were declared non-Muslim. This, in turn, gave many fundamentalist organizations an opportunity to unleash violence against the Ahmadis. From the mid-1980s Shias have come under many attacks. It is not only religious minorities, but even certain sections of Muslims, deemed non-Muslim by these fundamentalist organizations, who are being attacked.

Right to non-discrimination in the socioeconomic sphere

The right not to be discriminated against is important in protecting the rights of minorities. But minorities in Pakistan experience significant discrimination in their daily lives. In the absence of any disaggregated data, it is difficult to come up with numbers to show the status of the minorities in terms of their socioeconomic rights. Lack of data is a finding in itself that needs to be addressed if any progress is to be made in combating discrimination and improving the lives of the minorities.

In this section, we map out the socioeconomic conditions of Pakistan’s minorities within the larger context of the socioeconomic situation in Pakistan. We try to understand the intersectionality between religion on the one hand and socioeconomic conditions on the other as it is seen that religious minorities in Pakistan have higher chances of being poor. We focus on three different themes: poverty, education and health to map the socioeconomic conditions of the minorities. Since there is no disaggregated data to point out poverty among members of religious minorities we focus on available sources to demonstrate the marginalized existence and poor levels of employment of members of different religious minorities. For this, we drew on material from various sources, including civil society reports. What we present in this section are patterns and trends of how minorities fare with regard to access to different socioeconomic rights.

Poverty

In the absence of any data related to the poverty prevalent among religious minorities, we studied employment figures. The Government of Pakistan (in 2009) reserved 5 per cent of all jobs in government departments for educated and skilled members of religious minorities. *The Express Tribune* (2014) reported that despite the quota, government departments only had a negligible number of non-Muslim employees. Only eight non-Muslims were employed in the State Life Insurance Corporation of Pakistan that works under the Ministry of Commerce –four in Karachi and four in Punjab. The corporation’s offices in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (K-P) and Balochistan had no non-Muslim employees. Similarly, only four non-Muslims were employed in the National Insurance Company Limited. Most members of religious minorities live in extreme poverty and their children fail to attain education. Thus, quotas make little difference as few can meet the eligibility requirements. Most Christians are sweepers or brick kiln workers. Similarly, a majority of the Hindus, also identified as Dalits, are engaged in the agricultural sector; in reality they are engaged as bonded labour.¹⁰

There is no official data disaggregated by religion to show the conditions of minorities in terms of employment. However, a survey by the Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS, 2008: 26), reported that more than 48 per cent Scheduled Caste Hindus worked as agriculture workers and daily wagers. Of the total working population of Dalits in Pakistan, 11 per cent worked as domestic workers (IIDS, 2008:26). A large portion of them worked as bonded labour in agriculture. Similarly, the Christian population in Pakistan was marginalized to such an extent that a majority of them picked up jobs in brick kilns, willing to be engaged as bonded labour. As a consequence of these working opportunities, Dalits and Christians generally lived a life of impoverishment. Thus, for instance, as wage labourers in agriculture, 85 per cent of the Dalits earned monthly incomes between Rs 500 and Rs 3,000, which even at the maximum level of Rs 3,000 was 35 per cent less than the official national minimum wages of an un-skilled worker (IIDS, 2008: 27). The fact that Dalits, according to many accounts, represent the bulk of the Hindu population, says a lot about the condition of Hindus and other minorities in general.

9. A report called “Status of the Minorities in Pakistan” commented the following: “Vast majority of the Hindu population is concentrated in few districts of Sindh desert. They are grouped as Hindus and Scheduled Cast which means a good number of them belongs to low cast (Dalits)” (See http://www.eepa.be/wcm/dmdocuments/EP_Hearing_Pakistan/Fact_Sheet_Minorities_in_Pakistan.pdf, page 1).

Estimates of the Dalit population in Pakistan continue to be a matter of contestation. According to the 1998 Census, the total population of Hindus in Pakistan was 2,443,514 of which 2,111,171 were Hindu jatis (upper castes) and 332,343 were Scheduled Caste Hindus (lower castes). But according to IDSN (2008: 10-11), official sources seriously under-reported the Dalit population. A majority of the Hindus in Pakistan were Scheduled Castes. According to another study, and confirming IDSN's claim, 85 per cent of the Hindus in Pakistan were Dalits (Counter Currents, 2012). According to civil society groups, official denial of the Dalit status of most Hindus is a clear example of the denial of rights to Dalits and other minorities.

Bonded labour

A significant section of the workforce belonging to minority communities experiences modern day slavery in many parts of the country. In this typical form of slavery, the employers 'forcibly extract labor from adults and children, restrict their freedom of movement, and deny them the right to negotiate the terms of their employment' (HRW, 1995:1). The Global Slavery Index (2013) commented on the widespread practice of bonded labour in the country and ranked Pakistan as the third worst place in the world for forced labour. Another report estimated that there could be 3 to 8 million bonded labour across the country (*Dawn*, 2014a). The existence of a bonded labour force, primarily belonging to the Dalit and Christian population, can be seen in different activities like brick kilns, agriculture, carpet weaving, mining, tanning, cotton seed production, handicraft production, production of glass bangles and domestic work (IDSN, 2014).

Access to employment opportunities

The issue of employment and livelihood for religious minorities is not restricted to the question of bonded labour. Overall, employment avenues for religious minorities do not suggest a happy picture. Most of them are largely confined to low-wage, menial employment. Although it is also true that a small section within the minorities has held influential positions. Thus, for instance, only one Christian has reached the position of Major General in the history of the Pakistani Army (Hisam and Qureshi, 2013: 37). The issue of minorities not having access to better employment opportunities and merely being reduced to wage earners and menial workers was also brought forth by the Minority Rights Group International (2014). In most of the cases, Hindus and Christians living in cities were engaged in menial work including low-level sanitary jobs and working as street sweepers, which the Muslims were generally unwilling to do. A large number of Christians were

Profile of a vulnerable minority: **Bonded Labour**

One of the problems that a vast majority of the workforce in Pakistan has experienced over time is the existence of bonded labour, a form of modern day slavery in certain parts of the country. The existence of bonded labour in modern Pakistan can also be seen as a larger problem of religious minorities, as significant sections of the Hindu Dalit and Christian population are trapped in this practice. Human Rights Watch has commented on the practice of bonded labour as (HRW, 1995: 1):

Throughout the country employers forcibly extract labor from adults and children, restrict their freedom of movement, and deny them the right to negotiate the terms of their employment. Employers coerce such workers into servitude through physical abuse, forced confinement, and debt-bondage. The state offers these workers no effective protection from this exploitation. Although slavery is unconstitutional in Pakistan and violates various national and international laws, state practices support its existence. The state rarely prosecutes or punishes employers who hold workers in servitude. Moreover, workers who contest their exploitation are invariably confronted with police harassment, often leading to imprisonment under false charges.

The situation has not improved much since then. On the contrary, the Global Slavery Index 2013 commented on the widespread practice of bonded labour in the country and ranked Pakistan as the third worst place in the world for forced labour. This situation is connected to the inequalities between religious minorities and the Muslim majority. It could be mentioned here that a large number of religious minorities constitute bonded labour in the country (MRG, 2014: 21). In the absence of official data, one has to rely on different sources that point out the number of bonded labour in Pakistan: "There is no exact calculation of the number of bonded labourers.

Research by the Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER) in 2000 estimated that the total number of sharecroppers (haris) in debt bondage across the whole of Pakistan was over 1.8 million people. Furthermore, surveys showed that more

... *contd.* ...

engaged as street sweepers (Minority Rights Group International, 2014: 21). A blog suggests the prevalence of minorities doing menial work in cities (see Pakistansuntouchables.blogspot). Another survey among the Christians of Lahore reported that about 71 per cent of the Christian population in the city was a part of the labour force. Out of this, the employment rate for Christians in Lahore was 37.1 per cent. The remaining 62.9 per cent were unemployed. The report added that 93.93 per cent of the employed Christians worked in the private sector, while only 6.07 per cent were engaged in public sector jobs (Minority Voices).

The problem of employment for minorities is not only confined to the vast uneducated sections of the communities. It has been widely reported that even the educated Christian population finds it difficult to find employment. This is particularly true in Punjab where Christians are categorically marginalized to the extent that the educated lot feels discriminated against in accessing the employment sector (the Jinnah Institute, 2011: 51).

Denial of relief during disasters/natural calamities

Denial of basic services for Dalits, who are also a part of the Hindu minority in Pakistan, is a common practice in the country. The Pakistan Dalit Solidarity Network reported that Dalits were denied access to flood relief camps because of their caste identity and were forced to live under the open sky in 2010-11 (IDSN, 2011). When it comes to access to rehabilitation schemes during floods, the Dalits are the worst affected in different parts. In its 2010 report IDSN said: 'thousands of Dalit families faced caste discrimination in relief efforts, hampering their access to necessary help. There is only limited disaggregated data available about the affected population. The estimated number of dalits affected is 500,000, mostly in the Sindh province. The information collected by PDSN and its member organisations suggests there was severe discrimination against dalits during emergency rescue and relief work. Media, both printed and electronic, have also reported that scheduled caste Hindus were discriminated in distribution of food and denied shelter.'

Education

Pakistan has one of the lowest literacy rates in the world. Only 52 per cent of its population can read and write. A survey conducted in 2008 noted that 'vulnerable and marginalized groups of the population such as women, children, religious minorities, low caste, and bonded labourers make the majority of illiterate population' (IDSN, 2008: 28). Another report, prepared by

...Profile of a vulnerable minority continued ...

than 6.7 million people were involved in the practice of *begar*, which refers to a traditional system of family labour which is unpaid, compulsory, and amounts to debt bondage. Hence the calculated number of people kept in bondage based on the PILER study amounts to come more than 8.6 million. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan in 1994 estimated that approximately 20 million were kept in forced labour (International Dalit Solidarity Network, 2014c,d). In the absence of any official data, the same source continues to note: 'Dalits and other low caste Hindus bear the brunt of these abuses because of their minority status. The multiple disempowerment of being poor, low caste or Dalit as well as non-Muslim are the main contributing factors to the oppressive conditions of bonded labour in Pakistan claims a PILER report' (See International Dalit Solidarity Network, 2014c,d). The issue of bonded labour with reference to the employment of minorities in the country is a growing concern.

It has been estimated that there are several hundred thousand Dalits working as bonded labour across the country. In a 2014 seminar on bonded labour experts claimed the existence of 3 to 8 million bonded labourers in the country (*Dawn*, 2014). The practice of bonded labour can be seen in big and petty productive activities that typically include brick kilns, agriculture, carpet weaving, mining, tanning, cotton seed production, handicraft production, production of glass bangles and domestic work (IDSN, 2014). Out of these sectors brick kilns and agriculture are the areas where the problem of bonded labour is the highest (HRCP, 2015: 251). This position seemed to have taken a turn for the better in 2014 as Pakistan ranked sixth in the Global Slavery Index 2014. According to the Index's estimates, there were approximately 2,058,200 people in Pakistan living a life of slavery. It could well be mentioned at the outset that marginal differences might exist in the different datasets that estimate the number of bonded labourers. In the absence of any government data, there is always the possibility of different civil society organizations working on the same theme to come up with slightly different sets of data, owing primarily to the different methodological approaches that they follow.

... contd. ...

the National Commission on Justice and Peace estimated that only 47 per cent of the minority women interviewed were educated; this was much lower than the national average of 57 per cent and far behind the urban literacy rate for women at 65 per cent (*Dawn*, 2012). Another study on the Christian community in Lahore reported literacy rates of 69.80 per cent. These fell to 28.7 per cent if one considered that an individual can read and write after passing the 10th standard (<http://www.minorityvoices.org/news.php/en/1081/pakistan-study-shows-christians-in-lahore-lag-behind-in-education-employment>).

The issue of poverty and illiteracy among large sections of religious minorities is organically connected as people are illiterate because they are poor and they are poor because they have failed to receive any education or they could not send their children to school.

It should also be noted that widespread discrimination is an everyday phenomenon in the admission process in the educational sector. Hisam and Qureshi's 2013 study pointed out that in institutions of higher and professional education, minorities were denied admissions on the basis of merit after the filling of reserved seats was completed. A survey by the Jinnah Institute (2011: 51) pointed out cases of young Christian students who, despite obtaining high grades, were refused admission in colleges.

Reports also point to Ahmadi students being routinely ostracized by both teachers and students in colleges. The infamous Punjab Medical College case shows systematic discrimination against Ahmadi students in the college. Twenty-three students from the community, 15 female and eight male, across the five years of medical school were expelled by college authorities, 'accused' of preaching their religious beliefs. Interestingly, the college authority did practically nothing to prevent continuous discrimination of the Ahmadi student community (the Jinnah Institute, 2011: 53-54).

Health

Health is another important social indicator which shows the level of development of any nation or a group of the population. Dalits and religious minorities in Pakistan face poor health outcomes (Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, 2008: 31). Associated with this is chronic malnutrition and hunger, particularly among Dalits. A recent report points out that 'starvation and hunger is a real threat to many dalits in Pakistan, particularly those in the Thar desert, which is often hit by droughts.' In March 2014, the Pakistan

...Profile of a vulnerable minority continued ...

Brick kilns

One of the prominent sectors characterized by the use of bonded labour are brick kilns. It is estimated that nearly 90 per cent of brick kiln workers in Pakistan are bonded, facing extremely harsh work conditions. According to ILO, in 2001 the estimated population in the brick kilns industry was approximately 1,000,000 (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2013: 13). A survey by the Jinnah Institute pointed out the case of insecure working conditions with a higher level of oppression for bonded labour in brick kilns most of whom were Christians.

There are five categories of brick kiln labourers. One such category is called patheras. They are the main brick makers as their work involves excavating the clay, making the mixture and moulding lumps of clay into bricks. Some 65 per cent of the patheras belong to the Christian community (Walbridge, 2003, 120-121). The International Religious Freedom report 2011 states that Christians are the victims of bonded labour in brick-making industries (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada).

A Human Rights Watch report confirms this when it comments that 'relative to their percentage of the total population, a high proportion of bonded brick-kiln workers in Punjab are Christians: thirteen out of nineteen brickkiln workers interviewed individually in Punjab by HRW/Asia were Christian' (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 41).

A majority of the brick kilns are located in Punjab, which is interestingly home to a good majority of Pakistani Christians – 52 per cent of the Pakistani Christians live in cities in the Punjab region, while the remaining 48 per cent belong to rural areas (Europe External Policy Advisors). The largest number of brick kilns is in the state of Punjab. This was even reported in one of the local English periodicals (see *The Friday Times*, 2015). It is interesting to note that while Punjab is one of the richest provinces in the country it still continues to engage in bonded labour.

In 2012 the Punjab government fixed a minimum wage of Rs 0788 per 1,000 bricks for special bricklayers. However, a recent survey

... contd. ...

Dalit Solidarity Network reported starvation deaths of more than 100 children, a majority of whom belonged to Dalit families in the region. More deaths of Dalit children in the same area were reported again in September of the same year (IDSN, 2014).

Right to effective participation

A key minority right is effective participation of persons belonging to minorities in public affairs and in all aspects of life to ensure that the diversity of society with regard to minority groups is reflected in public institutions and that minorities have a voice in taking decisions. If these are the standards, Pakistan's minorities enjoy very limited participation in elected bodies, in civil service and in general in the private sector.

The separate electorate system

During Zia ul Haq's time, the system of a separate electorate for minorities came into play. Let us take a quick look at the history of this system in Pakistan. The very idea of a separate electorate came into play in British India and it was voiced, among others, by the Muslim community led by the Muslim League. They feared that they would not get their due share in elected bodies and hence they called for separate electorates. Separate electorates were introduced in 1909 in central and provincial assemblies. The system of separate electorates continued after the formation of Pakistan. No general election was held in Pakistan under the Government of India Act 1935 that served as the country's provisional constitution. It was only in March 1956 that the first indigenous Constitution was enforced. Thus, the provincial assembly elections in Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunwala and East Bengal, held between 1951 and 1956, that is, after the formation of Pakistan till the adoption of the first Constitution, continued to have the system of separate electorates.

During the discussion that took place on having an indigenous constitution for the country after the formation of Pakistan, elected members from East Bengal put forth the idea of joint electorates. But no action was taken to translate this demand into reality. It was at the time of the general elections in 1958 that the separate electorate system was changed to joint electorates. The Constitution Commission was set up under the chairmanship of Shahabuddin and tasked with examining the system of electorates, among other issues, as its main terms of reference. The commission favoured a joint electorate. However, Ayub Khan disregarded the commission's

...Profile of a vulnerable minority continued ...

points out that the owners of the brick kiln industry do not necessarily follow the government's directives. One worker is reported to have received less than Rs 100 (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2013: 13-14). According to rough estimates, each kiln has an average of 25 families working on the site. Most families are indebted to the owner of the brick kiln as they are tied in a system called paishgi, according to which labourers borrow money from the owner to meet their needs. During the period of paishgi repayment (loan payback), the entire family becomes a prisoner of the kiln owner. After subtracting the 'loan payment', the workers receive a wage much below the government directive and not adequate enough to fulfil material needs (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2013: 14). Paishgi continues and is transferred from one generation to the next. Thus, a bonded labour family does not find any avenue to come out of this situation. There is no implementation of the Bonded Labour System Abolition Act.

The working conditions of brick kiln workers entail cruel and inhuman treatment, which facilitates increased bondage. The workers have a shift of 14 hours of work. A limited number of the workers have a written contract, while most of them are merely reduced to an unorganized working class with an informal 'verbal understanding' of an abysmally low wage, thus forcing them to live below the poverty line (the Jinnah Institute, 2011: 52). A huge number of children are forced to work as bonded labourers and needless to say they are the worst affected by this inhuman practice. In an interview, 12-year-old Jheeni said that she dreamt of becoming a teacher but his dream is very distant as he is forced to spend long hours in the brick kiln. Said he, 'I accompany my family to the workplace at six o'clock in the morning and we work all day, ending late when it is dark...During summer, it becomes hard to sustain the heat and work pressure. Often my hands are burnt while carrying baked bricks' (Al Jazeera, 2014).

Once disadvantaged people, especially Christian minorities take up jobs in brick kilns in the local area possibly because of dire economic needs, they are almost permanently trapped in the work. In some desperate situations, these people take very small loans in exchange for work for a few weeks in the brick kilns. But when this period is over and when they want to go back, the owner of the brick kiln uses

... contd. ...

recommendation and favoured separate electorates over joint electorates. The system of joint electorates continued even in the general elections in 1977. General Zia ul Haq reversed this from joint to separate electorates as it was an essential part of a larger political plan to promote Islamization in Pakistan's politics. In order to reverse the process of joint electorates, Zia amended the basic laws in 1985 (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan: 3-9). He chose to divide the Pakistani electorate into Muslim and non-Muslim entities. Under this new system, non-Muslims would have their own constituencies and separate representatives. Thus, the constituency of non-Muslim voters would not be decided by his/her locality. They would not share the same constituency with another Muslim, despite living in the same vicinity. One particular reserved constituency for the minorities might be shared by different people living across the country, thus going beyond the spatial/territorial limit of the constituencies. As a result, a minority representative might be a complete stranger to a non-Muslim voter residing in a completely different space (Malik, 2002: 19-20).

In the system put in place during Zia's rule, ten seats in the National Assembly were reserved for non-Muslims – four for Christians, four for Hindus, one for Sikhs and Parsis together and one for the Ahmadi community. There were also reservations for non-Muslims in the four provincial assemblies. Thus, for instance, nine seats were reserved in Sindh (five for Hindus, two for Christians, one for Sikhs and one for the Ahmadi community). Balochistan had two seats reserved for non-Muslims (one for Christians and one for Hindus, Sikhs and Parsis combined) (Malik, 2002: 19-20). There was opposition to the separate electorate system. A minority candidate in the Punjab assembly, Naeem Shakir, challenged the separate electorate system in an application before the Supreme Court in 1993. The court allowed Muslim and non-Muslim voters to cast their votes interchangeably across religious boundaries. However, the verdict was confined to the particular constituency and was not given general applicability. More importantly, this verdict proved to be temporary as the Supreme Court reversed its earlier verdict on 4 October 1993. The verdict did not allow Naeem Shakir to contest an election from a Muslim constituency (Malik, 2002: 19-20). However, much later, in early January 2002 the system of separate electorates was finally abolished by Musharraf.

Both the 1956 and 1962 constitutions do not have any provisions for reserved seats for minorities. The 1973 Constitution made provisions for reserved seats for religious minorities in provincial assemblies. Nine seats were reserved for different minority communities in the four provincial as-

...Profile of a vulnerable minority continued ...

different tricks to not let them leave work. One of the most recurrent clauses that the owners come up with is: 'No, you've lived in our house, you've eaten our food. Now you owe us twice as much, get back to work' (Whiteman, 2015).

A 2014 report suggests the continuing deplorable conditions of brick workers who are even denied the status of industrial workers even when brick kiln production has been declared an industry (International Dalit Solidarity Network, 2014c,d). One can possibly imagine a situation where a mass body of the 'industrial' workers, primarily Christians and other minorities, are robbed off their rights of social security, a clear breach of labour laws.

The agriculture sector

Another important area of bonded labour is the agriculture sector. The Sindh area is the largest for Hindu Dalit bonded labourers in agricultural production. A vast proportion of the Hindu population is concentrated in a few districts in the Sindh area. A majority of the Scheduled Caste population in Pakistan belongs to rural areas (93 per cent of the total Dalit population). Eighty-nine per cent of the Dalit population lives in six districts – Tharparkar, Umerkot, Mirpur Khas and Hyderabad in the Sindh area and Rahimyar Khan and Bahawalpur districts in the Punjab area (Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, 2008: 23-24).

This vast majority of Dalits does not have access to land and capital and is very often reduced to bonded labour in agriculture. Sindh also has the highest incidence of poverty (Arif : 5). Thus, the largest section of the Hindus is in a region that is marked by chronic poverty. The total estimated number of bonded labour employed in the agricultural sector is roughly 1,800,000 (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2013: 12). Dalits in Pakistan are the poorest and do not own any land as farmers. This situation leads them to bonded labour (International Dalit Solidarity Network, 2014c,d: 2-3).

Bonded labour is the most oppressing result of an inequitable land tenure system. Landholding patterns in the interior of Sindh are one of the most unjust systems that the country has witnessed. It is in

... contd. ...

semblies. Through the 4th amendment to the Constitution in 1975, provisions were made for reserved seats in the National Assembly. Six additional seats were created in the National Assembly to realize the policy of reserved seats for religious minorities. In 1985, Zia increased the number of reserved seats from six to 10 in the National Assembly. Reserved seats for religious minorities in the same amendment were increased from nine to 23 (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan: 3-9). After revocation of the system of separate electorates, the minorities were granted reserved seats in Pakistan's National Assembly –10 out of the 342 seats were reserved for them in the national Parliament. Clearly, this is too little. All these reserved seats are usually filled on the basis of proportional representation. Therefore, rather than being directly elected, minority legislatures are nominated by political parties. In the general elections in 2013 held under this system of nomination, five Hindus, three Christians and one Parsi made it to the Parliament. The five Hindus and one Parsi selected to the National Assembly are from Punjab and Sindh provinces. Two Christians are from Balochistan province and one is from Punjab province (Pakistan Christian Post, 2016).

There is no denying that the dynamics of separate electorates and reserved seats imply different manners of representation. What should be noted is that these two ideas are not opposed to one another. In fact, reserved seats for minorities were increased under Zia at a time when he revived the old trend of separate electorates. Although reserved seats for religious minorities with separate electorate mechanisms ensures that they find a place in elected assemblies, it ends up separating minorities from the majority population even in the same area. Majority Muslim political leaders representing different parties do not necessarily come in contact with members of local religious minorities. On the other hand, members of religious minorities can become aware of their potential role in the electorate process only when they are included in the larger whole of joint electorates. Reserved seats for religious minorities in the system of joint electorates not only secure their representation in the democratic process, but also ensure them greater bargaining power at least theoretically. Restoration of joint electorates in 2002 also had a decisive effect on the nature of minority representation. Except for the Ahmadis, it became possible for members of religious minorities to contest on general seats, which were formerly identified as Muslim seats. As a result of the change in policy, in many places non-Muslim candidates started participating in larger numbers in the elections and contesting from general seats (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan: 10-11).

...Profile of a vulnerable minority continued ...

this area where bonded labour is extensive; landowners use coercion for more profits (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 84).

Dalits and other low caste Hindus constitute a majority of the bonded labourers in the Sindh area (http://www.antislavery.org/includes/documents/cm_docs/2009/g/goonesekere.pdf). Dalit and poor Hindus are doubly affected as besides being poor they are also low caste or Dalit as well as non-Muslim (International Dalit Solidarity Network, 2014c,d). The prevalence of the lower caste or religious minorities in bonded labour is a well-accepted fact in Pakistan, with special reference to agriculture in certain parts (*Dawn*, 2015; ILO, 2005: 31). The working conditions for bonded labour in agriculture are extreme and many cases of non-payment of dues, harassment and violence against the labourers were reported from different districts in Sindh province in 2014 (HRCP, 2015: 253).

Pakistan's major parties have not ensured adequate representation of minorities in Parliament. In the 2013 elections, major parties like the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and its rival the Pakistan Muslim League did give national parliamentary tickets to non-Muslims. Ironically the country's largest religious party, the Jamaat-i-Islami, which is considered to be far more conservative, had one non-Muslim candidate. Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf had one Christian candidate from Karachi. Karachi-centred Muttahida Qaumi Movement party nominated non-Muslims for 26 national and provincial legislature seats (United Press International, 2013).

However, in 2012 the government decided to introduce a new bill to increase the number of seats for minorities in Parliament, proportionate to their population (*The Tribune*, 2012). If this 23rd Constitutional Amendment is passed, then minorities' seats will increase from 33 to around 44 in the national and provincial assemblies (Speroforum, 2012). The number of reserved seats in the national assembly alone will increase from 10 to 15 (UCAnews, 2016). At the moment, the bill relating to an increase in the number of seats for minorities in the national assembly is pending before both houses of Parliament (*Dawn*, 2016).

Minorities in armed forces and civil service

The position and extent of participation of the non-Muslim population in the armed forces has been very low. For instance, Hindus were not allowed

to join the armed forces until 2000 (*Dawn*, 2015a). A process of Islamization also started in the late 1970s, when the last batch of Anglo-Indians was about to retire. During Pervez Musharraf's time Hindus were allowed to join the army. Again in the 2000s, the Pakistan Army opened its platform in a limited way. One Sikh and two Hindu officers in the army and a few Hindu sailors in the Pak Navy were enrolled (Riaz, 2015). However, the representation of the Christian population in the army has always been there. We have not come across any concrete data to get an idea about the number of Christians in the Pakistan Army. But the following lines from an independent blog seem interesting in understanding the extent of their representation: 'according to the "Shuhada Cell" of GHQ, so far 52 Christians have sacrificed their lives for Pakistan from Pakistan Army alone excluding PAF and Pak Navy. It is also encouraging to know that out of 70 Sitara-i-Jur'at of PAF, seven are Christians and, out of seven, two embraced martyrdom' (<https://www.ispr.gov.pk/front/main.asp?o=t-article&id=106>). In the absence of any current overall data on the representation of minorities in civil and army services, we quote an estimate of 1983 that was later referred to in *Human Rights in Pakistan: from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Musharraf* (2007). According to this estimate, Hindus were 0.2 per cent and Christians were 1.15 per cent of the total strength of the civil and armed services (Singh, 2007: 113).

Right to culture and identity

The United Nations Declaration on Minorities (1992) recognizes that national or ethnic and religious and linguistic minorities have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion and to use their own language in private and in public freely and without interference or any form of discrimination. Pakistan's legislative framework outlined earlier shows quite clearly that minorities in Pakistan do not enjoy religious and cultural autonomy. The Constitution fails to recognize cultural and linguistic plurality and citizens' religious diversity, while it seeks to differentiate Pakistan's citizens on the basis of religion – Article 260 defines Muslim and non-Muslim faiths. Islam is the state religion and the Constitution provides for establishing a Council for Islamic Ideology and the Federal Shariat Court. Both the bodies (that have no minority representation) are charged with Islamizing laws and policies. These restrict cultural and religious freedoms of minorities and seek to promote a homogenous Islamic identity. Constitutional provisions and laws impose limits on the right of freedom of religion (Article 20); especially discriminatory is the case of Ahmadis who are prohibited from calling themselves Muslims or their belief Islam, as well

Good practice case study:

National Commission for Justice and Peace

The National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP) is a human rights body, established by the Pakistan Catholic Bishops' Conference in 1985. In a country that has periodically witnessed large-scale violence against different minority groups including Christians, the emergence of NCJP as an advocacy organization braving the odds to safeguard minority rights, deserves credit. NCJP's aim is to strengthen the human rights of marginalized communities in Pakistan, especially religious minorities, women, children and bonded labour. NCJP's focus is on discriminatory laws and policies of the state in relation to minorities. It is involved in interventions regarding awareness, opinion building about law and policy reforms. NCJP launched its campaign against the inhuman practice of bonded labour in 1987. In 1988, another campaign for joint electorate systems gained momentum. NCJP has also been campaigning on the issue of biased curriculum in schools that teaches hatred against religious minorities.

Based out of Lahore, NCJP is a Pakistan-wide organization with a regional presence in all its provinces. Its strength is its cadre of over 500 human rights activists (volunteers) belonging to different religions, cultures and administrative regions of Pakistan. These enable NCJP to carry out its activities and campaigns. In recognition of its good work in the field of human and minority rights, NCJP received an International Human Rights Award by the Tji-Hak- Soon (Tulip) Foundation of South Korea in 2001 (<http://www.ncjp-pk.org/>).

NCJP's work

Of its many campaigns one of the most successful ones has been against inclusion of a column on religion in national identity cards. Without doubt this campaign gave NCJP a wider currency across the country.

On 21 May 1992 President Ghulam Ishaq Khan made a promise during a meeting with Qazi Hussain Ahmed, the then Jamaat -i-Islami chief, to include a column on religion in the identity card (Pakistan Christian Congress, 2009; UCAnews.com, 1992a). Finally the Ministry of Religious Affairs, headed by Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi, announced on 13 October that the national identity cards would be amended to include one column for religion.

as from preaching or propagating their religious beliefs, proselytizing or insulting the religious feelings of Muslims.

Discriminatory laws and policies

The Constitution does not provide an institutional mechanism for implementation of standards of non-discrimination nor does it bar legislation based on discrimination (The Choice of Reforms: 14). This has led to the creation of many discriminatory laws made through ordinances and enactments. *Table 7* provides examples of these discriminatory instruments and policies that violate the Constitution and international instruments.

Religious practices and personal law

Discrimination against religious minorities takes various forms – a very direct one is restrictions placed on minorities’ practicing their faith. As a recent MRG report (2014: 22) notes, minority religious communities face enormous challenges in practicing their faith because of a range of factors including lack of access to places of worship as well as the threat of violence. A March 2014 survey conducted by the All Pakistan Hindu Rights Movement and reproduced in the MRG report, reported that of the 428 places of worship for Hindus in the country, only 20 were functional. The remaining 95 per cent had reportedly been leased for residential and commercial purposes by the Evacuee Trust Properties Board, an entity set up to manage and look after these properties. Similar problems beset the Sikh community and also Ahmadis who cannot even call their place of worship a mosque. Minorities have also often been prevented from burying their dead and performing other rites. The MRG report (2014: 23) concludes, ‘the restrictions on religious practice and burial can together be seen as part of a broader picture in which customs and traditions that deviate from those of the Muslim majority in Pakistan are being systematically denied.’

Personal laws and their application is another area of discrimination against minorities’ cultural practices. There is no system of civil or common law marriages or marriages being performed and registered according to individuals’ religions. The government also does not have a legal mechanism to register the marriages of Hindus and Sikhs causing women from these religious groups difficulties in inheritance, accessing health services, voting, obtaining passports and buying or selling property as they do not have any legal document to prove their marriage (US State Department, 2014: 3). The main impediment, as a recent report on the matter published by the Community World Service noted, was the difference of opinion between

... Good practice case study continued ...

The then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan announced that the ministry will introduce a column on religion in the identity cards on the pretext of this being a genuine demand and because religion is part of a citizen's identity. Taking a thread from this argument, Jammat-e-Islami demanded a separate colour for identity cards for non-Muslims. There is no denying the fact that the government bowed to pressure from religious fundamentalists, opening itself to charges of suppressing minorities and dividing the nation. However, a larger public debate on this issue was largely missed from the ambit of Pakistani social and political life.

The national identity card was first introduced in Pakistan in 1974 during the time of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. There was no column for religion in the cards at that time. When the changes were introduced the minorities were not even consulted in this regard. Its easy target was religious minorities in the country as many members who would prefer to maintain a silence over their religious practice/preference in the public space, possibly out of concern for security and discrimination. The fear of exclusion for religious minorities became apparent in the protests and newspaper articles that appeared.

Martin Aslam, coordinator of the ecumenical Institute for Justice and Peace commented: 'Now the truth has dawned on us – we are aliens in our own country' (UCAnews.com, 1992b). Father Peter John of the same institute added: 'I have always been a Pakistani first. But now they tell me that I am a Christian and have no rights in Pakistan, because it was made for the Muslims' (UCAnews.com, 1992b). In August 1992, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan launched a signature campaign against the government's move of introducing a column on religion in the identity cards. Bishop John Joseph, who was later martyred, and founder and Chairperson of NCJP assigned Peter Jacob and Aftab Alexander Mughal to launch a campaign against the government's decision. The campaign was started in September 1992 from the city of Multan in Punjab province.

The campaign soon gained momentum. NCJP organized protests against the decision in different cities in Punjab and Bishop John Joseph condemned the government's move in a press conference in Faisalabad on 17 October 1992. In Toba Tek Singh (a rural habitation 480 km south of Islamabad) Father Boniface Mendes, NCJP's Executive Secretary and members of the local legislature led more than 200 people in a procession wearing black bands and carrying

... contd. ...

community members and religious leaders of the communities – there is provision for a divorce in Catholicism and Hinduism, thus religious circles are not supportive of the state legislating on the matter. But the state too has not taken action to solve this issue (*Dawn*, 2014b, 2015b). The irony as the PILER (2013: 21) report on minorities notes, is that the state has effectively put the onus of reforming personal laws of minorities (that use colonial era laws) on minority Members of Parliament but they are too few to be able to carry the day. Adding to the problem, the report says, ‘is the absence of voice and agency of women – facing a condition of double jeopardy, minority women are marginalized as minority in the wider domain, and kept in the fringe as a weaker sex within the private domain.’

Consequently, whilst for the Muslims there is a marriage registration system at the local level and there is also a system for adjudication of marriage disputes, this is not the case for non-Muslims. Lately, steps have been taken to undo this anomaly by introducing the Hindu Marriage Bill 2014 and the Punjab Registration of Hindu Marriage Bill 2014 (MRG, 2014: 15). These have recently been passed in the national assembly and in the Sindh provincial assembly. Since 1947, members of minority groups have been unable to register their marriages in the absence of a state law. One of the media houses reported: ‘However, in recent years, the problem has stretched beyond national boundaries and developed an extraterritorial focus. The desire to migrate to other countries from Pakistan has made it fundamentally important for Hindus to hold legal documents to prove their marriage. Strict visa regimes and immigration rules have also strengthened the case for a separate law to register Hindu marriage’ (see <http://tribune.com.pk/story/1049971/hindu-marriage-customs-and-the-law/>, news about the bill can also be found at: <http://courtingthelaw.com/2016/06/07/commentary/the-sindh-hindu-marriage-bill-2016-what-about-hindu-pakistanis-of-other-provinces/>).

Education and school textbooks

The extent of damage done to pluralism and diversity in Pakistan is best seen and understood by examining school textbooks which show how the education policy has been used as a tool to encourage, indeed push, through a homogenized national identity. A look at the education policy provides a snapshot of the extent to which majoritarian messages have been pushed at the expense of pluralism, many through the enactment of discriminatory laws and poor practices. In February 1979 the New Education Policy (NEP) was launched under Zia ul Haq as a project to manufacture ‘Good Muslims

... Good practice case study continued ...

placards. The group staged a sit-in at the local administrative chiefs office, which was to continue till the column on religion was removed from the identity cards (UCAnews.com, 1992b). Slowly the movement gained currency as it started spreading to different cities. The movement was spontaneous as members of different minority communities joined it. The presence of Hindus alongside Christians was high in Pakistan's southern Sindh province in opposing the government's decision (UCAnews.com, 1992b).

During the campaign different opposition political parties had also come forward to criticize the government's decision. Thus, for instance, Pakistan People's Party leader Benazir Bhutto commented: 'Pakistan is a democracy, not the personal property of religious lobbies' (Baweja, 2013).

The movement by different civil society groups on the issue resulted in positive changes. On 2 November 1992, the provincial assembly of Sindh unanimously passed a resolution opposing the inclusion of a column on religion and declared that such a move would promote sectarianism. A Christian member Saleem Khokhar introduced this motion. Bishop John Joseph registered his protest through a hunger strike. On 8 November 1992, due to the worsening health condition of Bishop John Joseph the government sent the Minister for Minority Affairs, Peter John Sahotra to persuade him to call off his fast unto death. Violence erupted during the minister's visit to the camp where John Joseph was on a hunger strike and he was physically assaulted by protesters enraged over his perceived weak stance against the federal government. However, after several hours of discussions with protesting leaders, Bishop John Joseph agreed to call off his fast. The government reportedly sent a message to Bishop John Joseph that the government would not include a column on religion as demanded by the community.

However, the pressure was still kept on as protesters remained active right till December 1992, when the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at a Christmas dinner assured the Christian leadership that his government would not include a column on religion in national identity cards. It was through the leadership of the Christian community along with support from other religious minority communities and civil society that this campaign was able to achieve success in such a short time.

... contd. ...

**Table 7. Violations of rights
 (collated from a survey of textbooks/education policies)**

Discrimination	Violation of
Religion, other than Islam, when mentioned, is done in contempt.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Article 20 of the Constitution guarantees freedom of religion. - Universal Declaration on Human Rights (Article 26). - Declaration on Elimination of all Kinds of Intolerance and Discrimination based on Religion or Belief (Article 1).
<i>A hafiz e Quran</i> (one that has put the <i>Quran</i> to memory) is eligible for 10-20 marks extra for admission to professional courses and in jobs with the Public Service Commission since 1992.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Article 25 of the Constitution guarantees equality to citizens. - Declaration on Elimination of All (Article 26) - Kinds of Intolerance and Discrimination based on Religion or Belief (Article 2).
Islamic studies (Islamiyat) is compulsory for Muslim students from primary to college; and non-Muslims, though in theory, offered 'ethics', practical considerations and the bias against the study of anything but Islamic Studies, means most non-Muslims succumb and take up Islamic Studies.	<p>Article 22 of the Constitution – 'no person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend any religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship, relates to a religion other than his own.'</p> <p>Declaration on the Rights of Person belonging to national or ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities (Articles 4 and 5).</p>
Subjects other than Islamiyat such as social studies and languages are compulsory for all. They too have 20-40 per cent of their content inspired by Islam.	Article 22(1) guarantees no compulsion to study a religion other than one's own.

Source: National Commission for Justice and Peace (2013:10).

and Good Pakistanis'. NEP stated 'the highest priority would be given to the revision of school curricula with a view to reorganizing the entire content around Islamic thought and giving education an ideological orientation, so that Islamic theology permeates the thinking of the younger generation, and helps them with the necessary conviction and ability to refashion society according to Islamic tenet' (NCJP, 2013: 5). NEP sought 'to rear a new generation wedded to the ideology of Pakistan and Islam' (Zia, 2010: 17). Ispahani (2016: 117) says, 'this decision had far reaching consequences: it quashed the potential for critical thinking in the next generation; encouraged a false narrative of history, and introduced religious bigotry to students at an early age.'

This was followed by a directive by the University Grants Commission to prospective authors in 1981 to 'demonstrate through writing that the basis

... Good practice case study continued ...

Lessons to be learnt

During its successful campaign, NCJP as an organization too learnt a few things. At the beginning of its activities, NCJP had understood minorities solely in terms of the Christian population in the country. But through constant engagement with the minorities it came to realize the necessity of engaging with other religious minorities like Hindus and Ahmadis. With its continuous movement and active engagement with all minority groups, the church leadership also engaged with civil society and led a people's protest against the inhuman act of the then government. This collective movement, taking other civil society organizations on board, gave strength to NCJP to further work in society as a major stakeholder in terms of advocacy and lobbying for the rights of religious minorities. This transformation from a religious organization to a leader of civil society based organizations is something that one should be able to practice in different country contexts.

of Pakistan is not founded in racial, linguistic or geographical factors, but rather in the shared experience of a common religion' (Ispahani 2016: 130). This shut out non-Muslims from citizenship and created an adverse climate against them for generations to come. A.H. Nayyar, notes, 'the redesigned curricula created a monolithic image of Pakistan as a Islamic state, and taught students to view only Muslims as Pakistani citizens' (Ispahani, 2016: 131). Then the National Education Policy 1992-2002 enacted during the current government's time made 'teaching of Islam' the primary objective and universal primary education a secondary objective (NCJP, 2013). Later, the 12-year New Education Policy (1998-2014) made education and training citizens to be good practicing Muslims as the main objective of the policy. In 2006, 'Education in Pakistan: A white paper' was introduced which proposed that the major objective of education was 'to inculcate in the child the Muslim value system' (NCJP, 2013: 6).

Islamiyat (Islamic studies) was made compulsory from primary to Class 12 across the country. Children from minority communities do not have the freedom to study their own religion. Although 'ethics' is provided to them as an alternative Islamiyat, it is a poor alternative as it uses an Islamic perspective (NCJP, 2013: 9) and study of Arabic is compulsory for all including non-Muslims in schools. The consequence of these policies as Rubina Saigol notes, has been that 'all official sites for the production of knowledge (have been) put to the service of re-imagining an Islamic nation, in an

exclusionary exercise, which involved the diminution of citizenship of non-Muslims and women citizens' (NCJP, 2013: 7). History writing has also been added to the project of nation building; this is based on seeing Pakistan's identity as ideological Islam. Indophobia was a significant driver behind rewriting of textbooks (Vali Nasr in NCJP, 2013: 6). The uncomfortable presence of 'others' in the country – minorities – has been dealt with by turning them into cameos – the inherently evil Hindu, the trickster and cheat Englishman, the knife wielding butchering Sikh, the moneylender Jew and the back stabbing Bengali (Saigol, 2010:207).

Conclusion and recommendations

Clearly, minorities in Pakistan face multiple deprivations on a range of minority rights. It is notable that these are both in terms of poor implementation of laws and rules defending rights, and also alarmingly, due to the discriminatory laws themselves. The task of protecting minority rights in Pakistan therefore becomes acute and all the more challenging. The role of civil society groups and of the minority groups led by them and of wider liberal and progressive civil society space to influence state actions to re-craft minority rights protection instruments and also to advocate for their better implementation becomes significant. Of course, the state's own weaknesses/omissions resulting in failures to defend minorities – in the face of the rising authority of non-state actors that target minorities both for ideological reasons as well as a political stratagem to widen their constituency among the majority population – means a great deal of the challenge for civil society is in creating an alternative discourse against extremism and for minority, indeed human rights.

Recommendations

Some of our specific recommendations for improving minority rights are:

For state actors

Reforms which enable improved minority rights in Pakistan must work at various levels:

- Changes are required in the laws to make them less discriminatory. The most obvious here is the one that denies Ahmadis the freedom of religion and effective participation, but there are others too, such as those that privilege Islam over other faiths in blasphemy laws and Muslims

Good practice case study:

Women in Struggle for Empowerment

Women in Struggle for Empowerment (WISE) is a women-led organization, determined in its own words to 'bring about a social change in how women and girls are valued in their communities' (<http://www.wise.pk/index.php?menuid=33&pageid=2>). Set up in 2011, WISE is dedicated to protecting and promoting social, political and economic rights for women with a focus on gender, labour, governance and human rights in Pakistan. WISE's aim is to establish a just and violence-free society where women enjoy equity and equal rights along with economic, social and political opportunities. WISE also does work in the field of minority rights. Amplifying minority voices and advocating their human rights is an important part of WISE's work. Being staunch believers in the protection and promotion of rights of religious minorities, WISE has been extending its support to minority communities and individuals in cases of violation of their rights. This makes WISE a rare civil society organization that combines the issues of women's rights along with minority rights advocacy.

Some important work/activities

WISE has been successful in leading several campaigns like creating awareness and providing training for compliance of the law against sexual harassment at the work place. One of its achievements is that since 2011 WISE has been able to create awareness among more than 7,000 people. WISE has conducted seminars and training and catered to people from more than 40 civil society organizations to create awareness about the law against sexual harassment at the work place. Another important area that WISE has engaged in is its continuous movement to ensure women's political representation in the democratic set-up in the country: 'WISE believes that women political empowerment leads to their social and economic uplift' (<http://www.wise.pk/index.php?menuid=33&pageid=2>).

Taking up minority issues

Apart from periodically taking up issues related to women, WISE has been part of larger civil society campaigns for the protection of religious minorities in Pakistan. These include campaigns for separation of religion from state, repeal of blasphemy laws, abolition of

... contd. ...

over minorities in personal laws and in the working of the criminal justice system.

- Related to this is the need for laws and a criminal justice system to be enforced without regard for the actors' religious or ethnic affiliations. This is really about the rule of law, including that perpetrators of violence against minorities are acted against and justice is served. This will require law enforcement agencies strengthening themselves against extremist armed groups. A related point is checking the misuse of laws such as blasphemy laws that provide a handy tool for vested interests to target minorities and weaker sections, often in collusion with state actors.
- Equally, it is important for vulnerable minorities to be provided security against attacks and intimidation, including the confidence that they will be given security.
- Need for opening up the state to all so that the minorities have a sense of belonging and being a part of the state. This will require effective participation of minorities in public life.
- A stronger regime for protecting and promoting minorities' socioeconomic interests through programmes and projects for affirmative action (in jobs) and equalizing opportunities in markets.
- Programmes for promoting and valuing greater diversity in public life in school curricula, in state practices and in society. This is to counter the majoritarian imbalance on the lines of religion, culture or language.
- As important as the 'what' to do for minority rights, is the 'how to' part of it. Hence, there is a need for a clear policy focus on the subject; setting up of public institutions (at federal and provincial levels) that promote diversity and minority rights; and a system of concurrent monitoring, documenting and tracking minority rights' performance, including through collecting and reporting data on various counts, disaggregated by religion.

For civil society actors

Apart from state actors and institutions, civil society organizations with an interest in minority rights, need to:

- Establish solidarities across religious and sectarian divides for protecting and promoting minority rights to amplify their voice and spread it

... Good practice case study continued ...

discriminatory provisions against minorities in the Constitution of Pakistan, measures against forced conversion of non-Muslim women to Islam, removal of hate speeches and hate material from textbooks and extending legal support to victims of religious intolerance and blasphemy laws. As a consequence, we can see WISE collaborating with others to register the demands of the minority population in the country. Thus, for instance, WISE was part of the civil society fact-finding mission in the 2009 Gojra attacks targeting Christians. Similarly, in 2012 WISE organized a press conference from the platform of ATA-Pakistan to condemn the murder of an Ahmedi teacher in police custody in Chenabnager. In 2014 WISE also facilitated the case of two Christian brothers accused of blasphemy and provided them psycho-social assistance. It linked the accused with lawyers and the Ministry of Human Rights. WISE has also published articles related to the growing Islamization where on the one hand minorities are being accused and killed and on the other hand, 'the Taliban-types want a full cultural revolution: beards, burqas, 5 daily prayers, no music, no art, no entertainment, and no contact with modernity except for getting its weapons' (Khaliq, 2011).

As part of its campaign against atrocities on minorities, WISE is also working to create awareness among the common people on minority issues. For instance, WISE periodically organizes sessions and provides training to people related to issues faced by minorities like state oppression or negligence in their protection. Generally speaking WISE takes up the question of minorities in the larger civil society movement. Through its continuous participation with large civil society organizations, WISE strengthens the people's movement through demonstrations, rallies and seminars.

Lesson to be learnt

WISE is predominantly a women-led organization that takes up the issue of gender justice. Different struggles are carried out to fight injustices that women face in Pakistan. However, WISE has always seen working on women and gender issues as a part of its larger struggle for oppressed people. This is probably the reason why WISE has actively contributed to the work of different civil society organizations that deal with issues of minorities. WISE shows that it is significant for any civil society organization to go beyond the strictly delineated boundaries of its own activity and be a part of the larger civil society movement.

- wide thus strengthening the cause. This is being done by many platforms and networks but needs to be strengthened.
- Solidarities on the ground – grassroots CSOs working on minority and associated rights – especially need to collaborate and establish partnerships for a more direct impact on the ground.
 - This grassroots focus will also provide a better voice to minority communities through organizing, networking and advocacy support to enable the groups to build the capacity of minorities and also effectively advocate for improved rights for them.
 - Crucially, better documenting and tracking of outcomes for minorities to fill the gap in data and documentation disaggregated by religious groups and to enable baselines to be established that will allow for outcomes to be tracked over time and evidence gathered for improved advocacy.
 - Better media engagement to put out the evidence and news on minority rights in the public domain enabling debates and discussions.
 - More proactive engagement with international (global such as UN, as well as regional such as SAARC) networks and actors, to create conditions for improved results – capacity, good practice cases, networks and resources.

References

- Al Jazeera (2014), 'Pakistan Kiln workers live like "slaves": Laws against forced labour not enforced in sector sustained by modern slavery and exploitation of poorest'. Retrieved from: www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/07/pakistan-kiln-workers-live-like-slaves-20147212238683718.html.
- Arif, G.M. *Poverty Profile of Pakistan*. Retrieved from <http://www.bisp.gov.pk/PIDEReports/poverty.pdf>.
- Baweja, Harinder (2013), 'Religious apartheid', 22 January. Retrieved from <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/minorities-in-pakistan-fear-inclusion-of-religion-on-id-cards/1/308351.html>.
- Countercurrents (2012), 'Pakistan: Dalits in Peril', 24 March. Retrieved from <http://www.countercurrents.org/ckumar240312.htm>.
- Dawn (2010), Pakistan Blasphemy Law: A Fact Sheet. Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/845129/blasphemy-laws-a-fact-sheet>
- Dawn (2012), 'Illiteracy high among women from "minorities" community,' 29 February. Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/699109/illiteracy-high-among-women-from-minorities-community>.

- Dawn (2014a), 'Call for law to rid eight million people of bonded labour', 12 January. Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1079839/call-for-law-to-rid-eight-million-people-of-bonded-labour>.
- Dawn (2014b), 'Arsonists blamed for Hindu temple burning in Hyderabad', 21 November. Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1145998>.
- Dawn (2014c), Call for law to rid eight million people of bonded labour, 12 January. Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1079839/call-for-law-to-rid-eight-million-people-of-bonded-labour>.
- Dawn (2015a), 'Zikris under attack in Balochistan', 2 January. Retrieved from: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1154575>.
- Dawn (2015b), '15 killed in Taliban attack on Lahore churches', 17 March. Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1169713>.
- Dawn (2015c), Pakistan has third highest number of bonded labourers in world, 8 June. Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1186830>.
- Dawn (2016), 'Population census to be held in March', 3 January. Retrieved from: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1230409>.
- Dominicans for Justice and Peace (2015), 'Blasphemy laws and human rights of religious minorities in Pakistan', 14 September (2009), Retrieved from <http://un.op.org/en/node/2814>
- Europe External Policy Advisors (EEPA) Status of the Minorities in Pakistan. http://www.eepa.be/wcm/dmdocuments/EP_Hearing_Pakistan/Fact_Sheet_Minorities_in_Pakistan.pdf, page 1.
- Europe External Policy Advisors (EEPA), 'Status of Religious Minorities in Pakistan'. Retrieved from http://www.eepa.be/wcm/dmdocuments/EP_Hearing_Pakistan/Fact_Sheet_Minorities_in_Pakistan.pdf.
- FIDH (2015), 'Minorities under attack: Faith-based discrimination and violence in Pakistan', 10 March. Retrieved from <https://www.fidh.org/en/region/asia/pakistan/minorities-under-attack-faith-based-discrimination-and-violence-in>.
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (2013), *Breaking the bondage: bonded labour situation and the struggle for dignity of brick kiln workers in Pakistan*.
- Hindu American Foundation (2015), *Hindus in South Asia and the Diaspora: A Survey of Human Rights, 2014-2015*. Retrieved from http://www.hafsite.org/sites/default/files/HHR_Report_2014_Final.pdf.
- Hisam, Zeenat and Yasmin Qureshi (2013), *Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Constitutional Rights and Access to Judicial System: A Study of Socio-Legal Constraints*. Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research.
- HRCP (2015), *State of Human Rights in 2014*. Lahore: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
- Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2013), *Religious minorities in elections: Equal in law, not in practice*. Lahore: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.
- Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2015), *State of Human Rights in 2014*. Lahore: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.

- Human Rights Watch/Asia (1995). *Contemporary forms of slavery in Pakistan*. New York, Washington, Los Angeles, London, Brussels: Human Rights Watch.
- Hussain, Ishtiaq (2010), 'Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Mapping Sind and Baluchistan', Rita Manchanda (ed.), *States in conflict with their Minorities: Challenges to Minority Rights in South Asia*. New Delhi: Sage.
- ILO (2005), *A Global Alliance against Forced Labour*. Geneva: ILO.
- Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 'Responses to Information Requests'. Retrieved from <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2014/03/04/PAK104259.E.pdf>.
- Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS) (2008), *Long behind Schedule: A Study on the Plight of Schedule Caste Hindus in Pakistan*.
- Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) (<https://www.ispr.gov.pk/front/main.asp?o=t-article&id=106>).
- International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) (2010), *Annual Report, Pakistan, 2010*. Retrieved from <http://idsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/2010-Pakistan.pdf>.
- International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) (2011), *Annual Report, Pakistan, 2011*. Retrieved from <http://idsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/2011-Pakistan.pdf>.
- International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) (2014a), *Annual Report, Pakistan, 2014*. Retrieved from <http://idsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/PAKISTAN-2014.pdf>.
- International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) (2014b), 'Caste-based slavery in Pakistan'.
- International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) (2014c), 'Caste-based discrimination in Pakistan: IDSN Briefing Note', Retrieved from <http://idsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/PAKISTAN-2014.pdf>.
- International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) (2014d), *Annual Report, Pakistan*. Retrieved from <http://idsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/PAKISTAN-2014.pdf>.
- Ispahani, Farahnaz (2016), *Purifying the land of the Pure: Pakistan's Religious Minorities*. New Delhi: Harper Collins.
- Jinnah Institute (2011), *A Question of Faith: A Report on the Status of Religious Minorities in Pakistan*.
- Khaliq, Bushra (2011), 'Pakistan's Journey Back to Dark Ages?' 20 January. Retrieved from <http://www.wise.pk/index.php?pageid=19&menuid=51§ionid=0&articleid=9>.
- Malik, Iftikhar H. (2002), *Report: Religious minorities in Pakistan*. London: Minority Rights Group International.
- Minority Rights Group International (2014), *Searching for Security: The Rising Marginalization of Religious Communities in Pakistan*.
- Minority Voices, 'Pakistan: Study shows Christians in Lahore lag behind in education, employment.' Retrieved from <http://www.minorityvoices.org/news.php/en/1081/pakistan-study-shows-christians-in-lahore-lag-behind-in-education-employment>.
- Online Encyclopaedia of Mass Violence, *Thematic Chronology of Mass violence in Pakistan, 1947-2007*, pp. 19-20. Retrieved from http://www.massviolence.org/Article?id_article=112.

- Pakistan Christian Congress (1992), 'PCC Struggle for inclusion of religion column'. Retrieved from http://www.pakistanchristiancongress.org/contents.php?section_id=25.
- Pakistan Christian Post (2013), 'The Christians of Provinces of Sindh and KPK have no representation in National Assembly of Pakistan in Election 2013', 23 August 23. Retrieved from <http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/viewnews.php?newsid=1906>.
- Pakistanuntouchables.blogspot (2013), 'Pakistan's Untouchables: The Christian Sweeper Community', 13 August. Retrieved from <http://pakistansuntouchables.blogspot.in/>.
- Reuters (2014), 'Hindu temple set on fire in Pakistan over blasphemy', 16 March. Retrieved from <http://in.reuters.com/article/pakistan-hindu-temple-fire-idINDEEA2F07G20140316>.
- Riaz, Ahmad (2015), 'Non-Muslims and Defense of Pakistan', 16 May. Retrieved from: 2015. <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/non-muslims-defense-pakistan-ahmad-riaz>.
- Singh, Sudhir Kumar (2007), *Human Rights in Pakistan: from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Musharraf*. Delhi: Pentagon Press.
- South Asia Terrorism Portal (2015), Retrieved from <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/sect-attack.htm>.
- South Asians for Human Rights, Sri Lanka (2010), *Religion: A tool for discrimination in South Asia?* Sri Lanka: South Asians for Human Rights.
- Speroforum (2012), 'Parliamentary representation: New bill on the cards for increased minority seats', 31 August. Retrieved from 2012<http://www.speroforum.com/a/DSRCQMTWOK56/73102-More-seats-for-Muslims-in-Pakistani-parliament>.
- The Daily Times*. <http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/national/18-Apr-2015/hrcp-s-state-of-human-rights-report-1-723-pakistanis-lost-their-lives-in-terrorist-attacks-in>
- The Express Tribune* (2014), 'A sorry state of affairs: Despite 5% quota, minorities remain out of public service', 20 May. Retrieved from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/710509/a-sorry-state-of-affairs-despite-5-quota-minorities-remain-out-of-public-service/>.
- The Friday Times* (2015), *Brick kiln workers: the endless battle*, 7 August. Retrieved from: <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/brick-kiln-workers-the-endless-battle/>.
- The Hindu* (2016), 'Panic grips Pak Hindus after Karachi temple is desecrated', 2 February. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/panic-grips-pak-hindus-after-temple-is-desecrated/article8183704.ece>.
- The Jinnah Institute (2011), *A Question of Faith: A Report on the Status of Religious Minorities in Pakistan*.
- The Jinnah Institute (2015), *Violence Against the Shia Community in Pakistan 2012-2015*. Retrieved from <http://jinnah-institute.org/violence-against-the-shia-community-in-pakistan-2012-2015/>.
- The New York Times* (1992), 'Pakistanis attack 30 Hindu Temples', 8 December. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/12/08/world/pakistanis-attack-30-hindu-temples.html>.
- The Persecution of Ahmadis, A Report on Persecution of Ahmadis in Pakistan during the year 2015, Retrieved from <https://www.persecutionofahmadis.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Persecution-of-Ahmadis-in-Pakistan-2015.pdf>.

- The Times of India* (2014), 'Attacks on Hindu temples in Pakistan a worrying trend', 29 November. Retrieved from <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/pakistan/Attacks-on-Hindu-temples-in-Pakistan-a-worrying-trend/articleshow/45317888.cms>.
- The Tribune* (2012), 'Parliamentary representation: New bill on the cards for increased minority seats', 31 August. Retrieved from [012.http://tribune.com.pk/story/428889/parliamentary-representation-new-bill-on-the-cards-for-increased-minority-seats/](http://tribune.com.pk/story/428889/parliamentary-representation-new-bill-on-the-cards-for-increased-minority-seats/).
- UCANews (1992a), 'President supports naming religion of identity card holders', 3 June. Retrieved from http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post_name=/1992/06/03/president-supports-naming-religion-of-identity-card-holders&post_id=41384.
- UCANews (1992b), 'Religion to be named on National ID Card, Minorities Protest Change', 21 October. Retrieved from http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post_name=/1992/10/21/.
- UCANews (2016), 'Pakistan agrees to increase minority parliamentarians', 2 March. Retrieved from: <http://www.ucanews.com/news/pakistan-agrees-to-increase-minority-parliamentarians/75367>.
- UN Sub Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (2001), *Anti Slavery*. Retrieved from http://www.antislavery.org/includes/documents/cm_docs/2009/g/goonesekere.pdf.
- United Press International (UPI.com) (2013), 'Non-Muslim candidates largely absent in Pakistan's election', 7 May . Retrieved from <http://www.upi.com/UPI-Next/2013/05/07/Non-Muslim-candidates-largely-absent-in-Pakistans-election/21364382136569/>.
- United Press International (UPI.com) (2015), 'Pakistani Muslim sect fears attack from hard-line militants', 18 June. Retrieved from http://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2015/06/18/Pakistani-Muslim-sect-fears-attack-from-hard-line-militants/21424259832246/.
- US State Department (2014), *Pakistan: International Religious Freedom Report for 2014*. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor
- USCIRF Annual Report (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.uscirf.gov/countries/pakistan>.
- Walbridge, Linda S. (2003), *The Christians of Pakistan: The Passion of Bishop John Joseph*. London: Routledge.
- Whiteman, Hilary (2015), 'The photos that raised \$2 million to free bonded brick workers'. CNN Freedom Project: Ending Modern-Day Slavery. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/08/19/asia/pakistan-humans-new-york-bonded-labor/>.
- Zia, Shahla (2010), 'Discrimination in Pakistan against Religious Minorities: Constitutional Aspects', Rita Manchanda (ed.) *States in conflict with their Minorities: Challenges to Minority Rights in South Asia*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER) (2013) Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Constitutional Rights and Access to Judicial System Retrieved from <http://www.piler.org.pk/images/pdf/Religious%20Minorities%20in%20Pakistan%20Constitutional%20Rights%20and%20Access%20to%20Judicial%20System.pdf>