

Living in fear
Pakistan's unequal citizens
A report on faith based prejudices
and discrimination 2014-15

Yameema Mitha
Alyia Bano, Zainab Ali



The Asia Foundation
Pakistan



‘Dedicated to
those whose sacrifices continue
to generate energy for change’

1st Edition October 2015
ISBN: 978-969-9338-07-6

All rights reserved.
No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in retrieval system, transmitted, in any form, or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior written permission of Pattan.

Project Team

Team leader:
Sarwar Bari

Main author:
Yameema Mitha

Associate authors:
Alyia Bano and Zainab Ali

Editing:
Emily Bari

Cover design:
William Pervaiz

Designing:
Rizwan Shahzad

Project manager:
Rabia Ghani

Project officers:
Samia Arif & William Pervaiz

	Table of Contents	Page
I	Acknowledgements	VI
II	Foreword	VII
III	Message from The Asia Foundation	IX
IV	Executive Summary	X
V	Backdrop	XIV
	Dr. Abdus Salam, Nobel Laureate, Physics	XIX
	S.P Singha, Speaker Punjab Assembly, 1947	XIV
VI	2014 for the Minorities	XVIII
1	Introduction	1
2	Research Methodology	7
3	The Research Findings	9
	3.1 The State and the Law	10
	3.2 Society and People	13
	3.2.1 Social Interaction	13
	3.2.2 Media	16
	3.2.3 Names	17
	3.3 Services and Opportunities	18
	3.3.1 Education	18
	3.3.2 Sports	21
	3.3.3 Employment	22
	3.3.4 Water and Sanitation	24
	3.3.5 Justice	25
	3.3.6 Access to Public Funds for the Poor	25
	3.3.7 NADRA	26
	3.4 Assets and Business	26
	3.5 Representation	26
	3.5.1 Reserved Seats	27
	3.5.2 Reserved Quota	28
	3.5.3 Local Councils	28
	3.6 Fear and Persecution	29
	3.6.1 Preaching by Muslims	30
	3.6.2 Places of Worship	31
	3.7 Gender	32
	3.8 Blasphemy Law	33
4	Recommendations	37
5	Appendices	38
	5.1 Summary of some anti-minority laws	38
	5.2 State of Minorities in Pakistan: Some Excerpts	39
	5.3 Constitutional Guarantees for and Discriminatory Articles Against Non-Muslims	41
	5.4 Findings of the Focus Group Discussions and Interviews of Key Informants	43
	5.5 Number and Categories of Participants of Focus Group Discussions	68
	5.6 Number and Categories of Key Informants of Interviews	68
	5.7 List of Parliamentarians Participated in KAP survey	69
	5.8 Research Tools (Questionnaires, Focus Group Discussion Themes and Guides)	71
6	Bibliography	87
7	Glossary	89

Every member of the research team deserves special appreciation for their courage and their good sense while conducting the discussions and interviews on these highly sensitive issues in an extremely dangerous environment. The project took place in a time and an environment when terrorists could attack anyone, anywhere and anytime in the country. Their supporters and sympathisers were present everywhere and did not trouble to hide their aggression should you utter a word that they didn't like to hear. The research team sailed through these risks with strength of purpose, good sense and calm.

I also wish to express my deep gratitude to all the participants and respondents who dared to express their opinions and shared their experiences with and without hesitation.

I would like to express my very great appreciation to Yameema Mitha for writing the report. My grateful thanks are also extended to Alyia Bano and Zainab Ali for conducting the focus group discussions, and interviews with key officials and key informants across Punjab and Islamabad; and for their documentation and analysis.

My gratitude is also extended to Emily Bari for helping to proofread the report on a pro bono basis. I also thank AyazWagha and M Waqas for preparing the tables and graphs for the report, and William Pervez for designing the cover page.

Without the precious support and cooperation of the Pattan staff in particular Rabia Ghani, Samia Arif, and KausarHussain it would not have been possible to meet the milestones of this research.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank The Asia Foundation not only for providing funds but also technical cooperation throughout the project. My special thanks are extended to Ms. Nadia Tariq Ali and Mr. Kashif Kamal of The Asia Foundation.

Sarwar Bari
National Coordinator
Pattan Development Organisation

On 15th March 2015, in the vicinity of Lahore, Taliban suicide bombers hit two churches, killing 18 Christian worshippers.

On 15th March 2015, in the vicinity of Lahore, Taliban suicide bombers attacked two churches, killing 18 Christian worshippers.

On 4th November 2014 in Kot Radha Kishan, a Christian couple was burnt to death by a Muslim mob, reportedly provoked by a local mullah.

Such incidents are neither new nor isolated. In 1997, Shanti Nagar, (Abode of Peace) a Christian majority village close to Khanewal city, was burnt to ashes. In August 2009, a Christian settlement at Gojra, district Toba Tek Singh, faced a similar fate. In Lahore city on 8th March 2013, yet another Christian neighbourhood was attacked. In all these cases, the 'perpetrators' had a free hand as local police acted merely as 'spectators' and a large majority of Muslims remained 'bystanders'.

Though Christians were the target in all the above-mentioned cases too, there is a need to make a distinction between the suicide attacks on churches and mob attacks on Christian communities. While the suicide attacks are part of the terrorists' strategy, the attacks on Christian settlements are communal in nature. But very often those who mobilize such incidents are people who are active supporters of such terrorists.

Most of these incidents took place in and around Lahore. The area had a history of violent communalism even during the British raj. Understandably, after Independence the frequency of communal violence decreased. But it reached unprecedented heights since General Zia's dictatorship (1977-88) when Pakistan joined the CIA-Saudi sponsored Afghan Jihad in the 1980s. The state not only promoted extremist ideology but also helped extremists to form militias - a clear violation of article 256 of the constitution of Pakistan. Under the government of General Musharraf (1999-2008) a half hearted attempt was made, albeit with much fanfare, to reverse the trend. This actually made the situation even worse.

In the aftermath of the Taliban attack on the Army Public School in Peshawar on 16th December 2014, once again, under military command, the civilian government announced a 20-point National Action Plan, which envisages the eradication of all forms of terrorists and their support base and includes the protection of minorities.

Last year, the Supreme Court of Pakistan, in its landmark verdict of 19th June, ordered the government to take concrete measures in order to improve the status of minorities in the country. The government simply ignored the decision till the apex court took yet another suo moto action in the aftermath of the Kot Radha Kishan incident.

This research not only helped us to examine the issues faced by minorities and the factors underlying the anti minority mindset but also deepened our understanding of how this mindset is currently being expressed both explicitly and implicitly.

It is worth flagging up here one major finding of the research - hate and suspicion against non-Muslim citizens is deep and widespread, as it has been systematically cultivated in the country with complete impunity. The state apparatus instead of building integration, has itself sown the seeds of fragmentation and sectarianism.

This fits perfectly into the 'Ladder of Prejudice' model. Extermination and physical attack is the last rung of the model when the first rung of the ladder is the spread of hate and suspicion. When the mullah announces from a mosque that a Christian has desecrated the Quran, his brainwashed flock reacts like a robot.

In our view, the 19th June decision of the Supreme Court and the National Action Plan provides a major possibility to eradicate the fountains of prejudice and terrorism. But merely setting up of military courts and executions will never achieve the purpose. More serious and patient work is required to build the trust of non-Muslim communities and create some harmony with them. But civil society must not leave this to the government. It should strategize its role as a collective and one important pillar of this strategy should be - to move from reactive to proactive mode. Making the government accountable for its responsibilities under the NAP 20 points and targets set by the apex court should be declared as a topmost priority.



Sarwar Bari

Message from The Asia Foundation

All societies contain minorities of one kind or another: not everyone shares the same ethnicity, language, religion or gender, to mention only some of the more obvious factors which may differentiate a group of people. But a healthy society finds ways of accepting differences rather than ignoring or suppressing them, and indeed of valuing the diversity among its people.

Pakistan is a hugely diverse country. But its religious minorities have been under increasing threat in recent times, and have suffered some horrific acts of violence which have disgusted the vast majority of Pakistanis. This Report, based on an extensive survey of the attitudes both of minority groups and of those from the dominant faith, eloquently demonstrates that members of religious minorities, including those from minority sects within Islam, face discrimination and do not feel fully accepted within Pakistani society; and they often fear that they may suffer intimidation and violence. Is this a pattern that most Pakistanis want for their country?

It does not have to be like this. On 11th August 2015, the National Assembly passed a resolution demanding that the views expressed by the Nation's Founder on the same day in 1947 be "regarded as a road map" for Pakistan's future. The Quaid-e-Azam, Mr M.A. Jinnah, declared that, in the Pakistan that was about to come into being, the religious beliefs of its citizens had "nothing to do with the business of the state", and that all citizens were equal. This Report demonstrates that Pakistan has some way to go to realize the Quaid's vision: but surely the National Assembly's resolution demonstrates that, with courage and determination, it is not too late to take steps towards building a more harmonious and tolerant society in which all Pakistanis may thrive as truly equal citizens.



Gareth Aicken
Country Representative, Pakistan
The Asia Foundation

M
E
S
S
A
G
E

Pakistan was arguably created as an answer to the concerns of a religious minority - the Muslims, that they would face discrimination and persecution in a united India. One might be forgiven for feeling that the moment this minority converts into the majority on the 14th of August, it started to discriminate against and persecute its own religious minorities. The process was given impetus by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's anti-Ahmadi legislation in 1974, and further accelerated in the 1980s, when the Islamist military dictator, Gen. Zia ul Haq captured power in 1977. By the time of his death in 1988, the country had already been transformed into a safe haven for every kind of fundamentalist and sectarian terrorist organisation. Sadly, no subsequent civilian government tried seriously to reverse this trend. This grievously damaged the status of minorities in the country. Today, no one, not even the very architects of these changes, are safe from this Frankenstein.

In order to investigate the impact of these changes on Pakistan's minorities and to improve the status of these faith-based minority communities, The Asia Foundation, in collaboration with Pattan Development Organisation, initiated the Pakistan Religious Freedom Initiative: Leaders of Influence (PRFI-LOI).

This study attempts to examine the nature and the intensity of prejudices that the religious minorities face in Pakistan.

In theory, religious minorities in Pakistan are protected by a number of Constitutional provisions. However, the implementation of these has always been an issue and, with the rise of violent extremism, it is becoming even more challenging to put these laws into practice.

Just consider this. In 2011, Pakistan was ranked as the "third least tolerant country in the world in terms of social acceptance of religious diversity".*

Given the pervasive and multiple layers of discrimination and persecution, the reality is that a hundred petty issues regarding land, property and other trivial vested interests, are easiest settled if one can make the minorities pay for it. In fact most of the participants and respondents in the study considered that the motivation for discrimination against non-Muslims, was mostly political, followed by social and financial, with religious reasons being used in fact as a cover for other far less spiritual concerns.

In order to understand the knowledge, attitude and practice of the majority community, Muslims, as well as other key actors amongst society, in a more scientific manner, this KAP survey was carried out, in the hope that one could then address these issues in a systematic way.

To organize the study, we identified six main intertwined areas of concern which cause and reinforce each other. These were elaborated into different indicators to be explored through the study:

1. Society and People, which includes communal harmony, support and sensitivity.
2. The State, the constitution, the Law and public policy.
3. Representation.
4. Access to and quality of services and employment opportunities for non-Muslims.
5. The fear factor.
6. Gender.

Research Methodology and Sampling

In order to identify the nature of the prejudices faced by religious minorities in Pakistan, and to measure the intensity of the prejudice, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used in this study. This also allowed us to corroborate and cross check the results and findings of each method. For the qualitative research component, we conducted a transect walk in both Hindu and Christian neighbourhoods and held focus group discussions (FGDs) with groups chosen through purposive sampling. During the transect walk, we held discussions with local women and men in order to understand the relationship of minority communities with neighbouring Muslim communities and the resultant/related issues. A structured interview method was used for gathering the data for the survey.

* Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, Rising Restrictions on Religion, August 2011

Summary of findings:

- More than 95% respondents of the KAP survey and the FGDs said that all citizens should be treated equally. 80% of Muslims thought that the constitution guarantees equality to all citizens. But as many as two-third Muslims, non-Muslims, officials and MPs thought that state officials who are responsible to protect the non-Muslim minorities were not doing their job responsibly.
- Most FGD participants including MPs and key officials highlighted contradictions in the Constitution. They pointed out contradictions between Article 25, Article 44 and Article 2. Over half the Muslim respondents felt the part of Pakistan's constitution prohibiting non-Muslims from becoming President or Prime Minister of the country, discriminatory. But interestingly, amongst the non-Muslims, over 80% agreed that although the constitution guaranteed them equality, it was right that they should be prohibited from becoming President.
- When asked which institution people trusted the most, the army stood ahead of even the family. A large majority had virtually no trust in the police or in political parties.
- Overall, 81% of the FGD participants agreed that Muslims colleagues try to convert non-Muslims, even in the workplace.
- More than 94% agreed or strongly agreed that hate against non-Muslims is spread without any fear, that state functionaries don't take any action against the culprits, and officers are afraid of taking up cases of non-Muslim citizens when they have a dispute with a Muslim.
- Almost 60% Muslims felt the situation of non-Muslims had improved in the last 10 years, while only 24% non-Muslims agreed with them, and 76% non-Muslims felt that it had deteriorated.
- About 85% MPs and government officials said they have colleagues who belonged to a different religion to theirs.
- More than half of the participants said that Muslims and non-Muslims do not socialise with each other. Of non-Muslims, over 83% said they had friends of another religion.
- The majority of Muslims and non-Muslims believed that it is narrow-minded sectarian religious leaders who trample on the religious freedom of non-Muslims to the largest degree. However about 32% of the Muslims believed that infringement on the rights and religious freedoms of minorities happened due to instigation of foreign powers.
- Article 33 discourages prejudice and discrimination on the basis of religion, sex and creed, but the reality is that school and college textbooks contain a wealth of hate material against Hindus, Christians and Ahmadis. When asked whether such material should be removed from the textbooks, a large majority, 90% of non-Muslims, 86% MPs and over 62% Muslims in the survey, felt that hate material should be removed from textbooks. The Supreme Court of Pakistan and the National Action Plan have ordered the removal of hate material, yet progress remains unsatisfactory.
- Almost 80% FGD participants accepted that in matters of hiring, promotion, salary scales and so on, non-Muslims were not treated on a par with Muslims.
- 73% of the FGD participants believed that even water and sanitation facilities were influenced by religious discrimination. 77% of the survey participants felt that the justice system in Pakistan also discriminates against non-Muslims. 80% of the participants felt that non-Muslims are discriminated against in markets and business, and that their religious places, houses, land and businesses are not safe or protected from vandalism and theft.
- More than 90% participants of the focus group discussions felt that most political parties don't give any importance to the issues faced by non-Muslim citizens. Among the focus group discussions, 88% of the participants felt that the method of election to fill reserved seats for religious minorities for legislative bodies is discriminatory. 82% of the participants also felt that

political parties don't allow non-Muslim members to take senior or important "general" positions in the party.

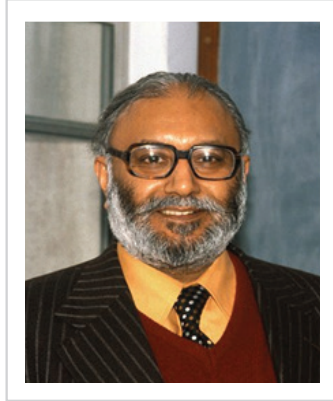
- 84% of the participants felt that the absence of elected local councils aggravates issues of faced by non-Muslim communities.
- Two-thirds of MPs involved in the study said that the parliamentary committee on religious affairs was not working effectively.
- As many as 85% of the FGD participants said that non-Muslim citizens didn't openly criticise government policies, nor did they challenge those who violate their rights for fear of reprisals, but there was almost complete consensus (94%) on the fact that hate against non-Muslims is spread without any fear, that state functionaries don't take any action against the culprits who do this, and officers are afraid of taking up cases of non-Muslim citizens when they have a dispute with a Muslim.
- Almost 50% respondents said that political parties should issue tickets to non-Muslim candidates from areas where non-Muslims constitute 5% of the population, and almost 40% Muslims and just over 30% non-Muslims felt that political parties should award 5% tickets to non-Muslims. They believed this measure would help integrate majority and minority.
- More than 80% of respondents agreed that Muslims tried to convert their non-Muslim colleagues by offering incentives. 78% said that non-Muslims would never dare to preach their religion in Pakistan. Regarding the construction of places of worship, half of the participants said that non-Muslims had no freedom to build places of worship. A FGD participant in Islamabad said, "There is an illegally constructed mosque in every green belt of Islamabad. Certainly non-Muslims cannot even dream of it."
- 87% of FGD participants agreed that non-Muslim women were kidnapped, forced to change their religion and then forced to marry Muslims, but the state did not take any action against the culprits.
- A huge majority, 81.2%, of the participants, believed that the Blasphemy Law has aggravated the insecurity of non-Muslims in Pakistan.

Major Recommendations

We restrained ourselves from developing any recommendations. Statements on various critical issues were prepared and presented to the FGD participants and made part of the KAP survey to encourage debate, and after having exhaustive discussions, participants were asked to score each statement. The following percentages are compiled on the basis of their scores.

- 98% agreed that all hate material from textbooks must be removed. This is what the Supreme Court and the National Action Plan also advise.
- 95.5% said that the district administration, police and court officials all need to be sensitized about the rights of non-Muslims and to form a rapid response team which must take action against those who spread hate against non-Muslims in the light of Article 33.
- 95.5% said all non-Muslim communities should be meaningfully consulted to formulate legislation in order to eliminate discriminatory practices.
- 92% demanded holding of local council elections without delay and the election of all local councilors through direct elections.
- Nearly 89% said that the 5% job quota for non-Muslims should be implemented in letter and spirit and should be equally divided between men and women.

- About 85% demanded that NADRA should launch a special campaign to register all non-Muslims.
- More than 85% said that political leaders should mainstream non-Muslims and abolish the minority wings of their respective parties and that where there is a significant presence of minorities political parties should issue 10% tickets to non-Muslim candidates for national and provincial assembly elections.
- As many as 80% of the FGD participants and respondents of the KAP survey demanded a repeal of all discriminatory articles including the Blasphemy Law, and the implementation of Article 33 in letter and spirit.



Dr. Abdus Salam, Nobel Laureate, Physics

The first Pakistani Nobel laureate was Dr. Abdus Salam. He was also known as the first Muslim* to win this award. He was a son of the soil from Jhang, who came from a very modest home and studied in a government school. All his life, he remained a devoted Pakistani. When he was awarded the Nobel Prize, Pakistan did not acknowledge this in any way, until India did so. India not only invited him, but honoured him publicly, he delivered the convocation address at the Guru Dev Nanak University, Amritsar, in the (pure) Punjabi and the university had, on his request, invited four of his primary school teachers to the event as well. At a meeting with the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, she touched his feet. In addition to India, in country after country, he had been welcomed as a state guest, often greeted by heads of states at airports. In contrast to all this, on his arrival back in his homeland in December 1979, the Physics Department of the capital's Quaid-i-Azam University, was not allowed by extremist students to hold a function to honour him on the university premises.

The same happened in Punjab University. His alma mater, Government College Lahore, did not bother to invite him at all.

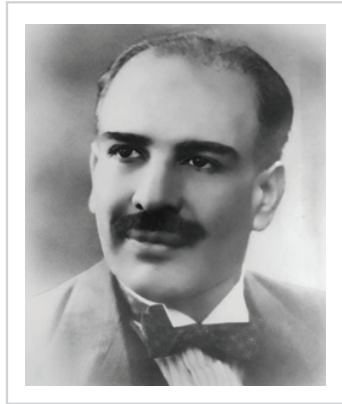
Today, The International Centre for Theoretical Physics in Trieste, one of the Meccas of Physics, is named after him, as are numerous streets all over the world, including in CERN, and England and Italy offered him citizenship. He remained a devoted Pakistani, and when he was buried in Pakistan as per his request, his gravestone said he was the first Muslim Nobel laureate.

A magistrate subsequently ruled that the word "Muslim" be sanded off, as it was blasphemous and offended the sentiments of Muslims.

(Dr. Abdus Salam, who considered himself a devout Muslim, was an Ahmadi).¹

* The Ahmadis have been declared as a non-Muslim minority in Pakistan by an Act of Parliament 1974 and it is illegal to call them Muslims

¹ Saeed, Shahid, "In memory of Dr. Abdus Salaam" The Daily Times, August 20, 2010, Lahore also see "Remembering Dr. Abdus Salam" Secular Pakistan.wordpress 21/10/2010 Web 20/3/2015



S.P Singha, Speaker Punjab Assembly, 1947

Satya Prakash Singha was the head of the Punjab Christian League, (also known as the Punjab Masihi League). In every matter he voted with the Muslim League, including on the partition of the Punjab. He was totally committed to Pakistan, and a dedicated supporter of Quaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, saying that his constituency was far too poor to consider moving anywhere away from where they lived. An educated, experienced, well placed politician from a prominent family, he was Speaker of the first Punjab Assembly, when the editor of the biggest Urdu newspaper, the right hand man in Punjab of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, wrote an editorial saying that he had never imagined that in Pakistan, the speaker of the Punjab assembly would be a “ghair-Muslim”, non-Muslim. SP Singha resigned the next day. And his resignation was accepted.²

B
A
C
K
D
R
O
P

² S Saeed, Nasir “Why are Christians missing from Pakistan’s history books?” Pakistan Christian Post, 2008, web, accessed 22 March 2015, see also Anjum, M. and Tariq, S., “the Role of Christians in the freedom Movement for Pakistan”, Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS) Vol. 32, No. 2 (2012), pp. 437-44, WEB, 22, March 2015, also personal interview with SP Singha’s niece Indu Mitha nee Chatterji on 22 March 2015

“The day I topped in my class was the most humiliating day of my life. Instead of feeling proud, the teacher stood me up in front of the whole class and said to them, ‘Now is there not ONE of you who can do better than this choora ?’”³

³ Choorra is an extremely derogatory word for an untouchable caste whose job it was to be cleaners, as many of the Christians are, and is tantamount to “nigger”.

“If Muslim students sit with our children in school, their parents complain. They do not want their children to sit next to non-Muslims.” A Hindu parent, Multan

“If neighbours find out that we are Ahmadis, they do not eat with us and avoid inviting us too.” An Ahmadi teacher, Faisalabad

“In the Hafiz Centre in Lahore, there is a notice in a number of the shops that an Ahmadi cannot undertake their business there.” A Christian social activist, Lahore

“Why don't the Ahmadis accept themselves non-Muslims, things will become easier for them.” A Muslim businessman, Islamabad

*“Admission for college is dependent on the number of marks. If a candidate is a Hafiz-i-Koran, (has learnt the whole Koran by heart)_ they are awarded an additional 20 marks, which count in the admissions. Naturally, no non-Muslim is a Hafiz i Koran. They are clearly discriminated against in this scheme. A request/court case by a Christian student, that in the case of a Christian student, the Bible should be acceptable, was not accepted.”
A Christian student, Multan*

“Pakistan is a state in the 20th century not in the 13th century, hence all the human rights clauses in our constitution, UN treaties ratified and UN charter should be implemented and NGOs should be lobbying for this.”

*“In the UBL Faisalabad Branch, where I worked as a clerk, a Muslim staff member convinced everyone that there should be a separate cup for me. And this was done”.
A Muslim social activist, Faisalabad*

*“We are discourteous and insensitive to the suffering of our minorities. If we do not reform our society, it will become totally fractured. As the majority community, the duty is ours.”
(Academics, Islamabad)*

2014 for the Minorities . . .**Freedom of thought, conscience and religion**

11 Hindu temples and churches were attacked in Sindh. Two attacks were carried out against the Zikri sect in Balochistan.

A total of 144 incidents of sectarian violence were reported from across Pakistan, out of which 144 were sectarian-related terrorist attacks and three were sectarian clashes.

A Christian couple in Kot Radha Kishen, Punjab was lynched and burned by a mob for allegedly desecrating a copy of the Holy Quran.

A total of 11 Ahmadis lost their lives in targeted attacks.

No laws were made by the federal government to safeguard the interests of religious minorities and only two bills related to minorities were passed at the provincial level by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Around 157 families belonging to religious minorities were among those displaced from FATA due to Pakistan army's operation against militants in the region. Some of these families reported that they even faced discrimination at IDP camps.

1.1 Background

Pakistan was arguably created as an answer to the concerns of a religious minority that had a sense that it suffered discrimination and persecution.

If India had remained united, Muslims from Bangladesh and Pakistan, combined with the Muslims of India, would have constituted over 30% of the population of a united India (over double the current proportion). Instead in Pakistan they became a 95% majority, in Bangladesh a 90% majority, and in India a 13% minority.⁶

And in 2011, Pakistan was itself considered the “third least tolerant country in the world in terms of social acceptance of religious diversity”.⁷ In 2014, Pakistan was considered the “worlds worst in religious freedom”.⁸

“The protection of the freedom of religious belief and practice of all communities was indeed the predominant right asserted in several propositions and resolutions passed by the All India Muslim League (AIML). Despite the fact that members of the AIML were being strongly influenced by secular liberal thought, the ideology underlying the Pakistan Movement was the creation of a separate nation state for the protection of the interests of the Muslim minority in India. However, these freedoms were not limited to the protection of the Muslim minority but all religious minorities. One of the famous Fourteen Points enumerated by Mohammad Ali Jinnah on proposed constitutional changes was that ‘full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.’ Furthermore, ‘adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them’ as stated in the Resolution adopted by the 27th Annual Session of the AIML at Lahore on 22-24 March 1940, which we now celebrate as Pakistan Day. Thus the very genesis of our country is grounded in the protection of the religious rights of all, especially those of minorities.”⁹

In a speech quoted ad nauseum, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of this country, in his very first address to the Constituent Assembly on 11th August 1948 said:

“You are free; you are free to go to your temples. You are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed - that has nothing to do with the business of the State.”

(Amazingly, 70% Muslims interviewed in the general survey for this study, feel that we have achieved Jinnah Sahib’s vision “to some extent or more”, and what is even more surprising is that 44% non-Muslims also felt that way.)

But “the desire of Islamist extremists to ‘purify’ Pakistan (starting from the editorial against the Christian Speaker of the Punjab Assembly) has resulted in a major catastrophe for the country’s minorities. The violence of Partition denuded Pakistan of the majority of its Hindus and Sikhs, who would have otherwise constituted almost 20 per cent of the new country’s population based on the 1941 census.”¹⁰

In a Pakistan that was diverse in terms of language, ethnicity, and even geography (it included Bengal, totally separated by 1000 miles of India) Islam was the single commonality, that provided a justification for being united outside the fold of India.

By 1971, Islam was not sufficient to hold together the two wings of Pakistan and East Pakistan separated and became Bangladesh.

⁶ Computed from the various census’s of the three countries

⁷ Hussain, A. and Saleem, A., Connecting the dots, Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan USCIRF, 2011, p 17
See also Pew Research Center’s Forum on Religion & Public Life, Rising Restrictions on Religion, August 2011

⁸ USCIRF 2014, as quoted by IBNlive, PTI, 19 September 2014

⁹ Mahmud, Tayyab, International Law Journal, 19:1 “Freedom of Religion and Religious Minorities in Pakistan; A Study of Judicial Practice”, Fordham (1995), p.51

¹⁰ Ispahani, Farahnaz, The Hindu “Pakistan’s shrinking minority space”, Updated: August 1, 2014

In the remaining Pakistan, 95% and more of the population are “Muslim”; the remaining 5% is divided between Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Parsees, Buddhists, and others. Ahmadis are not allowed to call themselves Muslim, and are 2.2% of the population, and Shia’ Muslims are 20 percent, thus Sunni Muslims are about 75% of the population.¹¹

One would expect the Muslims to be secure enough to be stable, and to at least ignore the minorities.

1.2 Quite the opposite

In recent years, even in a world full of ISIS and Boko Haram atrocities, Pakistan’s treatment of its minorities is still sensational enough to frequently get it into domestic and international headlines. USCIRF, in classically restrained language, has designated Pakistan as a “country of particular concern” since 2002.¹²

In blunter language, “Notwithstanding that some manage to achieve positions of wealth or power in Pakistan, the vast majority of members of religious minorities are highly vulnerable to intimidation, oppression, sexual assault (including rape), violence and even murder at the hands of their Muslim neighbours, often with the collusion or indifference of law enforcement bodies or the legal profession.¹³

“...even the richest and most well connected members of religious minorities in Pakistan do not enjoy full human rights or fully equal citizenship.¹⁴

1.3 The Current Situation

During the research and writing of this report, two of the most violent and high profile incidents of violence against religious minorities took place when a bus in Karachi was attacked in daylight and 43 Ismaili men, women and children were killed, and when a young Christian couple was burnt by a mob at a brick kiln, in Kot Radha Kishan in Punjab, over an allegation of blasphemy, incited by a local cleric, which later transpired to be a dispute over some payment.

Over 35% of people interviewed from religious minorities said that they had faced discrimination and this in a society, where perception of discrimination is fairly hazy, and also many people are still afraid to speak. Despite saying this, when asked about specifics, more of them spoke up. Interestingly, 16% of the Muslims interviewed said they had also faced discrimination to do with their sect, religion, caste, gender, language or ethnicity, 85% had never faced any such discrimination.

This was a major point noted by the researchers that people are so used to living with discrimination in so many aspects of their lives that they do not notice it or consider it worth mentioning, whether they are the ones suffering the discrimination or inflicting it.

Muslim proselytization is considered laudatory in Pakistan, but it is actually considered worse than foolhardy and against all common sense for any other religion to proselytize, even though they have the right by law, to do so. If there is violence against a non-Muslim proselytizer, there is an attitude of them having brought it on themselves, even by their own co-religionists.

Muslim proselytization itself, while sometimes offering incentives, can also be in the nature of harassment, even threat, and certainly is often perceived as such.

Overall, 81% of the participants of the Focus group discussions agreed that Muslims colleagues try to convert non-Muslims, even in the workplace. One family reported that a group of men used to come to “invite them to Islam” when they moved into a new neighbourhood, they came 18 times in 2 months, including the day there was a funeral in the household, eventually the non-family decided they had to leave the locality to escape what they felt was a constant harassment.

¹¹ <http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/population-religion>

¹² [http://www.uscifr.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan%202013\(1\).pdf](http://www.uscifr.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan%202013(1).pdf)

¹³ Gregory and Valentine, Pakistan: The situation of Religious Minorities, A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, May 2009

¹⁴ IBID

Throughout the research there was an undercurrent that much of what happens to minorities, happens to all poor and powerless people. Some participants felt that it is the social class system that is discriminatory towards the weak, rather than religious discrimination that is the issue. While there is much food for thought in this idea, this was almost in the nature of denying that for religious minorities there is yet another layer of discrimination.

There is also a justification for the discrimination, if similar examples can be found from other countries or societies. For example in a discussion on whether it is discriminatory that the Pakistan constitution only allows a Muslim to be head of state, a member of a focus group said it is the same in England.¹⁵

Only half the Muslims accepted this as right, but interestingly, amongst the non-Muslims, over 80% felt that it was right that although the constitution guaranteed them equality, it was right that they should be prohibited from being head of state, given that Pakistan is a Muslim country with a 95% Muslim population. But just over 6% felt that this was wrong.

To some extent Pakistan's relationship with its minorities, can be attributed to the fact that in addition to the "normal" religious and cultural superiority and exclusiveness that many religions seem to have towards others, the whole struggle for Pakistan emphasized both these aspects, adding in the third ingredient of a sense of grievance of being victimized by the Hindu majority, which was supported by the Christian rulers.¹⁶

A number of participants subscribed to the view that the Two-Nation theory, based as it is on religion, was so much propagated during the creation of Pakistan, that it seems now that this state is only for Muslims. This theory was grounded on religion, and religion therefore continued to play a pivotal role in the life of this country.

This was further "reinforced over decades by schools' curricula that inculcate stereotypes of Islamic superiority and the difference and inferiority of non-Muslims."¹⁷

Moreover, any non-Muslim role in the history of Pakistan has been totally written out.¹⁸

*"Our children are discriminated against on the basis of religion, it seems that if we are not Muslims then we are not Pakistani,"
Minority Parliamentarian*

In addition, this was underpinned by the ancient indigenous caste system which Muslims have so internalized that despite the vociferous championing of Islam, it is an integral part of society in Pakistan still. So many of those who converted from Hinduism to more egalitarian religions - at least in part to escape their lower-caste origins and the rigidity of the caste system - are still considered low-caste, inferior, second class at best, and even unclean, by those very Muslims, whose religion preaches equality and brotherhood.

In a recent interview, Bishop Malik of Lahore spoke sadly to the journalist about a group of Christians from Pattoki who told him a story. Having tea at a public tea-house, they were made to pay for the cups along with the tea, since the cups were to be discarded after being used by Christians,¹⁹ showing that their 'untouchable' status has stayed unchanged through the centuries, their change of religion and belief system to Christianity is as irrelevant, as the change of their persecutors religion and belief system to Islam, what is in operation here is the ancient Hindu caste system, after almost 70 years of independent Islamic Pakistan.

These traditional threats have been exacerbated exponentially by certain aspects and amendments to the constitution and a gamut of laws that endangers the most basic rights, and the very lives of

¹⁵ The Sovereign must be in communion with the Church of England, that is, a full, confirmed member. <http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandChurch/QueenandtheChurchofEngland.aspx> (the official website of the British Monarchy)

¹⁶ Gregory and Valentine, Pakistan: The situation of Religious Minorities, A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, May 2009

¹⁷ IBID

¹⁸ Hoodbhoy, Pervez, The Express Tribune "Run for your life", March 5, 2012

¹⁹ Dawn 14 Aug 1012, "The cross he has to bear" Dawn.com

religious minorities. These laws, initiated by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, have been added to and elaborated and exacerbated by both the subsequent non-democratic military governments, which have used Islam for their own purposes, and have in both cases been supported by the United States and much of liberal Europe, also for interests of their own.

In both cases of recent military rule, the dictators benefitted by the political situation in Afghanistan, by being able to garner almost unconditional support internationally, and so had a free hand in what they did domestically to justify their undemocratic rule.

It is worth mentioning right here that the blatant and violent use of Islam and its most retrogressive demagogues, by the government of General Zia ul Haq, in both Pakistan and Afghanistan, was not simply used but actually promoted and supported by the United States and almost all “the free world”, as a powerful tool in the fight against Communism.

It was the view of one of the participants, that secular clauses in the constitution of 1973 were adopted in the early years in Pakistan, because of our commitment to and through the influence of the UNHDR. These secular clauses started being undermined and removed or superseded after the takeover by the military dictatorship of General Zia ul Haq, who as part of a scheme in order to justify his military rule, and to weaken political leadership, gave increasing power to the Mullahs - which immediately led to an attack on such laws.

By the time that General Musharraf became useful to the Americans, the genie was out of the bottle. And elected and unelected governments continue to kowtow to the vigilantism and violence of religious extremists, even when it flies in the face of the constitution, the law, the most basic human rights and even the lives of Pakistanis.

And what is blatantly obvious is that vigilantism is used exclusively for the support of the most retrogressive interpretation of religious laws. There is no vigilantism in favour of laws against evictions, against drugs, against rape, persecution, human rights, black marketing, tax evasion. Only in favour of mullah-backed laws, which they like to call “Sharia-based” laws.

It is not surprising anymore that a public shooting can occur in the capital and that the assassins can simply disappear. Helplessness seems to be the only reaction of the heavily financed and resourced capital police. As the EOPM asks in their editorial of the truly horrific litany incidents against religious minorities in Pakistan, if even the heart of the capital city Islamabad cannot be made safe by security officials, then what hope is there for Peshawar, Quetta, Karachi or the rest of Pakistan?²⁰

To add to this, in Pakistan the government is not simply a failed state or has simply effectively condoned discrimination, but has been an active participant in the persecution of its minorities. In the recent bombing of a Christian church in Youhanabad, Lahore, where 15 people attending church were killed, including women and children, the crowd, maddened and crazed after years of violent random persecution burnt to death 2 young men suspected of helping the suicide bomber. In an internet search of the incident, all the initial hits are for statements from government representatives, loudly condemning the killing of the two young men, and of the raids that were conducted in Christian localities to arrest the perpetrators, rather than reports of the bombing of the church.

The agencies to combat such forces, the police, the law, the judiciary, the executive, the politicians, the assemblies, the education system, are all themselves part of the same society, and have the same deeply ingrained attitudes. Nor do they have any specific guidelines on how to deal with incidents involving religion.

The dangerous, violent and escalating situation that has been created by this combination of forces has further created, in diplomatic language, a Pakistan with “severe and egregious religious freedom violations”.²¹

²⁰ European Organization of Pakistani Minorities, News Violence Against Minorities in Pakistan 2014, http://www.eopm.org/eopm_news.html

²¹ http://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/AR2008/pakistanar2008_full%20color.pdf

1.4 Minorities as Proxies

In a country suffering since its very inception from a sense of victimization, “religious minorities with inferred ties to outside states”²² are used as fodder for retaliation. “ Thus Christians suffer within Pakistan, as proxies for ‘the West’ and Hindus as proxies for India.”²³

The sense of being victims, forever under threat, is constantly used, “The anti-Islamic forces are always trying to finish the Islamic domination of the world,” read one passage from social studies text being taught to Grade 4 students in Punjab province, the country’s most populated province.²⁴

If Muslims suffer anything anywhere in the world, whether it is a physical attack by some rightwing group or whether their sentiments are hurt when a Danish newspaper prints offending cartoons, whether a Muslim writer writes something considered blasphemous, or whether the Americans arrest a Muslim suspect, whether a mosque in India is attacked by Hindu religious fundamentalists, Pakistan’s minorities must pay the price.

In fact, another article by a Christian points out that whereas Christians and many Pakistani Hindus, specially the Hindu “tribes” from Sindh, are probably the most original and indigenous people in the subcontinent, certainly pre-Aryan, and some would argue, pre-Dravidian. Given that many Muslims would like to trace their ancestry to Arabs, Turks, Afghans, and Persians, he points out the incongruity of the non-Muslims being considered the foreigners.²⁵ (It seems that being foreign (as many Muslims claim) is justified on similar grounds as Israel, we have a right to be here because this is a country for Muslims. ... in the case of Pakistan of course, there is not even the complicated issue of return). In reality of course, most of the population, Muslims included, is indigenous.

In the focus group discussions in the research study, 96% of the participants agreed with the statement that in case of Muslims or Muslim places of worship being attacked abroad, non-Muslims in Pakistan are immediately panicked as they know that they will become random targets of violence.

It is to combat this that we find that over 71% participants of the focus group discussions felt that non-Muslims feel it incumbent on them to magnify and exaggerate their patriotism. 17% felt that they do not do so.

1.5 The Victims Within the Fold

Ahmadis are reserved for the worst of hatred, and were officially declared a non-Muslim minority by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in an attempt placate the religious right which threatened his government, a pressure which had been resisted by previous Pakistani governments. The frenzied intolerance thus legalized has even spilled over into other communities still considered within the Muslim fold, the Shias, the Ismailis, and other miniscule groups such as the Bahai and the Mehdi Foundation.

This led to further discussion that actually there are two categories of non-Muslims, one group being the Ahmadis, (who were declared non - Muslim only in 1974, and who, before this date, had been considered Muslims), and the other group being all other religious groups. It was felt even by other minorities, and by Muslims in the survey and the interviews, that for Ahmadis, discrimination, hate and insecurity is extreme. Hence they, particularly, have no freedom at all.

It is also very interesting that one of the most detailed reports, Gregory and Valentine’s Pakistan: The situation of Religious Minorities: A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, in 2009, in its definition of religious minorities has left out the Shias,²⁶ since officially they are Muslims and not

“Our relationship is with this soil, which is Pakistan, not with the British, we are born here and belong here, this is our homeland, but simply and only because of our religion, we are associated with foreigners.”
(Minority Parliamentarian.)

“Our culture is the same as that of the majority of the population living around us, but it is the majority that has not accepted us, and this is the biggest challenge for us.” (Minority Parliamentarian.)

²² Gregory and Valentine, Pakistan: The situation of Religious Minorities, A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, May 2009

²³ IBID

²⁴ Dawn “Pakistani schools teach Hindu hatred”, Oct. 1, 2014, WEB, <http://www.dawn.com/news/672000/pakistan-schools-teach-hindu-hatred>

²⁵ Gregory and Valentine, Pakistan: The situation of Religious Minorities, A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, May 2009

²⁶ Gregory and Valentine, Pakistan: The situation of Religious Minorities, A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, May 2009

therefore a religious minority. But in fact in actual terms of absolute numbers the largest numbers of victims of religious violence are the Shias.²⁷

1.6 Increasing the Minorities

Given the situation, it is small wonder that Pakistan's minorities would do their best to fly the shores of Pakistan in fear of persecution and violence. The trouble is that, as SP Singha said at the time of Partition, most of the minorities are too poor to even dream of this, even before we consider the international situation for immigration. At the same time, Pakistan's minorities have been increased by incorporating into the ranks of the minorities, the "Ahmadis, who were considered Muslim at independence, ... (who) have joined the ranks of endangered minorities. Even the Shia, almost 20 per cent of the population, are being regularly attacked by extremists who do not acknowledge them as being a part of Muslim society. The attempts to describe Shias as non-Muslims are particularly ironic in view of the fact that Pakistan's founder, Quaid-e-Azam (The Great Leader) Muhammad Ali Jinnah was himself a Shia Muslim.²⁸

And during the writing of this report one of the most high profile killings of the Ismailis took place, where 43 men, women and children were gunned down, in broad daylight, on a public road, in Karachi on 12/13 May 2015. The Ismailis are an extremely quiet sect of the Shias, who are best known for their philanthropy. The Head of the Ismaili community is the Agha Khan. In 1906, the Muslim League, (the political party that was eventually responsible for the creation of Pakistan) was founded by six people, of whom the most prominent was the then Agha Khan, Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, Agha Khan III. It was his community that was attacked.

1.7 Taqfeeriyat

This is a concept that considers all those who are not of one's own specific religion, in fact of one's own sect, as "kaffirs", or "infidels", and in this ideology, they are considered as often "justifiable to be killed", in some cases "incumbent to be killed". This ideology is gaining legitimacy amongst fundamentalists, with Daish (IS/ISIS) and with some of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan openly and aggressively proclaiming and implementing it. In the focus group discussions, some participants voiced concerned at the growth of this ideology, which is now openly being talked about even in the media.

²⁷ (For a detailed list of attacks on minorities, including Shias, Ahmadis, Ismaili's see EOPM)

²⁸ Ispahani, Farahnaz, The Hindu "Pakistan's shrinking minority space", Updated: August 1, 2014

In order to identify the faced by religious minorities in Pakistan, and to measure their intensity, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used in this study. This also allowed us to corroborate and cross check the results and findings of each method. For the qualitative research component, we conducted a transect walk in both Hindu and Christian neighbourhoods and held focus group discussions (FGDs) with groups chosen through purposive sampling. During the transect walk, we held discussions with local women and men in order to understand the relationship of minority communities with neighbouring Muslim communities and the resultant/related issues, such as access to quality of water supply, sanitation, education and health facilities. This initial interaction also helped to identify suitable persons for preliminary FGDs with non-Muslim communities and for the quantitative survey.

Based on the transect walks and the preliminary FGDs with Hindus, Christians, Ahmadis, Bahais and Sikhs, we prepared eight themes, 41 probe statements and 13 recommendation statements for the FGDs. Moreover, the opinions of participants were also elicited using the question, “Who is responsible for the issues/problems of minorities?”

Four FGDs were conducted in Multan, Lahore, Faisalabad and Islamabad. The participants that took part in these FGDs were from various walks of life, comprising NGOs, lawyers, media, academics, intellectuals, human right activists, government officials and also representatives of different religious groups - Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Ahmadis and Bahais - all with their professional backgrounds and their own unique experiences and opinions. They were chosen carefully to represent the views of numerous people within Pakistan in order to provide authentic information in relation to the issues of religious minorities in the country.

Table No. 1: FGD themes and probes

Themes	Number of Probes
I. Legal and administrative environment	10
II. Support & Solidarity	5
III. Communal harmony	8
IV. Access to and quality of services	8
V. Fear factor	5
VI. Political Representation	3
VII. Gender	3
VIII: Recommendations	13
IX. Responsible actors	2

We adapted the traditional FGD model by blending it with ‘preference ranking’. The number of participants for the FGD was allowed to increase to 15-20. The themes and probes were sent to each participant in advance and they were asked to select a score from the available options given before coming to participate in the FGD. For details see Annexure FGD document.

Table No. 2: Showing opinion options against FGD probes

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	0

During the FGD session each probe statement was read aloud to the participants and each one was asked how s/he scored the statement. After recording each score, persons who had opted for extreme positions were explored in depth. Along with arguments, they were encouraged to share relevant examples from personal experiences, observations, events and public policies/laws. This enriched the discussions. After exhaustive discussion, the participants were asked if anyone would like to change his/her opinion. All the changes and discussion were recorded and compared.

Table No. 3: Qualitative tools used for the study

Transact Walks	Informal FGDs	Formal FGDs	One-on-One meetings with key actors
3	3	4	11

Along with the FGDs, 11 one-on-one meetings were conducted with human rights defenders, scholars, social activists, MPs, artists, lawyers, officials and NGOs etc. to help in the identification of issues. A semi-structured questionnaire was prepared for the meetings. It was observed that most of the government officials were initially reluctant to talk or give opinions on these sensitive issues and also requested that their names not to be made public.

For the KAP (Knowledge, Attitude and Practice) survey we used a structured questionnaire. Broadly speaking the 935 respondents consisted of three main categories - the general public (Muslims and non-Muslims), state officials, and representatives of civil society. The civil society respondents were purposively selected from NGOs, political parties and trade unions. Muslim and non-Muslim respondents were selected through a three stage random sampling procedure.

Table No.4: Category wise numbers of respondents of KAP survey

Category	Total	Category	Total
Senators/MNAs/MPAs	63	Religious Leaders	50
State Officials	96	Media	25
General Public (Non Muslims)	151	CSOs/Trade Unions	112
General Public (Muslims)	267	Teachers	51
Office bearers of pol. Parties	61	Lawyers	59
Total			935

Guidelines for the selection of Muslim respondents: List at least 15 localities in each project district, write down the name of each locality on a separate sheet of paper and draw 5 from them. Go to the selected locality, find a mosque there, stand in front of the mosque door while looking to East. Select the 1st male respondent from the house immediately neighbouring the mosque on your right hand side. For the next respondent, leave three houses/shops and interview a person from the 4th household/shop. In order to represent the opinions of all age groups of respondents, your 1st respondent should be from age group 1 (18-30 years), 2nd from age group 2 and 3rd from age group 3. This cycle will continue until you complete the quota reserved for that area.

For female interviews, instead of moving to your right, you would move to your left and follow the same process.

Selection of Christian respondents:

List all the Christian localities in the project city. Select two through a draw. This time, instead of a mosque, the starting point will be a local shop. The rest of the process will be same as for the Muslims.

This report contains an analysis of quantitative data gathered as well as qualitative notes taken during the discussions mentioned above. This also helped to corroborate the findings of both methods and provided a holistic understanding of the issues. This report will take the form of disclosing our findings through the statements and indicators given in the prepared form.

In order to make the report reader friendly, we have inserted the relevant tables along with the analytical description.

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Statement 1: Pakistan constitution and law treat all citizens equally?

Figure 1. Opinion of FGDs' participants

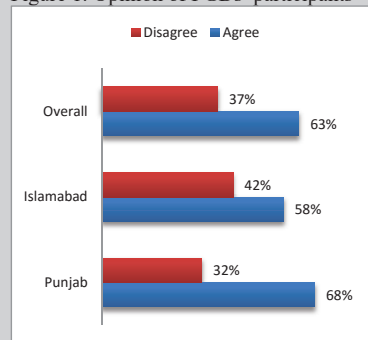


Figure 2. KAP Survey: Opinion of Muslim & non Muslim respondents

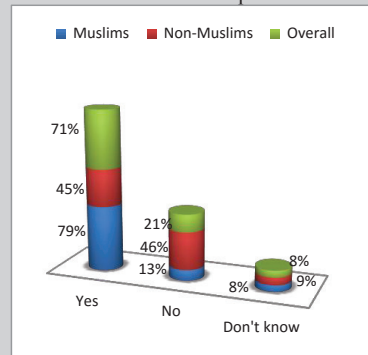
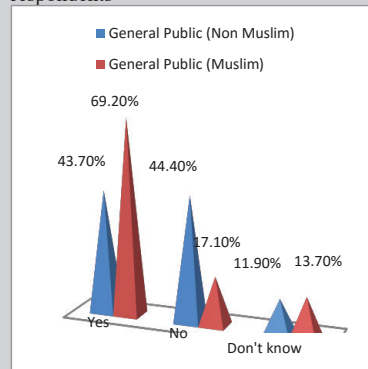


Figure 3. KAP Survey: Opinion of Muslim & non Muslim respondents.



3.1 The State and the Law

The Constitution

The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan proclaims that all citizens are equal.²⁹ Equal before law, and equally entitled to protection.

But in fact the Law is contradictory.

We have a dual system. The constitution is primary but Sharia is more primary. A non-Muslim cannot become head of state.³⁰ Non-Muslims are barred from being judges in the Federal Shariat Court which has the power to strike down any law deemed un-Islamic.³¹

(For a date wise summary of the laws see the appendix 5.1 and 5.3)

The vast majority of Muslims and non Muslims, according to our survey, over 90%, felt that all citizens should be treated equally, whatever their religion.

But sadly, whereas about 80% of Muslims thought that the constitution guarantees equality to all citizens, in fact less than 50% non-Muslims thought this, and all it means is that Muslims are ignorant of the reality of the discrimination.

Despite the fact that the constitution has contradictions and some of these are glaring, and despite the fact that about 20% of the general public at least seemed aware of this, and despite the fact that about 45% of the minorities were also aware of this, yet amongst the politicians, an overwhelming 97% said that the constitution guarantees equal rights to all citizens including non-Muslims, and 94% government officials said the same.

Only 2 politicians said it did not, and 3 government servants said it did not. 2 government servants said that they didn't know. So the question is, is this ignorance or a deliberate lie?

Whichever it is, it is a sad reflection on the state of affairs. Because ignorance, on the part of the politicians and these senior government servants, shows how little interest they take in the issues of the minorities, and deliberate lies means that that they give no importance to seriously tackling the issues of the minorities.

As to the question of whether the state treated its citizens equally, in fact only about 40% of Muslims thought that the state treated its citizens equally, and about 25% minorities thought this, but amongst the politicians and the government servants around 65% thought the state treated its citizens equally. What to say about our politicians and government servants, this in an environment where such cases are in the newspapers almost daily.

Even amongst the Muslims, the majority, and amongst non-Muslims, the vast majority, thought that state officials who are responsible to protect the religious freedom of different groups, were not doing their job responsibly. Even the politicians felt that they weren't doing their job properly. It was only almost 60% of the government servants who felt that they were. Almost 100% of everyone felt that someone not doing their job properly should be punished.

When asked which institution people trusted the most, it appears that Muslims trusted the army even more than their families! Almost 34% Muslims trusted the army most, closely followed by their families at 32.5%. Almost 15% trusted the courts, followed by other religious institutions at 6%, then their own community (less than 4%), political parties, police and NGOs getting well under 2% and the district administration getting hardly any look in at all.

²⁹ Constitution of Pakistan, Article 25

³⁰ Constitution of Pakistan, Article 41

³¹ Constitution of Pakistan Ninth Amendment

Amongst the non-Muslims, again the largest number trusted the army, then their families, then their own religious institutions. (30, 20 and 15% respectively). The police, political parties and NGOs were all trusted by less than 2% of the population each, and the district administration had the most negligible amount of trust in it. Almost 10% of the non-Muslims and 4% of the Muslims cited other institutions as having their confidence.

Regarding the fact that non-Muslims are prohibited by the constitution from becoming President or Prime Minister of the country, over half the Muslims felt that this discrimination which flew in the face of the constitutional guarantee was wrong. But interestingly, amongst the non-Muslims, over 80% felt that although the constitution guaranteed them equality, it was right that they should be prohibited from becoming President. Just over 6% felt that this was wrong.

The MNAs/MPAs seemed to be divided equally, but almost 13% were sitting on the fence. This is worrying, given that these are the people who are responsible for law making in Pakistan, and any constitutional amendments have to go through this community. Amongst government officials, actually 47% felt that this was wrong, and about 31% felt that this was right, but an exceptionally large number, almost 22% said that they did not know whether this was right or wrong. It reinforces the impression that government servants simply are servants for hire to whatever the politicians decide or whatever law they make, yet in reality, in Pakistan government servants do have a lot of power, and it is also sad to think that they will not even give their opinion, given that this is one of the most educated sections of the country, and the government servants interviewed for this study were all of grade 22 seniority or above.

Even amongst the focus groups, 65.7% agree or strongly agree with the statement that the constitution and law treat Muslim and non-Muslim citizens equally in all respects. 34.2% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. This means almost one-third of the focus group discussion participants held the view that the constitution and law doesn't treat all citizens equally in all respects. However, participants who agreed, reasoned that the constitution of Pakistan does give rights and equal opportunities to minorities but when it comes to implementation, there are open violations of minority rights.

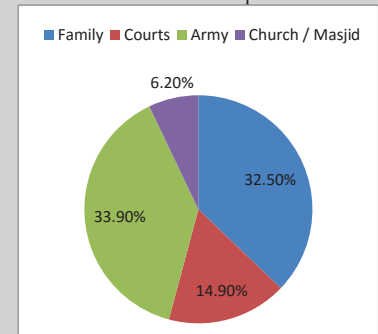
*"The law may stand for equality but it does not do so in practise."
Ahmadi participant*

It is poignant here that an Ahmadi participant here is standing up for the law, given the fact that it is very clear that the law in Pakistan does not in fact stand up for equality, and certainly not for equality for the Ahmadis. There is legal discrimination, and most particularly so in the case of the Ahmadis. The 1974 amendment to the constitution which declared them a minority has been further added to by draconian ordinance.³²

Moreover, those who disagree, believed that the constitution itself contains discrimination and contradiction. Article 25 of the constitution of Pakistan stands for equality, whereas Article 44 states that only a Muslim can become President in Pakistan. Interestingly, in the focus group discussions, it was all non-Muslim participants who strongly pointed out this dichotomy. And in these focus group discussions, most Muslim participants believed that as Pakistan is a Muslim majority state so it is the right of Muslims to be the head of the state and that this is so not only in Pakistan, but that other countries and states also have such clauses.

QUESTION 2: Which one institution do you trust the most?

Figure 4. KAP Survey: Opinion of Muslim & non Muslim respondents



Question 3. On the one hand our constitution (article 25) guarantees equality to all citizens and on the other hand, it prohibits non-Muslim citizens from becoming President and prime minister of the county. Do you think this is right?

Figure 5. KAP Survey: Opinion of Muslim & non Muslim respondents

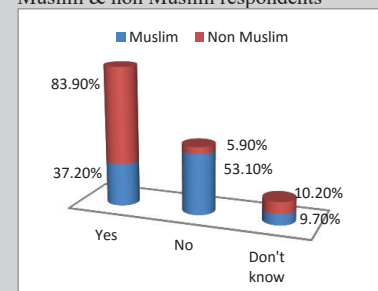
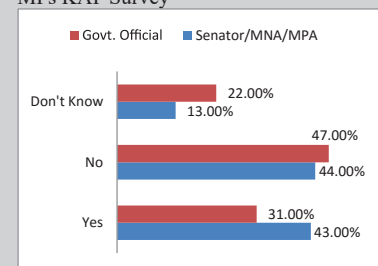


Figure 6. Opinion of govt. officials and MPs KAP Survey



³² Pakistan Constitution, second amendment, ordinance XX, see also appendix

Statement 4: The govt. lacks public policy on discrimination, does not sensitise officials. Therefore when non-Muslims come under attack local police & admin take no action against culprits.

Figure 8. Opinion of FGDs' participants

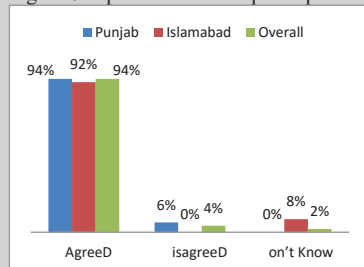
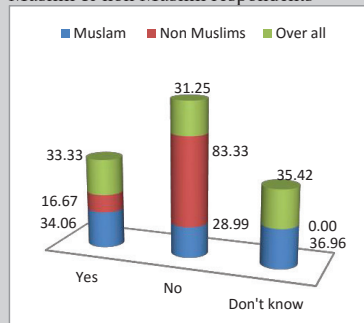


Figure 9. KAP Survey: Opinion of Muslim & non Muslim respondents



"It is not only in Pakistan's constitution that the head of the state must follow the state religion, such as (sic) the head of the state in the UK must be also be Christian." BZU professor, Multan.

However, there was also an opinion that declaring Pakistan an Islamic state has made it a country that ignores the religious diversity of millions of its citizens.

Contradictions in the Constitution and the lack of implementation of the law was also highlighted in the meetings. Contradiction between Article 25 and Article 44 was also emphasized. It was alleged that Article 2 of the constitution emerges as the first step in discrimination; non-Muslims feel insecure as Pakistan is declared as an Islamic state. Giving the authority for the interpretation of Islam in the hands of Muslim clergy rather than to elected parliamentarians, was considered incorrect and invalid, one participant (Islamabad, one to one meeting) considered that it is a duty of the elected parliament to interpret religion and make legislation, and not of the clergy.

"Why to give power to Mullahs, it is parliament that is sovereign - so it is they who should be legislating." (Intellectual, Islamabad)

Laws to govern public policy on discrimination

Currently, the government has no practicable or systematic non-discriminatory public policy at any level of governance. Moreover, government officials have no specific knowledge or training about the issues of discrimination and the rights of non-Muslim citizens, nor any training on how to handle situations around these issues, such as how to register a police case citing discrimination.

Hate against non-Muslims is spread without any fear. State functionaries take no action against culprits, and officers are afraid of taking up cases of non-Muslim citizens when they have a dispute with a Muslim.

More than 94% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, there was almost complete consensus on the fact that hate against non-Muslims is spread without any fear, that state functionaries don't take any action against the culprits who do this, and officers are afraid of taking up cases of non-Muslim citizens when they have a dispute with a Muslim.

Participants also expressed their view that government officials are not sensitised, nor do they know enough about the existing laws and policies that pertain to such cases that they can competently address cases involving non-Muslims. They felt that this was the one of the reasons for the increase in violence against non-Muslims and due to this they are subject to harassment by the police force.

A lawyer raised the issue that the Hudood Ordinance was a wholly discriminatory law, where only a Muslim judge can preside over cases of non-Muslims whereas even a non-Muslim judge cannot preside over the cases of Muslims."

Given that Pakistan used to have a Christian Chief Justice, Justice Cornelius, and as recently as 2007, had a Hindu acting Chief Justice, this is incongruous.³³

In response to this discussion, a BZU professor from Multan added 'laws are made for the whole country and not separately for different religions'. Despite the fact that this gentleman was a professor, the statement is incorrect, within Pakistan there are different legal systems for different populations and religions, there is a separate Christian Marriage Act, there is Jirga law, there is the PPC, there are separate laws for Ahmadis, and of course in other countries as well, there are different personal and religious laws, such as India, Malaysia, Lebanon and so on.

³³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chief_Justice_of_Pakistan#Past_Chief_Justices

It was interesting that more than half the participants, that is 59%, believed that non-Muslims are free to form their associations without any undue hurdles, and many gave the example of The Bible Society in Pakistan. It was discussed that the law does allow this, but in practice, members of minorities said that the reality is very different. They felt that it is very difficult for them to register a society, specially as there seems to be a fear of proselytization, but people for whom it is more than impossible were the Ahmadis.

No discussion on the law and minorities is complete without reference to the Blasphemy Law. Since this is a huge discussion on its own, a more detailed discussion of this is given at the end of the section.

3.2 Society and People

Situations of non-Muslims:

The most glaring and worrying thing about the results of the study is the fact that almost 60% Muslims felt the situation of non-Muslims had improved in the last 10 years. Only 24% of the non-Muslims agreed with them, and 76% non-Muslims felt that it had deteriorated.

However, about 40% of the Muslims did feel that the situations of non-Muslims had deteriorated.

There is an interesting dis-junked here between the perceptions of the minority and the majority, as well as between reality and the perceptions of the majority. Even amongst the MNAs, MPAs and government officials too, whom one would expect to be better informed, 68% and 72% respectively felt that the situation of non-Muslims had improved within the last 10 years!

But 32% MNAs and MPAs and 27% government officials felt that it had deteriorated. So their trend is similar to the Muslim general public, but even more extreme, and more out of synch with the perceptions of the minority communities.

This is a similar viewpoint to what other similar studies in Pakistan have found.³⁴

3.2.1 Social Interaction

Staggeringly more than half of the participants felt that Muslims and non-Muslims do not actually socialise with each other.

Yet, in a population where the minorities are less than 5% of the population, a surprising number of the Muslim respondents, just under 50%, said that they often socialised with non-Muslims, while over 50% said they either never did, or hardly ever did.

Among non-Muslims, over 80% said they often socialized with people who were of a different faith. This is natural, as their pool of people of the same faith is much smaller, and they are surrounded by people of a different faith, and so naturally have to have more interaction with them.

Of the 63 MNA/MPAs interviewed, it was a much higher number, 76%, who said that they often socialised with people not of their own religion, while out of 79 government officials, almost 70% said that they socialised with people not of their own religion. It transpires that there was some confusion between sects and religions - this in itself is a telling confusion.

Of the Muslim respondents, less than 45% said that they had friends who were non-Muslims, and over 55 said that they did not. To some extent this has to be seen in the light of the fact that there is only a 5% non-Muslim population available! Of non-Muslims, over 83% said they had friends of another religion while fewer than 17% did not. Again, this is a natural outcome of the demography of Pakistani society.

Question 5: In the last 10 year whether the situation of non-Muslims have improved or deteriorated?

Figure 10. KAP Survey: Opinion of Muslim & non Muslim respondents

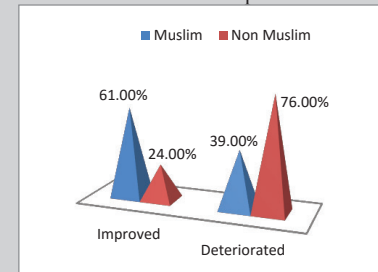
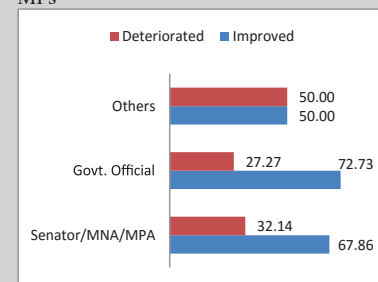
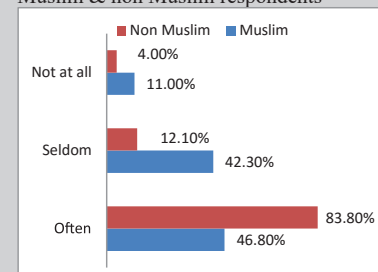


Figure 11. Opinion of govt. officials and MPs



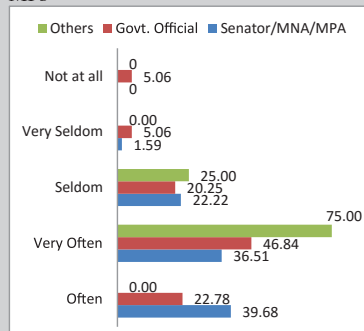
Question 6: How often do you socialise with people who don't belong to your religion?

Figure 12. KAP Survey: Opinion of Muslim & non Muslim respondents



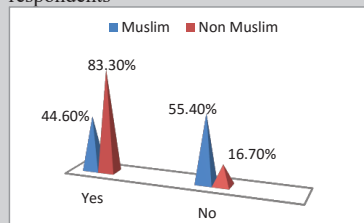
³⁴ TAF Report

Figure 13. Opinion of govt. officials and MPs



Question 7: Do you have friends whose religion is different from yours?

Figure 14. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



Question 8: Do you have colleagues in your office/factory etc. whose religion is different from yours?

Figure 16. Opinion of KAP survey respondents

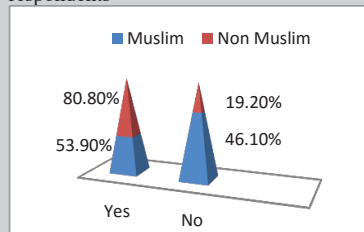
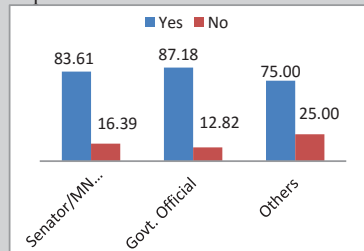


Figure 17. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



Of the Muslims who had non-Muslim neighbours, almost 75% participated in the weddings and funerals of their non-Muslim neighbours and otherwise socialised and visited with them, of the non-Muslims who had neighbours of other faiths, almost 94% participated in their weddings and funerals. This is interesting as it also shows that Muslims were willing to have non-Muslims present at semi religious events like funerals, which given the current climate, unfortunately makes it something worth noting.

Amongst the politicians, of those who had neighbours belonging to other religions, all of them socialised with those neighbours, but amongst the government officials, about two thirds did, but one third didn't. Maybe this is the difference between government officials and politicians!

Over 50% of the Muslims had non-Muslim colleagues or work mates, and over 80% of the non-Muslims did.

Amongst the politicians the ratio was quite different, with 84% MPAs and MNAs having colleagues not from their own religion, and interestingly it was similar to governments servants with 86% having colleagues from a different religion.

Of the Muslims, less than 30% had a relative from another sect/religion other than their own; and the number for the non-Muslims was similar. The number amongst politicians and government servants was higher, as is their exposure to other sects/religions.

In response to the statement that Muslim neighbours come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are under threat/attack, there was a strong divide. 50% agreed or strongly agreed and an equal number disagreed. Most non-Muslim participants said that their Muslim neighbours are friendly and did mingle with them. But in severe incidents they would not come to their aid, because Muslims felt that if they came to the aid of non-Muslims, their own community would shun them. However, on individual issues, neighbours do come out to help non-Muslims, but when there's a mob against them, they hesitate and in some cases the neighbours themselves join the mob or they hide as they are afraid of being ostracised by their own community.

But a slightly larger number, just over 55%, felt that CSOs come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are threatened. Some of the participants who were from NGOs and CBOs were quite amazed that as many as 42% non-Muslims said that CSOs do not provide support, but a majority of the participants, 83%, agreed that NGO's do work with non-Muslim communities without any religious discrimination.

Almost 80% of the politicians said that there was a peace committee to protect non-Muslims and build religious harmony in their district or constituency. The rest either said No, or that they didn't know. But in fact the reality is that there have been no incidents of the majority populations or joint peace committees being able to protect minorities from serious violence, the most that such joint action committees or peace committees have been able to do is provide relief after the event, or publicize the atrocities and lobby on behalf of the victims.

Various quotes from the Koran were read to the respondents. According to Islam the killing of one person is considered equal to killing of the whole of humanity.

SuraAlKafrun explicitly says,

"Lakumdeenakumwalaideen." Tumhareliyetumharadeen, mere liyemeradeen. (For you, your religion, for me, my religion). Sura Al Bakara also warns, "Let there be no compulsion in religion."

Sura Al Bakara also warns,

“Let there be no compulsion in religion.”

The Holy Quran also says,

“.... The food of the People of the Book is lawful unto you and yours is lawful unto them,..” (Sura Al Maiyda, 5:5)

Then the respondents were asked to what extent Muslims in Pakistan treat non-Muslim Pakistanis according to the above teachings.

Almost 85% Muslims felt that Muslims in Pakistan treat non-Muslims according to the teachings of the Koran, in its expression that there should be no compulsion in religion. 73% non-Muslims felt the same, but 30% Muslims didn't agree, and over 12.6% Muslims also did not.

97% of the politicians and almost 90% of government officials feel that in Pakistan Muslims treat non-Muslims more or less according to the dictates of the Quran.

“Although Muslims and non-Muslims from the same neighbourhood do mix, they avoid eating at each other's homes” Hindu participant, Lahore

“If neighbours find out that we are Ahmadis, they do not eat with us and avoid inviting us too” Ahmadi participants.

When asked why some Muslims discriminated against non-Muslims, in the light of the above Quranic teachings, 31% excused Muslim discrimination against non-Muslims saying that it was because these Muslims who discriminated against minorities were “kept” ignorant of the humane teachings of Islam. This was also said by over 45% of the non-Muslims. But the majority of Muslims who gave an opinion, almost 37%, felt that it was because political and economic interests misused the emotional attachments of Muslims to Islam, to create a concept and a feeling of “Otherness” to those who were non-Muslims. 23% Muslims also felt that it was because non-Muslims were portrayed as enemies of Islam, a statement similar to the second statement. 15% and 33% non-Muslims also subscribed to these 2 statements respectively.

The majority of Muslims, 43%, and 55% of the non-Muslims believe that it was narrow minded sectarian religious leaders who most infringe on the religious freedom of non-Muslim groups. However almost 32% of the Muslims believed that it was foreign powers who instigate this infringement, only 8% of non-Muslims believed this. This is interesting in that quite a large number of Muslims (although not the majority) like to blame “others” for it.

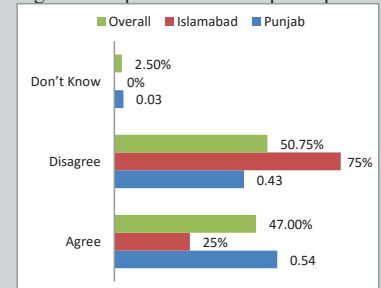
10% Muslims and 14% non-Muslims believed it was local influences, which led to such infringements. But 14% non-Muslims believed that this was instigated by state officials while only 5.5% Muslims agreed with this.

Similar to the general public, amongst the politicians, the largest number, 43%, believed that it was narrow minded sectarian religious leaders, and about 30% believed in the “foreign hand”. 21% believed that local influential were responsible, and only about 6% thought that state officials were responsible.

Amongst the government officials, 40% believed that it was sectarian religious leaders, and almost 33% believed it was a foreign powers, almost 20% believed it was local influential, and only about 7% thought state officials were responsible.

Statement 9: Muslim neighbours come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are under threat/attack

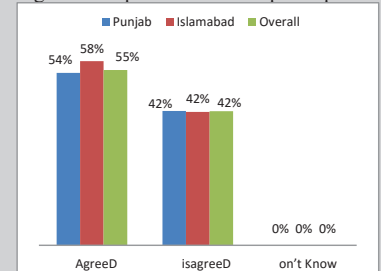
Figure 18. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Statement 10: CSOs come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are threatened.

Statement 11: Muslim religious leaders come forward without any hesitation when non-Muslim citizens are under attack.

Figure 19. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Question 12: To what extent Muslims in Pakistan treat non-Muslim Pakistanis according to the Quran?

Figure 20. KAP survey: Opinions of Muslim & non-Muslim respondents

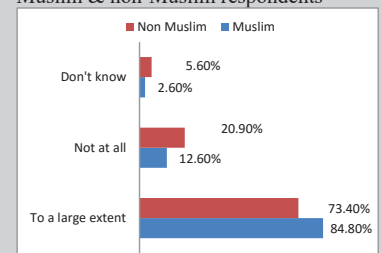
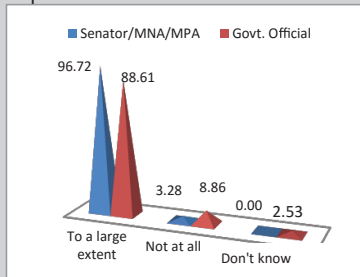
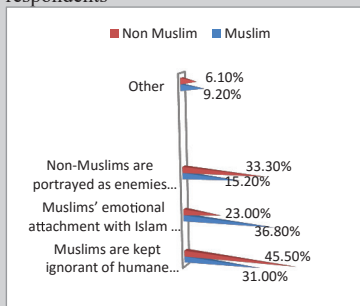


Figure 21. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



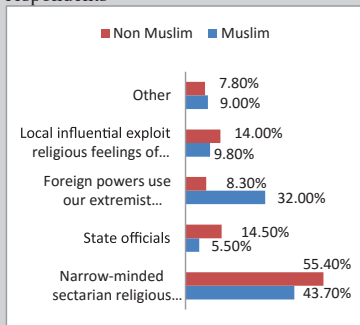
Question 13: why do some Muslims discriminate against non-Muslims?

Figure 22. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



Question 14: In your view who/which institutions infringe the most on religious freedom of various religious minority groups?

Figure 23. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



Thus the largest number in all categories of respondents, 40% believe that it is sectarian religious leaders who are to blame for Muslims for treating non-Muslims not in accordance with Quranic injunctions.

When asked about whether Muslim religious leaders come forward without any hesitation when non-Muslims are under attack, 80% of the participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that Muslim religious leaders come forward without any hesitation when non-Muslim citizens are under attack. Instead, many participants said that it is actually religious leaders who further exacerbate already fraught situations by making inflammatory statements, or even create the incident in the first place.

3.2.2 Media

It was generally accepted in the focus group discussion meetings that minority issues are not given due coverage. The Urdu media was uniformly seen as narrow minded, illogical and irrational. It was considered that Urdu newspapers in fact portrayed and perpetuated the attitudes of society. (This is an interesting comment in itself, given the previous sentence, about what the attitudes of “society” are). So the same company/publication house running different language newspapers, so-called “sister” publications, will express totally different opinions in the two newspapers.

Most people seemed to agree that the Urdu media and the local media are not interested in building religious harmony, nor are they sensitive to the sentiments of non-Muslims. They also agreed that the English media is considerably more sensitive, in fact almost three quarters of the participants agreed that the English media is sensitive and interested in promoting interfaith harmony. In contrast, the Urdu and local media were considered to be not only insensitive but in fact respondents were of the opinion that they actually exacerbate tense situations. Participants also felt that English newspapers tend to be more open and discuss the issues clearly, whereas Urdu newspapers hide facts and intentionally aggravate the issues, and local newspapers follow the same pattern. Participants were also of the opinion that the staff of English newspapers are better qualified and are therefore able to give a holistic and unbiased view on certain topics. Some participants highlighted the fact that the government has never set out any guidelines or any policy on this issue for PEMRA.

“Out of fear, journalists writing for the Urdu press will leave out information or facts whereas their English paper will be more open and accurate.” Said a Journalist participant, Lahore. (This is referring to the English and Urdu “versions” of the same newspaper. In fact, as mentioned earlier, they are not simply different language “versions”, although they will be owned by the same publishing house, but they are frequently quite different even in content and certainly in analysis, as it is perceived that the audience is different in their interests and also in their mindset. Which of course leads to the very interesting question of whether it is the newspaper content that determines the audience or the other way around.)

The circulation of English language newspapers is between 11 and 15%, the rest 85% or over, belongs to the Urdu press.³⁵ Two things is worth mentioning however. One, that newspapers are read by more than one person, and this is more so in the case of the Urdu press. Secondly, in a society where the literacy rate is below 60%, non-print media has a huge influence, this media tends to be in Urdu, very susceptible to the power structure, specially the state owned media, and also, particularly in the case of the commercial media, dependent on TRPs.

“Journalism has no leadership, that’s why even if someone tries to run a serious and progressive newspaper, they will not succeed”. Academic, Islamabad

³⁵ Shah, Hijab, “The Inside pages, an analysis of the Pakistani Press”, South Asia Monitor, no.148, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, 2012

Participants said that unfortunately, overall, the media in general, both print and electronic media, has a bad record, not just of simply being very insensitive but in fact, it actually has a totally irresponsible and dangerous attitude. It was felt by many participants that the media has contributed a lot to making Mumtaz Qadri a hero and dubbing Governor Salman Taseer “Gustakh-i- Rasool”.³⁶ They seem to lack a sense of responsibility for the effects of their actions.

Other than sensational news, other minority issues and concerns are rarely given any coverage.

According to the participants, the reason English papers are more careful of the facts, and sensitive of both the feelings of the minorities and also the result of their actions, is because their readers are more educated than those who read the Urdu or the local press. They felt that the Urdu press is totally commercial, full of dramatic and sensational materials. It is sensationalized and commercialized in order to sell, whereas the English press don't write anything unless they can verify it. Local newspapers are neutral. No media group at this time has the courage to have a progressive and secular Urdu paper. These were the views of many of the respondents.

It was the opinion of many participants, that the media only takes up issues after an incident has occurred, otherwise they are not concerned and are very irresponsible.

3.2.3 Names

A huge majority, 81%, were of the opinion that non-Muslims tend to hide their true identities by adopting Muslim names. Only 19% disagreed.

Participants in Multan, and Islamabad, mentioned that minorities do not hide their names in Sindh and Baluchistan but it is common in the Punjab.

The whole area of names is interesting, particularly amongst the Christians. The historical context is that in the north of India, it was people from the lowest castes, doing what were considered “low-caste” jobs, who were most tempted by the egalitarianism of Christianity, and they became cannon fodder particularly for the British Christian missionaries. Most changed their names and were given westernized names by the missionaries, which they were happy to take on, probably more to shed their low caste ancestry, than to seek identification with the rulers. The result was however that now, the possession of a westernized name in the Punjab, almost proclaims a low caste ancestry, because those who converted from the superior castes made sure that they did not change their names, mainly so that were not confused with the lower caste converts.

(People converted to Christianity at different stages in India's history, some, in Kerala, known as Syrian Christians, were converted by St. Thomas, the Apostle in the first century, others with the growth and influence of western rationalism on upper caste Hinduism, as with the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, yet others in Goa, with the influence of the Portuguese, Christianity in the Indian subcontinent has many different histories. All this affected the indigenous names in different patterns.)

Many Christians now felt that to integrate and to show their identification with their own heritage, they adopted the original/Arabic/Hebrew versions of their names which would also be common to Muslims. Such as Yohanna, Yusuf, Suleiman etc., rather than John, Joseph and Solomon.

But it is generally perceived that in Punjab, not just Christians, but Hindus take ambiguous names so that they are not easily identified. Many individual such cases were identified. This very fact serves to show that they feel if their religion is identified, this will be to their detriment.

Question 15: In your view who/which institutions infringe the most on religious freedom of various religious minority groups?

Figure 24. Opinion of KAP survey respondents

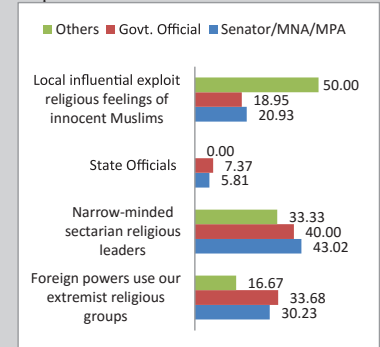
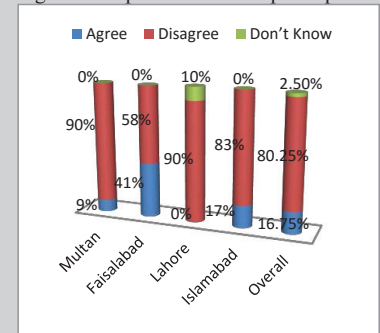


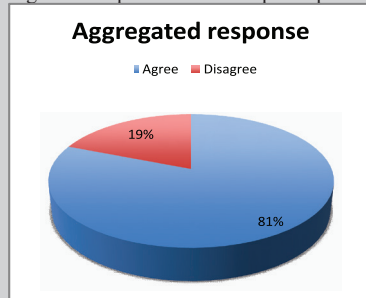
Figure 25. Opinion of FGDs' participants



³⁶ This refers to the case of Punjab Governor who publicly criticized the Blasphemy Law, saying that it was a flawed law, and defended a poor Christian woman, Aasiya Bibi, who had fallen foul of this law. He was gunned down by one of his dozen bodyguards in a public venue. The bodyguard was subsequently garlanded and declared a hero by many people, including lawyers, while the judge who passed the death sentence on Aasiya Bibi, displayed with pride everywhere the pen with which he signed the sentence.)

Statement 16: Non-Muslims tend to hide their identity by adopting Muslim names and behaving like Muslims.

Figure 26. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Statement 17: Access to Education & Health is available to all citizens without any religious discrimination

Figure 27. Opinion of FGDs' participants

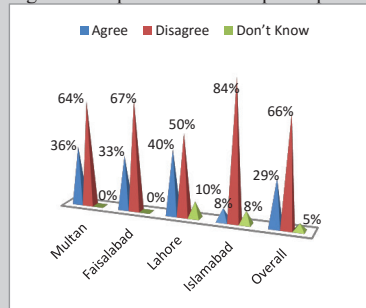
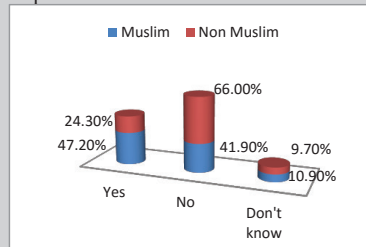


Figure 28. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



3.3. Services and Opportunities

In this report, we have included in this section the services of Health, Education, Water and Sanitation, Sports, an important avenue for integration and social mobility, and also access to Employment opportunities.

In the focus group discussions, 66% of the participants agreed that discrimination against non-Muslims exists in the Education and Health departments in Pakistan. In the general survey, over 50% said that state institutions do not treat non-Muslims equally.

In the FGDs, 66% of participants agreed that discrimination against non-Muslims exists in the Education and Health departments in Pakistan. In the general survey, over 50% said that state institutions do not treat non-Muslims equally.

3.3.1 Education

In Lahore, participants said that the education facilities available to non-Muslims are sometimes a torture for their children, due to the low social acceptance of non-Muslim children.

“Education is the biggest possibility for a better tomorrow, and due to discrimination and bullying, the possibility of education has been stolen from our children for the last 40 years”. Minority Parliamentarian Lahore

“I topped the class and but instead of feeling happy, I felt really unhappy, because when the result was announced, the teacher said to the students - now is there no one who can compete with this Choori? - .

An Ahmadi participant stated that for their children, the big issues in education are that they are not treated equally and they are also bullied by both teachers and students, and there is no recourse. They live in fear of making any complaint.

Another non-Muslim participant felt that they are collectively discriminated against in education. For example, they are harassed in schools and other students don't mix with them, making them feel isolated.

“If Muslim students sit with non-Muslims in school, their parents complain”, according to participants and teachers.

Admission for college is dependent on the number of marks. If a candidate is a Hafiz-i-Koran, (has learnt the whole Koran by heart), they are automatically awarded an additional 25 “grace” marks, which count in the admissions, even to courses such as Medicine, Engineering and so on. Naturally, no non-Muslim is a Hafiz-i-Koran. Although a Christian student brought a case in court saying that Christians should be awarded the same “grace” marks viv a vis the Bible, (even though memorising the Bible by heart is not a ritual practice amongst Christians) this was not agreed to. So they are clearly discriminated against in this scheme.³⁷

Although the issue of a quota for non-Muslim admission to government institutions including educational institutions is a controversial point,³⁸ but according to a Minority Parliamentarian, in Punjab Vocational Technical Colleges (PVTCS) non-Muslims are simply not given admission, as these are run on Zakat funds. Although neither she (the Parliamentarian), nor the researchers were able to find this in black and white, the Principal of one of the PVTCS was very clear about it.

³⁷ Siddiqui, Tana “Educational Bias: Memorise the Koran for 20 extra marks”, The Express Tribune January 8th 2012

³⁸ See <http://communityworldservice.asia/national-caucus-conference-on-quota-issues-and-resource-reservation-for-non-muslim-communities-in-pakistan/>

Textbooks

Textbooks are a major issue.

The Pakistan education system has been incredibly successful in purveying a world view and a tailored history that suited the establishment. It is a black and white view which has depicted the Muslims of Pakistan as a monolithic nation, and there is no room for outsiders, except as opponents of various degrees. The religious minorities have been written out at best, (interestingly the same was done to Bengalis in the Pakistan movement before and after the creation of Bangladesh³⁹) and shown as enemies at its worst. Some of the contents of the textbooks are truly unbelievable, and there is a wealth of research available on these.

In a recent study, the researchers also found that the books foster a sense that Pakistan's Islamic identity is under constant threat;

“The anti-Islamic forces are always trying to finish the Islamic domination of the world,” read one passage from social studies text being taught to Grade 4 students in Punjab, the country's most populated province. “This can cause danger for the very existence of Islam. Today, the defense of Pakistan and Islam is very much in need”.⁴⁰

According to Pakistani intellectual and physicist, Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, the Islamist revisionism of Pakistan's schools began in 1976 when an act of parliament required all government and private schools (except those teaching the British O-levels from Grade 9) to follow a curriculum that includes learning outcomes for the federally approved Grade 5 social studies class such as: “Acknowledge and identify forces that may be working against Pakistan,” “Make speeches on Jihad,” “Collect pictures of policemen, soldiers, and national guards,” and “India's evil designs against Pakistan.”⁴¹

Hate Material

Again, the constitution (article 33), discourages prejudice and discrimination on the basis of religion, sex and creed but the reality is that our school and college textbooks contain a wealth of hate material against Hindus, Christians and Ahmadis.

According to Pakistani professor, Tariq Rahman, Pakistani textbooks cannot mention Hindus without calling them cunning, scheming, deceptive or something equally insulting. The textbooks ignore the pre-Islamic history of Pakistan except to put the Hindu predecessors in negative light.⁴² (The Indus Valley Civilization is briefly mentioned without much context).

Another eminent Pakistani historian, Khurshed Kamal Aziz, similarly has criticized Pakistani history textbooks. He stated that textbooks were full of historical errors and suggested that mandatory study amounted to teaching “prescribed myths”. After examining 66 textbooks used at various levels of study, Aziz argued that the textbooks supported military rule in Pakistan, promoted hatred for Hindus, glorified wars and distorted the pre 1947 history of Pakistan.⁴³

When asked whether such material should remain or be removed from the textbooks, particularly in view of the constitutional provision, only just over 62% Muslims in the survey, as opposed to almost 90% of the non-Muslims, felt that hate material should be removed from textbooks. But 20% Muslims felt that it should not be removed, and it should remain. Over 17% Muslims would not express any opinion in this regard.

Amongst the politicians, 85% politicians felt such hate material should be removed, that is, more than the general Muslim public, but less than 65% of government officials felt that it should be removed, that is similar to the general public.

³⁹ Aziz, KK. Murder of History Renaissance Publishing House, Lahore 1993

⁴⁰ “Pakistan schools teach Hindu hatred” Dawn, Oct 1st 2014 <http://www.dawn.com/news/672000/pakistan-schools-teach-hindu-hatred?>

⁴¹ Pakistan: Do school texts fuel bias?, Christian Science Monitor, 2009-01-21

⁴² Cohen, Stephen. The idea of Pakistan. Brookings Institution Press, Washinton DC, 1973, Retrieved 9 April 2011. Haqqani, Hussain. “Pakistan: between mosque and the military”. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2005, Retrieved 9 April 2011, accessed 20 March 2015

⁴³ IBID

Question 18: Should hate material be removed from the textbooks as this is against our constitution?

Figure 29. Opinion of KAP survey respondents

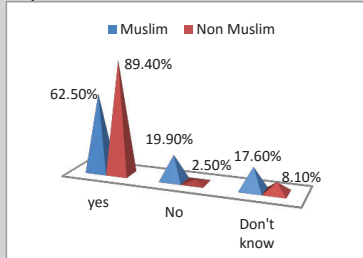
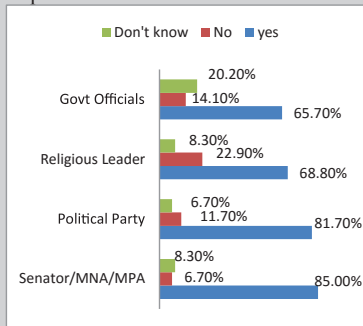


Figure 30. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



Question 19: Do you think if the orders of the Supreme Court are implemented in letter and spirit the status of non-Muslim citizens will improve in the country?

Figure 31. Opinion of KAP survey respondents

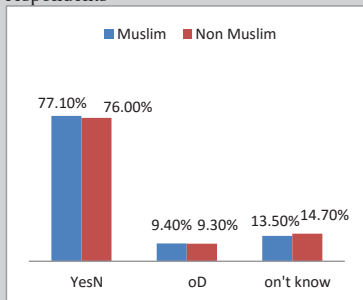
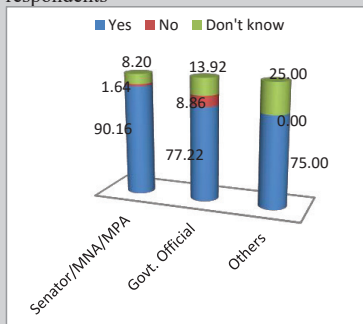


Figure 32. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



And while only about 6% politicians felt that such material should be retained, and less said they didn't know, amongst the government officials, about 16% felt that it should be retained and almost 20% said they didn't know.

So over 35% government officials are not in favour of removing hate material from text books, like almost 40% of the general Muslim public, as compared to about 11% of politicians and 10% of non-Muslims.

Other than the actual targeted victims of the hate material, it is the politicians who appear to be the most progressive!

The Supreme Court in its 18th June 2014 judgment had ordered the federal government to constitute a National Commission for Minorities Rights and to establish a special task force for the protection of minorities. The provincial governments were also ordered to develop appropriate curricula at school and college levels to promote religious tolerance and the Supreme Court had also instructed the governments to prevent inflammatory speeches against non-Muslim minorities. Nothing was done and finally in the wake of the live burning of a Christian couple in Kot Radha Kishan, the Supreme Court had to take suo motu action and now a three member bench of the Supreme Court is hearing and asking the authorities to take action in this regard. When asked if whether the orders of the Supreme Court were implemented in letter and spirit, would the status of non-Muslim citizens improve in Pakistan, 76% of Muslims and 75% of non-Muslims felt that the situation of non-Muslims would improve if a National Commission for Minority Rights and a special task force were established for their protection as well as hate material were removed from textbooks.

About 10% of Muslims and non-Muslims felt that it would make no difference; their status would not be improved. Of MNAs and MPAs, 90% felt the situation would be improved, 77% of government servants also felt that it would, while less than 2% politicians actively felt that it would not, and 8% didn't know if it would or not. But 9% of government servants felt that it would not help.

"The direct consequences of this education system are that killing non-Muslims, even with utmost brutality, has become normal. In Pakistan unfortunately non-Muslims are suffering the most." Academic, Islamabad

Religious Studies

It is part of the constitution that no student shall have to study a religion which is not theirs.⁴⁴ The option offered to students from religious minorities, is that instead of Islamiyat, they should study Ethics. However, due to the small number of students of other religions, schools say that it is often not possible to have a teacher to teach a class of just one or two or a few students. Moreover, parents said that the prescribed book for Ethics was extremely difficult to find, and when we tried to find the book in Islamabad, it was only available for one class. Another reason given by schools is that teachers are not trained to teach this subject. Parents also say that the Ethics book is full of Islamic content.

A recent report also states that Islamic teachings and references were commonplace in compulsory text books, not just religious ones, meaning Pakistan's Christians, Hindus and other minorities are being taught Islamic content⁴⁵ through Urdu, English, Social Studies, and so on.⁴⁶

It is extremely interesting, and even more so in the current climate, that as many as 40% of the Muslims surveyed, subscribed to the opinion that all religions should be taught to all pupils, while the majority of non-Muslims subscribed to this.

⁴⁴ (Article 22 of the constitution prohibits educational institutions from imparting any instructions and education to a person other than his/her own religion. Also see appendix)

⁴⁵ <http://www.dawn.com/news/672000/pakistan-schools-teach-hindu-hatred>

⁴⁶ Nayyar, A.H and Saleem A., The Subtle Subversion SDPI, Islamabad, 2003

Almost the same number of Muslims, and about one third of the non-Muslims felt that everyone should be taught their own religions. However, 15% of the Muslims felt that only Islamiyat should be taught in schools, and interestingly 7% of the “non-Muslims” also agreed, it is possible that these were Ahmadis. One principal described how her school had an alternative, more inclusive, syllabus for religion, but Ahmadi parents in her school demanded that the traditional Islamiyat course be taught.

Almost 70% of the Muslim respondents felt that it was not the right thing to teach Islamiyat to non-Muslim students in educational institutions in the light of the fact the constitution also prohibits it, but over 30% said that yes, it was the right thing to do, despite the constitution. Naturally, 70% of non-Muslims felt that non-Muslim students should not be taught Islamiyat.

Similarly, of the politicians, 73% felt that it was wrong to teach Islamiyat to non-Muslim students, but 16% felt that this was right, despite the constitution, and another 11% said that they didn't know what was right and what was wrong in this context.

Amongst the government officials too, 67% felt this was wrong, but 21% felt this was right, and another 11% said they did not know. The trend is similar to the general public.

3.3.2 Sports

Overall, only 34% of the people said that sports bodies select players without any religious discrimination. The vast majority felt that there was religious discrimination even in sports bodies.

A young Hindu man who was a participant in the survey told his own story, that after being selected for a football camp, he was encouraged to slightly change his name so that it would sound like a Muslim name. When he refused, he was dropped from the camp.

It is not simple to find a list of non-Muslim Pakistani sportspeople, all hits on the internet, put Pakistani sportspeople firmly on the Muslim map. And religion is becoming an issue with Pakistani sportspeople on the international circuit too.⁴⁷ Yet there have been very important non-Muslim sportspeople in Pakistan, both women and men, including 7,8 or 9 Pakistani cricketers, depending on how non-Muslim is defined.

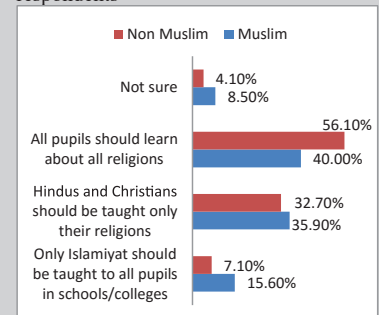
However, sadly for his own community, the most high profile case is that of Yousaf Yohanna, who was one of the very few Christians to play for the Pakistan cricket team. Following his conversion to Islam, he briefly became captain of the team. Whereas in many societies sports is perceived as a way in which marginalized groups can seek social mobility, his case seems to illustrate the opposite. Whatever may have been his personal journey and beliefs, the Christian community felt betrayed by his conversion, and felt that they had lost one of the few role models available for their children.

3.3.3 Employment

Regarding employment, two major areas were explored, the issue of quotas, and secondly the issue of treatment in the workplace.

Question 20: Which of the following statement reflect your opinion?

Figure 33. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



Question 21: Article 22 of our constitution prohibits educational institutions from imparting any instructions and education to a person other than his/her own religion. But in our country, non-Muslim students are taught Islamiyat. Is this a right thing to do?

Figure 34. Opinion of KAP survey respondents

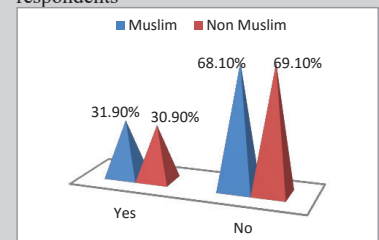
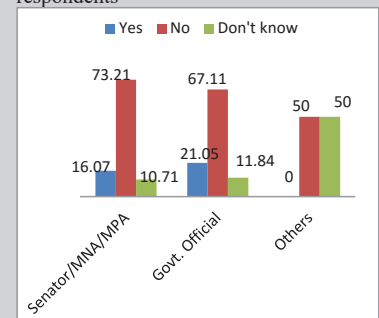
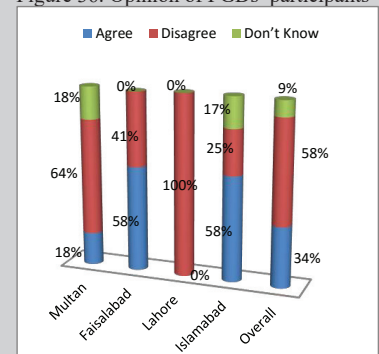


Figure 35. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



Statement 22: The sport's bodies select players without any religious discrimination

Figure 36. Opinion of FGDs' participants



⁴⁷ <http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/cricket/clash-of-cricket-and-religion-pakistans-faith-sparks-unholy-row-421574.html>

<http://www.inquisitr.com/1451701/dilshan-ahmed-shehzad-controversy/>

Looking at the different districts, there is a division of views within the different areas of Pakistan. For example, Faisalabad was the one with the highest percentage that agreed that there is no discrimination within the workplace. Then the minorities spoke, and gave examples, but many people at the meeting dismissed them as individual incidents. This seemed more in the nature of the dynamic of that focus group rather than a picture of reality. Nevertheless, a majority of the people in the discussions agreed that promotion for non-Muslims is far harder than for Muslims. Also, it was reiterated that the general pattern anyway is that, promotions and benefits are not given on merit in organisations/departments but being non-Muslim is yet another negative factor in promotion to a senior position.

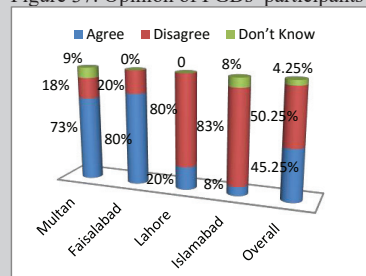
“Hindus are discriminated against and Christians are preferred over them for jobs as they are at least Ahle Kitab (People of the Book, as referred to in the Quran), and even Sikhs are promoted in Pakistan in preference over Hindus.” Hindu participant, Lahore

Almost 80% participants in the focus group discussions accepted that in matters of hiring, promotion, salary scales and so on, non-Muslims are not treated on a par with Muslims. Almost 60% also felt that even advertising and hiring is not done according to the job quota policy of the government, which reserves 5% places for non-Muslims. The Govt of Pakistan notification is from Oct 2009, the Punjab government did not follow suit till 2013.⁴⁸

Amongst the respondents of the general survey, over 45% agreed and over 50% disagreed that government departments advertise and hire non-Muslims according to the rules and regulations of the job quota policy. In Multan and Faisalabad Muslim participants agreed with the statement however non-Muslims viewed that the job quota does exist but is only followed for grade four jobs but not for higher jobs with quotas for higher positions not being advertised.

Statement 23: Government departments advertise and hire non-Muslims according to the rules and regulations of the job quota policy.

Figure 37. Opinion of FGDs' participants



The main argument from the participants who disagreed with the statement was that regarding the 5% quota, when there is an advertisement for the lower menial jobs, the 5% quota is at least mentioned in the advertisements, but for higher positions this quota is never advertised. The quota system is usually advertised for grade 4 jobs and not for higher-grade jobs. Most job advertisements never mention any seats for minorities, although every department is meant to keep a 5% quota of non-Muslims. The only jobs that are advertised “for Christians” are those of sweepers.

Therefore non-Muslims are never hired for higher paying jobs and hence this leads to non-Muslims being at the bottom of the heap.

Under the purview of this study, government servants and MNAs and MPAs, most of whom primarily work in departments/offices of the government, showed that in the work place of the largest group, 26 respondents, there were about 2% non-Muslims.

Participants were of the opinion that in Pakistan, on the whole, the recruitment process is not on merit, in fact it is quite heavily based on nepotism and patronage, there is no due process, and actually Muslims are recruited even on the non-Muslim quota.

It is only in the sanitation (that is, sweepers) and nursing departments where non-Muslims are usually recruited.⁴⁹

According to an official in the CDA, in fact there is no discrimination against the minorities, most particularly the Christians, quite the reverse in fact. Whereas they are meant to get 5% of the jobs, in fact in the category of sweepers, there are 100% Christians, according to him. According to him, this more than offsets any imbalance.

⁴⁸ <http://nation.com.pk/lahore/26-Oct-2009/Minorities-to-get-5pc-quota-in-govt-jobs>, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/717196/implementing-the-minority-quota/>

⁴⁹ (NURSING For women, nursing is a profession that seems reserved for Christians. Nursing in Pakistan carries a very poor reputation, and Muslim families of the economic class for whom nursing could be an option have traditionally refused to allow their women into jobs that demand a high degree of flexibility in working hours and exposure to the human body and a very high level of public dealing. This is changing somewhat, but the profession is still heavily dependent on Christian nurses.)

“The reality is that Muslims think that sanitation jobs are beneath them, they are fit for Christians and Hindus, therefore that quota is filled cent percent.” Christian participant, Islamabad.

In Punjab, many people use the word “Isai” (Jesus’s people”), the original word for Christian, as synonymous with the word “sweeper”. People often say, “We’ll call two Isais to fix the gutters”.

Christians deeply resent their synonymy with this profession and yet, particularly if they are employed in the municipality of a government department, these are extremely coveted jobs as they carry perks like pensions and all other government facilities. Many educate their children hoping that they will move out of this profession, but the children sadly come back to it as a good job, and almost the only one easily open to them. It would be an exaggeration to say that economically poor Christians have a love hate relationship with this job, but many do perceive it as the only toe hold they have on the economic ladder.

However, recently when the KPK had a government dominated by religious parties, “they issued a notification that in Grade Four, only Muslim employees will be promoted and non-Muslim employees will not be promoted. Further, that next time only non-Muslims will be employed even as cleaners.” Minority Parliamentarian.

Such a statement was a source of worry and consternation in the social class where this is an opening for them.

In the Islamabad focus group, two participants shared more positive experiences. One participant said that **“even though he is from a minority group”**, he was promoted to secretary level and another minority participant felt that the fact that **“due” promotions** were also given to his cousin, merited mention.

Work Place

The workplace which may be considered an equalizer in many societies does not seem to be so in Pakistan. 92% of all the focus group discussion participants felt that there is no harmony in the workplace, and discrimination in the workplace exists in matters of promotions and benefits.

Most non-Muslim participants felt there was discrimination in the work place against them i.e. there were separate areas and separate utensils for them to eat and drink and cook in, and job promotion and even benefits were extra hard for them.

A Muslim participant shared that while she was working at one of the premier educational chain schools in the country, in Multan, 13 teachers out of 26, wrote a written request to the school administration that the utensils of the one Christian teacher in the school be kept separate from the rest. The (male) Christian teacher was in tears. It is to the credit of the school system, that after a meeting with all teachers and staff, the administration and the principal refused to do so.

This is not an uncommon occurrence. A Christian bank employee also narrated an incident where one employee in his bank led a campaign to have the Christian employees utensils separated from the others. He was successful in his campaign.

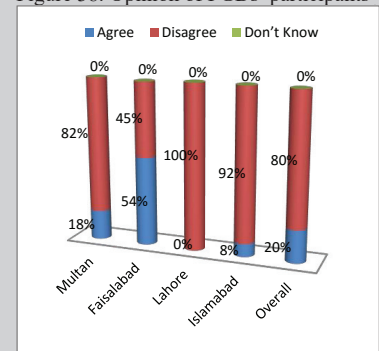
In many areas in Pakistan, non-Muslim homes will serve Muslim visitors with bazaar brought food, such as bottled drinks, to avoid any issues. The way to show that you observe no such discrimination is to request a glass of water or a cup of tea. This is also a practice in India, but that it is observed in purportedly caste-less Muslim Pakistan is an incongruity.

One educated and well off Pakistani Christian participant who is married to a Muslim related an incident that she used to cook the food every day for her staff, which included a Muslim driver. One day when she was ill, her Christian sweeper cooked the food, and this Muslim driver refused to eat food cooked by her, (the other Muslim staff ate it without any problem), although he had never objected to eating food cooked by the Christian Begum-sahib.

Statement 24: Harmony exists amongst all workers without any reservations and exclusion at work places.

Promotions and benefits are given on merit in organisations & departments without any religious discrimination

Figure 38. Opinion of FGDs’ participants



This gives some credence to the contention by some participants that it is the social class system that is discriminatory towards the weak, rather than religious discrimination. One Muslim said that he had heard that in Tharparker, children of different Hindu castes do not play with each other, as some are well off and some are poor. Participants also brought up the fact that if a non-Muslim was rich or was a foreigner, particularly a white foreigner, then everyone is much more willing to socialize with them!

However, what seemed to come out that in addition to all aspects of discrimination against the poor and powerless, religion seemed to be an additional one, and one moreover that it was possible to unite against, and consequently this led to a mob mentality and bullying in a way that simple poverty did not engender. This was most prominent also in the discussions on gender.

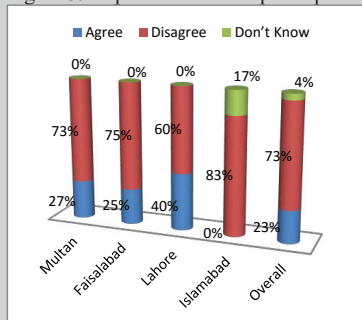
3.3.4 Water & Sanitation

73% of the participants of focus group discussions believed that even water and sanitation facilities are influenced by religious discrimination, even though here poverty and lack of access to power plays a role, as so many areas are without water and sanitation.

From the discussions there was a general consensus that Muslim and non-Muslims have poor sanitation in poorer areas, but the worst conditions were found in areas where there are a higher number of religious minorities. Participants agreed that there is a clear division in proper sanitation which directly reflects the class difference within our society.

Statement 25: Muslim and non-Muslim residential areas are provided similar services without any religious discrimination

Figure 39. Opinion of FGDs' participants



In the Faisalabad focus group, a lot of the participants agreed that the water and sanitation system in non-Muslims areas, if it exists at all, is abysmal. In the group, most of the non-Muslims felt that that their areas were worse off than Muslim areas. Other participants looked at this problem as a class issue and a reflection of poor governance in the country.

“People of different faiths live as communities in a particular area and a high number of Christian and Hindu populated areas are worse off in the case of sanitation and other development issues.” Civil society member.

Participants overall agreed that there is also a class issue here, and they agreed that that non-Muslim areas also have extremely poor conditions.

But one participant observed that in the “Labour Colony” in Islamabad, (also known incongruously as Paris Colony or France Colony), - a planned and designated colony for the sweepers/cleaners/sanitation workers of Islamabad, 100% Christian, in the heart of one of the poshest part of Islamabad, - tap water was only provided in the late 1980s, almost 30 years after the colony was established, when adult franchise elections took place after years of General Zia’s dictatorship, and the local candidate needed their votes. The story goes that the

first time round, the promise was made, and after the candidate was elected, he never showed his face again. The next time, a few years later, they had a candidate come to ask for votes, they demanded the water connection first. That is when they got it.

3.3.5 Justice

77% of the focus group discussion participants felt that the justice system in Pakistan also discriminates against non-Muslims.

Participants argued that there is no access to a fair trial for religious minorities, even within the context that it is really hard to get a fair trial for anyone at all in Pakistan.

The police, the revenue departments and the courts do not treat non-Muslims impartially even in the registering of cases and other aspects of litigation. Regarding access to justice, participants said that in the case of religious minorities, judges are biased, most especially in blasphemy cases.

“In the lower courts there is definitely discrimination, but not in the higher courts, such as the supreme court.” Journalist

“The case is not really in the hands of the judges, in fact they simply act as an arm of the police, as they prepare the case.” Lawyer

“In the case of Asia Bibi, a verdict was taken against her by a crowd of Maulvis looking into the eyes of judge”.

These statements give some idea of the extraordinary control the Muslim religious community is perceived to have on the basic right of every citizen of Pakistan, to a fair and just trial.

85% participants felt that even regular legal support is not available to non-Muslims at local levels and lawyers hesitate to fight their cases. It was discussed that from the recent incidents of violence against non-Muslims it is clear that there is none or very little legal support available for non-Muslims as even lawyers are scared of taking on their cases. This is not the case with only cases of a religious nature. Even in property cases, or criminal cases, where the other party is a Muslim, lawyers tend to avoid taking on the case of the non-Muslim party, as they fear that they will become embroiled in a dispute which may take on or be given a religious colour. Christians feel that lawyers need to be paid for extra to take on the trouble of a case on behalf of a non-Muslim, particularly if the other party is Muslim.

And as for cases of a religious nature, there is no question that anyone but a most exceptional lawyer would be willing to take on such a case. Citing the example of Rashid Rahman, a well known lawyer, who was killed for defending a young Muslim accused of blasphemy, respondents felt that after his killing, who would now be willing to take on such cases for non-Muslims.

Participants also felt that while human rights cases may be fought for in bigger cities, regardless of religion, but in smaller towns, out of fear, religious minorities are shunned, and their cases are normally not taken on.

(Where justice is particularly related to the blasphemy law, this is discussed separately in the blasphemy section).

3.3.6 Access to public funds for the poor

There was a split in opinion on whether or not all poor people, regardless of their religion, have equal access to the public funds of BISP (Benazir Income Support Programme), Zakat, Bait ul Maal. 18% of the participants were unaware of the any religious discrimination.

In fact Zakat is, by law, collected from and distributed only to Muslims. (Shias are exempt from collection by the state, as they are expected to give it to their own religious authority).

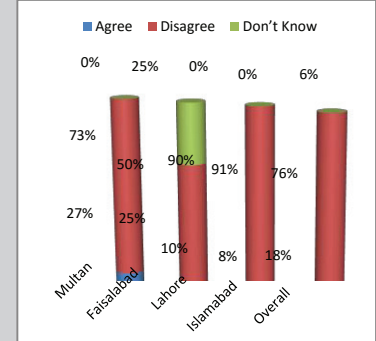
3.3.7 NADRA

About 50% of the focus group discussion participants felt that non-Muslim citizens did not have trouble with NADRA, and that NADRA was an efficient and non-discriminatory body, the other 50% were almost equally divided between those who did not know and those who felt that non-Muslims do have trouble.

A participant who had worked in Sindh, told us that in Sindh, brick kiln workers could not have access to an ID card, and most of them were non-Muslims. But despite the fact that in Punjab too, a huge proportion of brick kiln workers are Christians, in Punjab it seemed that NADRA registration is not a problem, NADRA here has done a big drive to register people.

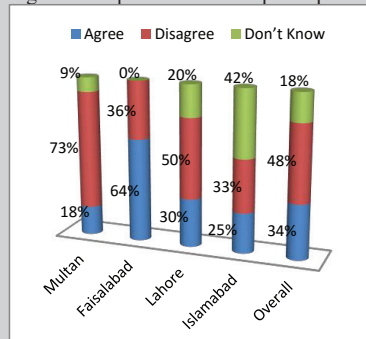
Statement 26: Police, revenue department and courts treat non-Muslim and Muslim citizens on merit for case registration and litigation and etc

Figure 40. Opinion of FGDs' participants



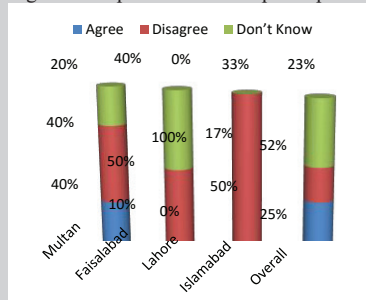
Statement 27: All poor people have equal access to public funds (BISP, Zakat, Baitulmal etc.) without any religious discrimination

Figure 41. Opinion of FGDs' participants



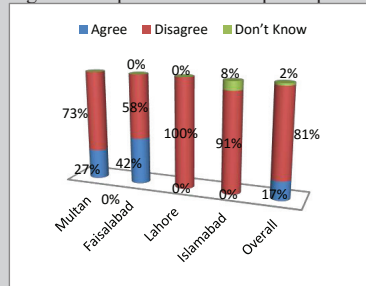
Statement 28: Registration of non-Muslim citizens has become cumbersome

Figure 42. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Statement 29: Their religious places, lands, houses and businesses are safe and protected from vandalism and theft.

Figure 43. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Some participants felt that for Christians, the process for an ID is difficult because by law they have to register births in churches but NADRA questions them as to why they didn't register with the council, thus creating problems for them.

Again, this becomes a matter of the government officials not being properly trained in issues relating to minorities.

3.4 Assets and Business

80% of the participants of the focus group discussions felt that non-Muslims are discriminated against in markets and business, and that their religious places, houses, land and businesses are not safe or protected from vandalism and theft.

There was also a consensus that religious minorities felt their assets were not safe and if an incident occurred elsewhere in Pakistan or even abroad, in which members of their religion were involved, they immediately started to feel even more unsafe and actually felt targeted, and unfortunately there are numerous examples, which justify them feeling this way. Participants (Muslim and non-Muslim) clearly stated that they felt that the business assets of non-Muslims are actually not safe.

"In the Hafiz Centre in Lahore, there is a notice in a number of the shops that an Ahmadi cannot undertake their business there." Ahmadi participant, Lahore

"If any issue regarding religion arises, non-Muslims and their assets become vulnerable to vandalism." Hindu participant, Lahore

In addition to this, they were also of the opinion that there is also discrimination in business as most Muslims hesitate in trading with non-Muslims, even buying from them, presumably they have no scruples about selling to them!

"Parliamentarians do not even think about us, if they do not think about us, how they will act for us." Minority Parliamentarian

3.5 Representation

"Basically there is a serious lack of political will and the government has no time for minorities, there is lot of lip service but nothing has been done." Minority Parliamentarian

"Parliamentarians take up the issues of marginalized communities only when they are in opposition." Minority Parliamentarian

3.5.1 Reserved Seats

Seats reserved for non-Muslims in our assemblies are not filled through general voters. As a result, non-Muslim populations have little or no organic relationship with them. Some people consider it undemocratic, and consider that hence the people filling these seats don't feel accountable to the people they are supposed to represent, as they do not depend on them to be elected.

Among the focus group discussions, 88% of the participants felt that the method of election to fill reserved seats for religious minorities for legislative bodies is discriminatory. 9% disagreed.

Moreover, in the Islamabad focus group, minority representatives said that real representatives of the minorities are the MNAs and MPAs elected from their area on general seats, not the ones elected on reserved seats.

Many participants from the focus group discussions were of the opinion that there should be no reserved seats. The reserved seats are filled by nominees of political parties, and are in the gift of the party leadership. Such representatives are powerless and speechless because they represent nobody and speak for nobody, for their presence in the assembly they are dependent not on the people they are supposed to represent, but to the party people who have appointed them. In fact a number of participants referred to them as puppets of the political parties, who do not bother about their own communities. Members of minorities said that in times of trouble they never come to us.

This was denied by the minority parliamentarians, who say that they are chosen by the party because they are active in their communities, and that they do visit their communities. But their communities are geographically dispersed and not in a single geographical area.

Some people said that having a quota for non-Muslims in Parliament is also useless, like women's seats. This was an interesting comparison, because in the long run, there is little doubt that the women's quota has been beneficial to women.

A government official scathingly said that Minority representatives only go to their communities when they want to exploit them for their own ends, but this can probably be said about any politician at all and would also be true of many Muslim politicians!

"It seems to be a common perception that minority representatives in parliament are not concerned with the issues affecting their communities, but in fact it depends on the person, many of us do take up issues that concern our communities." Minority Parliamentarian.

"The system of reserved seats should be continued as it helps in the uplift of the minorities." Minority Parliamentarian.

"There should be constituencies for non-Muslims so that rather than indirect elections, their representatives too should be directly elected." Government official.

"The state itself promotes discrimination" Minority Parliamentarian.

MNAs and MPAs on joint electorate

People generally felt that the political leadership in Pakistan doesn't consider the issues of non-Muslim citizens to be of any importance. 87% felt that political parties do not support non-Muslims when they are in danger, only 13% viewed that they did.

Given that MNAs and MPAs are elected on a joint electorate that includes non-Muslim votes, they were asked how often non-Muslim constituents approached them. Over 55% said very often, and another almost 25% said "to some extent", the rest said yes, but very little. Less than 2% said that they were never approached at all.

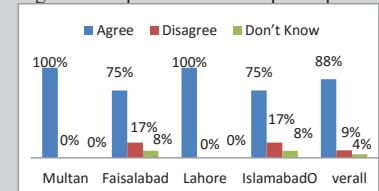
Different options were discussed with the respondents:

3.5.2 Reserved Quota

Almost 50% Muslims and 50% of non-Muslims felt that political parties should issue tickets to non-Muslim candidates from areas where non-Muslims constitute 5% of the population, and almost 40% Muslims and just over 30% non-Muslims felt that political parties should award 5% tickets to non-Muslims. Of the MNAs and MPAs, 50% felt that political parties should award 5% tickets to non-

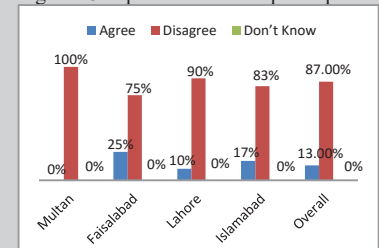
Statement 30: The method of election to fill reserved seats for religious minorities for legislative bodies is discriminatory and undemocratic. Hence they don't feel accountable to their non-Muslim citizens, as they do not elect them

Figure 44. Opinion of FGDs' participants



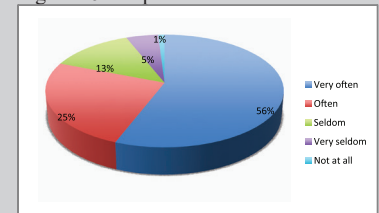
Statement 31: Political leadership doesn't give importance to the issues of non-Muslim citizens

Figure 45. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Question 32: How often non-Muslims of your constituents approach you?

Figure 46. Responses of MPs



Question 33: Seats reserved for non-Muslims in our assemblies are not filled through general voters. As a result, non-Muslim populations have little or no organic relationship with them. Therefore some people consider it undemocratic. Keeping this in view, which of the following statement reflect your opinion?

Figure 47. Opinion of KAP survey respondents

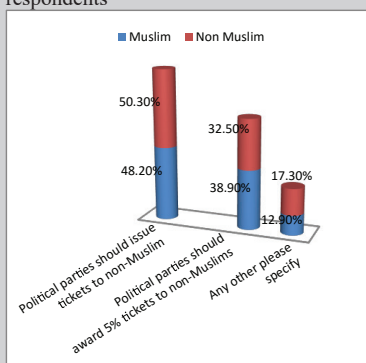
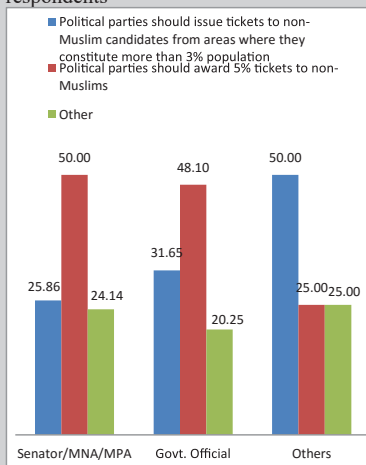
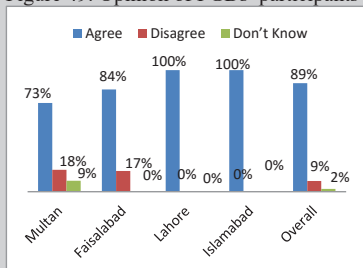


Figure 48. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



Statement 34: Political leadership doesn't give importance to the issues of non-Muslim citizens.

Figure 49. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Muslims. Amongst the government officials too, the largest number, almost 50% supported this view. Over 25% of the politicians felt that political parties should issue tickets to non-Muslims in constituencies where they constitute more than 3% of the population, and again 31% of the government officials agreed. Other suggestions were given by 24% of the politicians and 20% of the government officials. (These are included in the recommendations).

82% participants of the focus group discussions also felt that political parties don't allow non-Muslim members to take senior or important "general" positions in the party. Having minority wings is marginalizing and isolating the minorities further, according to many participants. Minority wings in political parties and minority seats in assemblies are just token gestures to get votes, when minorities are in trouble no political parties go to them. Everyone said this.

One participant attributed minority wings to the fact that it gave an opportunity to minority members to hold the posts of President and other important offices, which kept them motivated. If they were mainstreamed within the party structure then they would be in fact is even further marginalized, as their position is so weak, that they will not be able to compete with the others.

Overall, the vast majority, almost 90% amongst the focus group discussions, felt that the mainstream political leadership doesn't give importance to the issues of non-Muslim citizens. "Politicians are not interested in the welfare of minorities, in fact they are not actually interested in any citizens at all and that's the biggest problem." Civil Society representative, Lahore.

3.5.3 Local Councils

84% of the participants felt that the absence of elected local councils aggravates issues of non-Muslim communities.

Almost 80% of the politicians felt that there would be an improvement in the status of non-Muslims in Pakistan if they had elected local councils, where candidates would have to woo the non-Muslims too for their votes, rather than the current situation where minority members are not directly elected (indirectly appointed by the political parties). Almost 30% felt that this would make a very great improvement. Except for less than 2% who didn't know, all the rest agreed that there would be at least a little improvement and not a single person felt that it would either have no effect or a detrimental one, in every case, a positive outcome was expected whether to a greater or a lesser degree.

Amongst the government officials also, barring the 4% who didn't know, all the others considered that this would have a positive effect on the minorities, whether to a greater or lesser extent, with just under 16% thinking that it would have a small effect, and over 35% thinking it would lead to a large improvement. All the rest thought there would be some improvement.

Similarly, when asked to what extent the presence of local government councils would help to solve the problems of religious minorities, over 80% of both Muslims and non-Muslims felt that an elected local government would be helpful to the minorities, and just over 10% of both Muslims and non-Muslims disagreed.

Parliamentary Committee on Religious and Minority Affairs

The relevant MNAs/MPAs and government officials were asked whether in light of the fact that along with legislation and constituency work, the oversight role of legislators of the executive through assembly committees is considered a very crucial role of a legislator for good governance, and did they think the parliamentary committee on religious and minority affairs was working effectively?

One third of the MNAs and MPAs involved felt that the parliamentary committee was working effectively, 5% said they didn't know, all the rest felt that it wasn't. But the results among the government officials was almost exactly the opposite with 5% feeling that the committee was working effectively, 33% felt that they were not, and 61% said they did not know, an unusually large number even in this category, where there have been large numbers of government servants taking recourse in the "don't know" option in the course of this survey. Which only serves to demonstrate that at a time when atrocities are publicly known to be committed against the minorities, government servants seem to take little interest.

3.6 Fear and Persecution

Moreover, 85% of the focus group discussion participants felt that non-Muslim citizens don't openly criticise government policies and lack of policy implementation and further they don't challenge those who violate their rights for fear of reprisals, but there was almost complete consensus (94%) on the fact that hate against non-Muslims is spread without any fear, that state functionaries don't take any action against the culprits who do this, and officers are afraid of taking up cases of non-Muslim citizens when they have a dispute with a Muslim.

Rashid Rahman was mentioned everywhere, in every discussion. Although neither he nor the case which he was defending were anything to do directly with the minorities yet it had a deep effect on them. Rashid Rahman was defending a young Muslim university teacher who has been accused of blasphemy. He was openly threatened for doing so, amongst others, by a lawyer and this was reported in the press, he was attacked 5 times, subsequently, Rahman made an application to the court stating he was being threatened and requesting protection, (which was not given), 5 days later he was killed.

In Faisalabad in a hot discussion, the participants discussed that in the case of Rashid Rahman, all the accused and members involved were Muslims and still nobody came out condemn his killing. He was not even accused of committing blasphemy, he was only a lawyer. Even the HRCP does not seem to have taken the stand that people expected. And this, everyone was of the opinion, was simply because of fear.

85% participants of the focus group discussions generally believe that legal support is not available to non-Muslims at local levels and lawyers hesitate to fight their cases.

"How can anyone expect that lawyers will now take on blasphemy cases to defend non-Muslims?" Media representative, Multan

"Even Asma Jahangir refused to take on some cases", Said an Ahmadi Participant, Lahore. Whatever may be Ms. Jahangir's reasons for not taking on any case, the perception of this participant was that some cases were such that even the most well known fighters for human rights in Pakistan felt that that either the cases were unwinnable given the current legal situation, or they were too big a risk. Blasphemy accusations are on a different level, and are separately discussed. The only reason to mention Rashid Rahman here is that despite the fact that he was not connected to any minority, his case has sent ripples of fear, and justifiably so, among the non-Muslims communities for reasons which are not hard to understand and will become even clearer after perusal of the blasphemy section.

(See also section on Justice and the section on Blasphemy)

Statement 35: Absence of elected local councils aggravates issues of non-Muslim populations

Figure 50. Opinion of FGDs' participants

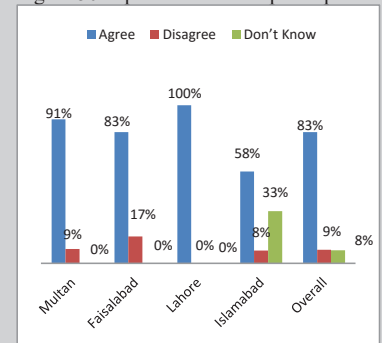
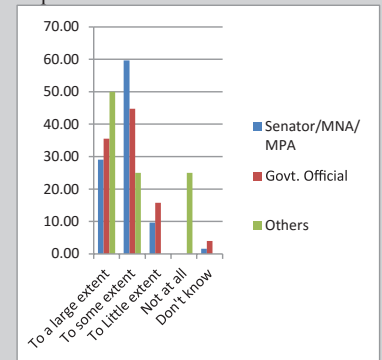
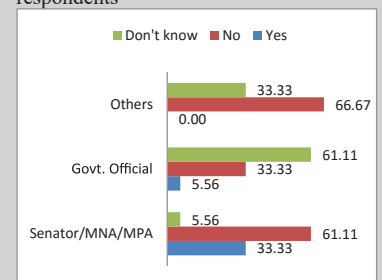


Figure 51. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



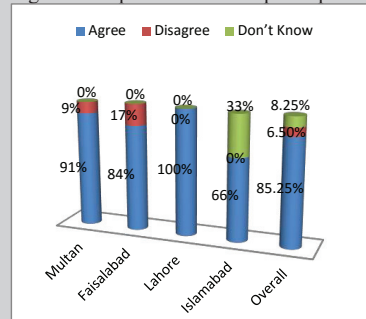
Question 36: Do you think parliamentary committee on religious and minority affairs of your house is working effectively?

Figure 52. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



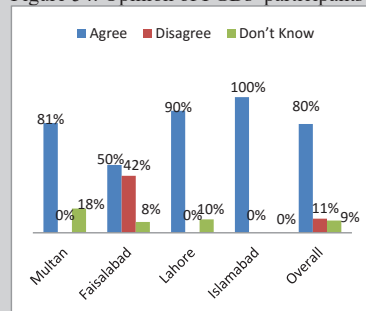
Statement 37: Non-Muslim citizens don't openly criticise government policies and lack of policy implementation and they don't challenge violators of their rights for fear of reprisal

Figure 53. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Statement 38: Some Muslim colleagues try to convert non-Muslim workers by offering incentives.

Figure 54. Opinion of FGDs' participants



3.6.1 Preaching by Muslims

Overall, 81% of the participants agreed that Muslim colleagues try to convert non-Muslims workers by offering incentives.

In the Multan focus group, there was overall agreement with the statement. An example was discussed, that in Peshawar a Hindu shop-keeper was told to convert by his neighbour, and when he refused, he was accused of blasphemy and this led to his business and life being ruined.

But on a lighter note, a participant told his story of how flabbergasted he was when he jokingly asked a Hindu friend to convert to Islam, to which the Hindu invited him to you convert to Hinduism. He was totally taken aback, never having conceived of such a thing!

An interesting rationale of the actions of Muslims who ask members of religious minorities to convert was given in the Faisalabad focus group. Their argument was that non-Muslims are offered conversion, so that they could have the opportunity to become better human beings. This clearly shows the vision of such groups which define "better human beings" in terms of religion. What is a matter of concern is that we would consider such groups to be fairly representative. And in fact this opinion was also echoed in the Lahore focus group.

"Muslims do try to convert their non-Muslims colleagues in order to benefit by gaining their own 'sawab'" ("Sawab" are good deeds that get you into Heaven.) (This was said in a critical light by a Muslim participant from Lahore.)

In the Islamabad focus group, minority representatives said that Muslims preachers often ask them to convert.

"But we have never asked any Muslim to do the same." a participant added. (Islamabad) although non-Muslims in Pakistan have a constitutional right to do so.⁵⁰

Preaching by non-Muslims

But even in the case of non-Muslims being able to preach their religion, 78% disagreed or strongly disagreed that non-Muslims are allowed to preach their religions without any fear, that is they believed that non-Muslims cannot preach their religion without fear. A Muslim lawyer said that while the law allows minority groups to register their organizations, hold gatherings, enjoy freedom of speech and conduct political activities, in actual practice their activities are very restricted. It was pointed out by a participant lawyer, that while Article 20 of the constitution guarantees freedom for all Pakistanis to preach, profess and practice their religion, but they felt that in reality this is only limited to Muslims.

"We can only preach within our communities but not to Muslims as in the Muslim faith conversion is punishable by death so we do not want to put their lives at stake." Christian Participant, Islamabad

So it is interesting to consider who the minorities may preach to then in a country of 95% Muslims. In Tharparkar, Christian missionaries do a lot of work with the Hindu tribes, as these are the only people they may safely target.

The Ahmadi participants said clearly that for them it's impossible to preach or even practise without any fear, and this was agreed to by all the other participants.

"It is impossible to put the banner of Jamaat-e-Ahmediya on any stall or any building." Ahmadi participant, Lahore.

There was a consensus that for non-Muslims, there is little or no freedom to preach their religion at all, except within their own communities.

⁵⁰ Constitution of Pakistan, Article 20

“Freedom to preach may be there to an extremely limited extent for Christians, but does not exist at all for other non-Muslims.” Journalist, Lahore

Amazingly, almost 75% Muslims felt that non-Muslims should be allowed to propagate their religion freely while only about 10% were against it, the rest didn't know. More predictably, about 90% of the non-Muslims felt that they should be allowed to propagate their religion freely and fewer than 2% felt that they shouldn't be, less than 10% said they didn't know.

3.6.2 Places of worship

Half of the participants strongly disagreed or simply disagreed that non-Muslims have complete freedom to build places of worship and use them freely and without any fear.

In Faisalabad and Multan most Muslim participants were of the view that non-Muslims have complete freedom to build their places of worship. However, non-Muslim participants felt that they could not build places of worship and even could not use the existing ones freely due to a lack of acceptance in society. They felt that building new places of worship for non-Muslims is becoming more difficult and those being used now were mostly built before partition. Other than the odd high profile new church or two built in a town such as Islamabad, there are hardly any new non-Muslim places of worship. Although the law allows different faith communities to build their own places of worship, in practise it is almost impossible now, and an Ahmadi participant said that in fact they now hide their places of worship for fear of violence.

“We have applied for the land to construct a Mandir in Islamabad but there is simply no response to the application.” Hindu Participant, Islamabad

“A single area can contain many mosques, but trouble follows if another religious building is to be built.” said a participant from a local newspaper in Multan

“It is impossible for Christians to build a Church in a Muslim area.” Civil society representative, Lahore

Another participant referred to the Toba Tek Singh case, where the Muslim community pressured the DCO into closing the local Church. In response to this, a Muslim participant said that ‘Why do Christians feel the need to build churches in Muslim areas?’ Additionally, an example was mentioned regarding Faisalabad, where a mosque was built wall-to-wall with an existing church, and resulted in tensions between the two communities.

“There is an illegally constructed mosque in every green belt of Islamabad. We certainly cannot dream of building any place of worship for non-Muslims in the green belt of Islamabad, in fact anywhere.” Civil society representative, Islamabad

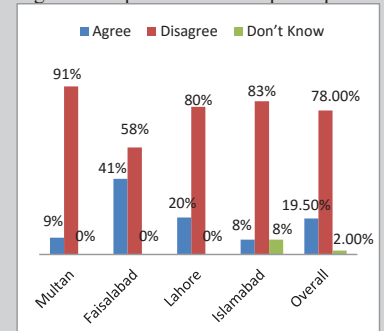
“Registration for churches is becoming more difficult day by day”. Christian Participant, Faisalabad

In the Multan discussions, a couple of Muslim participants, repeated the story of the place in Faisalabad where a church and a mosque shared a wall in the context that this was an example of great communal harmony.

When we subsequently had discussions in Faisalabad, we discovered more about this. The church is an old Christian locality, and has existed before partition; apparently even at Partition it was an old church. When the house next to the church became vacant (there are different stories about how it became vacant, some whisper that it was vacated through harassment of the Christian family living there) it was bought and turned into a mosque. From then on, not only is there a loudspeaker call to

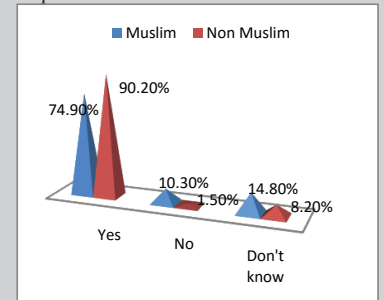
Statement 39: Non-Muslims are not allowed to preach their religions without any fear

Figure 55. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Question 40: Do you think non-Muslims should be allowed to preach their religion freely?

Figure 56. Opinion of KAP survey respondents



prayer from there 5 times a day, every day, but in addition sermons and other religious material are also broadcast, naturally over a loudspeaker. Moreover, there were repeated requests/demands to the church next door to avoid ringing the church bell as that was disturbing to the mosque and the community at prayer, not to sing (hymns), and so on, and according to the Christian population, there is now not a single Christian house left in that particular street, all the Christians have vacated and left, they felt so under threat, whether real or perceived. When a Faisalabad participant said that in reality non-Muslims do have the full freedom and liberty to pray and preach, a Christian participant reminded everyone that in this case, the mosque was built after the Church, that is, the Church was already there. Also, that since its formation, Muslims have been buying all the houses in the street, and forcing the Christian community to not use the church freely.

The matter of the two places of worship in Faisalabad sharing a single wall as an example of communal harmony was also raised in Islamabad.

Many Christians do not remember any new church being built after partition, only one or two high profile churches such as in Islamabad. In small towns the situation is very different to Islamabad.

Persecution

There was a strange situation in the country in the 2013 elections. Everyone voted for general seats, there were no separate seats, no double votes for minorities, no voting for reserved seats. So there was one general voters list. Everyone was on it. Everyone, except that is, for the Ahmadis. Although they were to vote for the same list of the candidates, the same seats, although all the other people classed as minorities were on the general list, the Ahmadis only were on separate electoral list. The Ahmadis boycotted this election due to being put on a separate electoral list. According to a government election official, there was no reason or logic that he could see for this list, but it was decision handed down to the functionaries from the policy makers. Ahmadis see it as simply a tool to persecute them.

3.7 Gender

87% of the focus group discussion participants agreed that non-Muslim women are kidnapped, forced to change their religion and marry Muslims, but the state does not take any action against the culprits. 9% of the participants did not feel such cases happened, but some of the participants said that they felt that in reality such cases may occur but very rarely. The reality is that these cases seem to be occurring far too frequently to be dismissed as young love, in some cases the girls are as young as 12 years old, and married to old men.⁵¹ They carry the added complication that fundamentalists assert that once a Muslim converts they are “wajib-ul-qatl”, that is it is incumbent upon other Muslims to kill them, in addition, their parents also must tread a very nerve wracking path, to avoid being accused of being accessories to this. (Pakistan is one of 13 countries, all of which are Muslim majority, where apostasy ... is punishable by death.)⁵²

In this statement, 84% of the participants agreed and 2% of the participants disagreed that non-Muslims cast out those women from their communities who convert to another religion. Participants did also mention that this would also happen in other religions communities, including amongst Muslims.

89% of the participants agreed and only 7% of the participants disagreed with the statement that non-Muslim and Muslim women face similar problems within our society. Even though the vast majority of participants agreed with this statement, about 3 or 4 participants in every group (a group was 10-12 people) added that non-Muslim women are have a double vulnerability even to those problems which are faced by all women in our society. In some cases, they are made targets simply because they belong to a minority community, and not for any other reason, like the 3 females, one woman, one little girl, and one infant, who were burnt to death during the attack on the Ahmadi mohalla (neighbourhood) in Gujranwala.

⁵¹ <http://hafsite.org/blog/please-dont-forget-about-pakistans-missing-girls-too/>

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2833664/Pakistani-Hindus-claim-girls-abducted-forcibly-converted-Islam.html>

<http://www.irinnews.org/report/94969/pakistan-abducted-and-forced-into-a-muslim-marriage>

⁵² Leftfootforward.org, “Pakistan’s blasphemy law is a relentless guillotine for minorities”, 10 November, 2014

3.8 Blasphemy Law

No discussion of the position of the minorities in Pakistan can be complete without a discussion of the way in which the Blasphemy Law affects them.

Pakistan's blasphemy laws date back before independence to the British Raj, when they were introduced to keep the peace against increasing exploitation of communal issues, particularly between Muslims and Hindus. There were Sections 295 and 295 A, they are general and not religion specific.⁵³

From 1860 to 1947, in 87 years, just 7 cases were registered under the Blasphemy Law⁵⁴

From 1947 to 1986, in 41 years, there were 14 cases, an increase of roughly 4 times.⁵⁵

Between 1986 and 2013, 27 years, there were 1,274 cases.⁵⁶

One estimate (by the National Commission for Justice and Peace) says by 2014, there were 1335 cases, 633 against Muslims and 702 against non-Muslims.⁵⁷

Another estimate says there are now roughly 2200 cases⁵⁸, and counting, so from 2013 to 2015, roughly another 1000.

According to the National Commission for Justice and Peace,⁵⁹ when there were more than 1,400 people accused of blasphemy (since the 1980s) - there were 633 Muslims and 702 non-Muslims. Given the proportion of non-Muslims in the population is at the very most about 5%, the disproportion between Muslims and non-Muslims accused of blasphemy is overwhelming.

A huge majority, 81.2%, of the participants believed that the Blasphemy Law has amplified the insecurity of non-Muslims in Pakistan. (only 16% disagreed with this).

However, there was a strong argument by Muslim participants that the Blasphemy Law treats everyone equally and more Muslims are arrested under this law as compared to non-Muslims.

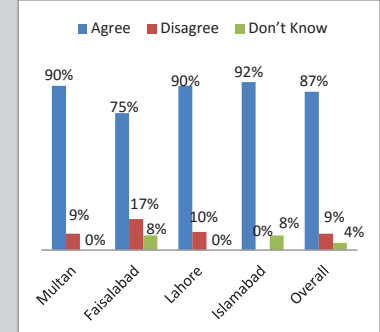
But non-Muslim participants stressed that looking at the ratio of Muslims to non-Muslims in Pakistan, the cases against non-Muslims is worryingly high in proportion.

Moreover, when non-Muslims are victimized by this law, no one comes out to support them, and other non-Muslims are targeted and victimised whether or not they have anything to do with the blasphemy incident, but only because they maybe co-religionists of the alleged blasphemer.

It was also stated that there are more out of court settlements for Muslims whereas non-Muslims are killed, their houses and worship places torched and those who try to help them are targeted. (Legally these cases cannot be settled out of court, because once a blasphemy case is registered it is a non-compoundable offence, that is, there cannot be an out of court settlement. But possibly on the ground, this may sometimes be the case).

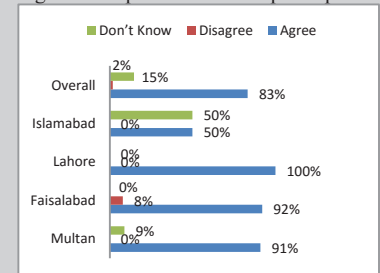
Statement 41: Non-Muslim women are kidnapped then forced to change their religion and forced to marry Muslims and state does not take any action against culprits

Figure 57. Opinion of FGDs' participants



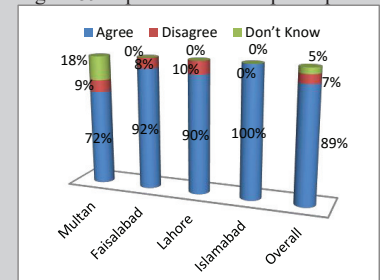
Statement 42: Non-Muslim communities outcast their women who convert to another religion

Figure 58. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Statement 43: Non-Muslim women face similar problems as their Muslim sisters do (i.e. domestic violence, forced marriages, denial in inheritance etc)

Figure 59. Opinion of FGDs' participants



⁵³ See the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) 1860, Blasphemy Law

⁵⁴ http://www.eepa.be/wcm/dmdocuments/EP_Hearing_Pakistan/Blasphemy_law_fact_sheet.pdf

⁵⁵ Left Foot Forward

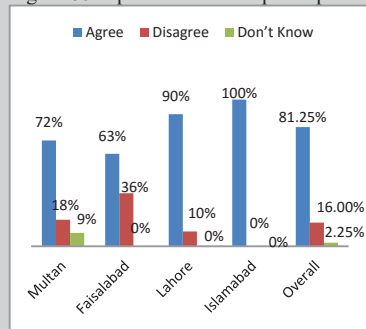
⁵⁶ IBID

⁵⁷ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12621225>

⁵⁸ Pakistan Ulema Council (a body of Muslim religious leaders)

⁵⁹ National Commission for Justice and Peace as quoted in <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12621225>

Figure 60. Opinion of FGDs' participants



Participants were of the opinion that the Blasphemy Law is used for political and economic gain, and no action is taken against those who commit blasphemy against religions other than Islam.

There has been certain and public desecration of other religions, let alone murder and loot, there have been bombings, looting and arson attacks on mosques, churches, mandars, holy processions, seminaries, shrines, imambargahs, missionary schools even hospitals. These acts of confessional desecration have claimed 1152 lives and maimed another 2780 innocent people, mostly co-religionists. Not a single incident has provoked any mullah, Media Mujahid or any media house to cry blasphemy.⁶⁰ There have been many attempts to register cases, under 295, but as far as we have been able to ascertain, only one case, of desecration of a Hindu temple, has been registered under 295A,⁶¹ every other

registered blasphemy case is against the religion of Islam, under 295, 295B and C.

The Blasphemy Law, as formulated in Pakistan, is amazingly and dangerously flawed, and carries a mandatory death penalty in certain cases.

Even Alama Tahir Ashrafi, chairman of the Pakistan Ulema Council (PUC), says: "We see in many cases... there is a personal dispute over land or money, these blasphemy laws are used to pressure people,"⁶²

Ashrafi is trying to have the law amended so that those who wrongly accuse people of blasphemy are liable to face trial for the same offense, or at the very least are liable to the corresponding punishment. (He is in favour of punishment for blasphemy.)⁶³

In a famous case, in the capital city of Islamabad, a Christian child with Downs Syndrome, Rimsha, was accused of burning pages of the Koran. The Christian community was terrorized, and within hours had all vacated the locality, until it was established beyond doubt that the imam of the local mosque had done so, to make the accusation possibly in order to gain advantage in a land dispute⁶⁴ or simply to drive the Christian families out of the area.

According to Ashrafi and several attorneys who handle such cases, lawyers and judges are pressured - and... threatened - by religious groups to deliver guilty verdicts in blasphemy cases.

"The state does not have any interest in pursuing these groups. And the local [bureaucratic] administration are also afraid and under pressure in these cases," Ashrafi said. "If the state was really functional, then I don't think that groups like this could pressure the courts or police."⁶⁵

In a very recent case, Junaid Hafeez, a young teacher at Bahauddin Zakria University, Multan, has been accused of blasphemy. First his family could find no lawyer to defend him. Then one Rashid Rahman agreed to be lawyer for the young man. His life was attempted 5 times, (he asked for police protection but none was given) and on the 6th attempt, he was killed,⁶⁶ and no other lawyer has yet taken on the case.

In an internationally notorious case, an illiterate and poor Christian woman was accused of blasphemy, in what is widely believed to be a village dispute with other causes. When the powerful Governor of

⁶⁰ <http://www.viewpointonline.net/2014/06/blasphemy-theirs-and-ours>

⁶¹ Ali, Rabia "Attackers of Hindu Temple charged with blasphemy" The Express Tribune 30th Sept, 2012, WEB <http://tribune.com.pk/story/444669/attackers-of-hindu-temple-charged-with-blasphemy/> accessed 30 Mar 2015

⁶² as quoted in an article by Asad Hashim (<http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/3/5/pakistan-blasphemy-law-snare-minorities-acitvists.html>)

⁶³ IBID

⁶⁴ Khan, Murad "Case against Rimsha's dramatic turn prompts Pakistans religious leaders to debate blasphemy law", Worldwatch Monitor, 4 Sept 2012, WEB, https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/2012/09-September/article_1704924.html/

⁶⁵ As quoted in an article by Asad Hashim (<http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/3/5/pakistan-blasphemy-law-snare-minorities-acitvists.html>)

⁶⁶ Jafri, Ovais "Under threat rights lawyer Rashid Rahman shot dead in Multan", The Express Tribune, May 7th, 2014

the Province openly said this, and visited the woman in jail, he was publicly gunned down by one of his own police bodyguards, who was then garlanded by hundreds of people including lawyers. He is being defended by a panel of lawyers which include a previous high court chief justice and a previous high court judge. He has been accused, while in jail, of inciting others, including a policeman, to murder other people accused of blasphemy.⁶⁷ Saif ul Mulook, the state prosecutor in this case, fears for his life.⁶⁸

The aforementioned Governor's son was also subsequently kidnapped by religious extremists. (He is said to have been killed in a drone attack while he was a captive). After this, the Minister for Minorities, himself a Christian activist, was also publicly gunned down.

At least 65 people have been killed since 1990 in cases related to blasphemy⁶⁹ other estimates say between 38 to 50 people accused of blasphemy were killed between 1986 and 2012,⁷⁰ according to data compiled by National Commission on Justice and Peace (NCJP), a Lahore-based NGO. Since then there have been more such cases.

At least six such cases occurred in the last year and include a lawyer who was shot after being threatened in front of a judge, a Christian couple burned to death by a mob and an elderly British Pakistani man with mental problems killed by a policeman (said to have been incited by the bodyguard-turned-killer of the Punjab governor) while in police custody.

When a Muslim is accused of blasphemy, he individually seems to be the focus of the anger of the mob (like the case of the hafiz, Muhammad Farooq Sajjad⁷¹, who was tied to motor bikes and dragged) but when the accused is a member of a minority, the whole community is targeted.

In fact when the "blasphemy" occurs in foreign lands by foreigners, even then, it seems, Pakistani minority communities are targeted. If it is a western foreigner, nominally Christian, it will be Pakistani Christians who pay the price, if the accused is an Indian, Pakistani Hindus are targeted.

When an Ahmadi allegedly posted blasphemous content on his Facebook page, on 27 July 2014, a mob attacked and burnt an Ahmadi neighbourhood, from which most people had fled. 3 people were killed, a grandmother, a 7 year old girl, and an infant. Crowds celebrated all night after the killings, and were shown on television news again and again. There was no serious condemnation from the authorities.⁷²

Other countries catch thieves even on CCTV, in Pakistan, it seems that the murderers and those celebrating it were not caught despite TV footage aired all over the world, and available on YouTube.

Giving the state the benefit of the doubt, that is, many participants said that they were not blaming the state for its misuse. But they said that since the Blasphemy laws were promulgated, the state has failed to implement them, which has resulted in people taking the law into their own hands, and therefore mob action has become frequent.

A number of activist intellectuals pointed out that, despite the concerted campaign by civil society, even during the Musharraf's government, (which was perceived as relatively liberal), Article 295C was not amended, and they felt that this is a measure of the power of the clergy.

⁶⁷ "Salman Taseers killer incited shooting of blasphemy accused in Adiala" The Express Tribune Oct 28th, 2014 WEB <http://tribune.com.pk/story/782340/salman-taseers-killer-incited-shooting-of-blasphemy-accused-in-adiyala/>

⁶⁸ Ispahani, Farahnaz, The Hindu "Pakistan's shrinking minority space", Updated: August 1, 2014

⁶⁹ <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/3/5/pakistans-blasphemy-law-snare-minorities-activists.html>

⁷⁰ Sahi, Aoun, "Reluctant bystanders", The News on Sunday, 6 April 2014, WEB <http://tns.thenews.com.pk/reliantant-bystanders-of-blasphemy-laws/#.VT2aHSFViko>
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blasphemy_law_in_Pakistan

⁷¹ <http://www.viewpointonline.net/2014/06/blasphemy-theirs-and-ours>
Sahi, Aoun, "Reluctant bystanders", The News on Sunday, 6 April 2014, WEB <http://tns.thenews.com.pk/reliantant-bystanders-of-blasphemy-laws/#.VT2aHSFViko>

⁷² Ispahani, Farahnaz, The Hindu "Pakistan's shrinking minority space", Updated: August 1, 2014

In fact they were of the opinion that Parliament too, has been blackmailed by religious elements and does not exercise its powers, even if it was inclined to do so, and it seems that even the courts are scared. The mob has taken all the power in their hands. It even blackmails the police, and even the judges. Crowds, often violent, gather outside courts and police stations as a pressure tactic, especially in cases of blasphemy and become a serious obstacle in free and fair judgments.

*“Maulvis are so powerful that parliamentarians cannot touch 295C”
(Minority parliamentarian)*

The following recommendations are the result of our participatory process. Prior to the holding of the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), we sent the following statements to the would-be-participants of the FGDs by email. During the FGDs, each statement was read aloud and the participants were then encouraged to share their arguments and the experiences that had shaped their opinion. After the discussion, the participants were again asked if they would like to change their opinion.

Ranked in order of support

1	Remove all hate material from textbooks.	97.7	2.3
2	Develop systems to prevent escalation of minor disputes into disasters.	95.5	4.5
3	Sensitize police and court officials about the rights of non-Muslims and form a rapid response team.	95.5	4.5
4	Hold local council elections without delay and elect all local councilors through direct elections.	92	8
5	All non-Muslim communities should be meaningfully consulted to formulate legislation in order to eliminate discriminatory practices.	95.5	4.5
6	NGOs should set up Rapid Helpline	91	9
7	Government officials must be made sensitive about the rights of non-Muslims and empowered to take action against the culprits.	89	11
8	Police and administration must take action against those who spread hate against non-Muslims in the light of Article 33.	88.8	11.2
9	Job quota for non-Muslims should be equally divided between men and women.	88.6	11.4
10	NADRA should launch a special campaign to register all non-Muslims.	84.6	15.4
11	Political leaders should mainstream non-Muslims and abolish minority wings.	84.4	15.6
12	Political parties must issue 10% tickets to non-Muslim candidates where there is a significant presence of minorities.	84.4	15.6
13	Repeal all discriminatory articles including Blasphemy Law, and, implement Article 33 in letter and spirit.	79.9	20.1
13	Repeal all discriminatory articles including Blasphemy Law, and, implement Article 33 in letter and spirit.	79.9	20.1

Additional recommendations

Quotas for non-Muslims must be filled by non-Muslims only and remain empty if non-Muslim candidates don't apply or not qualify. They must not be filled by Muslims, as it is being currently done.

5.1. Summary of some anti-minority laws

Year	Title and summary	Government
1974 Sept	Ahmadis declared a minority	Z.A. Bhutto
1979	Hudood Ordinance	Zia-ul-Haq
1982	Shariat Court: Eighth amendment Separate electorates. Meant that local Muslim leaders and land-owners who previously might have had to factor religious minorities into their political and electoral campaigns now had no incentive to do so.	Zia-ul-Haq
1982	Changes in Blasphemy Law	Zia-ul-Haq
1984	In 1984, these laws were strengthened by the US supported military dictatorship of General Zia ul Haq, (adding 298 B and 298 C - the anti Ahmadi laws).	Zia-ul-Haq
1984	Law of Evidence	Zia-ul-Haq
1984	Martial Law Ordinance XX "Anti-Islamic Activities of the Qadiani Group, Lahori Group and Ahmadis (Prohibition and Punishment) Ordinance, 1984"	Zia-ul-Haq
1985	Elections, 8th amendment was implemented in 1985 non-party based general elections.	Zia-ul-Haq
1986	In 1986, 295 was added which dealt specifically with Islam, and which introduced the death penalty, and also added further details to the anti-Ahmadi Laws, through 295C.	Zia-ul-Haq
1991	The death penalty was made mandatory for blasphemy. Ninth amendment (1988 tabled) (Enforcement of Shariat Act)	Nawaz Sharif
1988	Fifteenth amendment (extended Shariat Act)	Nawaz Sharif

It is worth repeating that the constitution itself also clearly discriminates against minorities.

There are particular laws that they particularly suffer from. The part of the constitution that lays down that minorities may not aspire to the posts of head of state. That label the Ahmadis a minority. That only accepts the evidence of an adult male Muslim witness as a full witness in many cases.

Then there are the more generic laws such the Shariat Law, and the Blasphemy Law, which theoretically affect everyone equally, but in fact disproportionately affect the minorities. The blasphemy law however also specifically targets the Ahmadis.

In answer to a question as to whether there are articles in our constitution that are not in line with the Sharia, the worrying thing was that while only 3% of politicians felt that there were, but almost 50% felt that they didn't know! As members of the country's highest law making bodies, this is extremely worrying. A similar number in fact felt that there were no such articles. As for government officials, 10% felt that there were such articles in the constitution which were against the Sharia, just over 40% felt that there weren't, but again, almost 50% felt that they did not know.

An amazingly brave school debate by a named young Pakistani belonging to the Christian community lists a series of outrages against the community and speaks of the terror the community lives in, talking about the constitution as hollow words. (<http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/viewarticles.php?editorialid=1398>).

5.2. State of Minorities in Pakistan: Some Excerpts

The UN's Commission for Human Rights and Amnesty International figures for 2000-2007 suggest that between 30 and 50 Christians are subjected, for reasons of faith, to violent death in Pakistan each year and two to three times that number suffer serious injury. Beyond that many hundreds are falsely imprisoned, and many thousands are subject to serious physical abuse, intimidation and threat at the hands both of some of the majority Muslim communities and of elements of the state and local authorities.

These figures are all the more serious because of the relatively small size of the Christian communities.⁷³

To cite simply one account; On 20 September 2001, 13 year old Christian RiazMasih was beaten to death in Rawalpindi; on 5 August 2002 assailants attacked a Christian church at Murree, killing seven; on 9 August 2002 grenades were thrown at Christian worshippers in Taxila, killing 4 and injuring 20; on 25 September 2002 gunmen entered a Christian welfare organization's office in Karachi, tied up seven workers and executed them with bullets to the head; on 5 January 2004 Father MukhtarMasihBarkat was shot dead in Multan; in May 2004 Samuel Masih became the seventh person accused of blasphemy to be murdered (in this instance beaten to death by a police officer with an iron bar) before Pakistan's courts could deliver a verdict; in the same month Javed Anjum was kidnapped and tortured for five days by students in a madrassa in Toba Tek Singh, subsequently dying of his injuries; in April 2005 a Christian NGO worker and his driver were murdered in Peshawar; in November 2005 Christian homes and schools were destroyed by a rampaging mob in Faisalabad; and between 7 and 12 August 2006 Christian homes were attacked in villages on the outskirts of Lahore – particularly around Sharqpur – with many injured, three people severely hurt and one missing, presumed killed. The scope of this violence and intimidation is illustrated by further examples. On 15 January 2004 a car-bomb exploded outside the headquarters of the Pakistan Bible Society in Karachi injuring 16; in April and May 2004 two Christian girls, aged just two and a half and seven, were raped near Lahore, their ordeals failing to subsequently interest the authorities; in June 2004 a homemade bomb was thrown at a church in Kohlu in Baluchistan; in March 2005 madrassa students attacked the construction site of a church in Islamabad, injuring 65 Christians and leading to the authorities to close the church; also in March 2005 Shahbaz Masih was tortured and threatened with death if he did not convert to Islam; in November 2005 three churches, a convent and the homes of six Christian families were set on fire by a rampaging mob some 1,500 to 3,000 strong in the Sangla Hills area; in December 2005 some Christian families were displaced from their homes in and around the Sangla Hills in order to make way for Muslim families affected by the October earthquake, in February 2006 Christian churches, schools and homes were attacked in reaction to the publication of controversial cartoons by a Danish newspaper, in June 2006 a Christian stone mason, Nasif Ashraf, was severely beaten by a mob for drinking out of a communal glass, and in June 2007 a young Christian man was tortured and gang-raped by up to 30 men for refusing to convert to Islam.

Over a one-and-a-half year period in 2012-2013, there were 54 recorded mob attacks against Ahmadis.⁷⁴

Pakistan has witnessed some of the worst organised violence targeting religious minorities. Over an 18-month period covering 2012 and part of 2013, at least 200 incidents of sectarian violence were reported, that led to 1,800 casualties, including more than 700 deaths.⁷⁵

Mass anti-Christian violence recently occurred in the 2009 Gojra riots and in the 2013 Joseph Colony riot and the 2013 Gujranwala riot. Recent anti-Shia violence includes the February 2012 Kohistan Shia Massacre, the August 2012 Mansehra Shia Massacre and the particularly deadly January 2013 and February 2013 Quetta bombings. The Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan was targeted in the similarly deadly May 2010 attacks on Ahmadi mosques in Lahore (Wikipedia)

Deadly suicide bombing in Quetta on January 1, 2014 when a vehicle loaded with explosives rammed into a bus in the outskirts of the Balochistan capital carrying Shia pilgrims returning from Iran (EOPM)

⁷³Gregory and Valentine, *Pakistan: The situation of Religious Minorities, A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, May 2009*

⁷⁴ Ispahani, Farahnaz, *The Hindu "Pakistan's shrinking minority space", Updated: August 1, 2014*

⁷⁵ *IBID*

The number of incidents related to attacks on minorities in Pakistan is continuously increasing in the country. A suicide attack on the historic All Saints Church in Peshawar in northwestern Pakistan on September 22, 2013, killed at least 85 Christian worshippers and left more than 100 injured in one of the deadliest attacks on the Christian minority in Pakistan. Suicide attacks on minorities in Pakistan have not only resulted in the death of a large number of people across the country but the number of suicide attacks in Pakistan also rose by 39 per cent in 2013. 46 suicide attacks were reported in 2013 compared to 33 in 2012. Of these, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) witnessed 18 suicide attacks in 2013 while 12 attacks occurred in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Furthermore, nine suicide attacks occurred in Balochistan, five in Sindh and one each in Rawalpindi and Azad Kashmir. This was revealed in the 'Pakistan Security Report 2013' launched by Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), a think-tank based in Islamabad which is engaged in research to understand ongoing conflicts such as militancy, extremism, radicalisation and insurgency. (European Organization of Pakistani Minorities).

From Gregory and Valentine, *Pakistan: The situation of Religious Minorities*, A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, May 2009.

Pakistan is a country of approximately 172 million people, of whom around 95-96 percent are Muslims, comprising roughly 80 percent Sunni and 20 percent Shia. The remaining 4-5 percent are Pakistan's religious minorities, the most important of which, in descending order of their number of adherents, are Christians, Hindus (including Jains), Zikris, the Ahmadiyya, Sikhs, the Baha'i, Buddhists, Zoroastrians (Parsis), the Mehdi Foundation and Jews.

Each of these groups in their individual ways is subject to persecution and violence within Pakistan at the hands of the state, at the hands of local Muslim communities, and increasingly in some areas at the hands of violent Islamist groups such as the Pakistan Taliban.

f Article 20: freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions;

f Article 21: safeguards against taxation of specific religions;

f Article 22: safeguards around education with respect to religious freedom;

f Article 25: equality of citizenship;

f Article 36: protection of minorities.

After separate electorates, the only thing the minorities had was:

their only solace (was) that of a national or provincial platform from which to seek to articulate religious minority concerns but with no ability to influence the agendas of those fora or the outcomes of debate.

Eighth Amendment of the Constitution, implemented in elections in 1985, created a separate electorate system, whereby Christians and other minorities did not vote in the same elections as Muslims, but rather voted separately for a fixed number of national and provincial representatives. In the National Assembly (lower house) these were fixed at four seats for Christians, four seats for Hindus, one for Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsees (Zoroastrians) combined, and one for Ahmadis. No seats were set aside for minorities in Pakistan's upper house, the Senate. Similarly, reserved seats were set aside in the provincial assemblies for Baluchistan, NWFP, Sindh and Punjab, a total of nine for Christians, seven for Hindus, four for Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsees, and three for Ahmadis.⁷⁶

Christians are often especially vulnerable at celebratory periods. See, for example, Christian Solidarity Worldwide, *Christians Targeted in Pakistan over Easter Period: Twelve Year-old Pakistani Christian Girl Gang-raped on Easter Day, 27 April 2007* (press release), <http://dynamic.csw.org.uk/article.asp?t=press&id=619&search=> [accessed May 2009].

⁷⁶ *IBID*

5.3. Constitutional Guarantees for and Discriminatory Articles Against Non-Muslims

Article 2: Islam to be State religion. -Islam shall be the State religion of Pakistan.

Article 25: Equality of citizens. - (1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.

Article 20. Freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions. -Subject to law, public order and morality,- (a) every citizen shall have the right to profess, practise and propagate his religion; and (b) every religious denomination and every sect thereof shall have the right to establish, maintain and manage its religious institutions.

Article 26. Non-discrimination in respect of access to public places. - (1) In respect of access to places of public entertainment or resort not intended for religious purposes only, there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth.

Article 33. Parochial and other similar prejudices to be discouraged. - The State shall discourage parochial, racial, tribal sectarian and provincial prejudices among the citizens.

Article 38. Promotion of social and economic well-being of the people. - The State shall - (a) secure the well-being of the people, irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race, by raising their standard of living, by preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution in the hands of a few to the detriment of general interest and by ensuring equitable adjustment of rights between employers and employees, and landlords and tenants;

Article 41. The President. - (1) There shall be a President of Pakistan who shall be the Head of State and shall represent the unity of the Republic. (2) A person shall not be qualified for election as President unless he is a Muslim of not less than forty-five years of age and is qualified to be elected as member of the National Assembly.

Martial Law Ordinance XX of 1984, Anti-Islamic Activities of the Qadiani Group, Lahori Group and Ahmadis (Prohibition and Punishment) Ordinance, 1984,

It was promulgated under the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq and is meant to restrict usage of Islamic terms and titles as well as religious freedom of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community. This ordinance bars certain communities that are deemed non-Islamic under Pakistani constitution to practice their faith and also disallowed certain minority to use any Islamic texts for praying purposes. Minorities like Ahmedis are not allowed to say Muslim greetings like AssalamAllaikum(Peace be upon you) or to read or write any verse of Quran.

The ordinance debars Ahmadis from the use of any honorific titles and modes of address specific to the Prophetic community (such as the greeting "As-salamualaykum" or reciting the Six Kalimas (shahada, etc.)), from building mosques and calling the Adhan (call to prayer), from undertaking Muslim modes of worship, from worshipping in non-Ahmadi mosques or public prayer rooms, and from making any citations from the Quran and Muhammad's hadith. Punishment for anyone convicted of doing any of the above is two years imprisonment. Ahmadi claim that the ordinance criminalises the everyday life of Ahmadis.[1] reciting the Kalima (Muslim creed) and greeting with peace in the Muslims way is a criminal offence for Ahmadis in Pakistan.[2]

Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) 1860 Blasphemy Law Section 295:

Injuring or defiling place or worship, with intent to insult the religion of any class. Whoever, destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by any class of persons with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine or with both.

In 1927 when religious riots rocked pre-partition India, 295-A was promulgated:

Deliberate and malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings of any class by insulting its religion or religious beliefs. Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outrage the religious feelings, or any class of the citizens of Pakistan, by words, either spoken or written or by visible representations, insult or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, or with fine, or both.

This law was amended further in 1982 as 295-B, defiling the Holy Qur'an, was added by Presidential Ordinance 1: Defiling the copy of Holy Qur'an. Whoever willfully defiles, damages or desecrates a copy of the Holy Qur'an or of an extract there from or uses it in any derogatory manner for any unlawful purpose shall be punishable with imprisonment for life.

It stipulates life imprisonment for an offender who willfully defiles a copy or portion of the Holy Qur'an. It may be observed at the very outset that the law provides protection to the Holy Scripture of only one class of the country. The sentence of life under this section is not an expression of administering justice but rather a tempting tool in the hands of the Muslim extremists to hold the members of the religious minorities in religious-cum judicial blackmail for personal vendettas.

That did not satisfy the extremists, they pressurised General Zia-ul-Haq to add 295-C through Criminal Law (amended) Act III of 1986, the Blasphemy against the Holy Prophet. However, it was further amended by the judgment of the Federal Shariat Court making the death penalty mandatory on conviction for the offence of desecrating the name of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Not only that, but for the first time religious qualification was added to the PPC, so that only a Muslim Judge may hear the case under this section of the law (Section 295-C).

This is read as: **295-C:** use of derogatory remarks etc., in respect of the Holy Prophet: - who ever by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, or by any imputation innuendo, or insinuation, directly, defiles the sacred name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) shall be punished with death, or imprisonment for life and shall also be liable for fine.

JOB Quota (same policy for provinces)

The government of Pakistan has notified the reservation of five per cent quota for the jobs of religious minorities on March 26 across the board in the federal government services.

The notification was issued by the Establishment Division. The quota would be observed, as defined in Article 260(3)(b) of the Constitution, to all posts across the board in the federal government services, to be filled by direct recruitment, including the Central Superior Services (CSS), in addition to their participation in open merit, it said.

According to the Daily Times, this reservation would have the same parameters as were prescribed for the reservation of quota for women and would count as part of an overall provincial allocation and would be calculated against the quota for the province of origin of the minority candidate concerned, it added.

It said the vacancies reserved for minorities, for which qualified candidates were not available, would be carried forward and filled by minority candidates in the future. These orders would also apply to initial appointments in attached departments, autonomous, semi-autonomous bodies, corporations and public corporations and companies, administratively controlled by the federal government.

Pakistan Population by Religion

- **Hindus:** 1.85% (in the census split into "Hindu" and "Scheduled castes")^[16] (3,300,000)
- **Christians:** 1.59%^[16](2,800,000)
- **Bahá'ís:** 40,000 to 79,000^[17]
- **Sikhs:** 20,000^[9]
- **Zoroastrian/Parsis:** 1,600^[18] to 20,000
- **Kalash:** 3,000

As of 2012, around 2,900,000 Pakistanis of non-Muslim faiths were holding the Computerised National Identity Card (CNIC cards) from National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), which can only be obtained by citizens over 18 years of age. It is estimated that some 96% adult Pakistanis currently hold CNIC cards, and therefore the total adult population of non-Muslim religions seems to be over 3 million. Of the minority CNIC holders, 1,414,527 were Hindus (769,647 males and 644,880 females), 1,270,051 were Christians (731,713 males and 538,338 females), 125,681 were Ahmadi Muslims (63,479 males and 62,202 females), 33,734 were Bahais, 6,146 were Sikhs, 4,020 were Parsis, 1,492 were Buddhist and 66,898 were others (such as Kalasha Animists).^[19] wikiPak census <http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/population-religion>.

POPULATION BY RELIGION						
						(In percent)
Administrative Unit	Muslim	Christian	Hindu (Jati)	Qadiani (Ahmadi)	Scheduled Castes	Others
Pakistan	96.28	1.59	1.60	0.22	0.25	0.07
Rural	96.49	1.10	1.80	0.18	0.34	0.08
Urban	95.84	2.59	1.16	0.29	0.06	0.06
Punjab	97.21	2.31	0.13	0.25	0.03	0.07
Rural	97.66	1.87	0.15	0.19	0.05	0.08
Urban	96.25	3.27	0.06	0.37	0.02	0.03

5.4. Findings of the Focus Group Discussions and Interviews of Key Informants

Methodology:

To identify and measure the intensity of the issues faced by religious minorities in Pakistan, four focus group discussions were conducted in Multan, Lahore, Faisalabad and Islamabad. The participants that took part in these focus group discussions were from various fields of life, comprising NGOs, lawyers, media, academics, intellectuals, human right activists, government officials and also representatives of different religious groups - Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Ahmadis and Bahais - all with their professional backgrounds and their own unique experiences and opinions. They were chosen carefully to represent the views of numerous people within Pakistan in order to provide authentic information in relation to the issues of religious minorities in Pakistan.

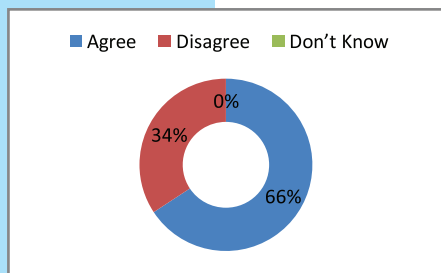
The methodology of these focus group discussions required each statement to be read aloud to the participants and each participant was asked how they scored this statement based on the index given. After scoring the statement, the discussion was to be initiated to bring insolid and relevant examples of policies, events, experiences and incidents to be shared by each participant. Therefore, the following report contains analyses of quantitative data that we gathered as well as the qualitative notes that were taken during the discussion. This not only deepened our understanding of the issues and problems of the minorities but also informed us about the differences and similarities that exist between the perceptions of minorities and majority on various issues and public policies. We hope the readers of this report will also benefit greatly from this report.

In the focus group discussions, 10 -12 people, involved in minority issues were invited to the discussion, and they included religious scholars, lawyers, members of NGOs/CBOs, and also encompassed all people from the different religions.

Along with the focus group discussions, 11 one to one meetings were conducted in the above-mentioned districts in order to identify the issues. A separate questionnaire was prepared for these meetings. These meetings were conducted with intellectuals, academics, government officials, parliamentarians, poets, writers and artists. Analysis and quotes from these meetings are also added in the statements below.

It was observed that many participants were initially reluctant to talk or give opinions on these sensitive issues and also requested that their names not to be quoted especially government officials.

Statement 1: The constitution and law treat Muslim and non-Muslim citizens equally in all respects.



Amazingly, 65.7% agree or strongly agree with the statement and 34.2% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. This means almost one-third of the participants held the view that the constitution and law doesn't treat all citizens equally in all respects. However, participants who agreed reasoned that the constitution of Pakistan gives rights and equal opportunities to minorities but when it comes to implementation, there are open violations of minority rights.

(It is poignant here that an Ahmadi participant here is standing up for the law, given the fact that it is very clear that the law in Pakistan does not in fact stand for equality, there are legal discriminations, and most particularly so in the case of Ahmadis.)

Moreover, those who disagree viewed that the constitution contains discrimination and contradiction, with reference to Article 25 of the constitution of Pakistan that stands for equality, whereas Article 44 states that only a Muslim can become President in Pakistan. All non-Muslim participants strongly pointed out this dichotomy. Whereas most Muslim participants believed that as it is, Pakistan is a Muslim majority state so it is the right of Muslims to be the head of the state and that this is so not only in Pakistan but that other states also have such clauses.

There was also an opinion that declaring Pakistan an Islamic state has made it a country that ignores the religious diversity of millions of its citizens.

“Quaid i Azam once said that he didn't want to have the kalma as the slogan of Pakistan, as this will make the country only for Muslims” Media representative Multan

Interviews with key players:

Contradictions in the Constitution and the lack of implementation of the law, was also highlighted in the meetings. The contradiction between Article 25 and Article 44 was also emphasized. It was alleged that Article 2 of the constitution emerges as the first step in discrimination; non-Muslims feel insecure as Pakistan has been declared an Islamic state. Giving the authority for the interpretation of Islam in the hands of Muslim clergy rather than to elected parliamentarians, was considered incorrect, by one participant, (Islamabad, one to one meeting) who considered that this was a duty of the elected parliament to interpret religion and make legislation, and not of the clergy.

A number of participants subscribed to the view that the Two-Nation theory, based as it is on religion, was so much propagated during the creation of Pakistan, that it seems now, that this state is only for Muslims. This theory was grounded on religion not on ethnicity, and according to these participants, it seems therefore to have given rise to a feeling of hatred for non-Muslims.

“We have to accept that we are first South Asians and then a majority Muslim state” said a participant who felt that we had lost our regional identity, and that the religious identity has now become a basis for hatred within the region. An intellectual, Islamabad

“The world is a like a state and religions are like political parties vying with each other for dominance” A poet

It was viewed, by one of the participants, that secular clauses in the constitution of 1973 which were adopted in the early years in Pakistan, through our commitment to and influence by the UNHDR, started diminishing after the takeover by the military dictatorship of General Zia ul Haq, who in order to justify his military rule, gave increasing power to the Mullahs as part of his scheme to weaken the political leadership. From this time, there are general guiding principles for safeguards of minority rights but no laws, rules and policies. Therefore actual implementation on the ground of these constitutional rights has become problematic.

Another activist-intellectual blames the lack of implementation of laws as a major factor in promoting violence and discrimination against non-Muslims.

“The law may stand for equality but it does not do so in practice.” An Ahmadi participant

“It is not only in Pakistan's constitution that the head of the state must follow the state religion such as the head of the state in the UK must be also be Christian’ BZU professor Multan.

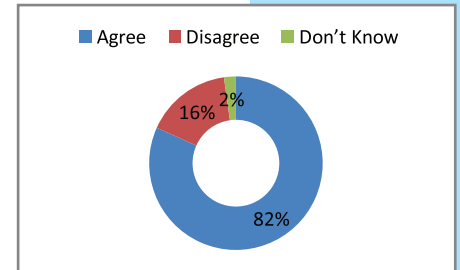
“Why to give power to Mullahs, parliament is sovereign so it is they who should be legislating” An Intellectual, Islamabad

“In our society people feel superior by violating laws” Artist and Intellectual

*“A powerless individual, when in a mob, feels powerful and takes the law into their own hand ”
An Academic*

Statement 2: Blasphemy laws: The BL has aggravated insecurity of non-Muslims tremendously

A huge majority, 81.2% of the participants agreed with the statement, while only 16% disagreed with it. Regarding the blasphemy law, there was a consensus that it has amplified the insecurity of non-Muslims in Pakistan. However, there was a strong argument by Muslim participants that the Blasphemy Law treats everyone equally and more Muslims are arrested under this law as compared to non-Muslims. Non-Muslim participants stressed that looking at the ratio of Muslims to non-Muslims in Pakistan, the cases against non-Muslims is worryingly high in proportion. Moreover, when non-Muslims are victims of allegations of violating this law, no one comes out to support them, and to add fuel to the fire, other non-Muslims are targeted and victimised whether or not they have anything to do with the allegedly blasphemous incident, but only because they may belong to the same religion as the alleged blasphemer.



It was stated that there are more out of court settlements for Muslims whereas non-Muslims are killed; their houses and places of worship burnt and those who try to help them are targeted. The majority of participants were of the opinion that the Blasphemy Law is used for political and economic gain, and no action is taken against those who commit blasphemy against religions other than Islam. For example, Christian participants mentioned that a church in Multan was set on fire but not even an FIR was registered.

This was further endorsed by the argument, by a number of participants in all 4 locations, that the number of cases of blasphemy, before the promulgation of Sections 295B and 295C of the Blasphemy law in 1986, were very few, various participant lawyers placed the number at 5 or 6, and suddenly the number skyrocketed, after the amendments, which they believed means that this law is been misused.

“It seems that Pakistani Muslims started loving the prophet and Quran more since 1986 a member of a CSO, Lahore, presumably indicating that the blanket law, covering all religions had been existence since the last century, but hardly been used.”

“Since the regime of General Zia ul Haq, the situation of discrimination and cases of violence against minorities have increased.” A Journalist, Lahore

There was also an argument by a Muslim participant that

“There is support for non-Muslims but not for Muslims who are accused” Journalist, Faisalabad

Quoting the Rashid Rehman case, which had recently occurred and was discussed in every forum, an Ahmadi participant, and a member of the media both said that no action was taken upon his murder, even by the HRCP, which indicates that there is an aura of fear even within the people whose raison d'être is to fight for human rights. An example was also given by an Ahmadi participant from Lahore of 3 Ahmadi women/girls in Gujranwala who were burned alive (plus a girl who was pregnant, the girl survived but miscarried) when their mohalla was set alight because it was alleged that a young Ahmadi man from the same town, had written a blasphemous comment on his Facebook page., and no FIR was registered.

The issue of power was also raised, often by people who were of the opinion that this was the situation with all weak and powerless sections of society, and minorities did not particularly suffer any more than the rest. This generally tended to be the opinion of the more conservative Muslims participants who seemed to be the view that the minorities were being singled out for special attention that they didn't warrant. They felt that issues of power often overlap religious divides, and non-Muslims are often from weaker social backgrounds and thus their cases are not handled with enough care and attention.

“Those who have power they feel more powerful by violating the law and showing that they are above it” An artist and Intellectual

“The Blasphemy law especially Sections 295B and 295C only protect Islam because when a similar negative statement was made against another religion, no action was taken against them.” Christian participant Faisalabad (In fact 295B and 295C deal with offences against the Quran and the Holy Prophet.)

*‘This issue is not just for non-Muslims, but that all the weak and poor citizens are not provided sufficient protection and implementation of the public policies’
A Muslim lecturer, Multan*

While this may be correct, it does not address either the issue of why half the people accused of blasphemy are non-Muslims, given that their proportion in the population is barely 5%, and also the issue of why whole communities are targeted when one non-Muslim is alleged to have committed blasphemy, this does not happen when a Muslim is alleged to have committed blasphemy.

Interviews with key players:

There was consensus that misuse of the Blasphemy law is increasing the insecurity of non-Muslims. Regarding the blasphemy law, it seems that the participants were giving the state the benefit of the doubt, that is, they were not blaming the state for its misuse. But they said that since the Blasphemy laws were promulgated, the state has failed to implement them, which has resulted in people taking the law into their own hands, and therefore mob action has become frequent.

A number of activist intellectuals pointed out that, despite the concerted campaign by civil society, even during the Musharraf government, (which was perceived as relatively liberal), Article 295C was not amended, and they felt that this is a measure of the power of the clergy.

In fact they were of the opinion that Parliament too, has been blackmailed by religious elements and does not exercise its powers, even if it was inclined to do so, and it seems that even the courts are scared. The mob has taken all the power in their hands. It even blackmails the police, and even the judges. Crowds, often violent, gather outside courts and police stations as a pressure tactic, especially in cases of blasphemy and become a serious obstacle in free and fair judgments.

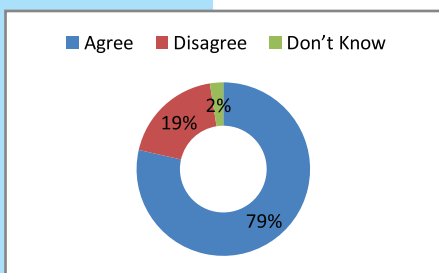
These opinions are borne out by facts, a number of high profile murders have taken place inside court premises including the Lahore High Court, and in fact a judge has been killed as well, as well as prisoners in custody inside police stations.

‘Maulvis come outside the police stations, and the courts, in blasphemy cases and they chant violent threats which were both extremely intimidating and terrifying’ A Minority MP.

*‘Before 1984, there were only 6 to 8 cases of blasphemy. The Blasphemy laws should be amended rather than repealed, as in the present situation it will be difficult to actually repeal them.’
An intellectual, Islamabad*

Discussing the background of religious fundamentalism, why it has increased so rapidly in the last 20 years when it wasn't like this before, ‘Taqfeeriat’ was also highlighted also seen as a major problem, This refers to a major modern extremist movement in Islam, which declares Muslims (not of one's own sect) as Kaffirs (infidels) and Vajibul Qatl (incumbent upon Muslims to kill them). Generally, in Pakistan, the Ahmadis have been takfired, the Zikris, and generally those who practice Takfeeriat consider all non-Muslims to be grist to the mill as well, anyway. Traditionally, takfir is a problematic issue anyway, if at all, only the Ulema can declare anyone a takfiri, and an incorrect allegation of takfir would be considered a very serious offence, however, now amongst extremist Muslim groups such allegations are common. This is happening in Pakistan as well as in Syria, Iraq etc. and is spreading narrowness, prejudice and intolerance, according to the participants who raised the issue. Some of the participants felt that Islam in future will be a takfeeri Islam; other groups will be overrun by it.

Statement 3: Non-discriminatory public policy: The government has no systematic non-discriminatory public policy at any levels of governance.



Moreover, government officials have not been sensitised about the rights of non-Muslim citizens, and unless exceptional, would have no particular sensitivities in this regard. Therefore when non-Muslims come under attack, the local police and administration take no action against the culprits.

*‘Most of the cases of blasphemy are flawed due to ulterior reasons as stated before and innocent people are still behind bars without a proper and thorough investigation’
A participant from the Justice and Peace organisation, Multan.*

‘Three decades before burning of old pages of Quran was a practice now it has become blasphemous. This shows how intolerant society has become.’ An academic, Islamabad.

*‘Maulvis are so powerful that parliamentarians cannot touch 295C’
A Minority MP*

Overall 78% agreed or strongly agreed that the government has no systematic non-discriminatory public policy at any levels of governance, nor any protocols for this. It was also considered by some of the participants in Islamabad that as public policy is derived from social attitudes and values, hence there is no public policy regarding non-Muslims, and incidents like the recent Gujranwala, Gojra and Kot Radha Kishan occur. A discussion on the Gojra case was initiated by Christian participants, where the police and administration were present in the crowd when the property of Christian citizens were set alight, and they could not/did not take any action against the mob, which was similar to the Kot Radha Kishan case. However, other participants raised the fact that only a handful of officers were present, showing the lack of police security and incompetence, rather than collusion.

The case of Rashid Rehman was mentioned everywhere, where another lawyer openly threatened him in court, for taking on the defence of a blasphemy case, and this was reported even in the newspapers. Subsequently, Rehman then issued an application to the court stating he was being threatened and 5 days later he was dead.

Participants also expressed their view that government officials are not simply ignorant about protection of non-Muslims, but also often have the same opinions as the mob/crowd. They have no conception of the fact that it may be their particular responsibility to protect such people under threat. This was the one of the reasons for the increase in violence against non-Muslims as the mobs turn to violence with impunity, and in fact it is the non-Muslims who are subject to harassment by the police as well.

“Discussion on new laws or policies by the media only happens after some horrible incident occurs and sadly nothing positive materialises in the end”.
Christian Participant, Islamabad

“If I reply to the Salam greeting as an Ahmadi, a case could be registered against me for replying.” Ahmadi participant Lahore.

Participants also pointed out discriminatory laws that need amendments.

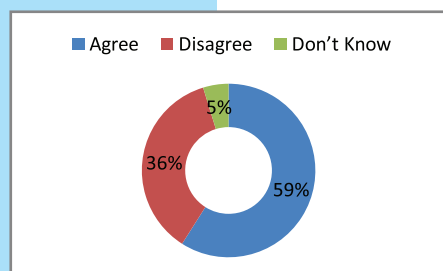
In the case of the Hudood Ordinance, even the evidence of non-Muslims is not counted as full evidence (nor is that of women), for the evidence to count fully, four adult male, Muslim witnesses are required.

“With the promulgation of non-secular clauses which are now dominating the constitution, the secular colour which Pakistan had, has faded away and we have lost all secular governance.”
An Academic, Islamabad

A Muslim participant, who worked in Baluchistan, also talked about the discrimination there. In Baluchistan in particular designated areas, there is no rule of law as represented by the Pakistan Penal Code. Their system is based on the jirga system, that makes all the decisions. Although there is a Hindu population in these areas, the members of the jirga tend to Muslim, and tend to apply Muslim law, or traditional law, in any case these laws are interpreted by the jirga members who are almost to a man, Muslims.

In response to this discussion, a BZU professor from Multan added ‘**that laws are made for whole countries and not separately for different religions.**’ (Of course, this comment is incorrect, within Pakistan there are different legal systems for different populations and religions, there is a separate Christian Marriage Act, there is a Jirga law, and the PPC, there is a separate law for Ahmadis, and in other countries as well, there are different personal laws, such as India, Malaysia, Lebanon and so on.)

“Pakistan is a state in the 20th century not in the 13th century, hence all the human rights clauses in our constitution, UN treaties ratified and UN charter should be implemented and NGOs should be lobbying for this.” Intellectual, Islamabad

Statement 4: Non-Muslim citizens are free to form their associations without any undue hurdle

It was interesting that more than half the participants, that is 59%, believed that non-Muslims are free to form their associations without any undue hurdles, and many gave the example of The Bible Society in Pakistan. It was discussed that the law does give permission to form associations, however minority participants said that in practise, to form new religion based associations it is far more difficult than it should be, and for the Ahmadis it is virtually impossible.

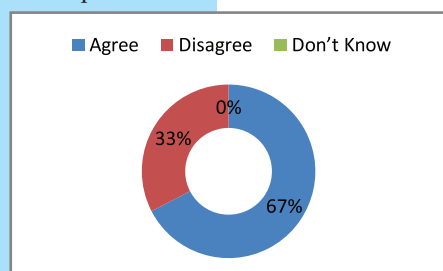
Many Non-Muslims, especially Christians believed that they could not form religious associations freely like Muslims do.

There was a clear difference between the belief of the majority Muslims that all is well, and the experience and opinions of the non-Muslims.

“Christian associations are unable and are hesitant to gather in the open like Muslim religious groups and if we creates an association, it offends people living in that area.”
Christian Participant, Faisalabad

“Christian citizens can't register their churches and if occasionally they do manage to do so, there would have been great hurdles in the way.” Christian participant, Islamabad

Again, it was mentioned by nearly all the participants, that Ahmadis have no freedom to form association.

Statement 5: Non-Muslim citizens don't criticise rulers and hold rallies against ruling party and officials on local issues, national issues/policies that cause harm to them because of fear of retaliation.

67% of the participants agreed or strongly agreed that non-Muslim citizens don't criticise rulers and hold rallies against the ruling party or officials even on local issues, or national issues/policies that are harmful to them, because of fear of retaliation. However many of the Muslim participants believed that non-Muslims do protest on issues related to them, they felt that especially Christians do indeed have freedom of expression and assembly. But non-Muslims clearly stated that they were extremely fearful even when they did publicly oppose policies or criticise measures that were harmful to them.

“Even when a cross was burned in Lahore, the Christian community in Multan could not come out and protest simply for fear of retaliation.” Christian participant, Multan

However, it has to be added, that in Faisalabad in a hot discussion, the participants discussed that in the case of Rashid Rehman, all the accused and members involved were Muslims and still nobody came out condemn his killing, he was not even committing blasphemy, he was only a lawyer. Even the HRCP does not seem to have taken the stand on his murder, that people expected. And this, everyone was of the opinion, was simply because of fear.

It was added that that freedom of expression and assembly is very limited and is most likely to be tolerated only after some dreadful incident has occurred like those in Kot Radha Kishan or Gogra.

This led to further discussion that actually there are two categories of non-Muslims, one group being the Ahmadis, (who were declared non-Muslim only in 1974, and who, before this date, had been considered Muslims), and the other group being all other religious groups. It was felt even by other minorities, and Muslims) that for Ahmadis, discrimination, hate and insecurity is extreme. Hence they, particularly, have no freedom at all.

“The Hudood Ordinance is one such discriminatory law, where only a Muslim judge can preside over cases of non-Muslims whereas a non-Muslim judge cannot preside over the cases of Muslims.” A lawyer, Islamabad

“Since the word ‘freely’ (“... every citizen shall have the right to profess, practice and propagate his religion) has been removed from Article 20 of the constitution, safeguards for non-Muslims are gone” An intellectual, Islamabad

“Non-Muslims have been perpetually oppressed not only economically but also culturally,” An Intellectual, Islamabad

Statement 6: Job quota: Government departments advertise and hire non-Muslims according to the rules and regulations of the job quota policy.

Overall 45.2% agreed and 58.2% disagreed. In Multan and Faisalabad, Muslim participants agreed with the statement, however non-Muslims had the opinion that the job quota exists but is only followed for grade four jobs but not for higher jobs, in fact the quota for higher positions is not even advertised.

However, in Lahore and Islamabad most participants, Christians, lawyers, Muslims all disagreed with the main statement. The main argument from the participants who disagreed with the statement was that for the 5% quota, there is advertisement for the lower menial jobs but for higher positions this quota is never advertised.

Therefore non-Muslims are never hired for higher paying jobs and hence this leads to non-Muslims being at the bottom of the heap.

“Even in the private sector if the employer come to know that the applicant is Ahmadi, hewould be rejected or disqualified despite high qualifications.”An Ahmadi participant, Lahore.

According to an official in the CDA, in fact there is no discrimination against the minorities, most particularly the Christians, quite the reverse in fact. Whereas they are meant to get 5% of the jobs, in fact in the category of sweepers, there are 100% Christians, according to him. According to him, this more than offsets any imbalance.

*The reality is that Muslims think that sanitation jobs are beneath them, they are fit for Christians and Hindus, therefore that quota is filled cent percent.”
Christian participant, Islamabad*

There is a similar situation in the Karachi Municipal Corporation which includes lower caste Hindus also and in fact this is the situation all over Pakistan. The historical context is that it was people from the lowest castes, doing such jobs who were most tempted by the egalitarianism of Christianity, and they became cannon fodder for the Christian missionaries. Most changed their names and were given western names by the missionaries, in order to hide their low caste ancestry. In fact now, the possession of a westernized name in the Punjab, proclaims a low caste ancestry, those who converted from the superior cast made sure that they did not change their names, so that were not confused with the lower caste converts.

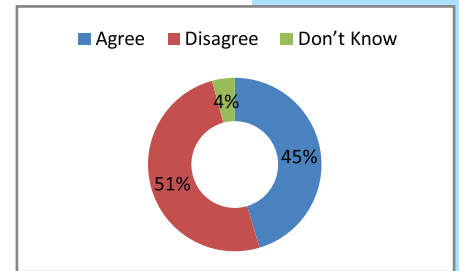
In Punjab, many people use the word “Isai” (Christian), the original word for Christian, as synonymous with the word sweeper. Christians deeply resent this. Many educate their children hoping that they will move out of this profession, but sadly come back to it as a good job, and almost the only one easily open to them.

For women, nursing is a profession that seems reserved for Christians, nursing in Pakistan carries a very poor reputation, and Muslim families of the economic class for whom nursing could be an option have traditionally refused to allow their women into jobs that demand a high degree of flexibility in working hours and exposure to the human body and a very high level of public dealing. This is changing somewhat, but the profession is still heavily dependent on Christian nurses.

Interviews with key players:

It was also highlighted in the meetings that the quota system is usually advertised for grade 4 jobs and not for higher-grade jobs. Participants were of the opinion that in Pakistan, on the whole, the recruitment process is not on merit, in fact it is quite heavily based on nepotism and patronage, there is no due process, and actually Muslims are recruited even on the non-Muslim quota. It is only in the sanitation (that is, sweepers) and nursing departments where non-Muslims are usually recruited.

It was highlighted, by a number of participants, that job advertisements never mention any seats for minorities, although every department is meant to keep a 5% quota of non-Muslims. The only jobs that are advertised “for Christians” are those of sweepers.

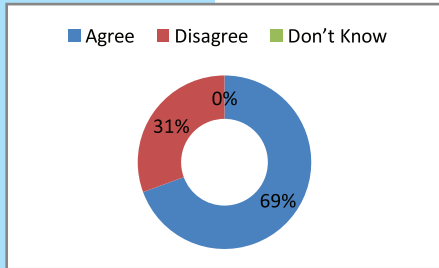


*“There is a job quota for non-Muslims but the selection process is always discriminatory.”
A Christian participant, Islamabad.*

“The quota is only observed in jobs such as sweepers and it seems the state doesn't want non-Muslims hired for decent jobs.”HRCP member, Lahore.

“Why are there only sanitation jobs for us?” A minority MP

Statement 7: School curriculum: School textbooks contain hate content against non-Muslims and non-Muslim pupils are forced to study Islamiyat.



Even in admission to educational institutions, this quota is meant to be implemented. Moreover, according to a Minority Parliamentarian, in PVTCs (Punjab Vocational Technical Colleges) non-Muslims are not given admission, as these are run on Zakat funds. Although she and we were unable to find this in black and white, the Principal of one of the PVTCs was very clear about it.

69.2% agreed, while 31.2% disagreed. Overall most participants agreed that textbooks do contain hate-content towards non-Muslims. There is a detailed study done of the hate content in text books, by Justice and Peace, and this was shared by many participants, most knew about this report. Dealing with the second part of the statement, although there is an option for non-Muslims to take an Ethics course instead of Islamiyat, it seems that all Muslim students end up studying Islamiyat. One participant who taught for 7 years said that she never even knew that there was an option for non-Muslim children to study anything but Islamiyat, and she was teaching at one of the top school chains in the country. The reason for this is that the books prescribed for Ethics are to be found nowhere, many bookshops and teachers do not know that they exist. Maybe they don't. (We were able to locate an Ethics book for only one class, in Islamabad.) And it is said that there are not enough teachers who are able/qualified to teach this course, although there seems no reason why this would require a special qualification. This is despite the fact that the constitution guarantees that no child shall be forced to study any religion other than his own.

“The Ethics book is also like an Islamiyat book”. Christian participant, Faisalabad.

He meant that it is full of sayings from Muslims or the Muslim texts, and none from other texts.

It was clear from discussion that the Ethics option is virtually non-existent and this is an issue of great concern to the non-Muslim parents.

Therefore either way, non-Muslim students are forced by circumstances and by the governments negligence towards their needs, to study Islamiyat whether they wish to take it or not.

“When a Hindu child has to study the glorification of Mahmood Ghaznavi for having destroyed the famous Hindu temple of Somnath, and smashed their holy idols which they worship, how will he/she feel?” Journalist, Lahore

A journalist, who was one of the participants, indicated that even when studying Science, scientists are divided up according to whether they are Muslim or non-Muslim! An Ahmadi participant in Lahore further added that on the admission forms for Matric and FSc (as on hundreds of other official documents such as passports, NADRA ID cards etc) there is a section where the applicant has to state his religion, and it is difficult for the Ahmadis' to write which religion they are, as they consider themselves to be Muslims, but the government has officially declared them non-Muslims. Moreover for an Ahmadi to declare themselves as a Muslim by word of mouth or in writing is a punishable offence, carrying serious punishment. Ahmadis, and most other participants, Muslim and non-Muslim, all feel the level of hatred for Ahmadis in particular to be the most extreme. In response to this a lawyer stated:

“Why don't the Ahmadis declare themselves non-Muslims, things will become easier.”

In order to change people's anti-minority attitudes, it was emphasized by all participants, Muslims and non-Muslims that there is the need to review the curriculum and remove such hate material. Again it was pointed out that the story of Muhammad bin Qasim's conquest of Sindh, also glorifies his destruction Hindu idols. Moreover, even other stories are discriminatory, and our books fail to mention any contribution of non-Muslims in the creation of Pakistan.

“Government should make institutions to give us skills so that our children should not only be sweepers generation after generation after generation.”

Minority Parliamentarian.

“The KPK government issued a notification that in Grade Four, only Muslim employees will be promoted and non-Muslim employees will not be promoted. Further, that next time only non-Muslims will be employed even as cleaners.” Minority Parliamentarian

"I topped the class and but instead of feeling happy, i felt really unhappy, because when when the result was announced, the teacher said to the students – now who can compete with this Choorah?-. .

Christian Participant, Islamabad

"It was hurtful when my child told me that his teacher hit him in school only because he refused to say 'Hum sub Musalmanhain' (We are all Muslims) along with his Muslim class fellows."

A Christian participant, Faisalabad

Interviews with key players:

One participant who deals with curriculum in detail, also raised the issue that other than actual "hate content" in the curriculum (please see Appendix for detailed examples and refer to the Justice and Peace Report), there are statements such as "this country is made for Muslims".

"Beside subject like Islamiyat/Religion/Ethics, the Islamic content is added in Urdu, Social studies, Pakistan Studies, History, General Knowledge, even Science text books and non-Muslim children are forced to study all that." An academic, Islamabad.

A Muslim educationist also said that while Education policy is periodically reviewed, there is no agenda to make it more secular.

"In KPK province, jihadi content was replaced by the stories of liberal heroes during ANP government, now the PTI-JI government has brought back the old jihadi content."

An academic, Islamabad

A statement like "this country was created for Muslims" will ensure that non-Muslim Pakistani children will not have any sense of ownership of the country and never build any relationship with this country.

It was suggested by a number of different participants that stories of religious diversity should be added to the curriculum. The names of the Mughal Emperor Akbar and of SP Singha (the first speaker of the Punjab Assembly) were mentioned by 3 different people each. One expert said that they had been officially suggested but so far no action has been taken. There have many many non-Muslim sportspeople, particularly cricketers and also artists, Hindus, Christians, Parsees, but there is no mention of them in text books. In fact, as mentioned earlier, there is no mention of Pakistans first Nobel Prize Winner, Dr. Abdus Salam (and it is extremely unlikely that there will be mention of the second either, even though that cannot be on any religious grounds.)

"Education is not a priority of our leaders, whilst religiously motivated leaders bent upon making the curriculum anti-Muslims" Government official.

Statement 8: Non-Muslims are allowed to preach their religions without any fear.

78% disagreed or strongly disagreed that Non-Muslims are allowed to preach their religions without any fear that is they believed that non-Muslims cannot preach their religion without fear. A Muslim lawyer said that while the law allows minority groups to register their organizations, hold gatherings, enjoy freedom of speech and conduct political activities in actual practice their activities are very restricted. It was pointed out that by a participant lawyer that while Article 20 of the constitution guarantees freedom for all Pakistanis to preach, profess and practise their religion but they felt that in reality this is only limited to Muslims.

"We can only preach within our communities but not to Muslims as in the Muslim faith conversion is punishable by death so we do not want to put their lives at stake."

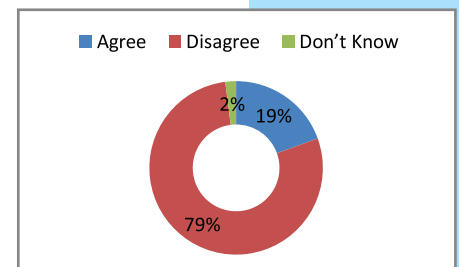
A Christian participant, Islamabad.

So it is interesting to consider who they may preach to in a country where 95% are Muslim. In Tharparkar, Christian missionaries do a lot of work with the Hindu tribes, as these are the only fodder that they can find.

(Choorah is an extremely derogatory word for a low caste cleaner/sweeper, equivalent to nigger).

"This issue is not just for non-Muslims, but that all the weak and poor citizens are not provided sufficient protection and implementation of the public policies" (Muslim lecturer Multan)

"Our curriculum is deeply anti-minorities, it alienates non-Muslims from rest of the society." A government official, Islamabad



"Education is first thing non-Muslims should be given to empower them with knowledge and skill." A minority MP.

“It is impossible to put the banner of Jamaat-e-Ahmediya in any stall or on any building.” Ahmadi participant, Lahore.

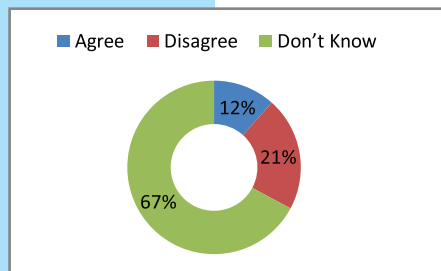
The Ahmadi participant said clearly that for them it's impossible to preach or even practice without any fear, and this was agreed to by all the other participants.

There was a consensus that for non-Muslims, there is little or no freedom to preach their religion at all, except within their own communities.

Interviews with key players:

Laws regarding minority rights are amended in a way that they are losing their spirit and meaning e.g. removing word “freely” from the article that non-Muslims may profess and practice their religion freely. By removing this word, the article loses all its essence of freedom and equality. This means that you can only preach or practice in your community and religious places and cannot preach outside; whereas Muslims are allowed to preach without let or hindrance so this in itself is discriminatory.

Statement 9: Non-Muslims have complete freedom to build places of worship and use them freely and without any fear.



Half of the participants strongly disagreed or disagreed that Non-Muslims have complete freedom to build places of worship places and use them freely and without any fear.

In Faisalabad and Multan most Muslim participants were of the view that non-Muslims have complete freedom to build their places of worship However, non-Muslim participants felt that they could not build places of worship and even could not use the existing ones freely due to a lack of acceptance in society. They felt that building new places of worship for non-Muslims is becoming more difficult and

those being used now were mostly built before partition. Other than the off high profile new church or two built in a town such as Islamabad, there are hardly any new non-Muslim places of worship. Although the law allows different faith communities to build their own places of worship, in practise it is almost impossible now, and an Ahmadi participant said that in fact they now hide their places of worship for fear of violence.

Another participant referred to the Toba Tek Singh case, where the Muslim community pressured the DCO into closing the local Church. In response to this, a Muslim participant said that ‘**Why do Christians feel the need to build churches in Muslim areas?**’ Additionally, an example was mentioned about Faisalabad, where a mosque was built wall-to-wall with an existing church, and resulting in tensions between the two communities even though the law does give permission for churches to be built anywhere.

In the Multan discussions, a couple of Muslim participants, that in Faisalabad a church and a mosque shared a wall and this was cited as an example of great communal harmony. In fact when we had discussions in Faisalabad, we discovered more about this. The church is an old Christian locality, and has existed before partition; apparently even at Partition it was an old church. When the house next to the church became vacant (there are different stories about how it became vacant, some whisper that it was vacated through harassment of the Christian family living there) it was bought and turned into a mosque. From then on, not only is there a loud call to prayer from there, 5 times a day every day, but in addition sermons and other religious material is also broadcast. Moreover, there were many requests/ demands to the church next door to avoid ringing the church bell as that was disturbing to the mosque and the community, not to sing (hymns), and so on, and according to the Christian population, there is now not a single Christian house left in that particular street, all the Christians have vacated and left, they felt so under threat, whether real or perceived. When a Faisalabad participant said that in reality non-Muslims do have the full freedom and liberty to pray and preach, a Christian participant reminded everyone that in this case, the mosque was built after the Church, that is the Church was already there. Also, that since its formation, Muslims have been buying all the houses in the street, and forcing the Christian community to not use the church freely.

The matter of the two places of worship in Faisalabad sharing a single wall as an example of communal harmony was also raised in Islamabad,

“Freedom to preach may be there to an extremely limited extent for Christians, but does not exist at all for other non-Muslims” a Journalist commented, Lahore

“We had applied to construct a Mandar in Islamabad many years ago but never received a reply.” A Hindu participant, Islamabad.

“A single area can have many mosques, but trouble follows when a religious minority tries to build its worship place.” A journalist, Multan.

Statement 10: Non-Muslims living in kutchi abadis have been given ownership rights and those who have been living in their ancestral mohallas/villages are being protected from eviction.

57% of the participants disagree or strongly disagree that Non-Muslims living in kutchi abadis have been given ownership rights and those who have been living in their ancestral mohallas/villages are being protected from eviction. Almost 15% had no information about it. Overall it was viewed that non-Muslims are insecure and are deprived of their property rights. It was pointed out that in DHA Lahore even a property belonging to Caritas was taken by force, and the majority opinion was that there are many other cases like this.

However, after some more discussion, everyone agreed that actually non-Muslims in reality have little or no ownership of property.

Statement 11: Muslim neighbours come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are under threat/attack.

There was a strong divide on this statement. 50% agreed or strongly agreed and rest disagreed or strongly disagreed that Muslim neighbours come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are under attack. Most non-Muslims participants said that their Muslim neighbours are friendly and did mingle with them. But in severe incidents they would not come to their aid, because Muslims felt that if they came to the aid of non-Muslims, their own community would shun them. However, as an individual issue, neighbours do come out to help non-Muslims, but when there's a mob against them, they hesitate and in some cases the neighbours themselves join the mob or they hide as they are afraid of being ostracized by their own community.

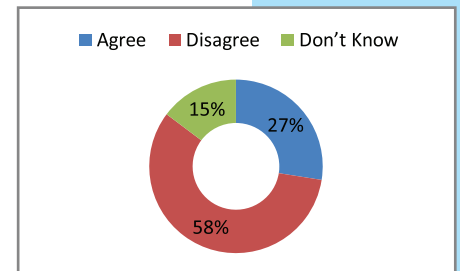
Some participants felt that it is the social class system that is discriminatory towards the weak, rather than religious discrimination. One Muslim said that he had heard that in Tharparker, children of different Hindu castes do not play with each other, as some are well off and some are poor. Participants also brought up the fact that if a non-Muslim was rich or was a foreigner, particularly a white foreigner, then everyone is much more willing to socialize with them!

One educated and well off Christian participant who is married to a Muslim, related a story saying that she used to cook the food every day for her staff, which included a Muslim driver. One day when she was ill, her sweepress cooked the food, and the Muslim driver refused to eat food cooked by her, (the other Muslim staff ate it without any problem), although he had never objected to eating food cooked by the Christian begum-sahib.

Statement 12: CSOs come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are threatened.

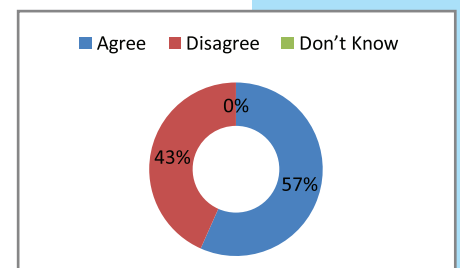
55.2% agreed or strongly agreed and 42.2% disagreed or strongly disagreed that CSOs provide support to non-Muslims. Some of the participants who were from NGOs and CBOs were quite amazed when many non-Muslims said that CSOs do not provide enough support, because they were of the view that they are in complete solidarity with the non-Muslims. In response a Christian participant said that yes, CSOs do some to show solidarity, but only after some incident has occurred. Where are they the rest of the time when we live under perpetual threat? What they do is a like cutting your finger to join the martyrs.

The small majority of participants who felt that CSOs do come forward to help non-Muslims without any hesitation, also agreed that the CSOs only come after a horrendous incident has occurred, like the recent ones in Kot Radha Kishan and that they do not take any initiatives, nor do they play any proactive role in protecting non-Muslims, all participants agreed with this.

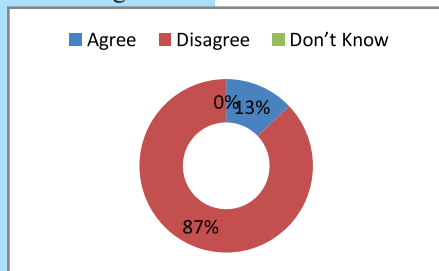


*“It is impossible for Christians to build a Church in a Muslim area”
A civil society representative,
Lahore.*

*“There are many illegally constructed mosque in Islamabad, even in the Green Belt. Certainly non-Muslims cannot dream of building any place of worship anywhere in the country.”
A Civil society representative,
Islamabad*



Statement 13: Political parties: Political parties come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are in danger.



A huge majority, 87% disagreed or strongly disagreed that political parties come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are in danger whereas only 12.9% viewed that political parties support non-Muslims. Some participants also said that what the political parties tend to do, is that they may say a few words to the media after a particularly horrific incident has occurred, or if an election is near.

Many participants were also of the view that parliamentarians do not help non-Muslims efficiently. The participants said that all problems would be solved if Parliamentarians stand in support of non-Muslims.

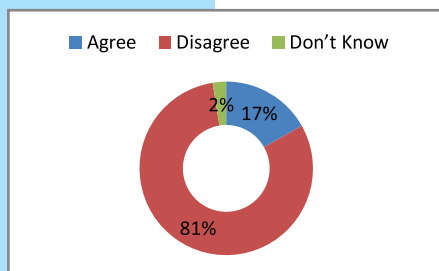
Parliamentarians stand in support of non-Muslims.

“Parliamentarians are afraid of even condemning the attacks on non-Muslims.” Bahai Participant, Islamabad

Participants said that the opinion of minority groups is not considered and even the minority representatives in the assemblies say very little. Moreover, representation of minorities is very low in executive institutions.

“It is impossible to put the banner of Jamaat-e-Ahmediya in any stall or on any building.” Ahmadi participant, Lahore.

Statement 14: Legal support is available to non-Muslim at local levels and lawyers don't hesitate to fight their cases.



85% participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that legal support is available to non-Muslims at local levels and lawyers don't hesitate to fight their cases. It was discussed that from the recent incidents of violence against non-Muslims it is clear that there is none, or very little, legal support available for non-Muslims as even lawyers are scared of taking on their cases. This is not the case with cases simply of a religious nature. Even in property cases, or criminal cases, where the other party is a Muslim, lawyers prefer not to take on the case of the non-Muslims, as they fear that they will become embroiled in a dispute which will take on a religious colour. Christians feel that lawyers need to be paid far extra to take on the trouble of a case

on behalf of a non-Muslim, even more so if it is against a Muslim.

And as for cases of a religious nature, citing the example of Rashid Rahman, it was said that:

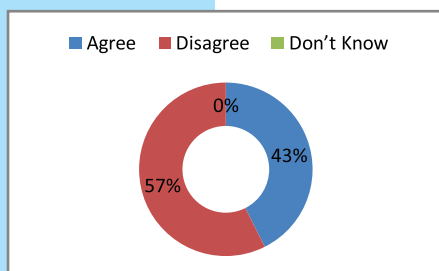
“How can anyone expect that lawyers will now take on blasphemy cases to defend non-Muslims” Media representative, Multan

Participants also felt that while human rights are fought for in bigger cities regardless of religion, but in smaller towns, out of fear, religious minorities are shunned, and their cases are normally not taken on.

Whatever may be Ms. Jahangir's reasons for not taking on any case, the perception of this participant was that some cases were such that even the most well known fighters for human rights in Pakistan felt that that either the cases were unwinnable given the current legal situation, or they were too big a risk.

A Christian participant also added bitterly that “CSOs and especially NGOs only come out to support us if it benefits them, if they get public attention.”

Statement 15: Muslim religious leaders come forward without any hesitation when non-Muslims are under attack.



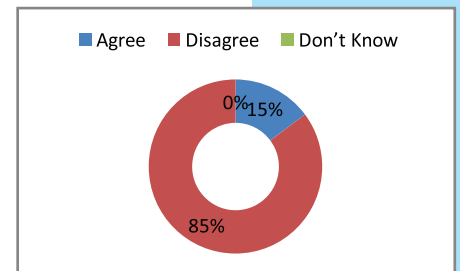
80% of the participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that Muslim religious leaders come forward without any hesitation when non-Muslim citizens are under attack. Instead, many participants said that it is actually religious leaders who further exacerbate already fraught situations by making inflammatory statements, or even create the incident in the first place.

Statement 16: Interaction; Muslims and non-Muslims socialise with each other (they eat together, their children play together, they participate in each other functions i.e. weddings, funerals, religious, cultural events).

Staggeringly more than half of the participants felt that Muslims and non-Muslims do not actually socialise with each other. In the focus group discussion conducted in Multan, the consensus was that interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims varies from area to area, therefore you cannot generalise over the whole of Pakistan.

The same views were shared by the Faisalabad focus group, but many of the Muslim participants disagreed with the statement and thought that personal rapport varied from person to person.

In the Lahore focus group, most of the participants, except two, agreed that Muslims and non-Muslims do not socialise with each other. Participants also felt that this is a class issue.



“Although Muslims and non-Muslims from the same neighbourhood do mix, they avoid eating at each other’s homes”
Hindu participant, Lahore

“If we are invited to a non-Muslim event, then yes, we do eat with them”.
CSO participant, Lahore

Another participant shared that it was common practice amongst many non-Muslims to serve a Muslim guest with a bottle of Coke rather than tea cooked and served in non-Muslim dishes, in order to save everyone the embarrassment of deciding whether to drink from non-Muslims or not.

Participants from Lahore again pointed out that not all places in Pakistan are the same and social relations between Muslims and non-Muslims vary, the social status of Hindus is better in Sindh, hence Muslims interact with them. Also, another Hindu participant added that at work Muslims and non-Muslims of a similar class do mix, but they do not eat with each other. They also agreed that in Pakistan the behaviour of Muslims towards Ahmadis is even more discriminatory than it is with other minorities.

“If neighbours find out that we are Ahmadis, they do not eat with us and avoid inviting us too” Ahmadi participants

“It’s the duty of the majority to encourage main-streaming non-Muslims.” Poet, Lahore

“We must keep in mind that they are already weak and are exploited by the strong, so we need to help them.” Poet, Lahore

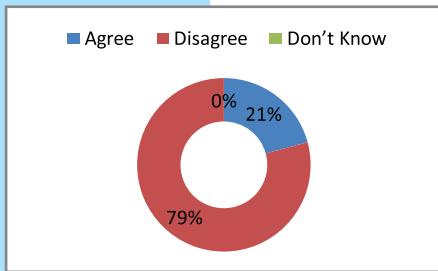
“Islam is a religion of blessings for humanity, but Muslims are keeping these to themselves,”
Minority Parliamentarian

“Our children are discriminated against on the basis of religion, it seems that if we are not Muslims then we are not Pakistani,” Minority Parliamentarian

“In fact, incidents against minorities are initiated or supported by political parties. Most political leaders contribute towards our discrimination.” A Muslim journalist, Lahore.

‘Even Asma Jahangir refused to take on some cases’, Ahmadi Participant, Lahore said

Statement 17: Harmony exists amongst all workers without any reservations and exclusion at work places. Promotions and benefits are given on merit in organisations & departments without any religious discrimination



For this statement, a high statistic of 92% of all participants agreed that there is not a great deal of harmony between workers and that discrimination against non-Muslims exists in the workplace.

Most non-Muslim participants felt there was discrimination in the work place against them i.e. there were separate areas and separate utensils for them to eat and drink and cook in, and job promotion and even benefits were extra hard for them.

“In the UBL Faisalabad Branch, where I worked as a clerk, a Muslim staff member convinced everyone that there should be a separate cup for me. And this was done”.

Another participant shared that while she was working at one of the premier educational chain schools in the country, in Multan, 13 teachers out of 26, wrote a written request to the school administration that the utensils of the one Christian teacher in the school be kept separate from the rest. The (male) Christian teacher was in tears. It is to the credit of the school system, that after a meeting with all teachers and staff, the administration and the principal refused to do so.

Looking at the different districts, there is a division of views within the different areas of Pakistan. For example, Faisalabad was the one with the highest percentage that agreed that there is no discrimination within the workplace. Then the minorities spoke, and gave examples, but many people at the meeting dismissed them as individual incidents. Nevertheless, a majority of the people in the discussions agreed that promotion for non-Muslims is far harder than for Muslims. Also, the general pattern anyway is that, promotions and benefits are not given on merit in organisations/departments and being non-Muslim is yet another negative factor in promotion to a senior position.

“Hindus are discriminated against and Christians are preferred over them for jobs as they are at least Ahle Kitab (People of the Book, as referred to in the Quran), and even Sikhs are promoted in Pakistan in preference over Hindus.” Hindu participant, Lahore

In the Islamabad focus group, two participants shared more positive experiences. One participant said that although he is from a minority group, he was promoted to secretary level and another participant shared the fact that due promotions were also given to his cousin.

“My cousin is now working as an accounts officer but he was recruited as a sweeper.” Hindu Participant

“The role of non-Muslims in the creation of Pakistan has been forgotten; we have played a role in past and will in future” Minority Parliamentarian

“Our relationship is with this soil, which is Pakistan, not with the British, we are born here and belong here, this is our homeland but because of our religion, we are associated with foreigners.” Minority Parliamentarian

This is interesting in view of the fact that many Muslims of the subcontinent view themselves as descended from Persians, Arabs, Afghans, Turks. The people who claim to be born of this soil are the Christians and the Hindus (some of the tribes in Sindh are of Dravidian descent). In reality of course, most of the population is indigenous.

“Around 90% of Muslim neighbours don't mix with non-Muslims.”
A participant in the Faisalabad focus group.

“Around 90% of Muslim neighbours don't mix with non-Muslims.”
A participant in the Faisalabad focus group.

Statement 18: Conversion; Some Muslim colleagues try to convert non-Muslim workers by offering incentives.

Overall, 81% of the participants agreed that Muslims colleagues try to convert non-Muslims workers by offering incentives.

In the Multan focus group, there was overall agreement with the statement. An example was discussed, that in Peshawar a Hindu shop-keeper was told to convert by his neighbour, and when he refused, he was accused of blasphemy and this led to his business and life being ruined. But on a lighter note, a participant told his story of how flabbergasted he was when he jokingly asked a Hindu friend to convert to Islam, to which the Hindu invited him to convert to Hinduism. He was totally taken aback, never having conceived of such a thing!

An interesting rationale of the actions of Muslims who ask members of religious minorities to convert was given in the Faisalabad focus group. Their argument was that non-Muslims are offered conversion, so that they could have the opportunity to become better human beings. This clearly shows the vision of such groups which define “better human beings” in terms of religion. What is a matter of concern is that we would consider such groups to be fairly representative. And in fact this opinion was also echoed in the Lahore FGD.

In the Islamabad focus group, most minority participants said that Muslims often ask them to convert.

“But we have never asked any Muslim to do the same.”

‘We shifted to Lalkurti from Satellite Town. We were four Hindus and one Christian living in that area. In two months, we were invited to convert to Islam 18 times. There was a group that used to visit our home after almost every day after their namaz. During these days, a death occurred in the Hindu family. The group arrived to preach even that day. It was not the whole neighbourhood, no, but one group from the neighbourhood. When the preachers started on my children, we decided to move from that area. (Christian participant, Islamabad)

Statement 19: Political parties; Political parties don't allow non-Muslim members to take high office, such as president, general secretary, member of central committee, even at different levels of party hierarchy.

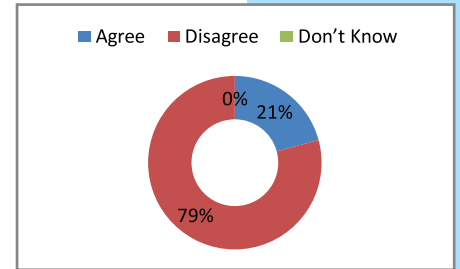
In this statement, 82% of all of the participants agreed that political parties don't allow non-Muslim members to take senior or important “general” positions in the party.

From the discussions in the various focus groups, most participants agreed that religious minorities were not given senior or important “general positions” in political parties and were in fact side-lined into positions reserved for minorities.

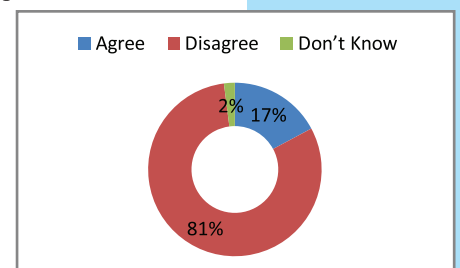
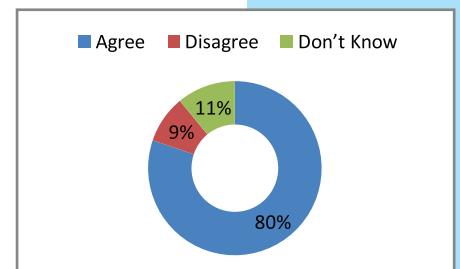
Statement 20: Assets; In markets and businesses, non-Muslims are not discriminated against on the basis of religion. Their religious places, lands, houses and businesses are safe and protected from vandalism and theft.

For this statement, 80% of the participants disagreed that non-Muslims are not discriminated against in markets and businesses, so in fact they felt that non-Muslims ARE discriminated against in markets and businesses.

From this discussion in Multan, there was also a consensus that religious minorities felt their assets were not safe and if an incident occurred elsewhere in Pakistan or abroad in which members of their religion were involved, they immediately started to feel even more unsafe and actually felt targeted, and unfortunately there are numerous examples,



*“Even though I was high on merit, my job application was refused at the last moment because I was a Christian.”
A participant, Multan.*



“Our culture is the same as that of the majority living around us, still it does not accept us, and this is the biggest challenge for us.”
A minority MP.

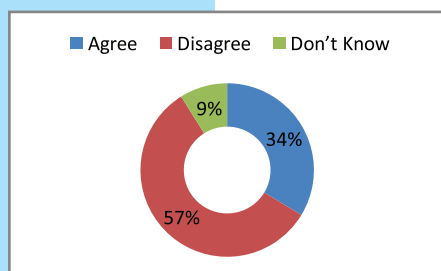
which justify this feeling. Participants (Muslim and non-Muslim) clearly stated that they felt that the business assets of non-Muslims are actually not safe.

In addition to this, they were also of the opinion that there is also discrimination in business as most Muslims hesitate in trading with non-Muslims, even buying from them, presumably they have no scruples about selling to them!

“In the Hafiz Centre in Lahore, there is a notice in a number of the shops that an Ahmadi cannot undertake their business there.” Ahmadi participant, Lahore

“If any issue regarding religion arises, non-Muslims and their assets become vulnerable to vandalism.” Hindu participant, Lahore

Statement 21: Sports; Sports bodies select players without any religious discrimination.

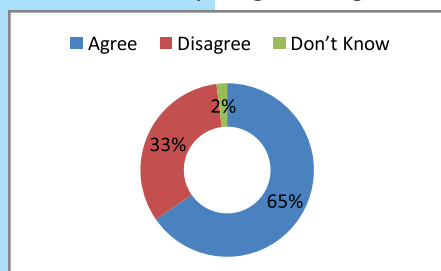


Overall, only 34% of the people said that sports bodies select players without any religious discrimination. The vast majority felt that there was religious discrimination even in sports bodies.

When some people argued that within sport, people are hired on merit regardless of religion, others argued the opposite; using the case of Yousaf Youhana case where, some people considered that to become Captain of the Pakistan Cricket team, Yousaf Youhana had to convert to Islam. Also, participants further qualified this statement that sports opportunities are not the same for Muslims and non-Muslims. Players from religious minorities only get selected when they are extraordinary.

“A Hindu young man called Amarnath applied for a football camp. However, after reading his (Hindu) name on the application form, it was suggested to him that he write his name as Amar, (a Muslim name). When he refused, he was rejected. Hindu participant, Lahore

Statement 22: My religion is superior to others.



This statement would be interesting to also analyse by the religion of the participants!

For this statement, 66% of the participants stated that their religion is superior to others. Obviously this included both Muslims and non-Muslims.

The ones who didn't agree with this were also of every faith, but would have been the more intellectual or thoughtful.

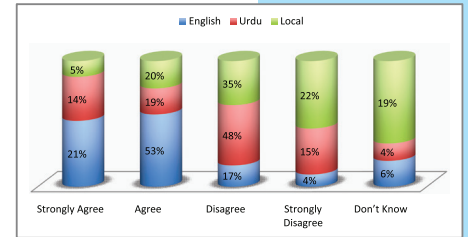
In the discussions, all the participants agreed that the ideology of your own religion being superior is present in each religion, and they also agreed that this is what creates discrimination in society.

“It is ingrained in our mind that our own religion or faith is superior to others.”
Journalist

‘Muslims do try to convert their non-Muslims colleagues in order to benefit by gaining their own sawab’ (Sawab are good deeds that get you into heaven.) This was said in a critical light by a Muslim participant from Lahore)

Statement 23: Media; Both print and electronic media are sensitive about religious issues and help build inter-faith harmony in the country.

Overall, most people seemed to agree that the Urdu media and the local media are not interested in building religious harmony, nor are they sensitive to the sentiments of non-Muslims. They also agreed that the English media is considerably more sensitive, in fact almost three quarters of the participants agreed that the English media is sensitive and interested in promoting interfaith harmony. In contrast, the Urdu and local media are not only insensitive but in fact they actually exacerbate tense situations. Participants also felt that English newspapers tend to be more open and discuss the issues clearly, whereas Urdu newspapers hide facts and intentionally aggravate the issues, and the local newspapers follow the same pattern. Participants were also of the opinion that the staff of English newspapers are better qualified and are therefore able to give a holistic and unbiased view on certain topics. Some participants highlighted the fact that the government has never set out any guidelines or any policy on this issue for PEMRA.



“Out of fear, journalists writing for the Urdu press will leave out information or facts whereas their English paper will be more open and accurate.” (This is referring to the English and Urdu “versions” of the same newspaper. In fact they may not be “versions”, but frequently quite different, as it is perceived that the audience is different in their interests and also in their mindset.) Which of course leads to the very interesting question of it whether it is the newspaper content that determines the audience or the other way around. Journalist participant, Lahore

The circulation of English language newspapers is between 11 and 15 %, the remaining 85% or over, belongs to the Urdu press. (ref. Shah, Hijab, “The Inside pages, an analysis of the Pakistani Press”, South Asia Monitor, no.148, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, 2010) Two things are worth mentioning however, one that newspapers are read by more than 1 person, and this is even more so vis a vis the Urdu press. Secondly in a society where the literacy rate is below 60%, non-print media has a huge influence, this media tends to be in Urdu, very susceptible to the power structure, specially the state owned media, and also, particularly the commercial media, dependent on TRPs.

Interviews with key players:

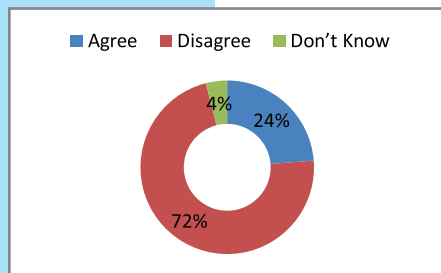
It was generally accepted in the meetings that minority issues are not given due coverage. The Urdu media was uniformly seen as narrow minded, illogical and irrational. It was considered that Urdu newspapers in fact portrayed and perpetuated the attitudes of society. So the same company/publication house running different language newspapers will express totally different opinions in the two newspapers.

Participants said that unfortunately, overall, the media in general, both print and electronic media, has a bad record not just of simply being very insensitive but in fact, it actually has a totally irresponsible and dangerous attitude. They have contributed a lot to making Mumtaz Qadri a hero, and dubbing Governor Salman Taseer “Gustakh-i- Rasool”. They seem to lack a sense of responsibility for the effects of their actions.

Other than sensational news, other minority issues and concerns are rarely given any coverage.

According to the participants, the reason English papers are more careful of the facts and sensitive of both the feelings of the minorities and also the result of their actions is because their readers are more educated than those who read the Urdu or the local press. They felt that the Urdu press is totally commercial, full of dramatic and sensational materials. It is sensationalized and commercialised in order to sell, whereas the English press don't write anything unless they can verify it. Local newspapers are neutral. No media group at this time has the courage to have a progressive and secular Urdu paper. Participants considered that both print and electronic media have had a bad record in the past, portraying situations very irresponsibly and with dangerous attitudes. The media only takes up issues after an incident has occurred, otherwise they are not concerned and are very irresponsible.

Statement 24: Water & sanitation; Muslim and non-Muslim residential areas are provided similar services without any religious discrimination.



For this statement, 73% of the participants disagreed that the water and sanitation systems are the same in areas regardless of religious discrimination.

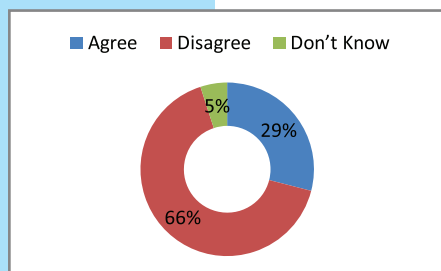
From the discussions there was a general consensus that Muslims and non-Muslims have poor sanitation in poorer areas, but the worst conditions were found in areas where there are a higher number of religious minorities. Participants agreed that there is a clear division in proper sanitation which directly reflects the class difference within our society.

In the Faisalabad focus group, a lot of the participants agreed that the water and sanitation system in non-Muslims areas, if it exists at all, is abysmal. In the group, most of the non-Muslims felt that their areas were worse off than Muslim areas. Other participants looked at this problem as a class issue and a reflection of poor governance in the country.

“People of different faiths live as communities in a particular area and a high number of Christian and Hindu populated areas are worse off in the case of sanitation and other development issues.”
Civil society member.

Participants overall agreed that there is also a class issue here, and they agreed that non-Muslim areas also have extremely poor conditions.

Statement 25: Education and health; Non-Muslim children face no problem in getting admission in educational institutions and non-Muslim students are treated equally and protected from harassment and discrimination. Access to health is available to all citizens without any religious discrimination.



Overall for this statement, 66% of the participants agreed that discrimination against non-Muslims exists in the Education and Health departments in Pakistan.

From the focus group in Multan, one Ahmadi participant felt that they are collectively discriminated against in education. For example, they are harassed in schools and other students don't mix with them, making them feel isolated.

“In Shorkot, a Christian girl who was doing well in her studies, was harassed and bullied in school and no action was taken, finally she had to leave school” a Christian participant stated.

‘If Muslim students sit with non-Muslims in school, their parents complain’, according to participants.

“In Sindh, where Hindus are economically and socially well off, Hindu students tend to be academically strong as well, which again serves to underline the fact that class differences have a major role to play in the status of minorities.” Participant

Admission for college is dependent on the number of marks. If a candidate is a Hafiz-i-Koran, (has learnt the whole Koran by heart) they are automatically awarded an additional 25 marks, which count in the admissions. Naturally, no non-Muslim is a Hafiz i Koran. They are clearly discriminated against in this scheme.

In Lahore, participants said that the education facilities available to non-Muslims are sometimes a torture for their children, due to the low acceptance of non-Muslim children. An Ahmadi participant

stated that for their children, the big issues in education are that they are not treated equally and they are also bullied by both teachers and students, and there is no recourse. They live in fear of making any complaint.

Interestingly, out of the total number of non-Muslim participants, one Hindu and one Christian participant separately said that in their own personal experience with respect to education and health, there was no discrimination. This is worth commenting in, even if it may not be considered representative, as country wide even Muslims seldom have positive experiences to report in these two areas.

Statement 26: Justice; The police, the revenue department and the courts, all treat non-Muslim and Muslim citizens on merit for case registration and litigation etc.

In this statement, 77% of the participants agreed that the justice system in Pakistan does contain discrimination against non-Muslims.

Participants argued that there is no access to a fair trial for religious minorities, even within the context that it is really hard to get a fair trial for anyone at all in Pakistan. The police, the revenue departments and the courts do not treat non-Muslims impartially even in the registering of cases and other aspects of litigation. Regarding access to justice, participants said that judges are biased especially in blasphemy cases. One participant quoted the example of Rashid Rehman, where a mob/group of lawyers threatened Rashid in the presence of the Sessions judge but the judge did not even document this fact in the record of the legal proceedings, or in his interim order.

“In the lower courts there is definitely discrimination, but not in the higher courts, such as the supreme court.” Journalist

“The case is not really in the hands of the judges, in fact they simply act as an arm of the police, as they prepare the case” Lawyer

“In the case of Asia Bibi, a verdict was taken against her by a crowd of Maulvis looking into the eyes of judge”.

These statements give some idea of the extraordinary control the Muslim religious community has on the basic right of every citizen of Pakistan, to a fair and just trial.

Statement 27: Employment; Most government departments treat Muslim and non-Muslim employees equally. (hiring, promotion, salary scales etc.)

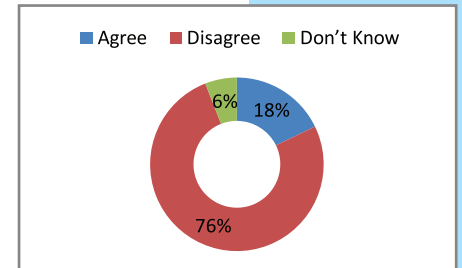
Almost 80% of the participants disagreed with this statement, and only 20% of the participants agreed that government departments treat Muslims and non-Muslims equally. The overwhelming majority of the participants agreed that there is discrimination in the areas of hiring, promotions, and even salaries. According to an Ahmadi participant he added that by law (we have been unable to find such a law) no Ahmadi may be would be promoted even as a major and certainly not to any other higher rank.

Statement 28: All poor people have equal access to public funds (BISP, Zakat, Baitulmal etc.) without any religious discrimination.

For this statement, 18% of the participants were unaware of the any religious discrimination present in public funds and there was a split in opinion on whether or not access to public funds is without religious discrimination.

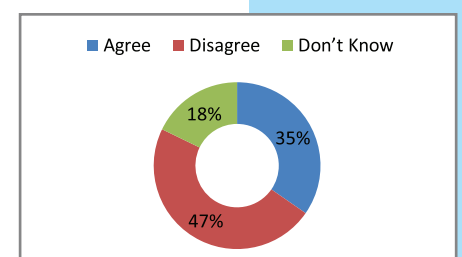
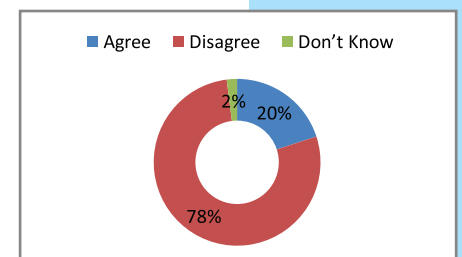
Some of the participants argued that the access to public fund is politicised. From the various discussions we found that the participants felt that the funds are distributed

“The Urdu media does not cover the issues of minorities proactively unless they are paid,” Islamabad participant.



“Journalists have no leadership, that's why even if someone tries to run a serious and progressive newspaper, they will not succeed”. Academic, Islamabad.

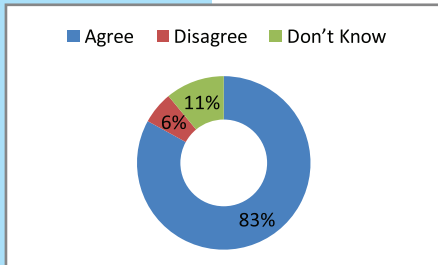
“The Christians and Hindus are forced to live in most unhygienic and neglected areas.” A CSO member.



equally, but that Zakat is usually preferred to go to Muslims. Again, from the discussion in the Islamabad focus group, participants said that discrimination exists in the distribution of the Zakat fund but no discrimination is noted in BISP distribution.

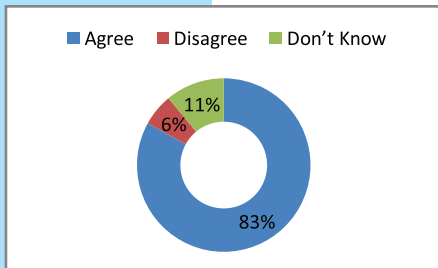
In actual fact, by law, Zakat may only be given to Muslims, whereas Baitul Maal funds are available to all.

Statement 29: NGOs' work; NGOs involve and work with non-Muslim communities without any discrimination. NGOs have non-Muslims on their boards and employ them.



A majority of the participants, 83%, agreed that NGO's do work with non-Muslim communities without any religious discrimination.

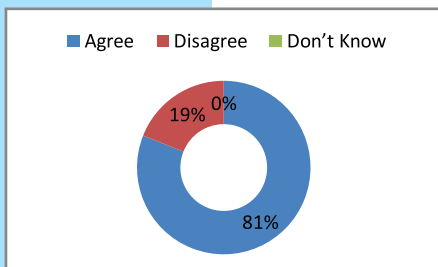
Statement 30: NADRA; Registration of non-Muslim citizens has become cumbersome.



Only 25% of the participants agreed that non-Muslim citizens have trouble with NADRA registration, although 23% also said that they did not know if they did or not.

Some participants felt that for Christians, the process for obtaining an Identity Card is difficult because by law they have to register births in churches, but NADRA questions them as to why they didn't register with the council, thus creating problems for them.

Statement 31: Non-Muslims tend to hide their identity by adopting Muslim names and behaving like Muslims.



81% agreed and 19% disagreed. A huge majority were of the opinion that non-Muslims tend to hide their true identities by adopting Muslim names.

Participants in Multan, and Islamabad, mentioned that minorities do not hide their names in Sindh and Baluchistan but it is common in the Punjab province.

The whole area of names is interesting, as said earlier, amongst the Christians, many people who converted from amongst the lower castes of Hinduism wished to shed names that would have identified them as being low caste, and between them and the missionaries, in many cases the English names were given to them as much as a marker of their new religion, as to forget their castes origins. Myopically, they were not named Yousaf, Binyamin, Youhanna, but Joseph, Benjamin and John. However this was not the case with all converts, but having an English name became a marker not of being Christian but of being low casts. Converts from higher castes did not take on western names and mostly kept names of their own ancestors. Many Christians felt that to integrate and to show their identification with their own heritage, they adopted original/Arabic/Hebrew versions of their names which would also be common to Muslims.

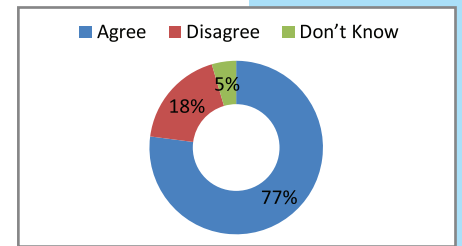
"Society has a majoritarian attitude, and does not want to know about the issues faced by our religious and ethnic minorities." Christian Participant

"We are discourteous and insensitive to the suffering of our minorities. If we do not reform our society, it will become totally fractured. Academics, Islamabad

"Hindus have accepted to live second class citizens, as there is such hatred toward them, but they, and we, as a society, needs to come out of this syndrome." Intellectual, Islamabad

Statement 32: Non-Muslim citizens and their leaders very often over-magnify their patriotism.

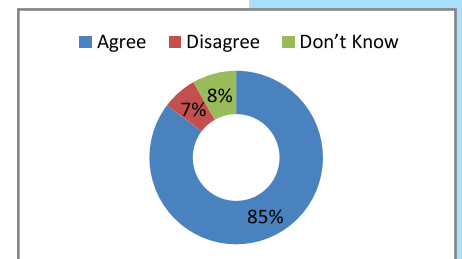
Overall, 71.2% agreed, while 17% disagreed that non-Muslims citizens feel the need to magnify their patriotism. Participants generally agreed that non-Muslims do indeed feel the need to enhance or exaggerate their patriotism.



“We, as Hindus are not recruited in the army for the reason that being Hindu is linked with ‘Hindustan’, and it is for the same reason that we need to magnify our patriotism.”
Hindu participant

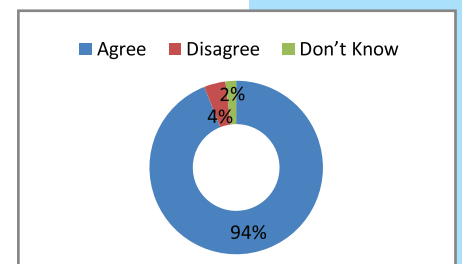
Statement 33. Non-Muslim citizens don't openly criticise government policies and lack of policy implementation and they don't challenge violators of their rights, for fear of reprisal.

An overwhelming majority of 85% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, that non-Muslim citizens don't openly criticise government policies and the lack of any policy implementation, and further they don't even challenge those who actually violate their rights, for fear of reprisals.



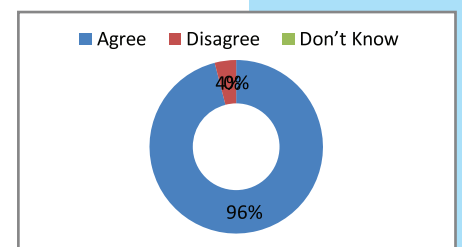
Statement 34. Hate against non-Muslims is spread without any fear. State functionaries don't take any action against culprits, and officers are afraid of taking up cases of non-Muslim citizens when they have a dispute with a Muslim.

More than 94% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, there was almost complete consensus on the fact that hate against non-Muslims is spread without any fear, that state functionaries don't take any action against the culprits who do this, and officers are afraid of taking up cases of non-Muslim citizens when they have a dispute with a Muslim.



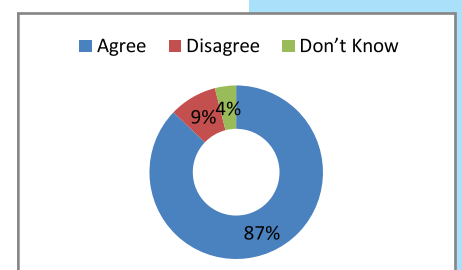
Statement 35: In case Muslims or their places of worship are attacked abroad, there is panic amongst non-Muslim Pakistanis as they know that they will become targets of violence.

96%, again a huge majority, agreed or strongly agreed that in case Muslims or their places of worship are attacked abroad, non-Muslims citizens in Pakistan immediately become targets.



Statement 36: The method of election for filling the reserved seats for religious minorities in legislative bodies is undemocratic, and discriminatory. Hence they don't feel accountable to the people they are supposed to represent, as they do not depend on them to be elected.

Overall, 88% of the participants agreed and 9% disagreed that the method of election to fill reserved seats for religious minorities for legislative bodies is discriminatory.



From the discussions in Lahore, most people expressed the view that non-Muslim MNAs and MPAs don't feel accountable to their “constituents” (non-Muslims), (the people they are supposed to represent) as they are not elected by them. Also, it was highlighted in the discussions that the political leadership in Pakistan doesn't consider the issues of non-Muslim citizens to be of any importance. Moreover, in the Islamabad focus group, minority representatives said that real representatives of the minorities are the MNAs and MPAs elected from their area on general seats, not the ones elected on reserved seats.

Interviews with key players:

Minority wings in political parties and minority seats in assemblies are just token gestures to get votes, when minorities are in trouble no political parties goes to them. Everyone said this; many were of the opinion that there should be no reserved seats. The reserved seats are filled by nominees of political parties, and are in the gift of the party leadership. Such representatives are powerless and speechless because they represent nobody and speak for nobody, for their presence on the assembly they are dependent not on the people they are supposed to represent, but to the party people who have appointed them, in fact a number of participants referred to them as puppets of the political parties, who do not bother about their own communities. Members of minorities said that , “in times of trouble, they never come to us”.

This was denied by the minority parliamentarians, who say that they are chosen by the party because they are active in their communities, and that they do visit their communities. But their communities are geographically dispersed and not in a single geographical area.

This is an interesting comparison, because in the long run the women’s quota has been considered beneficial to the representation of women.

It is very rare that non-Muslims stand directly for general seats.

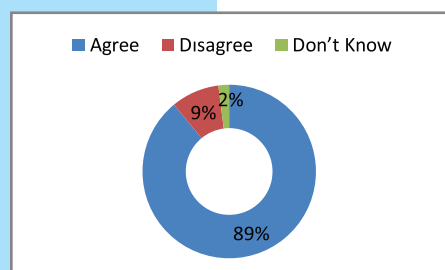
A parliamentarian representing a minority community said that although they are against having “minority wings” in political parties but marginalised people, like minorities in Pakistan need at least some designations like “presidents” and “secretary” to keep them motivated. “If we are mainstreamed within the party structure then we will in fact be even further marginalised, as our position is so weak, that we will not be able to compete with the others.”

“It seems to be a common perception that minority representatives in parliament are not concerned with the issues affecting their communities, but in fact it depends from person to person, many of us do take up issues of our communities.”

Overall, 88% of the participants agreed and 9% disagreed that the method of election to fill reserved seats for religious minorities for legislative bodies is discriminatory.

There was a strange situation in the country in the 2013 elections. Everyone voted for general seats, there were no separate seats, no double votes for minorities, no voting for reserved seats. So there was one general voters list. Everyone was on it. Everyone, except that is, for the Ahmadis. Although they were to vote for the same list of the candidates, the same seats, although all the other people classed as minorities were on the general list, the *Ahmadis only were on separate electoral list. The Ahmadis boycotted this election due to being put on a separate electoral list. According to a government election official, there was no reason or logic that he could see for this list, but it was a decision handed down to the functionaries from the policy makers. Ahmadis see it as simply a tool to persecute them.*

Statement 37: Political leadership doesn’t give importance to the issues of non-Muslim citizens.



Overall, 89% of the participants agreed that our political Leadership doesn’t give importance to the issues of non-Muslim citizens.

“Politicians are not interested in the welfare of minorities in fact they are not actually interested in any citizens at all and that’s the biggest problem.”
Civil Society representative, Lahore

But it is generally perceived that in Punjab, not just Christians, but Hindus take ambiguous names so that they are not easily identified. This very fact serves to show that they feel if their religion is identified, this will be to their detriment.

“The state itself promotes discrimination” Minority Parliamentarian

“Basically there is a serious lack of political will and the government has no time for minorities, there is lot of lip service but nothing has been done.” Minority Parliamentarian

“Parliamentarians take up the issues of marginalised communities only when they are in opposition.” Minority Parliamentarian

“Parliamentarians do not even think about us, if they do not think about us, how they will act for us.” Minority Parliamentarian

Statement 38: Absence of elected local councils aggravates issues of non-Muslim populations.

For this statement, 84% of the participants agreed and 9% of the participants disagreed that the absence of elected local councils aggravates issues of non-Muslim communities.

Many of the participants agreed that there should be local government elections and that there is a need for local bodies, with the election system being direct. They also added that there should be constituencies for non-Muslims so that they should be directly elected.

Moreover, from the Islamabad focus group, one of the participants told the group that when there were threats to Fatima Church, they went to a minister and requested him to support the Christian community.

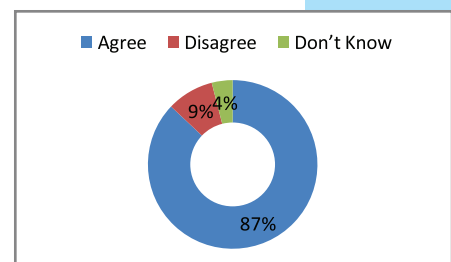
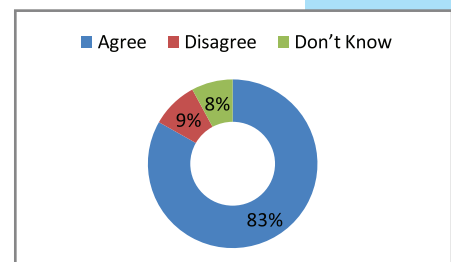
“The Minister said that while our problem was genuine and he sympathized with us, however, he had not been elected with our votes, and therefore it was not his responsibility to do anything about it.”

The participants suggested that political parties need to bring in leaders from the minority communities into the mainstream. They said that local bodies elections brought many minority leaders into mainstream politics.

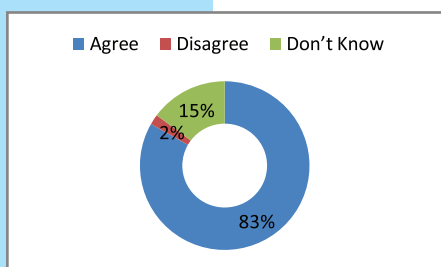
“Local Government systems always increase the participation of minorities in decision making.” Government Official

Statement 39: Non-Muslim women are kidnapped, forced to change their religion and marry Muslims, but the state does not take any action against the culprits.

87% of the participants agreed that in fact this happens, and 9% of the participants did not agree that it actually happens that non-Muslim women are kidnapped and forced to change their religion, and then married off to Muslim men. Some of the participants said that they felt that in reality such cases may occur, but very rarely.

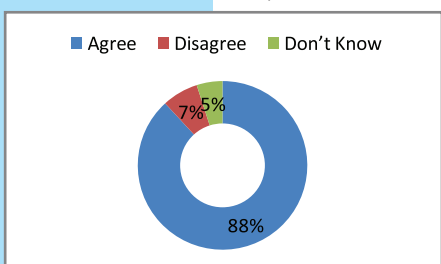


Statement 40: Non-Muslim communities cast out women from their communities if they convert to another religion.



In this statement, 84% of the participants agreed and 2% of the participants disagreed that non-Muslim women cast out those women from their communities who convert to another religion. Participants did also mention that this would also happen in other religions communities, including amongst Muslims.

Statement 41: Non-Muslim women face similar problems as their Muslim sisters do (i.e. domestic violence, forced marriages, denial in inheritance etc.)



89% of the participants agreed and only 7% of the participants disagreed with the statement that non-Muslim and Muslim women face similar problems within our society. Even though the vast majority of participants agreed with this statement, about 3 or 4 participants in every group (a group was 10-12 people) added that non-Muslim women are have a double vulnerability to problems in our society.

“Having a quota for non-Muslims in parliament is also useless as the minority members are not elected by electorates.”
Academics,
Islamabad

“The minority MPs only go to their communities when they want to exploit them for their own ends.” An official,
Islamabad.

“The system of reserved seats should be continued as it helps in the uplift of the minorities.”
Minority
Parliamentarian.

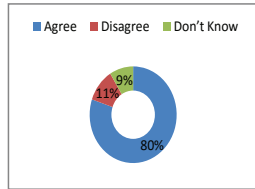
“There should be constituencies for non-Muslims so that they could elect their representatives directly.” A government official.

General

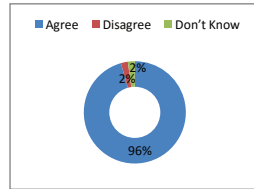
Poor education system, unemployment, extremism and lack of rule of law were perceived as biggest challenges in the uplift of non-Muslims in Pakistan.

Recommendations:

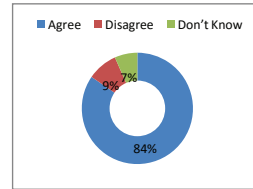
Repeal all discriminatory articles including blasphemy articles from the constitution, and implement article 33 in letter and spirit at all levels.



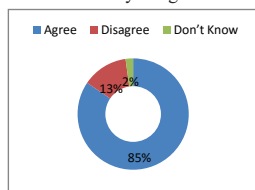
All non-Muslim communities should be meaningfully consulted to amend existing or to introduce new legislation in order to eliminate all kinds of discriminatory practices & laws.



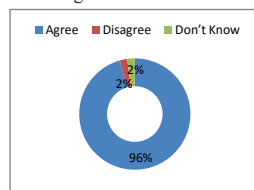
Political parties must issue 10% tickets to non-Muslim candidates in elections in those constituencies where they have significant presence.



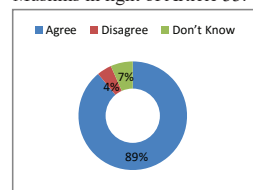
Political leaders should mainstream non-Muslims in their party hierarchy and abolish minority wings.



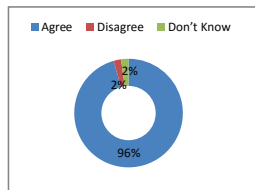
Develop early warning systems to prevent escalation of minor disputes from becoming disasters.



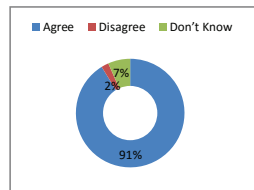
The Police and Administration must take action against those who spread hate against non-Muslims in light of Article 33.



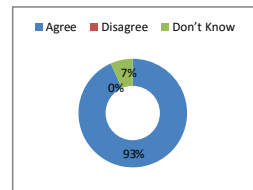
Sensitise police and court officials about rights of non-Muslims and form a rapid response teams to reach to handle delicate situations.



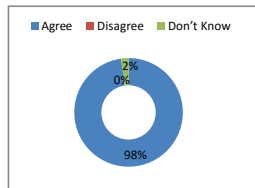
NGOs should evolve and set up "Rapid Helpline" systems for rapid response.



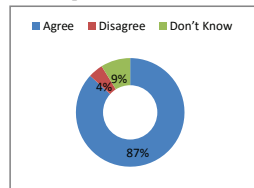
Hold local council elections without any delay and elect all local councillors through direct election.



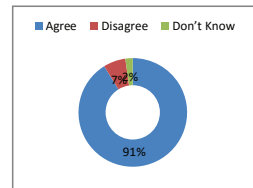
Remove all hate material from textbooks.



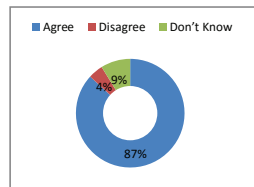
NADRA should launch a special campaign to register all non-Muslim persons.



Government officials must be made sensitive about rights of non-Muslim citizens and they (officials) must be empowered to take action against culprits.



Job quota for non-Muslims should be equally divided between males and females.



Regarding the actors playing a key role against non-Muslims, Imam masjids, religious leaders, political parties and Urdu newspapers were seen as responsible for discrimination and violence against them.

As far the motivation for discrimination against non-Muslims, most participants considered that political reasons were the most important, followed by social and financial, with religious reasons being used in fact as a cover for other less spiritual concerns.

5.5. Number and Categories of Participants of Focus Group Discussions

Location	Number of FGDs	Categories of Participants
Multan	4	Hindus, Christians, Ahmadis, Sikhs, Bahai's, CSOs, academicians, media, government officials, Police officials, lawyers, members of parliaments, religious leaders, leaders and associations and CSOs of non-Muslims.
Faisalabad	2	
Lahore	4	
ICT	5	

“Education is the most effective tool to progress, but due to discrimination we minorities can't even avail its benefits.” A minority MP, Lahore

5.6. Numbers and Categories of Key Informants Interviewed

Location	Number of FGDs	Categories of Participants
Multan	4	Police, courts, EDO health, Tehsil Municipal Authority (TMA). Media (Urdu & English), Bar Association & CSOs (Christian NGO/leaders), Trade unions, Media & academics, religious leaders. MPAs, senior bureaucrats, academics, MNAs and Senators in particularly sub-committee members, Police, CDA, Administration, Education/health government officials, Religious Affairs & Interfaith Harmony ministry.
Faisalabad	4	
Lahore	6	
ICT	15	

“Poverty is the second biggest challenge, 90% of our non-Muslims live below the poverty line.” An academic, Islamabad

5.7. List of Parliamentarians and political affiliation

S no	Response	Party Affiliation
1	Dr. Darshan	MAN PML N
2	Ms. Marvi Memon	MNA PML N
3	Dr. Nisar Ahmad Jatt	MNA PML N
4	Dr. Tariq Fazal Chudhary	MNA PML N
5	Haji Muhammad Akram Ansari	MNA PML N
6	Mr. Abdul Hakeem Baloch	MNA PML N
7	Begum KhalidaMassoor	MNA PML N
8	Mr. Ramesh Lal	MNA PPP
9	Mrs. MahreenRazaque Bhutto	MNA PPP
10	Syed NaveedQamar	MNA PPP
11	Sardar Kamal Khan Chang	MNA (PPP)
12	Mr. Lal Chand Malhi	MNA PTI
13	Dr. ShireenMehrunnisaMazari	MNA PTI
14	Mr. Gulzar Khan	MNA PTI
15	Mr. Sanjay Perwani	MNA MQM
16	Ms. KishwerZehra	MNA MQM
17	Mr. Abdul Rashid Godil	MNA MQM
18	Raees Ghulam MurtazaJatoi	MNA NPP
19	Ms. Shah Jahan	MNA NPP
20	Mr. Amir Haider Khan	MNA ANP
21	MolanaAmeerZaman	MNA JUI-F
22	Syed Kazim Ali Shah	MNA PML-F
23	Ms. Iram Hassan Bajwa	MPA PML N
24	Mr. Ramesh Singh Arora	MPA PML N
25	Mrs. Farzana Butt	MPA PML N
26	Mrs. IffatLiaqat Khan	MPA PML N
27	Ch. SarfrazAfzal	MPA PML N
28	Rana Abdul Hanif	MPA PML N
29	Mr. GhazaliSaleem Butt	MPA PML N
30	Mrs. TehseenFawad	MPA PML N
31	Mrs. RaheelaKhadimHussain	MPA PML N
32	Ch. Akhtar Ali	MPA PML N
33	Ch. Shahbaz Ahmed	MPA PML N
34	Mrs. Nighat Sheikh	MPA PML N
35	Mrs. Salma Shaheen Butt	MPA PML N
36	Mrs. Haseena Begum	MPA PML N
37	ShehzadiShamimAkhtar	MPA PML N
38	Khwaja Imran Nazir	MPA PML N
39	Mr. ShahzadMaqboolBhutta	MPA PML N
40	Ms. Sultana Shaheen	MPA PML N
41	Malik Muhammad Ali Khokar	MPA PML N
42	Mr. IhsanUllahQureshi	MPA PML N

43	RaiMansab Ali Khan	MPA PML N
44	Ms. KaneezAkhtar	MPA PML N
45	Mr. Muhammad IlyasInsari	MPA PML N
46	Dr. NajmaAfzal	MPA PML N
47	Ms. IffatMairajAwan	MPA PML N
48	Mr. Khalid Amjad	MPA PML N
49	Mrs. SurriyaNaseem	MPA PML N
50	Mrs. MadihaRana	MPA PML N
51	RanaShoaibIdrees	MPA PML N
52	Mr. NaeemUllah Gill	MPA PML N
53	Sheikh Ejaz Ahmed	MPA PML N
54	Mian Khurram Jahangir Wattoo	MPA PPP
55	Makhdom Syed MurtazaMehmood	MPA PPP
56	Makhdom Syed Akbar Mehmood	MPA PPP
57	Khwaja Muhammad Nizam-ul-Mehmood	MPA PPP
58	Ms. SadiaSohail	MPA PTI
59	Mr. Javed Akhtar Ansari	MPA PTI
60	Mr. Khurram Shahzad	MPA PTI
61	Dr. Syed WaseemAkhtar	MPA JI
62	Nawabzada Abdul Razzaq Khan	MPA IND

5.8. Research Tools (Questionnaires, Focus Group Discussion Themes and Guides)

Category Wise Number of KAP Survey Respondents

Category Wise Number of KAP Survey Respondents.	No	Category Wise Number of KAP Survey Respondents.	No
MPAs, MNAs & Senators	63	Police officials	24
Ministry of Religious Affairs	4	School teachers (private & government)	32
Human Rights & Minorities Affairs Department.	4	University/College teachers	24
Office bearers of political parties	60	Muslims	280
Office bearers of Bar Associations	24	CSOs	36
Labour Union activists	24	Media, printed and electronic	24
Traders' associations & their members	24	Imam masjids	32
Sweepers union office bearers	20	Hindu religious leaders	8
Senior managers of government hospitals	16	Priests	12
Court officials (judges, readers etc.)	16	Christians (Faisalabad, Multan, ICT, Lahore)	96
Officials of Municipal Corporations	16	Hindus (Multan, Lahore, ICT)	12
DCO or EDOs	16	Sikh (Lahore, ICT)	10
Labour department	12	Ahmadis	24
Total			935

The Statements to ascertain opinions of participants of Pre and Post Focus Group Discussions

Alert: Please make sure close relatives don't attend the same meeting or FGD. Each FGD must have at least 33% women and must not have more than 15 participants.

Step 1: Please rate each statement on the following scale.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	0

Step 2: When assessing each statement, please make sure you have solid and relevant examples or keep historical conditions,

Policies and events etc. in mind

Ranking and Explanation Form

Indicators	Response	Remarks/ examples
I. Legal and administrative environment		
1. Constitution/law: The constitution and law treats Muslim and non-Muslim citizens equally in all respects.		
2. Blasphemy laws: The BL has aggravated insecurity of non-Muslims tremendously.		
3. Non-discriminatory public policy: The government has an elaborate non-discriminatory public policy at all levels of governance. Also, the government officials have been sensitised about the rights of non-Muslim citizens. Therefore when non-Muslims come under attack local police and administration take action against culprits.		
4. Freedom of association: Non-Muslim citizens are free to form their associations without any undue hurdle.		
5. Freedom of expression/assembly: Non-Muslim citizens don't criticise rulers and hold rallies against ruling party and officials on local issues, national issues/policies that cause harm to them because of fear of retaliation.		
6. Job quota: Government departments advertise and hire non-Muslims according to the rules and regulations of the job quota policy.		
7. School curriculum: School textbooks contain hate content against non-Muslims and non-Muslim pupils are forced to study Islamiyat.		
8. Freedom to preach: Non-Muslims can preach their religions without any fear.		
9. Non-Muslims have complete freedom to build places of worship and use them freely and without any fear.		
10. Non-Muslims living in kutchiabadis have been given ownership rights and those who have been living in their ancestral mohallas/villages are being protected from eviction.		
II. Support & Solidarity		
11. Neighbourhood: Muslim neighbours come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are under threat/attack.		
12. CSOs: CSOs come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are threatened.		
13. Political parties: Political parties come forward without any hesitation in support of non-Muslims in case they are in danger.		
14. Legal: Legal support is available to non-Muslim persons at local levels and lawyers don't hesitate to fight their cases.		
15. Religious leaders: Muslim religious leaders come forward without any hesitation when non-Muslim citizens are under attack.		
III: Communal harmony		
16. Interaction: Muslims and non-Muslims live side by side and socialise with each other (eat and play together, participate in each other functions i.e. weddings, funerals, religious, cultural events).		
17. Harmony exists amongst all workers without any reservations and exclusion at work places. Promotions and benefits are given on merit in organisations & departments without any religious discrimination.		
18. Conversion: Some Muslim colleagues try to convert non-Muslim workers by offering incentives.		
19. Political parties: Political parties don't allow non-Muslim members from taking higher offices i.e. president or general secretary or member of central committee at various levels of party hierarchy.		

20. Assets: In markets and businesses non-Muslims are not discriminated on the basis of religion. Their religious places, lands, houses and businesses are safe and protected from vandalism and theft.		
21. Sports: The sport's bodies select players without any religious discrimination.		
22. People are taught that their religion is superior to others.		
23. Media: Both print and electronic media are sensitive about religious issues and help build inter-faith harmony in the country.	English:	
	Urdu:	
	Local:	
IV. Access to and quality of services		
24. Water & sanitation: Muslim and non-Muslim residential areas are provided similar services without any religious discrimination.		
25. Education and health: Non-Muslim children face no problem in getting admission in educational institutions and non-Muslim students are treated equally and protected from harassment and discrimination. Access to health is available to all citizens without any religious discrimination.		
26. Justice: Police, administration, revenue department and courts treat non-Muslim and Muslim citizens on merit for case registration and during litigation etc.		
27. Employment: Most government departments treat Muslim and non-Muslim employees equally. (hiring, promotion, salary scales etc.)		
28. All poor people have equal access to public funds (BISP, Zakat, Baitulmal etc.) without any religious discrimination.		
29. NGOs' work: NGOs involve and work with non-Muslim communities without any discrimination. NGOs have non-Muslims on their boards and employ them.		
30. NADRA: Registration of non-Muslim citizens has become cumbersome.		
V: Fear factor		
31. Non-Muslims tend to hide their identity by adopting Muslim names and behaving like Muslims.		
32. Non-Muslim citizens and their leaders are made to over magnify their patriotism.		
33. Non-Muslim citizens don't openly criticise government policies and lack of policy implementation and they don't challenge violators of their rights for fear of reprisal.		
34. Hate against non-Muslims is spread without any fear and the state functionary don't take any action against culprits and officers are afraid of taking up cases of non-Muslim citizens when they have a dispute with a Muslim.		
35. In case Muslims or their worship places are attacked abroad, non-Muslim citizens in Pakistan are panicked and/or being targeted.		
VI: Political Representation		
36. The method of election to fill reserved seats for religious minorities for legislative bodies is discriminatory and undemocratic. Hence they don't feel accountable to their non-Muslim citizens, as they do not elect them.		
37. Political leadership doesn't give importance to the issues of non-Muslim citizens.		
38. Absence of elected local councils aggravates issues of non-Muslim populations.		
VII. Gender		

39. Non-Muslim women are kidnapped then forced to change their religion and forced to marry Muslims and the state does not take any action against the culprits.		
40. Non-Muslim communities outcast their women who convert to another religion.		
41. Non-Muslim women face similar problems as their Muslim sisters do (i.e. employment, restrictions on mobility, domestic violence, forced marriages, denial in inheritance etc.)		
VIII: Recommendations		
1. Repeal all discriminatory articles including Blasphemy articles from the constitution. And implement article 33 in letter and spirit at all levels.		
2. All non-Muslim communities should be meaningfully consulted to amend existing or to introduce new legislation in order to eliminate all kinds of discriminatory practices and laws.		
3. Political parties must issue 10% tickets to non-Muslim candidates in elections in those constituencies where they have significant presence.		
4. Political leaders should mainstream non-Muslims in their party hierarchy and abolish minority wings.		
5. Develop early warning system to prevent escalation of minor disputes from becoming disaster.		
6. Police and administration must take action against those who spread hate against non-Muslims in light of Article 33.		
7. Sensitise police and court officials about rights of non-Muslims and form rapid response teams to reach and to handle delicate situations.		
8. NGOs should evolve and set up "Rapid Helpline" systems for rapid response.		
9. Hold local council elections without any delay and elect all local councilors through direct election.		
10. Remove all hate material from textbooks.		
11. Job quota for non-Muslims may be equally divided between their males and females.		
12. NADRA should launch special campaign to register all non-Muslim persons.		
13. Government officials must be made sensitive about rights of non-Muslim citizens and they (officials) must be empowered to take action against culprits.		

Questionnaires for Knowledge Attitude and Practice(KAP) Survey (December 2014- January 15)

District: [i] Multan. [ii] Faisalabad. [iii] Lahore. [iv] Islamabad.

Name of Interviewer: _____.

Date of interview: [D:] [M:] [Y:] Time of interview:

Section 1: Demographic information

1. Name of respondent	2. Category of respondent														
Contact Details:															
Address: House No: [.....], Street No/Name:.....															
Mohallah/colonyh:.....															
Cell No:															
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td> </tr> </table>															
CNIC:															
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td><td style="width: 12.5%;"></td> </tr> </table>															
5. Name of your department/firm		6. Your designation													
7. Gender	[i] Male. [ii] Female.	8. Age group	[i] 18 - 25. [ii] 26-35. [iii] 36-45. [iv] 46-55. [v] 56-65. [vi] 65 & above.												
9. Education	[i] Illiterate. [ii] Religious education. [iii] Primary. [iv] Middle. [v] FA. [vi] Matric. [vii] BA/B.Sc. [viii] MA/MSc. [ix] MPhil/PhD. [x] Other, specify:	10. How do you describe yourself economically class?	[i] Upper. [ii] Upper middle. [iii] Middle. [iv] lower middle. [v] poor. [vi] Very poor.												
12. Your faith	[i] Islam. [ii] Christianity. [iii] Hindu. [iv] Sikh. [v] non-believer. [vi] Other, specify:	13. Sect	[i] Wahabi. [ii] Deobandi. [iii] Barelvi. [iv] Shia. [v] Ahmadi. [vi] Catholic. [vii] Protestant. [viii] Other, specify												
14. Mother tongue	[i] Pushtu. [ii] Punjabi. [iii] Urdu. [iv] Baluchi. [v] Seraiki. [vi] Sindhi. [vii] Other, specify:	15. Employment status	[i] Unemployed. [ii] Employed. [iii] Student. [iv] Retired. [v] Other, specify:												
16. Profession	[i] Self employed. [v] Business. [ix] Domestic worker.	[ii] Govt. employee. [vi] Factory worker. [x] Home based worker.	[iii] Private firm. [iv] NGO. [vii] Farm labourer. [viii] Farmer. [xi] Other, specify:												

Quality Check: For Official Use Only

Interview completed	Status of Questionnaire	Questionnaire Checked/verified by
[i] Yes.	[i] Approved for entry.	Name: _____ Signature _____
[ii] No.	[ii] Sent back for correction.	
	[iii] Rejected.	Date: _____

Form 02: Standard Questionnaire

(For all except legislators, Judges and senior bureaucrats)

Section 2- Civil Society Membership

1. Are you member of any civil society Organisation or association? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
2. If yes, could you please tell us nature of the organisation/s you belong to? (Note multiple answers possible). [i] NGO. [ii] Trade Union. [iii] Traders' Association. [iv] Bar Association. [v] Faith based association. [vi] Mosque committee. [vii] Other, specify:
3. Are you a member of a political party? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
4. If yes, of which party? [i] PMLN. [ii] PTI. [iii] PPP. [iv] Other, specify:
5. If no, which party is closest to your views? [i] PMLN. [ii] PTI. [iii] PPP. [iv] Other, specify:

Section 3: Media

1. Which Urdu newspaper/s do you read on regular basis? [i] None. [ii] Jang. [iii] Express. [iv] Duniya. [v] Khabreen. [vi] Nawa-i-Waqt. [vii] Pakistan. [viii] Other, specify.
2. Which English newspaper/s do you read on regular basis? [i] None. [ii] News. [iii] Dawn. [iv] Express Tribune. [v] Nation. [vi] Other, specify.
3. Which news channels do you watch frequently? [i] None. [ii] ARY. [iii] GEO. [iv] Express. [v] Samaa. [vi] Aaj. [vii] Duniya. [viii] Dawn. [ix] Waqt. [x] Other, specify.
4. Which Sindhi newspaper/s do you read on regular basis? [i] None. [ii] Other, specify:

Section 4: Socialisation:

1. How often do you socialise with people who don't belong to your religion? [i] Very often. [ii] Often. [iii] Seldom. [iv] Very seldom. [v] Not at all.
2. Do you have neighbours who don't belong to your religion? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
3. If yes, do you socialise (visit each other and participate in each other weddings and funerals) with them? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
4. Do you have friends whose religion is different from yours? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
5. Do you have colleagues in your office/factory etc. whose religion is different from yours? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
6. Do you have any close relative who does not belong to the same sect/religion you belong to? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
7. Are any NGOs working in your area on inter-faith harmony? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.

Section 5: Opinion and Perspective:

1. Have you ever faced any kind of discrimination because of your sect, religion, cast, gender, language and ethnicity? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
2. Do you think, the management of your department/office provides equal opportunities to all employees without any discrimination? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.

3. What kind of inter-faith atmosphere exists at your workplace? [i] Harmonious. [ii] Antagonistic. [iii] Cold. [iv] Other, specify:
4. In your view, should the state institutions treat all its citizens including non-Muslims equally in all aspects? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
5. Do you think our constitution guarantees equal rights and religious freedom to all citizens including non-Muslims in all aspects? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
6. In your observation, do the state institutions treat all its citizens including non-Muslims equally? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
7. Do you think the state officials that are responsible to protect religious freedom of different religious groups fulfill their responsibility? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
8. If an official does not treat non-Muslims according to the law, in your view should he be punished for such behaviour? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
9. Our founding father Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah delivered the following speech on 11th August 1947 in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. *"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State.... Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State."* To what extent we have achieved the Jinnah's vision after 67 years? [i] To a large extent. [ii] To some extent. [iii] Not at all. [iv] Don't Know.
10. In your view what kind of role Hindus and Christians had played in the creation of Pakistan? (Note: read answers and ask for both separately)

Answers	1. Hindus	2. Muslims
	[i] Yes	[ii] No
[a] Supported Muslim League through participation.		
[b] Non-Muslim members of assemblies voted in favour of Pakistan.		
[c] Donated funds.		
[d] Other, specify		

11. On the one hand our constitution (article 25) guarantees equality to all citizens and on the other hand, it prohibits non-Muslim citizens from becoming President and prime minister of the country. Do you think this is right? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
12. Which of the following statement reflect your opinion? (Note: read out all the statements. Only one answer is allowed.) [i] Only Islamiyat should be taught to all pupils in schools/ colleges. [ii] Hindus and Christians should be taught only their religions. [iii] All pupils should learn about all religions. [iv] Not sure.
13. Article 22 of our constitution prohibits educational institutions from imparting any instructions and education to a person other than his/her own religion. But in our country, non-Muslim students are taught Islamiyat. Is this a right thing to do? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
14. Article 33 of our constitution discourages prejudices and discrimination on the basis of religion, sex and creed but our school and college textbooks contain hate material against Hindus, Christians and Ahmadis. Should such material be removed from the textbooks as this is against our constitution? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.

15. The Supreme Court in its 18th June 2014 judgment had ordered the federal government to constitute a national commission for minorities' rights and to establish a special task force for the protection of minorities. The provincial governments were also ordered to develop appropriate curricula at school and college levels to promote religious tolerance and SC had also instructed the governments to prevent hateful speeches against non-Muslim minorities. Nothing was done and finally in the wake of live burning of a Christian couple in KotRadhaKishin the SC had to take the *suomotu* action and now a three member bench of the SC is hearing and asking the authorities to take actions in this regard. Do you think if the orders of the Supreme Court are implemented in letter and spirit the status of non-Muslim citizens will improve in the country? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
16. According to Islam killing of one person is considered equal to killing of the whole humanity. SuraAlKafrun explicitly says, "Lakumdeenakumwalaideen." Tumhareyli yaitumharadeen, merailiyaimeradeen. Sura Al Bakara also warns "Let there be no compulsion in religion. The Holy Quran also says, "... The food of the People of the Book is lawful unto you and yours is lawful unto them,.." (Sura Al Maiyda, 5:5)? To what extent Muslims in Pakistan treat non-Muslim Pakistanis according to the above teachings? [i] To a large extent. [ii] To some extent. [iii] Not at all. [iv] Don't Know.
17. If answer is Not at all, then why do Muslims discriminate non-Muslims? [i] Muslims are kept ignorant of humane teachings of Islam. [ii] Muslims' emotional attachment with Islam is misused by political/economic interests. [iii] Non-Muslims are portrayed as enemies of Muslims. [iv] Other, specify:
18. In your view who/which institutions infringe the most on religious freedom of various religious minority groups? (Note: don't read out the following options). [i] Narrow-minded sectarian religious leaders. [ii] State officials. [iii] Foreign powers use our extremist religious groups. [iv] Local influential exploit religious feelings of innocent Muslims to gain their economic interest. [v] Other, specify.
19. Seats reserved for non-Muslims in our assemblies are not filled through general voters. As a result, non-Muslim populations have little or no organic relationship with them. Therefore some people consider it undemocratic. Keeping this in view, which of the following statement reflect your opinion? [i] Political parties should issue tickets to non-Muslim candidates from areas where non-Muslims constitute 5% population. [ii] Political parties should award 5% tickets to non-Muslims. [iii] Any other, specify:
20. In light of your observation and experience in the last 10 year whether the situation of non-Muslims have improved or deteriorated? [i] Improved. [ii] Deteriorated.
21. Which one institution do you trust the most? (Note: read out one by one of the following). [i] Family. [ii] My community. [iii] Courts. [iv] Police. [v] Military. [vi] District admin. [vii] Political parties. [viii] NGOs. [ix] Church/mosque. [x] None. [xi] Other, specify:
22. Did any leader seriously try to improve status of non-Muslims in the country? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
23. If Yes, please tell us his/her name?
24. In your view what should be done to improve inter-faith harmony and status of non-Muslims in the country?
25. To what extent, presence of elected local government councils would help solve problems of religious minorities? [i] To a large extent. [ii] To some extent. [iii] A little. [iv] Not at all.
26. What are three most crucial issues/problems that you often face and would like to solve on priority basis? (Note: don't read out the following options) [i] Discrimination on the basis of religion. [ii] Price hike. [iii] Unemployment. [iv] Insecurity. [v] lack of clean drinking water. [vi] Non-functional school. [vii] Non-functional health center. [viii] Discrimination on the basis of sex. [ix] Other, specify:

Form 2 Form 02-3: Additional Questions for media personnel

1. Do you know whether the government has a regulatory policy/framework to protect life and property of non-Muslims and to maintain religious harmony in the country? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
2. Does your media group have a code of conduct regarding coverage about minorities and to build religious harmony? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
3. Does your media group build sensitivity level about religious minorities through training of its reporters and other staff? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
4. How many Muslim and non-Muslim employees work in your office? [i] Muslims: (). [ii] Non-Muslims (). [iii] Don't Know.

.....

Form 02-4: Additional Questions for Associations/Unions/CSOs etc.

1. Do you know whether the government has a regulatory policy/framework to protect life and property of non-Muslims and to maintain religious harmony in the country? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
2. Does your association have a code of conduct regarding religious harmony? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
3. Does your association build sensitivity level of your members for religious harmony through training? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
4. How many Muslim and non-Muslim office bearers your association have? [i] Muslims: (). [ii] Non-Muslims (). [iii] Don't Know.
5. How many Board members of your association are Muslim and non-Muslim ? [i] Muslims: (). [ii] Non-Muslims (). [iii] Don't Know.

.....

Form 02-5: Additional Questions for Political parties

1. Do you know whether the government has a regulatory policy/framework to protect life and property of non-Muslims and to maintain religious harmony in the country? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
2. Does your party have a code of conduct for building religious harmony? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
3. Does your party build sensitivity level of your members for developing religious harmony through training? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
4. How many Muslim and non-Muslim office bearers your party have at the district level? [i] Muslims: (). [ii] Non-Muslims (). [iii] Don't Know.

Form 02-2: Additional Schedule for Muslim Respondents

Name of Respondent:

27. Which of the following statement/s reflects your opinion? (Note: read out each statement and make sure the respondent understood it.) [i] It is my religious duty to convert non-Muslims to Islam. [ii] I will never express my opinion publicly that all non-Muslims should convert to Islam but this is my hidden wish. [iii] We follow religion of our parents; therefore others should be allowed to follow their parents' religion. [iv] I don't care who follows which religion? [v] Other, specify:
28. Do you think religious minorities in our country face any kind of persecution and discrimination? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
29. If yes, by whom? (Note:multiple answers allowed). [i] State institutions. [ii] State officials. [iii] Narrow-minded religious leaders. [iv] Public at large. [v] Don't Know. [vi] Other, please specify.
30. If Muslims or their holy places are attacked and damaged in other countries, should Muslims in Pakistan do the same with non-Muslims and their places? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Not sure.
31. Five percent quota in all government jobs is being reserved for non-Muslims. Do you think this is a right step to improve their status in the country? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
32. In your view was Pakistan created in the name of Islam or for Muslims? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
33. If yes, then should non-Muslims be evicted from the country and Muslims from other countries be allowed to settle in Pakistan without any restrictions? [i] Evict non-Muslims from the country. [ii] Allow Muslims from other countries to settle here.
34. To what extent you think non-Muslim citizens are loyal to Pakistan? [i] Very much loyal. [ii] Somewhat loyal. [iii] Don't trust them. [iv] Don't trust them at all.
35. Article 20 of our constitution allows "every citizen to profess, practice and propagate his religion." But extremist Muslims violate this law. Do you think action should be taken against those who stop non-Muslims from using their right? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
36. If NO, why?
37. If someone comes to you and tells you that somebody has burnt pages of the Holy Quran or committed blasphemy against our Prophet (PBUH), what will be your immediate reaction? [i] I will first establish facts and then react accordingly. If he was right I will mobilise people to punish the alleged culprit. [ii] I will immediately call Muslims for killing the culprit. [iii] I will tell the person to go and report to police. [iv] I will do nothing. [v] Other, please specify.
38. If a non-Muslim person becomes Commissioner, DCO, DIG or your boss what will be your immediate reaction? [i] Pleasantly surprised. [ii] Upset. [iii] No issue. [iv] Campaign against him. [v] Other, Please specify:
39. If a non-Muslim family starts building a house or rent a house next to your house, how would you react? [i] I will welcome them. [ii] I will be upset. [iii] I will try to create trouble for them so that they leave the area.
40. If Christians or Hindus plan to build a church or temple in your area, how would you react? [i] I will welcome them. [ii] I will be upset. [iii] I will try to create trouble for them so that they leave the area. [iv] I will launch a campaign against it. [v] None. [vi] Other, specify:
41. In your view are there any article/s of our constitution that are not in line with the teaching of Sharia? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
42. (Note for interviewer: Ask this question if the respondent is a Muslim religious leader.) As a religious leader, have you ever tried to build harmonious relations between Muslims and non-Muslims? [i] Yes. [ii] No.

Form 02-1: Additional Schedule for Non-Muslim Respondents

Name of Respondent:

1. Did anyone ever try to convert you to Islam? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
2. If yes, who was he or she? [i] Friend. [ii] Colleague. [iii] Boss/employer. [iv] Other, specify:
3. When you face discrimination or harassment, whom do you approach first? [i] Police. [ii] NGO. [iii] Religious leader. [iv] Community leader. [v] Employer. [vi] Media. [vii] Local Punchayat. [viii]: No One. [ix] Other, specify.
4. To what extent are you satisfied from the role your leaders (MNAs/MPAs) have been playing to protect your rights? [i] Highly satisfied. [ii] Somewhat satisfied. [iii] Not satisfied. [iv] Highly dissatisfied.
5. Could you please tell us at names of non-Muslim MNAs and MPAs?

[i]	[ii]	[iii]
-----	------	-------
6. In all government and semi government departments 5% quota is being reserved for non-Muslim citizens. In your view is it being properly advertised? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
7. Did you or someone from your family ever apply for any job against this quota? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
8. If yes, what happened? [i] Treated fairly. [ii] Treated unfairly.
9. Most political parties have established separate wings for minorities and some parties have mainstreamed non-Muslims in the main structures of the parties? Which method in your view is better ? [i] Separate wings. [ii] Mainstream minority members in the party hierarchy. [iii] Don't Know.
10. In your view which newspaper and TV channel spreads prejudice and hatred against non-Muslims in Pakistan?

Form 01: Questionnaire for Elected Representatives, Judges, Senior Bureaucrats and Senior Police Officials

Section 1: Socialisation:

8. How often do you socialise with people who don't belong to your religion? [i] Very often. [ii] Often. [iii] Seldom. [iv] Very seldom. [v] Not at all.
9. Do you have neighbours who don't belong to your religion? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
10. If yes, do you socialise (visit each other and participate in each other weddings and funerals) with them? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
11. Do you have friends whose religion is different from yours? [i] Yes. [ii] No.

Section 2. Constitution and Implementation:

43. Do you think our constitution guarantees equal rights and religious freedom to all citizens including non-Muslims in all aspects? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
44. In your observation, do the state institutions treat all its citizens including non-Muslims equally? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
45. Do you think the state officials that are responsible to protect religious freedom of different religious groups fulfill their responsibility? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
46. If an official does not treat non-Muslims according to the law, in your view should he be punished for such behaviour? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
47. On the one hand our constitution (article 25) guarantees equality to all citizens and on the other hand, it prohibits non-Muslim citizens from becoming President and prime minister of the country. Do you think this is right? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
48. Article 22 of our constitution prohibits educational institutions from imparting any instructions and education to a person other than his/her own religion. But in our country, non-Muslim students are taught Islamiyat. Is this a right thing to do? [i] Yes. [ii] No.
49. Article 33 of our constitution discourages prejudices and discrimination on the basis of religion, sex and creed but our school and college textbooks contain hate material against Hindus, Christians and Ahmadis. Should such material be removed from the textbooks as this is against our constitution? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
50. In your view are there any articles of our constitution that are not in line with the Sharia. [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
51. The Supreme Court in its 18th June 2014 judgment had ordered the federal government to constitute a national commission for minorities' rights and to establish a special task force for the protection of minorities. The provincial governments were also ordered to develop appropriate curricula at school and college levels to promote religious tolerance and SC had also instructed the governments to prevent hateful speeches against non-Muslim minorities. Nothing was done and finally in the wake of live burning of a Christian couple in Kot Radha Kishin the SC had to take the *suo motu* action and now a three member bench of the SC is hearing and asking the authorities to take actions in this regard. Do you think if the orders of the Supreme Court are implemented in letter and spirit the status of non-Muslim citizens will improve in the country? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
52. Five percent quota has been reserved for non-Muslim citizens in government departments. According to majority of non-Muslim citizens neither it is properly advertised, nor it is implemented. Being in a high official position, what are the constraints?

53. How many employees/workers in your department/party are non-Muslims? (Note: also record total number of employees) [i] None. [ii] About 2%. [iii] About 3%. [iv] About 4%. [v] About 5%. [vi] More than 5%. [viii] Don't Know.
54. In your view who/which institutions infringe the most on religious freedom of various religious minority groups? (Note: don't read out the following options). [i] Narrow-minded sectarian religious leaders. [ii] State officials. [iii] Foreign powers use our extremist religious groups. [iv] Local influential exploit religious feelings of innocent Muslims to gain their economic interest. [v] Other, specify.

Section 3. Pakistan's Vision, Religion&Practice

55. Our founding father Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah delivered the following speech on 11th August 1947 in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. *"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State.... Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State."* To what extent we have achieved the Jinnah's vision after 67 years? [i] To a large extent. [ii] To some extent. [iii] Not at all. [iv] Don't Know.
56. According to Islam killing of one person is considered equal to killing of the whole humanity. SuraAlKafrun explicitly says, *"Lakumdeenakumwalaideen."* Tumhareyli yaitumharadeen, merailiyaimeradeen. Sura Al Bakara also warns **"Let there be no compulsion in religion.** The Holy Quran also says, "... The food of the People of the Book is lawful unto you and yours is lawful unto them,.." (Sura Al Maiyda, 5:5)? To what extent Muslims in Pakistan treat non-Muslim Pakistanis according to the Quran? [i] To a large extent. [ii] To some extent. [iii] Not at all. [iv] Don't Know.
57. Which of the following statement reflect your opinion? (Note: read out all the statements. Only one answer is allowed.) [i] Only Islamiyat should be taught to all pupils in schools/colleges. [ii] Hindus and Christians should be taught only their religions. [iii] All pupils should learn about all religions. [iv] Not sure.
58. In light of your observation and experience in the last 10 year whether the situation of non-Muslims have improved or deteriorated? [i] Improved. [ii] Deteriorated.
59. Did your party take any measure to improve the status of non-Muslim citizens? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
60. If yes, could you please tell us about its nature?
61. In your view, does the government have an elaborate regulatory framework to protect rights of non-Muslim citizens? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
62. If yes, could you please provide us its reference?

Section 4: Reforms

63. Seats reserved for non-Muslims in our assemblies are not filled through general voters. As a result, non-Muslim populations have little or no organic relationship with them. Therefore some people consider it undemocratic. Keeping this in view, which of the following statement reflects your opinion?(Note: only one answer). [i] Political parties should issue tickets to non-Muslim candidates from areas where they constitute more than 3% population. [ii] Political parties should award 5% tickets to non-Muslims. [iii] Any other, specify:

64. Most political parties have established separate wings for minorities? Should parties continue with this practice or mainstream minority members in party hierarchy? [i] Continue with separate wings [ii] Mainstream minority members in the hierarchy of party. [iii] Don't Know.
65. To what extent elected local councils having directly elected minority councilors help improve status of non-Muslims in the country? [i] To a large extent. [ii] To some extent. [iii] To a little extent. [iv] Not at all. [v] Don't Know.
66. Does any functioning peace committee exist to building religious harmony and protection of non-Muslims in your constituency/district? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
67. What would you like to do to improve situation and status of non-Muslim citizens in Pakistan? What is one thing, which you have done with regard to building inter-faith harmony and to protect rights of non-Muslim citizens in your life and you are proud of it?
68. In your view what should be done to improve inter-faith harmony and status of non-Muslims in the country?

Section 5: Constituency work (Only for Legislators)

69. Along with legislation and constituency work, the oversight role of legislators of the executive through assembly committees is considered a very crucial role of a legislator for good governance. Do you think, parliamentary committee on religious and minority affairs of your house is working effectively? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.
70. How often non-Muslims of your constituency approach you? [i] Very often.[ii] Often.[iii] Seldom. [iv] Very seldom. [v] Never.
71. Since you got elected, roughly how many times did you visit areas of your constituency where non-Muslim communities/voters live? [i] Once.[ii] Twice.[iii] Thrice.[iv] Four times. [v] Five times.[vi] More than five times.[vii] Never. [viii] Don't remember.
72. How many non-Muslim voters were registered in your constituency for 2013 general elections? [i] Very few.[ii] Less than 5%. [iii] Between 7% and 10%. [iv] I don't know.
73. How many non-Muslims are member of your party's central decision-making body? (Note: write total strength of this body and then number of non-Muslims). [i] Total numbers (). [ii] Non. Muslims (). [iii] Don't Know.
74. Would you like to be part of an effort to form a caucus in your assembly for the improvement of the status of minorities in our country? [i] Yes. [ii] No.[iii] Not sure.

Schedule for Lawyers

- Q 1. Being a lawyer at what level do you practice? [i] District Courts. [ii] High Court. [iii] Supreme Court. [iv] Other, specify:
- Q 2. How many practicing lawyers are Muslim and how many non-Muslims in your kutcheri? [i] Muslims (). [ii] Non-Muslims (). [iii] Don't Know.
- Q 3. Approximately how many of your clients are non-Muslims? [i] None. [ii] About 5%. [iii] About 10%.[iv] More than 10%.

Q 4. If you have non-Muslim clients then could you please tell us nature of their cases and who are the parties (petitioners and accused)? Note: Fill only where petitioner and accused belong to different religions:

Category	(1) Muslim	(2) Non-Muslim
[i] Family dispute (divorce, property etc.).		
[ii] Property related.		
[iii] Theft.		
[iv] Murder or attempt to murder.		
[v] Kidnapping.		
[vi] Religious (blasphemy, forced conversion etc.)		
[vii] Other, specify:		

Q 5. Are free legal services available to poor or those whose human rights are violated? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.

Q 6. If No, are there any lawyers who provide free-legal service to non-Muslims whose rights are violated? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.

Q 7. If yes, do you provide such services as well to non-Muslims? [i] Yes. [ii] No.

Q 8. Being a lawyer do you know whether a Regulatory Framework or Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) exist for reporting and handling of sensitive cases of religious nature etc.?

Q 9. If yes, could you please provide us the reference?

Q 10. Do you think the legal processes are equally accessible for Muslim and non-Muslim citizens? [i] Yes. [ii] No. [iii] Don't Know.

Q 11. In your view, to what extent do you agree or disagree that extremism and intolerance that is being created in the name of religion helped terrorist groups to grow and kill Muslims and non-Muslims? [i] Strongly agree. [ii] Agree. [iii] Disagree. [iv] Strongly disagree. [v] Don't Know.

Q 12. In the wake of killings of innocent children in the army school in Peshawar, our political and military leadership appear to be united to eliminate all forms of terrorism in the country. To what extent do you think, they will succeed in this regard? [i] To a large extent. [ii] To some extent. [iii] To a little extent. [iv] Not at all. [v] Don't Know.

Q 13. In what way the lawyers and their associations can help the government towards elimination of terrorism from the country?

Thank you for giving us your time and sharing of your opinion.

Instructions:

1. Get the list of lawyers from Bar Association if available. Interview every 10th lawyer from the list till your quota is completed.
2. Otherwise, leave five chambers and interview any lawyer from the sixth chamber.
3. Same process will be followed for high court lawyers.
4. Total quota in your district is 10.
5. Interview at least 4 female and 6 male according to the following table.

District	District Bar	High Court Bar
Multan	2 female, 3 male	2 female, 3 male
Lahore	2 female, 3 male	2 female, 3 male
Islamabad	2 female, 3 male	2 female, 3 male
Faisalabad	4 female, 6 male	None

Anjum, M. and Tariq, S. "The Role of Christians in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan: An Appraisal" Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS) Vol. 32, No. 2 (2012), pp. 437-443

Cohen, Stephen. The Idea of Pakistan. Retrieved 9 April 2011.

Cole, E., Taliban Attack, Kill Christians in Pakistan Town, Christian Post, 26 April 2009, <http://christianpost.com/Intl/Persecution/2009/04/taliban-attack-kill-christians-in-pakistan-town-26/> [accessed May 2009]

Gregory and Valentine, PAKISTAN: THE SITUATION OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES, A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section, May 2009

Hamdani, Y.L., "Making Minorities disappear", academia.edu, WEB http://www.academia.edu/9397841/Making_minorities_disappear, accessed 20 March, 2015

Haqqani, Hussain. "Pakistan: between mosque and the military". Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Retrieved 9 April 2011.

Hussain, A. and Saleem, A., Connecting the dots, Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan USCIRF, 2011

Ispahani, Farahnaz, The Hindu "Pakistan's shrinking minority space", Updated: August 1, 2014

Ispahani, Farahnaz, "Cleansing Pakistan of Minorities", Hudson Institute, 2013, <http://www.hudson.org/research/9781-cleansing-pakistan-of-minorities> WEB accessed 20 March 2015

Lodge, Carey, Christiantoday.com "Religious minorities in Pakistan facing increased persecution", 11 December 2014

Mahmud, Tayyab, International Law Journal, 19:1 (1995), p.51 "Freedom of Religion and Religious Minorities in Pakistan; A Study of Judicial Practice", Fordham

Nayyar, A.H. and A. Salim, The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan, Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, 2003

Pinault, D., Notes from a Fortune-Telling Parrot: Islam and the Struggle for Religious Pluralism in Pakistan, London: Equinox Books, 2008

Shah, Hijab, "The Inside pages, an analysis of the Pakistani Press", South Asia Monitor, no.148, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, 2010

Siddique, Ifrah, Pakistan Christian post "Rights of Minorities in Pakistan". 2008

Siddiqui, Tana "Educational Bias: Memorise the Koran for 20 extra marks", The Express Tribune January 8th 2012

Yousaf, Farooq, Open democracy "Pakistan's minority-rights challenge", 16 December 2014

The Express Tribune, with the International New York Times "Hindus, other minorities in Pakistan face surge of violence" By Reuters, May 6, 2014

Leftfootforward.org, "Pakistan's blasphemy law is a relentless guillotine for minorities", 10 November, 2014 Tweet

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Reports
“Violence against Minorities in Pakistan - 2014”
“Violence against Minorities in Pakistan - 2013”
“Violence against Minorities in Pakistan - 2012”

Constitutional Guarantees and discriminations for Pakistani Non-Muslims

Christian Science Monitor Pakistan: Do school texts fuel bias? 2009-01-21

European Organization of Pakistani Minorities, News Violence Against Minorities in Pakistan 2014,
http://www.eopm.org/eopm_news.html

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistani_textbooks_controversy#cite_note-8

<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2013/0228/Pakistan-textbooks-raise-debate-about-curriculum-of-hate>

<http://www.dawn.com/news/672000/pakistan-schools-teach-hindu-hatred>

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/428876/school-curricula-hate-content-in-textbooks-has-increased-since-2009/>

<http://www.dawn.com/news/672000/pakistan-schools-teach-hindu-hatred>

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/428876/school-curricula-hate-content-in-textbooks-has-increased-since-2009/>

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/333273/educational-bias-memorise-the-quran-for-twenty-extra-marks/>

<http://dynamic.csw.org.uk/article.asp?t=press&id=619&search=> [accessed May 2009]

<http://www.dawn.com/news/1122143/mob-attack-over-alleged-blasphemy-four-ahmadis-killed-in-gujranwala>

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/705493/under-threat-rights-lawyer-rashid-rehman-khan-shot-dead-in-multan/>

<http://www.supremecourt.gov.pk/web/page.asp?id=1857>

<http://www.davidlarsonis.me/social-studies/social-studies-in-the-grade-8/human-rights/the-ladder-of-prejudice-gordon-w-allport/>

<http://www.dawn.com/news/833067/blasphemy-law-revisited>

<http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/the-tale-of-the-other/>

AIML	All India Muslim League
BZU	BahauddinZakaryia University
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CCTV	Closed circuit television
CDA	Capital Development Authority
Chooria	Lower Caste
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CSS	Central Superior Services
DCO	District Coordination Officer
EDOs	Executive District Officer
EOPM	European Organisation of Pakistani Minorities
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FIR	First Information Report
Ghair Muslim	Non-Muslim
HRCP	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
ID	Identification Document
IDP	Internally Displaced People
Isai	Christian
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KAP	Knowledge Attitude Practice
KPK	Khyber Pukhtunkhwa
Kutchi Abadi	Slum Area
Masih	Christian
Mohallah	Neighbourhood
MP	Member of Parliament
NADRA	National Database & Registration Authority
NAP	National Action Plan
NCJP	National commission of Justice & peace
NGOs	Non-government Organisations
PBUH	Peace be Upon Him
PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PPC	Pakistan Penal Code
PUC	Pakistan Ulema Council
PVTC	Punjab Vocational Technical Colleges
TMA	Town Municipal Administration
TRPs	Television rating Points
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHDR	Universal declaration of Human Rights
USCIRF	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom