

**Politics Beyond Voting: A Case Study of Ahmadiyya Community's State Accessing Mechanism
in Ralioke, Sialkot.**



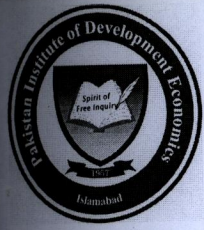
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Dedication CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled "*Politics Beyond Voting: A Case Study of Ahmadiyya Community's State Accessing Mechanism in Ralioko, Sialkot*" submitted by Asad Shoaib is accepted in its present form by the Department of Development Studies, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies.

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Dedication

To Faiz who once said. '*Chalay chalo kay woh manzil abhi nahi aayi*', and Dr. Abdus Salam, whose talent and diligence could never be acknowledged in this country.

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List of Abbreviations

AHRC: Asian Human Rights Commission

BJP: Bharatiyya Janata Party

DFID: Department for International Development

FGDs: Focus Group Discussions

G.T: Grand Trunk

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HRCP: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

HRW: Human Rights Watch

IDIs: In-Depth Interviews

KP: Khyber PakhtunKhwa

NHRC: National Human Rights Commission

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USCIRF: United States Commission on Internal Religious Freedom

ZAB: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Glossary

Ahmadiyya: A sect who claim to be Muslims despite the Pakistani State's declaration of them as non-Muslims. However, members of Ahmadiyya community are considered Muslims in a lot of Muslim and non-Muslim countries.

Baithak: Drawing room, a room reserved for meeting people

Barelvi: A sect of Sunni Islam which originated from Bareilly, a place in India.

Biradari: Clan, Community

Deobandi: A sect of Sunni Islam which originated from Deoband, a place in India.

Dera: A dwelling

Deras: Plural of Dera

Gujjar: One of the Punjabi ethnic groups residing mostly in the Punjab province of Pakistan.

Gujjars: Plural of Gujjar

Jamaat: Sect, Religious group, a society; a body; an assembly. In this thesis, Jamaat is used to refer to a religious group.

Madrasa: Seminary

Maulvis: Muslim Clerics

Mujadid: It is an Islamic term for one who brings "renewal" (Tajdid) to the religion.

Nambardar: A state-privileged status given to powerful zamindars in India and Pakistan.

Punjabi: An inhabitant of the Punjab

Punjabiness: A peculiar ethnic identity associated with being Punjabi.

Rajputs: Plural of Rajput; One member of patrilineal clans of the Indian subcontinent.

Shura: The central decision making body of a religious (Muslim) organization.

Ulemas: Scholars of Islam.

Zamindar: Landholder, Landowner

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Abstract

Nation building and State formation are simultaneous processes, correlated with each other. In Pakistan, State's use of religious idiom to direct the nation building process has pushed minorities out of the political and social fields. The Ahmadi question is one such important juncture in Pakistan's history which not only pushed Ahmadiyya community from Muslim-ness, a nation building idiom used by the Pakistani State, but has transformed it from a secular or at least an open-to-everyone outlook to a more fundamental and patronising position. As a result, the Ahmadiyya community faced social exclusion and oppression. The community, however, developed few rational strategies to claim their public space in the society, despite events of violence and victimisation. One such strategy is participation in informal political field to minimise the effect of State-led discrimination. Through informal political participation in local field and reliance on kinship based social capital, Ahmadiyya community accesses the Pakistani state. Earlier, the State, through a constitutional amendment, deprived them of their Muslim identity, however, the state could not deprive the community from its Punjabi identity, an influential identity in Pakistan. The community's land ownership makes them socially and politically influential. Therefore, Ahmadiyya community remains safe in Ralioke, the village researched. Ralioke is an exclusive model of Ahmadiyya community's non-violent existence with the majority non-Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan. Using explanatory case study research design and qualitative elicitation techniques of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), In-depth interviews (IDIs) and non-participant observation. The study explained how Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke, using kinship networks, bureaucratic sub fields and informal political participation, acquires Statist capital to protect its lives and assets.

Keywords: habitus, informal political participation, kinship, Punjabiness, Statist capital.

Chapter 01: Introduction

1.1 Background:

State formation and nation building are simultaneous processes that are correlated with each other, as endorsed by Anderson in imagined communities (Anderson, 2006). However, both these projects have taken very different courses spatially and temporally¹ in Pakistan. Pakistan being a neo-colonial² state, has inherited the legacy of an over-developed state and underdeveloped political economy (Alvi, 1971). In order to find a working solution for garnering the amplified demands of citizens of a newly created country, state needed to launch a comprehensive project of economic development (Gardezi & Rashid, 1983). In order to create a consensus and acquire a mantle of legitimacy, state began a new project of nation-building through religious idiom. The role of state was always pivotal in managing the contestation of different ethno-national groups, classes and international interests (Alavi, 1983; Akhtar, 2008). The nationalism project as usually was divided between liberal and civic or religious or ethnic nationalism (Saeed, 2010).

The contestation at state was managed, coordinated and streamlined through religious idiom and this process was pegged into nation-building process through acceptance of Objective Resolution in 1949. After that, there was an unleashing of a continued struggle among different groups for acquiring statist capital³. Different competing theoretical paradigms under-theorised the importance of state as an idea embedded within a narrative of cultural system (Saeed, 2010).

The long historical struggle of Indian Muslims for a separate nationhood provided that political space to competing factions for acquiring the statist authority. An authority of “legal violence” to consolidate their influence over the political economy. The anti-Ahmadiyya disturbances would never have gained the serious attention if the political actors had not supported them for very banal ends. However, these early ideological contestation for exclusion were just a prologue of coming ferocious future ideological battles. As Saeed (2010) has concerted that three separate historical conjectures had seen three different responses from state with respect to Ahmadi question.

¹ The experience of state formation is qualitatively very different in India, China, Russia as from United States and Europe. As in Europe state formation emerged after the emergence of distinct class structure (Alvi, 1983)

² There is continued debate over giving preference to Post-colonial rather than neo-colonial semantics, however, I would preferably go by the use of neo-colonial state (For details see Gardezi 1987).

³ For different types of capital see Bourdieu (1973)

Earlier in 1950's it was acceptance, 1970's was seen as exclusion of Ahmadiyya community from the folds of "Muslim citizenship" and so forcibly stripped from post-Dhaka nationalism. Lastly, the Criminalisation of Ahmadiyya community, through promulgation of a Judicial act in 1984, which resulted in cutting of all horizontal theological ties of Ahmadiyya community from "Muslim-ness". Since then a minority status has been prescribed for Ahmadiyya community and they are prohibited to use any symbols attached with being Muslim and use of any of such Muslim symbols leads to the criminal jurisprudence of the community. This exclusion has disinherited Ahmadiyya community from a stock of Symbolic capital⁴ through which a contestation could be made on state. While state has used that conjecture to consolidate its hegemonic bloc, push constitutional and democratic political forces on back boot and crush/ de-legitimise the civil society demanding more liberal nationalism narrative and a secular state (Akhtar & Sajjad, 2010; Saeed, 2010).

Since then Ahmadiyya community has seen marginalisation of every kind. Judicial persecution, exclusion from ideological field⁵ and social segregation were few of the effects of this exclusion. However, the Ahmadiyya community has somehow built horizontal ties within community to mitigate this social exclusion and channelise that discrimination to benefit community members in number of ways.⁶ While the Ahmadiyya community⁷ has been forcibly evicted from the field of state defined Muslim nationalism but the habitus⁸ developed by its members for a longer time, remained intact. Therefore, the cultural, symbolic, social and economic capital that was accumulated by members of Ahmadiyya community in the social field could not be stripped off from them. Specifically, the social capital developed through relation ties and reinforcement through kinship networks always remained at forefront in safeguarding Ahmadiyya community from any act of violence at Ralioko village. The factors determining the conditions of relative peace and security in the said village are the focus of this proposed study.

⁴ Symbolic capital is through which identities are created and it is used complementary to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1973).

⁵ Field as used by Bourdieu in social context

⁶ During my field visit at Ralioko while meeting with respondents I have come to know that most of Ahmadi households have one or more of their members living abroad and got nationality by applying asylum, kinship based support etc.

⁷ The community that has shared cultural traits, social make up, collective history and belief system.

⁸ Habitus is the embodiment of ingrained cultural capital i.e. habits, manners, attitudes, skills, tastes (<http://theory.routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/cultural-capital>)

1.2 Rationale of the Study

Contrary to the countrywide discrimination, social exclusion, criminalisation and being targets of religious hatred, Ahmadiyya community is living in a relatively peaceful state in the village of Ralioke Union Council Kharolian Tehsil Sambrial District Sialkot⁹. The forced eviction of Ahmadiyya community from ‘Muslimness and then the legal category of ‘muslim citizenship’¹⁰ did not affect the everyday life routine at village. How this particular village community was not affected by the religious madness of outside world? And, how the insecurities of Ahmadiyya community were mediated by local non-Ahmadiyya population? And can this arrangement of mutual social existence, acceptance and non-rivalry be replicated over and around the country? The social, economic, cultural ties, networks and symbolic¹¹ nature of assets that Ahmadiyya community own and enjoy in this particular locale would be the focus and core objective of this study. Although Ahmadiyya community is practising a self-imposed ban of casting vote or contesting any kind of election formally. Politics in Pakistan (as other neocolonial states) is a way to access state for multiple reasons of obtaining security, patronage and basic social utilities (Cheema, 2005; Shandana, 2010). Lieven (2012) has called it a negotiated arrangement of state to accommodate different interest groups, while N. Akhtar (2008) sees it as a deliberate policy of the hegemonic bloc to curtail the politics of resistance.

Ahmadiyya community is pushed away and stripped off from the equal right of legal citizenship still required to access state for securing security for life and property from any undesired and nefarious attempt. Although to an extent I agree with Saeed (2010) about the exclusion of Ahmadiyya community to strengthen Muslim nationhood, however being Punjabi, as is the case with most of Ahmadiyya community, the option for viable access to state institution remains possible through informal means. The concept of negotiated state (Lieven, 2010) comes very handy in studying, analysing, understanding and comprehending the ways adopted and method deployed by a community (termed as outsider) to accommodate its all kind of demands in a

⁹ During my visits and stay at village for brief to large periods I observed an equal social status, high social acceptance and ample religious tolerance for Ahmadiyya Community among other non-Ahmadi members of the village community. That peaceful co-existence among the members was a thing of surprise and joy for an outsider like me.

¹⁰ For details see Saeed; 2010

¹¹ The designation of Numbardar for Ralioke village belongs to Ahmadiyya community, while most of the large landowners are also members of Ahmadiyya community.

neocolonial state. The symbolic (skills, taste, art of negotiation), social (kinship, professional, organisational networks) and economic capitals help the Ahmadiyya community in negotiation and accessing the state at Ralioko Sialkot.

1.3 Theoretical Framework:

Field, as explained by Bourdieu refers to the arrangement of relations among different positions, the nature of relations, however is conceived as objective (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97). Therefore, any given field can be understood as a structure of relations not between the entities but also between the positions those entities occupy. Positions in a field, are further conceptualised in terms of the distinctive types of capital associated with them. The capitals, according to Bourdieu are at the same time functions as a weapon as well as a stake in order to rise to a higher position in a field. There happens a continuous tussle and struggle among entities for domination through deployment or accumulation of certain capitals which in turn gives a monopoly over legitimate violence (Emirbayer and Schneiderhan, 2013).

Field of power is the concept used by Bourdieu which has a twofold meaning. One, as a 'metafield' which is an organising principle of struggle, contestation and differentiation throughout all the other fields. Second concept as a designation to the dominant social class (Emirbayer and Schneiderhan, 2013). According to Bourdieu, the conflict lies at the core of social life where struggle for power dominates all the social arrangements taking place in a society. The struggle takes place over symbolic as well as material resources. Furthermore, the cultural resources function as a form of capital in the modern societies which plays a role of distinction and differentiation (Swartz, 2012).

Bourdieu argues that with the emergence of the bureaucratic state, there appears a new kind of capital which he calls as Statist Capital, which is the central point of struggle with in the field of power (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 111-15). Prior to this, the field of power only focused on economic and cultural capital. Statist Capital, however, is a form of power encompassing different fields and the different forms of capital which circulate with in that field. It is a metacapital which is derived from the growing concentration of fields in the state.

“It follows that the construction of the state goes hand in hand with the constitution of the field of power understood as the space of play in which holders of various forms of capital struggle in

particular for power over the state, that is, over the Statist capital that grants power over the different species of capital and over their reproduction” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 11415).

In Pakistan, the contestation over state among different ethno-linguistic and religious groups has continued from the very birth of the country. According to Saeed, state field in Pakistan, however is located within the field of power and can be seen as a combination of three fields; a) Bureaucratic subfield which is dominated by the civil servants of the country (Bureaucrats) b) Juridical sub field which is dominated by judges, both, federal and provincial level and c) Political subfield dominated by politicians and political parties of Pakistan (Saeed, 2010).

The current research study tries to explain how Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke acquires statist capital accessing different sub fields in order to secure life and assets of the community members. It is however important to understand the significance of landholdings and *Punjabiness (habitus of Ahmadiyya community developed because of their Punjabi landholding status)* associated with Ahmadiyya community of Ralioke which functions as a symbolic and cultural capital for the community. Further, the bureaucratic and political sub fields are accessed with the help of kinship network despite the fact that the latter is claimed through informal political participation.

Theoretical Framework

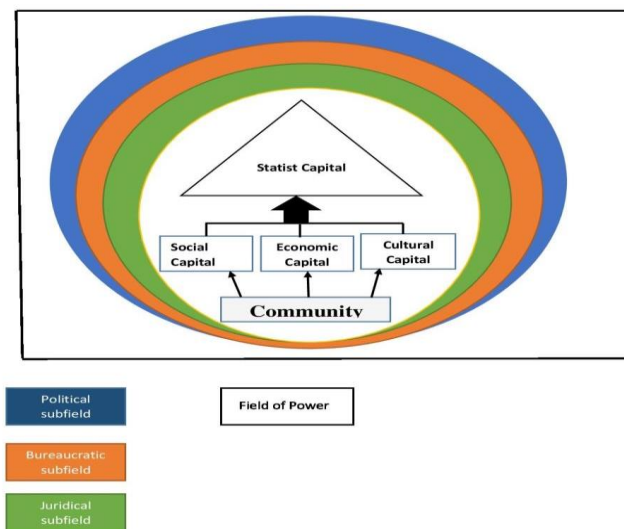


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

1.4 Conceptual Framework

The rise of modern state alongside its representative institutions is not a very linear and uniform process that has followed a single model of state and nation-building. The concept of multiple modernity, colonized modernity, late modernity have been excessively used by emerging subaltern discourses (Guha & Spivak, 1988). The historical materialist school looked at the same question through a materialist explanation of development of political economy and expansion of capitalism into social formation of societies at large (Alavi, 1983; Habib, 1975; Khan, 1998). The invasion of modernity goes hand in hand with colonisation of land and knowledge of societies and geographies that are now known as the Third World.

The underdevelopment of political economy, certainly for the economic and strategic benefits of imperial masters¹², was a deliberate tactic used for asserting control. The colonial state has pushed India into modernity with a fundamental contradiction, centralised state and provincialised political institutions (Jalal, 1995). The central state became the site of contestation of struggle between classes, ethnicities and communities (religious). This was the legacy inherited by the Pakistani State, resilient coercive ability to control along with underdeveloped political economy and representative institutions.

The social engineering in Punjab left a gross socio-economic and political inequality for underprivileged classes and communities (Ali, 1984). The authoritarian model developed by this project has set in motion a path-dependency that prevails to this day. The contestation at state was done in social field where agents play games to maximise their pay-offs (Bourdieu, 1985; Saeed, 2010). The inequalities, however, inherited from a colonial past are path-dependent and not altered easily. The Ahmadiyya community that was located mostly in Eastern Punjab (now Indian Punjab) also received the social engineering carried in Punjab in the name of strengthening ‘steel frame of Raj’. The social, symbolic and economic capital accumulated throughout that period helped in developing a habitus that is peculiarly Punjabi and Muslim national. The later was although snatched in 1974 however the Punjabiness and with it attached repertoire of accumulated capitals were/ are still available to Ahmadiyya community for

¹² For details see Habib, I. (1985). Studying a colonial economy—without perceiving colonialism. *Modern Asian Studies*, 19(03), 355-381.)

contesting and accessing state. Punjabiness is popularly regarded as the strongest ethnicity in Pakistan in contestation over the Pakistani State. Ahmadiyya community, although, opted-out of political space through not participating in formal electoral process, but other forms of capital are still available for them, and are used for the purpose of accessing state.

1.5 Significance of the Research

This research has looked into the genealogy of state formation and nation building in the context of development of political economy and conceptualisation of different forms of capital into social field of rural formation in Pakistan. It also tries to explain the impact of national, regional and international strategic, economic and administrative changes on Ahmadiyya community and adaptive strategies deployed by the community to ensure the safety of its assets. The research explores the self-imposed ban of the community on their participation in the formal political process as a way to protest the legal status of exclusion along with an arrangement of informal political participation model for accessing state. The research debates over the creation, formation and contestation over acquiring minority status of the community. The study tries to explain the nature of social contract between the state and society through the lens of contestation.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The study aimed to develop an indigenous model of active political participation of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioko using informal means and networks for procuring security of life and property.

Following are the objectives of the study:

1. To explore the social organization of Ahmadiyya community of Ralioko Village.
2. To analyze different modes of social relations and political participation of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioko to access state.

1.7 Statement of the Problem

Ahmaddiya community in Pakistan has been, somehow persecuted since inception of the country in 1947. However, the institutionalized persecution was attempted by the orthodox Muslim community backed by political leadership of right wing at several times. First, in 1953-54, then in 1973 and finally through a presidential ordinance in 1984. Attempts to exclude Ahmadiyya community from a broad national field of nationhood got different responses at different times of Pakistani politics. Genealogy of different responses by Pakistani State also shows its transition from a more inclusive and accommodating polity to a more rigid and unaccommodating one. As a result Ahmadiyya community were excluded from Muslimness and then criminalised for using any Muslim symbols. This was a very unique incident when a democratic right of majority is used to snatch a particular minority's democratic right. Ahmadiyya community as a result of this exclusion and criminalisation, barred themselves from any formal political process(es). This decision was taken by their representative organisation (Jammat-i-Ahmadiyya)¹³. However, for Ahmadiyya community, still remains a need to access State in order to protect their assets and life. This study has attempted to explore the methods and strategies deployed by Ahmadiyya community at the village level to acquire security from a potentially hostile outer world while boycotting the formal political participation at all levels.

1.7.1 Key Concepts

Kinship: Kinship is a culture's system of recognised family roles and relationships that define the obligations, rights, and boundaries of interaction among the members of a self-recognising group. Kinship and family ties may be defined through genetic relationships, adoption, or other rituals such as marriage and household economies.

Statist Capital: It is a form of power over different fields and different types of capital that circulate within them.

Cultural Capital: Concept of Cultural capital refers to the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, credentials, etc. that one acquires and adopts by being part of a particular social class.

¹³ Jamat-i-Ahmadiyya is referred to as the combination of decision making central body (Shura) and other members of the community.

Symbolic Capital: Resources available to an individual or community on the basis of honor, prestige or recognition, and serves as value that one holds within a culture. In this context, Ahmadiyya community enjoys it, courtesy their landholding status

Habitus: Cultural habitat which becomes internalised in the form of dispositions to act, think, and feel in certain ways. In this study, habitus refers to the acquired cultural capital by Ahmadiyya community while living in the Punjab, Pakistan.

Social Exclusion: A process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, caste, descent, gender, age, disability, HIV status, migrant status or where they live. Discrimination occurs in public institutions, such as the legal system or education and health services, as well as social institutions like the household.

Criminalisation: Criminalisation means the process by which behaviours and individuals are transformed into crime and criminals.

Field: A field is a setting in which agents and their social positions are located. The position of each particular agent in the field is a result of interaction between the specific rules of the field, agent's habitus and agent's capital. (Bourdieu, 1984)

1.8 Research Questions

This study endeavors to answer following research:

1. What is the social organisation of Ahmadiyya community of selected geographic locale?
2. What are the different modes of social relations and political participation of Ahmadiyya community to access the State?

1.8.1 Research Assumption

Agrarian societies have strong kinship networks while land ownership provides a desired social status. Symbolic capital helps in accessing state institutions at the local level. Minorities, usually use social capital as a coping mechanism against the 'majority's rule'.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

Since Ahmadi question is of a controversial nature and has been much debated in Pakistan. It was not possible to carry out interviews without having a trusted key informant because of the sensitive nature of the topic. Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke village was contacted with great

care. It was possible to expand research to the other parts of the country however, lack of physical and economic resources required to conduct research in all parts of the country was the key limitation of this study. The study has the limitations regarding obtaining and sharing (any) controversial information that could be misused, or misinterpreted to harm the Ahmadiyya community.

The study was limited to the political, social and economic aspects of Ahmadiyya community's life while it did not attempt to explore the in-depth theological aspects of Ahmadiyya community. This study limits itself to the study of Ahmadiyya community after the partition of India in 1947 because of time and resource constraints.

Chapter 02: Review of Literature

The chapter consists of review of literature about different kinds of minorities across different regions of the world. At the same time, it draws different minority concepts from literature and explains the incidents of persecution against minorities. This chapter reviews the status of minorities in South Asian states and Pakistan, particularly. History of Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan is briefly explored from the literature in this chapter. Ahmadiya community's social exclusion and different state responses have been reviewed in this chapter.

2.1 Political Participation of Minorities

Every developed democracy has evolved with the evolution of mass democratic culture and researchers have concluded that mass democratic culture is necessary for a sustained democracy (Sargent, 2008). Democratic culture stems from the participation of citizens in political and civic affairs. Involvement on part of the citizen is an integral condition for political participation (Flores, 2005; Harber, 1997; Inkeles & Smith, 1974). This involvement is needed to either help the government implement policies or to influence them (Box 2007; Huber & Harkavy, 2007).

Participation means "those actions of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government officials, or the policies of government or to support government and politics" (Janda, Berry, Goldman, et al. 2012). This could be both ways, conventional and unconventional political participation. Conventional political participation means a participation using established government institutions (Vorhölter, 2009). However, political participation is seen in multiple political acts, with changing levels of involvement over time, therefore voter turn-out is not the only measure of political participation (Leighley, 1995).

Almost all political participation studies consider model of socio-economic status as a standard of assessing political participation. This model tracks political participation rely on individuals' resources and individuals' attitudes towards political system or themselves. Therefore, high status individuals are more likely to participate in politics than their counterparts (Verba, 1978). Effects of race, ethnicity and gender cannot be explained easily because of the conflicting research. Women participation in political system however, has changed considerably over time (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993).

Minority political participation is cited to be driven by institutional factors and are more or less likely to participate in political system than majority (Brady, 1999; Verba et al., 1993a). Resourceful individuals are more likely to engage themselves by investing their resources in formal institutional mobilisation or informal social mobilisation (Leighley, 1995).

Most of the standard ways to see difference of minority political participation ignore the group consciousness as a forecaster of participation (Uhlener et al., 1989). Group consciousness has been an important concept in the literature of minority political participation (Miller et al., 1981). It has been theorised primarily with the identification with a political group (Nie, Verba, 1972). However, this is different in construct from the politicised group consciousness. Group identification refers to the self-location with a particular social stratum along with a psychological affiliation with that stratum whereas group consciousness includes: (a). an identity connection with the group, and (b). identification with the (i) ideology of the group (ii) group's societal position and (iii) a commitment towards the political collective action to actualise the group's interests (Gurin, Miller, & Gurin, 1980).

Group Identification does not relate to the perception of deprivation on part of the group however, group consciousness entails the acceptance of the perception of difference between one's own group and the other at the dominant social strata. Inter-group relations are considered hostile, which eventually, give birth to the 'sense of relative deprivation' in the society. This 'sense of relative deprivation' further progresses into collective action to try and change the set social order. This collective action includes conventional as well as non-conventional ways of political participation (Morris & Murphy, 1966). Collective action, in minority politics provides a description of the route through which group's membership links with the active features of political participation (Miller et al., 1981). Ahmadiya political participation is a combination of group identification and group consciousness.

2.2 South Asian States and Minority Rights

Postcolonial states of South Asia inherited geographic territories having diverse ethnic, religious and caste communities. Their politicisation matured under colonial administrations and post-independence constitutional debates. It was predicted that the post-independence politics among multi-ethnic groups would be inclusive and plural. State, instead consolidated towards majority

politics and governance structures remained coercive, centralised and hegemonic. India being the largest country in South Asia depicts a very dismal picture of minority rights. Considering the Indian claim of being a secular democracy, the situation of religious minorities is no better than any other country of the region. India has a population of over one billion. According to the 2001 census, the latest year for which disaggregated figures of religious minorities have been released, Hindus constitute 80.5 percent of the population with Muslims, Christians and Sikhs constituting 13.4, 2.3 and 1.9 percent respectively. The cases of violence against minorities are ever increasing regardless of their religion. Indian constitution however provides freedom to practice religion to every citizen but it sometimes is unable to act effectively against societal attacks on religious minorities. It has also failed to counter the state and local governments' attempts to restrict religious freedom.

The failure can be seen by looking at the legal constraints inherent in country's federal system and also by looking at the system of justice and law enforcement. Central government of India does not favor any religious group however the state governments have been found at numerous occasions considering legislation restricting religious freedom. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a rightist Hindu Party having close links with extremist Hindu groups, who carried out violence against religious minorities. BJP assumed office twice in centre as well as in Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat. Therefore, the radical elements of Indian society feels safe under the political patronage of BJP (Lipton, 2002). For instance, in 2002, Hindu nationalist leaders in Gujarat were found to be involved in mass violence against Muslims in response to a train fire believed to be set by Muslims. Hindu mob killed more than 2000 Muslims, forced around 100,000 to flee and destroyed property owned by Muslims. Christians were also killed and churches set ablaze. (Narula, 2002). India's National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) later found members of several nationalist groups, state government officials, and police involved in the violence. Despite these findings by NHRC, there was little to no prosecution of the culprits even after more than a decade. Hundreds of cases have been either closed, cited to have no evidence or moving sluggishly through the judicial system.

Chief Minister of Gujarat Narendra Modi (Now Indian Prime Minister) had been declined a visit Visa of U.S. in 2005 based on his role in the violence. United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) was the front runner in criticizing Narendra Modi for

his role in Gujarat riots. Gujarat High court, too, criticised Narendra Modi and Gujarat government for “Inaction and negligence” during the violence (Bhan, 2012).

Earlier in 1992, a mob of thousands of Hindu stormed Babri Masjid, a mosque in Ayodhya, India, demolishing it. This mosque was built in the 16th century by a Moghul (Also Mughal) Emperor, Zaheer Uddin Babar. This violent mob was responsible of killing over 1000 people, most of them, Muslims. BJP’s leadership was behind mobilisation of this mob (Sinha & Suppes, 2014). This is not the case with Muslim minorities alone, 400 cases of violence against Indian Christians were also reported from Dec 1998 to Dec 2000 (Lipton, 2002).

India has tried to bring in structures to counter the communal violence on large scale afterwards. Since 2008, therefore, there has not been any significant communal violence against minorities in India however international human rights agencies are concerned about the slow paced legal process in achieving justice for violence against the religious minorities (Sikhs, Muslims and Christians in 1984, 2002 and 2007/08 respectively). Violence on small scale, however has continued against religious minorities including harassment and intimidation (Swett & Leo, 2012).

Other South Asian countries except Afghanistan have given a considerable space to their religious minorities. Afghanistan, has poor religious freedom conditions as Muslims as well as other minority religious groups face restrictions on religious practices. Not only government, but also non-state agents (groups and individuals) have used force against other citizens for their “un-Islamic” conduct (Swett & Leo, 2012). Afghanistan’s long history of political instability brings forth a vague legal landscape prone to abuse.

Afghanistan’s constitution also limits the religious freedom by presenting a repugnancy clause, according to which no law can be divergent from the principles of Islam¹⁴. Moreover, individuals or groups who dissent from the already set beliefs and practices of Islam are subject to prosecution. According to Knox Thames, who visited Afghanistan in 2010, Afghan government officials and religious leaders backed by government of Afghanistan insisted on Islamic law being superior to human rights provisions of Afghan constitution, in letter and spirit.

¹⁴ Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, chapter.1, article. 3.

According to a report by Human Rights Watch (HRW), the Taliban prohibited for non-Muslims to build their places of worship and ordered them to put yellow cloth on top of their rooftops in order to be identified. Non-Muslims were supposed to keep a distance from Muslims. Proselytizing was made prohibited and was punishable to death even for the Muslims (Lipton, 2002).

Minority rights situation is considerably good in Bangladesh as compared to India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Despite the fact that constitution declares Islam being the state religion however it does not restrict any citizen from practising their religion. Family laws are divergent slightly on the basis of the religion of the person involved. Inter communal marriages are also not restricted, However, Islam being the state religion is taught at schools whereas children of other religions such as Christianity and Hinduism have a choice of alternative discourse. Religious minorities however, remain underrepresented in government jobs. Hindus are associated with teaching profession nonetheless (Lipton, 2002).

The economic and social status of most of the minority groups remained dismal and marked with low income, voicelessness and vulnerability. Even in the presence of prevalence of these aspects in South Asia, minorities feel them more acutely. Minorities are the most frequent victims of political under-representation and religious rage which outbursts in these societies even more quickly.

2.3 Minorities in Pakistan: The ousted insiders

Pakistan is a diverse ethno-linguistic and religious country where diversity has been shaped by demographic changes over the years. Partition of India saw the largest migration of humans in the history of the world. Muslims from India migrated to Pakistan and Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan to India was not a smooth and bloodless exchange. Hundreds of thousands of migrants lost their lives courtesy outbreak of violent riots on religious lines. Pakistan, after partition constituted of a Muslim majority which has rapidly expanded in population in due course of time. The minorities felt unsafe and deprived in the country which was acquired in the name of a separate homeland for Indian Muslims. A sense of exclusionary nationalism politics kept the minority rights and status under threat. This exclusionary politics led to the discrimination towards, not only inter-religious communities but also emphasised on intra-Islamic religio-

ideological divide and a resulting effort started to find enemies from within (Malik, 2002). Sunni and Shia Islam divide, besides Deobandi and Barelvi factions of the Sunni Islam are considered at odds with each other.¹⁵ Shia Muslims, however share the discrimination with almost all the other minority groups in the country. Pakistan has number of minority groups including Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists, Baha'i and Zikris among others. The largest minority groups and also the most prominent ones are Christians, Hindus and Ahmadiyya community.¹⁶

Christians constitute about 1.59 percent of the total population of the country according to the 1998 census.¹⁷ This figure is however, contested as the exact figures are unknown and estimates range anywhere between 2 to 3 million¹⁸. Majority of the Christians live in Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad and many other small communities in Punjab. Whereas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), almost 70,000 Christians live in Peshawar. Another interesting fact about Christian minority is their collective choice to stay in Pakistan after partition unlike Hindus and Sikhs (Bharadwaj, Khwaja, & Mian, 2008).²⁰

Hindus (most of them) contrarily, chose to migrate to India foreseeing discrimination on the basis of their religious beliefs and emergence of Pakistan as an Islamic polity. Still, 1.98 percent of the total population of the country is Hindu according to 1998 population census.¹⁹ Like all other figures this is also a contested one since the Pakistan Hindu Council claims to have a Hindu Population of more than 7 million.²⁰ Most of these Hindus reside in the province of Sindh.

Ahmadiya community is a horrifying picture of religious intolerance since they claim to be Muslims whereas constitution of the country declares them as non-Muslims. This keeps them away from the electoral politics too (HRCP, 2013-14). According to Ahmadiyya community, participating as such would amount to an admission of all the accusations on them of being heretics and non- Muslims. Ahmadiyya community demands effective restoration of the right of vote, a guarantee from the government that election rules will not obstruct Ahmadiyya

¹⁵ SDPI Report on Religious Minorities in Pakistan, 2013

¹⁶ SDPI Report on Religious Minorities in Pakistan, 2013

¹⁷ Government of Pakistan, 1998 Census

¹⁸ Immigration and Research Board of Canada, 'Pakistan: Situation of Christians in Pakistan, including social and government attitudes, treatment and rights (2010-2012)'.

¹⁹ Government of Pakistan, 1998, op. cit.

²⁰ Pakistan Hindu Council, retrieved 28 July 2014.

community participation in elections, as candidates as well as voters, and a revision of the rules candid to facilitate Ahmadiyya community' participation in a genuine Joint Electorate that bears no reference to religion which is however, not possible without an admission on part of the Ahmadiyya community of stepping down from the claim of still being Muslims.

Ahmadiyya population according to the population census of 1998 is 0.22²¹ percent of the total while other resources claim an Ahmadi Population of millions (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2012). Majority of their population mostly lives in Punjab. Ahmadiyya community is considered the most excluded religious group from the public life in Pakistan.

2.4 History of Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan:

Ahmadiyya community is a sect of Islam which was declared 'non-Muslim minority' through a constitutional amendment in 1974 under a secular, liberal and left leaning government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan. This constitutional amendment was passed despite the claim of Ahmadiyya community being Muslims hence not a minority. In 1984, a presidential Ordinance under military ruler, General Zia-ul-Haq made it a criminal offence for Ahmadiyya community to claim Muslimness (Saeed, 2007; 2010) or engage in any Islamic practice.

The founder of Ahmadiyya community Mirza Ghulam Ahmed was born in Qadian, in Punjab, to a Muslim family. At that time, rule of Muslims in India had declined and Ranjit Singh was ruling Punjab. The British colonial rule, however, followed after Ranjit Singh's death. At that time, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism and other religions competed in order to attract the converts in a colonial setting (Hansen, 2007). Mirza Ghulam Ahmed secured a job with the colonial government before becoming a religious scholar. He claimed to have communicated with God through revelations in 1870s. In 1880s, however, he got his work published in Urdu named as Barahin-e-Ahmadiyya (Proofs of Ahmadiyya), explaining the core concepts of Islam. Mirza Ghulam Ahmed had claimed to be a Mujadid by 1883 (Hansen, 2007). Later on, in 1889, Mirza Ghulam Ahmed took the Bai'at (oath) of his followers, and set the basis for Ahmadiyya community. Further, he revealed that he was chosen by God as the promised Mahdi and Messiah. In 1901, he made a claim of being a prophet which was a major jolt to the central belief of

²¹ Government of Pakistan population census, 1998

finality of prophet hood of Prophet Muhammad in orthodox Islam and brought immediate and heated criticism.

Ghulam Ahmed's claim of being a Mahdi, a promised reformer awaited by Muslims, and that Jesus had died and he was the reincarnation of Jesus as Messiah. This belief which drew Ahmadiyya community out of the orthodox Islam, was the continuity of prophecy after Prophet Muhammad (Valentine, 2001).

Ahmadiyya community migrated to Pakistan after partition of India in 1947. The agitation against Ahmadiyya community by right wing factions patronized by the Muslim League kept taking different forms. The agitation was later on translated into the constitutional declaration of Ahmadiyya community being non-Muslims in 1973. Ahmadiyya community was further criminalised through a presidential ordinance in 1984 (Saeed, 2010).

Generally, Ahmadiyya community is better off economically as compared to the orthodox Muslim counterparts. This economic well-being is attributed to the higher educational achievements. Constitutional amendment in 1974 was also seen by Ahmadiyya community, a move to restrict the community's progress in the bureaucracy and establishment. Following that amendment, Ahmadiyya community would acquire government jobs, educational institutions, federal and provincial legislatures on the basis of their minority status like any other religious minority in Pakistan.

The controversial nature of Ahmadi version of religion is born with a fundamental doctrinal difference between Ahmadiyya community and orthodox Muslims. This difference is mainly over the status of the founder of the Ahmadiyya version of Islam, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad lived in Qadian, a city in Punjab province of India during the colonial period. Orthodox Muslims are stern believers in the finality of the Prophet Muhammad who holds the seal of prophecy. Any belief other than finality of prophethood of Muhammad is seen as a blasphemous by the orthodox Muslims.

Ahmadiyya community's interpretation of Islam is precisely a fundamental challenge to the religious practices of orthodox Muslims as this version leaves a margin for the inclusion of alternative discourses in the texts of Islam. Another reason for which Ahmadiyya community have been controversial is the time of inception of Ahmadi sect. It was the year 1889, in colonial

India when Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed prophet hood and was considered an ‘agent of colonial government’ by orthodox Muslims. Ahmadiyya community has been controversial because of their intense missionary activities and preaching in India and abroad. Moreover, an Ahmadi interpretation of Jihad (Holy War); through the pen and not through warfare is commonly viewed with suspicion by the orthodox Muslims.

History of Anti-Ahmadi movements traces back even before the creation of Pakistan when right wing Muslim sects agitated against the Ahmadiyya community calling them heretics. When Jinnah was invited to comment on the religious status of Ahmadiyya community by a journalist during a press conference in 1944, he categorically said ‘*Who am I to declare a person non-Muslim who calls himself a Muslim*’. According to the Ahmadiyya accounts, Jinnah assured the minority the complete freedom of practising Islam and possession of rights of a full citizen in Pakistan (Saeed, 2007) against their support for the Pakistan movement. This was the same time when traditional Islamic Scholars of Jamiat-i- Ulema-i-Hind opposed the idea of a separate Muslim country in India. After a successful pre-partition negotiation, Jinnah appointed Zafrullah Khan, an Ahmadi, as a foreign minister in the first cabinet of Pakistan.

2.5 Anti-Ahmadi movements in Pakistan:

The first demand that Ahmadiyya community be declared non-Muslim was made by Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam in 1949. Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam was a militant organisation of Muslims which was founded in 1931. Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam organised mass public demonstrations and agitation in Punjab province, demanding the Ahmadiyya community be declared non-Muslims. However, State stayed committed to protecting fundamental rights of all religious minorities and considered anti-Ahmadiyya movement unlawful. (Lahore High Court 1954). Anti-Ahmadiyya campaign started again in 1953 in Punjab. It was again led by Majlis-i-Ahrar but this campaign was different in effect as it was publically and actively supported by the Muslim League, the then ruling party, and Jamat-i-Islami, a religious party. Pakistan’s first Martial Law was imposed as a result of intense agitation and violence in the province. In 1954, the committee set up by state to take a look into the anti-Ahmadiyya agitation. The committee found out the question of Muslim identity as important. However, on the question of who was and was not a Muslim, committee could not find a single definition of Muslim hood which could equally be acceptable to all sects

and *Ulemas* (Lahore High Court 1954: 205). The report stressed upon how important is the individual conscience in religious affairs and full citizen rights.

The Ahmadiyya question arose again to the national scene in 1974 after a violent clash between Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi students in an Ahmadi majority city in Pakistan, Rabwah. This clash resulted in the mass violence, again in Punjab. Even in university campuses, Ahmadi Students were thrown out of their rooms and their belongings, set on fire. Ahmadi businessmen started getting threat calls. 27 Ahmadiyya community members were beaten to death (Dawn, Karachi: 23 June 1974). Islamic political parties, student unions, religious organisations, public intellectuals and trade unions took part in this mass violence during a week-long violence. This made the state to surrender to the demand of these groups declaring Ahmadiyya community non-Muslims. Eventually, through a constitutional amendment, Ahmadiyya community was declared non-Muslims and Ahmadiyya community were officially excluded from the Muslim citizenship. Interestingly, the national assembly proceedings on Ahmadi question took place under camera but that have not been made public until today.

Anti-Ahmadi sentiment again came to another height when religious leaders issued an ultimatum to the military ruler General Zia-ul-Haq, demanding Ahmadiyya community to be removed from key posts in the state, arresting the spiritual head of Ahmadiya community in Pakistan, identifying Ahmadiyya community on passport and identity cards and demolition of all Ahmadi places of worship (Kaushik, 1996). Zia-ul-Haq, immediately issued an ordinance that restrained Ahmadiyya community from 'Posing as Muslims' and using Islamic symbols and rituals, and nomenclature in describing their religion or places of worship. Failure, on part of Ahmadiyya community, following the ordinance was a punishable crime. As a result, Ahmadiyya community became a target of public repression which caused them to retreat from public life in Pakistan.

2.6 Different state responses on Ahmadi question in Pakistan:

There has not been a lot of studies to look at the socio-political situations which carved ways for emergence of different answers at different times towards the Ahmadiya question by the state (Saeed, 2007) while every aspect of Ahmadiyya religious thought has been under great scrutiny by the state, both in theory and practice (Friedmann, 1989; Gualtieri, 2004; Lavan, 1974) and

great emphasis has been laid on the documentation of marginalisation of Ahmadiyya community by the state through legal, constitutional and extra legal means (Gualtieri, 2004; Kaushik, 1996; A. M. Khan, 2003). As a result of 1953-54's anti-Ahmadi nationalist violence that started in Punjab, quite a number of 'State effects' were produced resulting into the institutionalisation and articulation of both, state power and idea of state (Jessop, 1990; Trouillot, 2003).

State, firstly detoured elected federal and provincial governments, imposed Martial law which gave birth to a new language for governance. This new course of action was legitimised and institutionalised to regulate the politics in the maintenance of law and order. Moreover, State defined the boundaries of 'Muslim citizenship' which eventually proposed a territorial but not a religious concept of nation hood. Last but a very important idea was that authority and legitimacy of state, and not the elected representatives, towards resolving national questions of minorities arising out of clashes among different segments of the society. The state thought of politicians to be biased, unjust and being partisan (Saeed, 2007).

1974 marked a shift in the state's stance on the Ahmadi question. This year, margins of Muslim nationhood were re-constructed symbolically to push Ahmadiyya community out of the Muslim citizenship. At that stage, when anti-Ahmadi agitation state had two options, either to follow the precedent of 1953-54 experience. It could have reverted back to cracking down the right-wing thwarting at anti-Ahmadi demands, or to surrender to the demands of anti-Ahmadi agitation. The first option was not viable because of the political climate of the country after separation of her eastern wing in 1971. Questions about identity of the nation-state of Pakistan re-emerged too which held the socialist government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (ZAB) to closely align to Islam. This was a political need of ZAB's government in order to seek support from orthodox religious groups/ parties in Pakistan. Bhutto also characterised his government being an 'Islamic Socialist' one.

Throughout 70's, this left and right alliance led to a number of institutionalised legislations to impose Islamic moral order. First manifestation of this alliance, was Constitution of 1973, through which Ahmadiyya community was excluded from the status of Muslimness (Saeed, 2007). The scale of anti-Ahmadiyya nationalism was much larger in 1974 than it had been in 1954. Oral accounts of the time period suggest that that country was gripped in anti-Ahmadiyya

fervor and the pressure on the state to act according to popular nationalist demands was intense. Indeed, the demands were couched within rhetoric of democracy, with various organisations, opposition members, and newspapers demanding that the state act in a democratic manner and in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the nation. The state response in 1954 was cited as an instance of state repression. Intensity of the anti-Ahmadiyya nationalism was much larger in 1974 than it was in 1953-54. Accounts of the time between 1953-54 and 1974 trace the reality that Pakistan faced the anti-Ahmadiyya sentiment more acutely and intensely. Therefore, the pressure on the state had been more intense and bigger in magnitude. The state response of anti-Ahmadiyya agitation in 1953-54 was considered as repressive. In 1974, demands were met and legitimised through the rhetoric of democracy resulting into the exclusion of Ahmadiyya community from the Muslim citizenship.

2.7 Political Persecution of Ahmadiya community

Electoral system lies at top of the pyramid of the democratic system. Since inception of the country in 1947 till the Zia-ul-Haq era in 1985, all national elections for the provincial and national assemblies were conducted on basis of Joint Electorate system. Ahmadiyya community participated in the elections as the rest of the population. During Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime, a change was introduced which allocated a few additional seats to religious minorities in assemblies, over and above their rights in the general arrangement. These representatives for the minorities were elected by the assembly members. As Ahmadiyya community never accepted the status of a non-Muslim minority, handed down to them through Amendment No. II to the Constitution, they did not avail these seats. General Zia-ul-Haq introduced the separate electorate system for minorities through 8th amendment to the 1973 constitution in 1985. Elections, since then, were held in the country on the basis of separate electoral lists prepared for different religious minorities. Even after Zia-ul-Haq, this system of separate electorates was maintained by succeeding regimes.

General Musharraf, another military ruler, however, tried reintroducing the Joint Electoral system which could not be materialised to its essence and remained flawed. Through an executive order, (Chief Executive order No. 15, Gazette of Pakistan: 2002) titled 'Conduct of

General Elections Order' created a second 'supplementary list of voters' which held the Ahmadi voters as non-Muslims. Therefore, a resurrected joint electoral system met a de-facto end.

According to a leading journalist, Ayaz Amir, wrote in daily Dawn titled 'Back to Future' published on JUNE, 21, 2002, "Anyone suspected or accused of being an Ahmedi can be called upon within the next few days by the concerned returning officer to sign a form affirming the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad. Should the person so required refuse, he or she will be counted as a non-Muslim voter". *Another intellectual and writer Mr. I.A. Rehman wrote an article in the Daily Dawn of September 17, 2002 and gave it the heading: "Joint electorate? Not quite" arguing that 'Regardless of what the Ahmadiyya community say or do, it is a fact that legislation is often judged not by what it says in general terms but by what it excludes or exempts. The moment a separate list of non-Muslim voters is prepared, however small it may be, a serious deviation from the principle of joint electorate takes place. This keeps the division of citizens in political matters in place, which is precisely what the system of joint electorate seeks to abolish. It will also obstruct the minorities' return to mainstream politics'.*

Such tricky procedures predictably barred Ahmadiya community from electoral system. Since decades, not even a single Ahmadi has been a member of any national, provincial or even district assembly. Ahmadiyya Community has no representation in the town council of even Rabwah, their own town and centre. International Human rights agencies along with media organisations reported extensively on Ahmadi exclusion from the electoral politics.

It is reported that, Ahmadiyya community is registered in a separate voters' list for electoral purposes (AHRC, 8 May 2012; Daily DAWN, 4 Nov.2012). The Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) reports that electoral lists are divided by religious groups in Pakistan (ibid.). Ahmadiyya community has to sign a certificate "deny[ing] the veracity" of, Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, the founder of the Ahmadiyya community in order to be registered as voters (DAWN, 4 Nov.2012; FreedomHouse, 2012). Ahmadiyya community was asked to register themselves as "non-Muslims" (AHRC, 8 May 2012; Daily DAWN, 4 Nov.2012; US, 24 May 2012). As a consequence, most Ahmadiyya community boycotted the 2008 elections (ibid. Freedom House 2012). The Asian Human Rights Commission points toward the fact that, "These devious and unacceptable procedures have usurped the fundamental civic rights of Ahmadiyya

community and for decades now they cannot contest elections for any assembly, national, provincial or even district".

Even in Rabwah, the majority Ahmadiyya community town, the community does not have representation in the town council (AHRC, 8 May 2012). The Express Tribune notes that Ahmadiyya community does not vote and does not run for elections (23 Sept. 2012). Out of the 342 seats of the National Assembly, only 10 are reserved for "non-Muslim minorities," and, out of Senate's 100 seats, 4 are reserved for religious minorities (Freedom in the World Report, 2012).

The chapter explored Nationalistic politics in postcolonial states of South Asia through different historical junctures. Minorities face physical, emotional and social discrimination at all levels in the region, as a whole. In Pakistan, particularly, minorities have seen social exclusion as well as political persecution, at least in case of Ahmadiyya community. The community, as a perfect example of group consciousness and group identification, has suffered persecution by the State as well as society. The swinging response by the Pakistani state, on the 'Ahmadiyya Question' explains Pakistan's shift from a secular polity to a more conservative and cohesive national field. In the wake of such political and social marginalisation of Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan, modes through which it maintains political existence, remains an important feature of chapters to follow.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter consists of research approach, research design, locale description, data collection and analysis tools, and sampling technique used in this study. The objectivity of national social field, along with the subjective issues, standing of local Ahmadiyya community was catered by ethnographic techniques (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010).

3.1 Research Approach

Qualitative research approach is transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary in nature and reflects a naturalistic perspective along with interpretive considerations of human variances. Qualitative research tries to define and explain a phenomenon. A researcher attains the objective by involving oneself in the data collection process. A researcher understands and interprets a respondent's perceptions and differences in perceptions through interpreting respondent's experiences. A qualitative research enables the researcher to fully understand dense descriptions and explanations, which provide meaning to the phenomenon itself. Qualitative research studies also enable researcher to construct understandings to a phenomenon as it was experienced by the population. It offers the facility to understand an issue, layer by layer and understand the reaction of people connected with the phenomenon. Qualitative research also enables the researcher to understand and explain the meaning that people attach to an event, phenomenon, or experience. Moreover, under what circumstances such meanings were attached with an event (Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1990).

Aim of the study was to understand the Ahmadiyya community, its kinship system; its utilisation and coping mechanism. Therefore, qualitative approach provided a better understanding of the phenomenon.

3.2 Research Design

This research has employed a case study research design to explain the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. Defining a single case is crucial in any type of a case study. A single case for this research was the Ahmadiyya community. The units of analyses were the members of the Ahmadiyya community. Ralioke (study's locale) was essential to study the complexity and particularist nature of the case under question (the Ahmadiyya community in this case). The

research, however, is not much concerned with Ralioke as such; the locale provides a sound backdrop to the findings of the research which include social organisation and political agency of the members of the Ahmadiyya community. Yin (2003) explains that the purpose of conducting a case study research design is to provide a detailed description of particular decisions made within specific context. Why such decisions were made, how these decisions were implemented, and how it affected the target population. Specificity of explanatory case study made it suitable research design for my research because my aim was to understand the Ahmadiyya community of Ralioke.

Explanatory research is committed to explain why an event or phenomenon occurred and what forces influenced and drove the phenomenon. Explanatory case study design provides a tool for understanding what lies behind a specific behaviour or attitude, or why and how a decision was made. It allows examining the associations that were made at a particular period and meanings that these associations have for the affected. How origin of events affected the particular behaviour and how a community responded to presume its interests and survival can be studied using an explanatory case study design (O'Connor, 2003). This research has used an explanatory case study design to provide detailed interpretive understanding of the social life of Ahmadiyya community through providing details about their perspectives, histories, experiences, and material circumstances; to elicit data that is extensive and rich in information; to do the analysis that has the ability to encompass emergent concepts and ideas, which in return develop explanations or identify patterns of association and gives detailed descriptions; and to produce output which tend to focus on the interpretation of social understanding through mapping the social world of participants.

A case study design can use qualitative and quantitative research methods for data extraction. This research has made use of qualitative methods (interviewing; individual and group and observational techniques) which help in the process of generation of extensive and detailed examination of a case.

3.3 Research Methods

In-depth interviews, focus group discussions and non- participant observation were used as data collection tools. I stayed in the Ralioke for the month of December 2014 in order to closely

observe the Ahmadiyya community. Interviews were conducted at the place of the participants usually at their *deras* or *baitmaks*. Respondents were told about their rights that they could leave the interview whenever they want. On average, each interview lasted for two hours.

3.3.1 In-depth Interviews (IDIs)

The in-depth interview is the main method to collect data in qualitative research. In-depth interviews enable researcher to talk to respondents' to grasp their point of view related to particular issue which has been stressed by many classical ethnographers (Burgess, 1982a). In-depth interviews are more often explained as a conversation with a purpose (Webb and Webb: 130). According to Rorty (1980), in-depth interviews reproduce a process which further produces knowledge about the social world in an ordinary and normal human interaction. However, the obvious difference between ordinary conversation and in-depth interviews cannot be denied. The objectives, and roles of both, researcher and respondent are fundamentally different (Krale, 1996; Rubin and Rubin, 1995)

In-depth interviews were used to investigate the reasons of Ahmadiyya persecution and its fall outs on the Ahmadiyya population in Ralioke and how they reacted to such circumstances. Since, in-depth interviews focus on the respondents' perception about the topic therefore, interview sequence was not strictly scripted. The researcher took a mental framework of questions to the field whereas, the questions being asked from the respondents' were different according to the context and setting of the interview. Conversation, instead of scripted interviews gave the researcher an opportunity to the two-way interaction where even the respondent may raise a query as well. Open-ended questions were asked to develop the conversation and let the respondents use their own words and not speak the researcher's language. Moreover, this helped the researcher to observe the respondents' own meaning drawn from the context. In-depth interview enabled the researcher to look at the theme of respondent' lived life through their own lens.

3.3.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Focus group discussions are an integral part of the ethnographic research where a researcher moderates a group of respondents to get their insights about a specific topic. This methodology traces back to the year 1926 when Emory Bogardus who first used this method in his

psychological research (Wilkinson, 2004). The ability of focus group discussion to provide results quickly is one of the reasons which has made it a popular data collections tools in qualitative researches worldwide (Kroll et al., 2007).

Less structured approach has been commonly adopted while conducting social science researches. In a focus group discussion participants, instead of answering the researcher's questions, are involved in discussion among themselves. Therefore, the researcher plays a role of a moderator instead of directing it. Focus group is an informal way of discussion among a selected group of respondents about a particular issue (Wilkinson, 2004).

The core objective of a focus group is to understand the interpretations and meanings of a particular group of people in order to obtain perspective of participants about a specific topic (Liamputtong, 2009). A focus group, usually, involves a group of 6-8 participants belonging to a similar social and cultural background and having, broadly a similar set of experiences (Hennink, 2007). A focus group must not be confused with a method to individual accounts. Rather, it involves a great potential of inter and intra-personal debate among the participants to bring the negotiated meanings and interpretations (Cook and Crang, 1995).

The discussion among participants makes the researcher hear what he may not be able to hear through his conversations with the individual respondents and this leads to a great emphasis on the interpretations of respondents rather than that of the researcher (Gaiser, 2008). This tool helps researchers with the chance of capturing group dynamics and shared experiences which remain hidden in other research methods otherwise. Precisely, focus group discussions 'create data from multiple voices' (Madriz, 2003).

The biggest advantage of a focus group discussion is the opportunity a researcher gets to see respondents' own reality and hence capture insights of the topic (Ivanoff and Hultberg, 2006). Focus group discussions help understand a researcher how accounts are expressed, debated, criticized, opposed and get shaped through social interaction (Kitzinger 2005: 58). Another great advantage of focus group discussion is its ability to develop a connection between people's response and events (Barbour, 2007).

This method also provides a quick way to research about communities than other methods of qualitative research and is used extensively to produce collective point of views in a crosscultural

context (Lloyd-Evans, 2006). Focus group discussions have been used to understand group dynamics of marginalised communities giving chance to researchers to listen to them who otherwise have a very little chance of expressing their concerns (Madriz, 1998; 2003; Liamputtong, 2007; 2010a). Focus group discussions were used to explore about the topic in this research.

Three focus groups were conducted to cover abstract discussion oriented domains for instance the group members' response to their seclusion from Muslimness. Focus groups also helped in generating general patterns to certain research areas including migration to Pakistan, geneology of anti-Ahmadiyya movement in Pakistan, different State responses to anti-Ahmadiyya movements, exclusion and criminalisation of Ahmadiyya community, bycotting formal political participation, and resorting to informal political participation. Tuckman (1965) in Gaskell (2000) describes four developmental stages while conducting focus groups. One of the stages is a storming stage in which difference of opinions between participants leads to arguments or even conflicts. This has been observed while I conducted my first focus group in the locale. The research area over which most group participants differed were their exclusion from Muslim citizenship and the political agency which the community members have managed to create. The selection criteria for the group members were their Ahmadi status and whether they owned land or not. The group composition and dynamics are explained in the following table.

Sr. No	No. of Group Members	Gender Breakdown	Education	Ethnicity	Caste	Religion	Social Positioning	Livelihood
GD1 (December 2014)	5	Males	Max. B.A. Min. 5th Grade	Punjabi	Gujjars	Ahmadis	One of the participant in this FGD was Nambardar of Ralioke and belonged to the Ahmadiyya community. Other were Zamindars, too.	Earnings from farming and remittances

FGD2 (February 2015)	6	Males	Max. MA / LLB. Min. 10th Grade	Punjabi	Gujjars	Ahmadis	Zamindars	Salaried, remittances and farm incomes.
FGD3 (February 2015)	5	Males	Max. 10th Grade Min. Illiterate	Punjabi	Gujjars	Ahmadis	Zamindars	Farm incomes.

Table I: Focus Group Discussion Composition
Source: Data from the field

The participants of the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) belonged to Ahmadiyya community with a divergent age group ranging from young participants between 20-25 years old to those who saw the partition of India when they were young and kept an account of all the history of Ahmadiyya community from partition and then migration to Pakistan up to the exclusion from Muslim citizenship in 1973 and criminalization in 1984. Selecting a divergent age group was a tactic used to cover the history of the community along with understanding the on-going happening with respect to Ahmadiyya community. Ahmadiyya community migrated from District Gurdaspur of united India and are Punjabi in ethnicity therefore the participants of these FDGs were also Punjabis belonging to Gujjar *biradari*. The participants (all of them) were land owners and had farming incomes as the main source of livelihoods supplemented by remittances coming from abroad since almost every household has one or two members settled either in Europe or north America. However, few young participants served in the public and private sector of Pakistan holding different positions. One of the participant of the FGD was Nambardaar of the village who was influential enough to play a decisive role in local disputes and issues. I floated the open ended questions during the FGDs which led to an exciting at the same time thoughtful discussion coming from members of both the generations of Ahmadiyya community based in Ralioke. They passionately argued the atrocities of Pakistani State and how they managed to stay knitted to Jamat-i-Ahmadiyya and adhered to their claim of being Muslim which was otherwise snatched from them in 1973.

3.3.3 Non-participant Observation:

The observation method is used widely for studying almost all the aspects of human life. This method enlightens the researcher on the accounts, how they occurred, why they occurred, the description about when and what is going on, who is involved and why that too from the perspectives of participants. This method of data collection is outstanding in studying the

happenings, inter-personal relations involved and the organisation while keeping in the context the development events go through over time in the socio-cultural context. This method mainly focuses on the meanings derived by the insiders of their own existence (Spradley, 1980; Znaniecki, 1934;).

Non-participant observation allows the researcher to start with the immediate experiences of humans in real life settings and context (Scott, 1968). This observation, furthermore, helps researcher build concepts aided with thorough qualitative descriptions of experiences based on everyday life experiences. Precisely, non-participant observation is a unique way of studying a particular community and the subjective aspects of human life there in doing so with employing an etic approach (Krieger, 1985).

Contrary to the other methods of researcher, a researcher enjoys observation as an outsider. Nonparticipant observation can take different forms depending on the nature of the topic and researcher's insights on the issue. It can vary from a very nominal level of participation to a very intimate role of a native (Junker, 1960; Gold, 1954, 1958, 1969). It is highly recommended for the researcher, who wants to study a particular community, to play multiple roles during the research project to acquire rapport with the people, or even situations as much as he can. A researcher is required to sustain the interactions and relationships with the people in the field to ensure the collection of accurate and truthful information (Johnson, 1975). The intensity of field relationships play a pivotal role in this regard. A researcher may adopt multiple strategies in gathering information however direct observation is the primary way to getting to it.

Researcher's immediate experience in the field can prove out to be exceptionally rich source of information however; this depends heavily on the extent and intensity of involvement in the community (Cooley, 1969).

I cannot claim of developing reflexive relationships with my respondents as I was observing them as an outsider but my informal cordial relationship with my key informant helped in gaining access to the community. A researcher can always find key informants while using observational techniques to provide him with the useful insights about the topic through their own knowledge, experiences and life histories (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918, 1919). A researcher can gather information through multiple strategies like casual conversations, in-depth,

informal or unstructured interviews as well as structured or semi-structured interviews (Fine, 1987). I recorded the results of the study as a log of activities, peculiar experiences and other unique events. I used latest methods for recording like audio equipment and written accounts.

An Excerpt:

Green, vast to the sight fields, cattle roaming around in freedom, a faint sound of a folk song being played far away, men and women working together in fields and a bunch of teenagers playing Shootball (a local version of Volleyball). This was the first impression of Ralioke I received. Serenity prevailed there so as that even the scorching heat couldn't take my attention away from my locale.

The moment I entered Naveed Sahab's house, Lassi was served which was no less than a luxury whatsoever. Naveed Gorski was my resource person and his interactive and full-ofwisdom personality always helped me throughout this research. His social circle was going to make it a lot easier than I imagined, I thought. That evening was going to be my first interaction with Ahmadiyya community of Ralioke which made me steamed up. Naveed Sahab was expecting a couple of Ahmadi friends on dinner that night. I somehow, restlessly waited until evening. After dinner, tea was served and then an endless discussion on Ahmadiyya question in Pakistan started. Master Sahab (A middle aged primary school teacher), Hafeez (A well-built Ahmadi guy in his early mid-thirties) and Nasir (Another Ahmadi farmer in his mid-thirties) were passionately defending Ahmadiyya community's case in that spacious baithak filled with smoke coming from continuous cigarette smoking.

Source: Field observations

3.4 The Locale (Ralioke)

Ralioke existed before the creation of Pakistan. At that time the population was a mix of Sikh, Hindu, and Muslim communities. Overall, the village was dominated by the Sikh and Hindu majority who owned all the resources like lands and businesses in the village. The Muslim community was present at that time but they were dominated in the village and mostly they were comprised the working class. Muslims were mostly working on the lands owned by Sikh and Hindu majority or some were working for the land and business owners.

The village is situated 33-kilometers northwest from the Islamabad-Sialkot Grand Trunk (G.T) Road and 5-kilometers from the Lahore highway. Ralioke is situated in Tehsil Sambrial of District Sialkot and is situated at a distance of 12-kilometers from its Tehsil headquarters. It is at a distance of 10 to 12 kilometers from district Sialkot and at same distance from other urbanised Tehsil of Daska. Ralioke is not some distant village but is at a close distance from industrialised and urbanised hubs of Sialkot, Wazirabad, Sambryal and Daska. The village is comprised of approximately 400 households and 2500 to 2700 voters. Ahmadiyya community in the village consists of 65 to 70 households and 450 to 500 total members.

The Ahmadiyya community in the village owns most of the land and other economic resources or businesses like dairy on small scales. Ahmadiyya community is also the centre of the village because of their control on the resources and kinship network, which I will discuss later in this chapter. The village is a mix of Ahmadiyya and Non-Ahmadiyya communities but both are knitted together in daily life activities.

Most of the male members of the village are well educated and have a vivid view of Pakistani and international politics. Members of Ahmadiyya community are implicitly active political players who usually use their wisdom and resources in developing better relations with the local political leaders and other members of Non-Ahmadiyya community. However, resources and political awareness is not the only reason for their influence on the local political field, kinship system is another major reason for their dominance.

There is no mal nutrition in the village, most of the residents are well built, tall, complexion is light brown, and body type in most cases is athletic. Females are educated and trend for females to join the services sector is increasing. The reason is that the village is in the vicinity of trade hubs of the District Sialkot. Same facts attached to urbanisation are dominant in the construction in the village. Most of the streets are paved, and wide that a vehicle (for instance a car) can pass through the streets. A few streets are narrow but paved. The construction of roads and streets divide the village in two segments, new built houses and streets are open and wide while those built in the past are narrower and dark. Construction of houses also represent a taste of modern architecture where open and mud houses have been replaced with bricked houses and trend is increasing towards building double story houses equipped with all modern facilities.

The population and construction in the village is rapidly increasing because of the recent trend of migration to the village. The reason of this migration is the higher property rates and expensive living in the city. So people from different areas are moving towards the villages, which are near cities. However, this construction of villages and streets is not centrally planned because of which several problems are rising. The problem of sanitation is worst of all because there is no centrally planned sewerage system. Link roads, which connect village are all weary and are not able to carry the load of traffic which is increasing with each passing day.

Trend of marriages is also under a change from rural society to an urbanized society. Arranged marriages are preferred and arranged marriages within family are preferred most. Marriages happen between the families of same social and economic status but if a desired match is not found within family then option goes out of family. Marriages of one's own choice are still not preferable but neither is there a taboo anymore. The trend of nuclear family is also increasing over the time, which predicts the domination of urbanisation trends in the village.

If we take a stroll through the streets of the village and observe everything happening in the surroundings, one will come to know certain facts about the village. This particular village is rapidly moving towards urbanisation but yet has not completely urbanised. Though houses are well built but still there are ponds of water where the sewerage water accumulates. There are heaps of litter in front of houses and buffaloes, cows, other animals can be seen alongside the roads, and sanitation system is miserable. Land of this village collectively is more than any other village in its surroundings and its population and land is even more than union council is. Overall, the village is depicting itself to be more modern in terms of architecture but overall living patterns, behaviors, personal relations, and political behaviours of people are not of an urbanised society. However, trend of the population is increasing towards urbanisation.

The village can be apparently divided into existing Ahmadiyya and Non-Ahmadiyya community. However, such division based on following particular religious beliefs will mislead and misguide the situation. The division is inevitable because without dissecting a society, we would not be able to understand its mechanics. The village can be divided based on caste system in the village. The village is dominated by the agricultural clan 'Gujjar' who possess most of the landholdings and dairy business in the village and are well off enough. However, Gujjars are not the only one with landholdings and resources, Rajputs are there to take their share.

All the landowners (Gujjars and Rajputs) are migrants from Indian Punjab who settled here after the partition in 1947. As discussed earlier, before partition landholding belonged to Sikhs and Hindus and Muslims were working class Muslims who were serving the landowners in one or the other way. Therefore, after migration Gujjars and Rajputs settled in the village and acquired agricultural land. Among these two, Gujjar are dominant because of their number and assets.

Being members of same clan. Gujjar share particular dominance on political scene of the village. Rest of the community is still working class who are either working on the lands of Gujjars and Rajputs or working in nearby factories. As Gujjar, community possesses most of the assets that Ralioke brings, and owns all the small-scale businesses including small-scaled dairy farms, so they are employing more people than others. Gujjars preferably find a matrimonial match within Gujjars so they are related to each other and thus in their daily life where everybody is influencing each other. Gujjar community has made such a close knitted kinship system that it has enabled them to take collective decisions and that made the base for their political domination in the village.

However, Gujjar community can be further divided into Ahmadiyya and Non-Ahmadiyya communities. Among Gujjar community, Ahmadiyya Community is dominant and resourceful as compared to others. Before Ahmadiyya community were declared as minority, the marriages took place based on being Gujjar but once Ahmadiyya community were declared minority community then the Gujjar community was bi-furcated in two communities based on their beliefs and after that, no marriages took place in these communities. Still in their political action and thinking, they take decision as Gujjars. Whether Ahmadi or Non-Ahmadi, Gujjar community is, a community that takes pride in it and protect each other. The impressionist hand drawn sketch (not-to-scale) of the Locale of current study (Ralioke) is on the following page.

3.4.1 Impressionist Sketch of Ralioko:

3.5 Data Analysis

The analysis of case study research is an iterative process and can involve one or multiple techniques depending on the data achieved. In the current study, the aim was to study Ahmadiyya community of Ralioke, and explain particular set of decisions and events so explanation building was considered more suitable to address the questions.

Acquiring data from different sources is a strength and requirement of case study (Yin, 2003). In this personal communication (in-depth interviews) and observing the social and kinship structures, cohesion of the community and ability to take collective decisions (observational techniques) provided the necessary information

Explanation buildings involve stipulating casual links about a phenomenon and understand that how and why it happened. The casual links may be difficult to measure and explain in a concise manner. Explanation building has been done in narrative form and as narrative is difficult to describe in a concise manner, so better case studies are those, which provide useful insight in theory building. Explanation building has not been well documented for explanatory case studies, but overall it is a process comprising iterations. The process involves a theoretical statement about a social behaviour, revising the statement, comparing with other details comparing the revision with facts of data and repeating the process. So, in an explanatory case study method which involves explanation building analysis, the data is examined, theoretical positions are stored and then again evidences are examined until we reach the best explanation of a phenomenon. It resembles with refining a set of ideas in which again it is important to address rival explanations.

Thematic analysis is an iterative process in which data is analysed through the construction of a thematic framework. In order to construct a thematic framework a very procedural order was followed in this research which started by transcribing verbatim quotes from audio-recordings (interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded with the consent of the interviewees and group participants), the verbatim quotes were then translated into English followed by indexing/ coding (data was coded through both inductive and deductive approaches), categorising/

subcategorising, theming/ sub-theming, and structuring data under suitable categories of different cases.

3.5 Role of Researcher

A person conducting research has important obligations as hes/she is involved in an interpretive process and he influences the whole process. A good researcher means a balanced communicator and observer who listens, empathises, and gives his input when needed in the process of rapport building. Empathy with which qualitative researches have presented affected and affecters of a phenomenon are the hallmark of qualitative research (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). Researcher in a qualitative research is an active participant and primary instrument of data collection and analysis. The researcher's approach is reflexive in nature and asks him to reflect his own interests, biases and areas of ignorance. The researcher understands and acknowledges who is he, and how his interests, values, understanding of the truth and emotions can influence the whole process of research. A researcher himself takes part in a qualitative research and any biases are stated upfront and he tries to be objective but do not claim to be absolute objective (Creswell, 1994; Merriam, 1998; Merrick, 1999).

Emotions are allowed in a qualitative research and they are important as researcher uses both emotions and cognition to enter respondent's world of reality and relies on these emotions to understand the world of respondents. Researcher relies on cognition and emotion to explain participant's world of meaning and how participants' world may come in accord or differ from researcher's world or meaning. However, strong emotions may negatively influence the researcher as strong positive emotions may lead to over rapport and the opposite may result in under rapport. Researcher must provide analytical space for himself so that his role may not be jeopardised. Thus, a researcher should acquire an empathetic stance in interaction and an unbiased stance in analysis (Sciarra, 1999).

My visit to Ahmadiyya community was conducted in two stages. In the first stage, I went to the village and lived there for more than a month in December of 2014. My second visit was after two months as I revisited the field in the month of February 2015. During my visits, I slowly built a rapport with the locals which is stated below,

Isolation of Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan can easily be attributed to the political persecution they have been facing for decades. Therefore, they always feel reluctant to disclose their religious identity of being Ahmadiyya community and increasing number of violence against them has kept them from the broad Ahmadi question in political and social spheres. I was also hesitant about the field visit and was not sure of Ahmadiyya community's reaction to this. However, I owe a lot to my point of contact in the Ralioke village since I would not have been able to carry out the research without his support and cooperation. He is an orthodox Muslim who was born and raised in the said village and his fore fathers had migrated to this village during Indian partition in 1947. I knew the point of contact for almost more than one and a half year and had made frequent visits prior to this field activity. Those visits, in fact, developed the strong urge to work on this very topic as it made me curious about the genealogy of the issue in Pakistan.

I was introduced as a researcher working on his academic research to understand the Ahmadiyya question and build an academic narrative on the findings. Ahmadiyya Community are almost one third of the total population of the village and most of them are landowners as well, as per my point of contact, before I witnessed myself. I had already known few members of Ahmadiyya community in the village even before talking to them about the research project and they had shared their insights over the Ahmadi question and their experiences. This way I was able to build some degree of rapport with few, if not all, members of the community. I didn't go and bombard my respondents with questions. Instead, I visited few *deras* with my contact and he introduced me with them as a friend who visited earlier as well. My ability to speak Punjabi fluently helped me expedite the process of rapport building and soon I was a part of their daily life jokes and gossips. For three long days, I did not say anything about the research and kept talking to them about the different aspects of village life, in general.

I spent hours with them drinking tea, sharing their jokes, giving my inputs on current political scenario, changing climate (Climate is a matter of utmost significance for rural agrarian dwellers) and life as a whole. Their approach to life was simple yet very clear and was more of a containment, unlike the characteristic of an urban centre. Ironically, they were not in segregated groups based on their beliefs. Instead, they ate, drank, and chatted together without any apparent

conflicting disagreement. The experience was overwhelming as I had witnessed the hatred against Ahmadiya community in the orthodox Muslim circles, before. Towards the third day of my visit, I started talking about the questions and how it is affecting their lives. It was more of a participant observation where I was able to bring them to a comfort level towards me. Soon, the topic turned into a discussion and everyone started giving their inputs without any heated remarks or aggression. The tolerance between two, otherwise extreme narratives was a lifetime experience, which I still cherish. After third day, I started going to the Ahmadi households with the same people for a formal discussion to know their perspective on the issue. I also met the Nambardar of the village who was an Ahmadi and explored the issue further. His expressions were new at the same time astonishing for me as while narrating historical events Ahmadiyya community went through, would start crying all of a sudden and the very next moment he was normal again. I met people of almost every age from as young as teenagers and as old as 70 years plus. I witnessed a coherence in their statements however; few were more enlightened on the political history while few had theological information only.

3.6 Sampling

Sampling in qualitative research is not that rigidly prescribed as it is suggested in quantitative studies. Sampling, however is a general feature of a social investigation to design and select samples no matter how large or small the populations are. Decisions about people, setting and action are made even if the investigations are single case studies or very small populations (Burgess, 1982a, 1984). In the same way, sampling is required in ethnographic or field studies.

One of the key reasons being researchers' inability to record or observe everything which occurs (Burgess, 1982a; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; McCall and Simmons, 1969). Qualitative research uses non-probability sampling in order to select the population for study. Units of research reflect the particular features of groups within the sampled population. Population's characteristics are seen and used as the basis of selection.

3.6.1 Purposive Sampling

This approach requires a criterion or purpose for the selection of the participants, settings or other sampling units (Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002). The sample units are chosen because of some peculiarity attached with them which helps the researcher to have an in-depth exploration and understanding of main themes which he (researcher) aims to see. Such characteristics may be

socio demographic or may relate to particular roles, behaviours, and events. Few scholars like Burgess (1984) and Honigmann (1982) name it judgement sampling. LeCompte and Preissle (1993) consider this term, criterion based sampling, more appropriate for this type of sampling.

Units of sampling are chosen with a purpose with respect to a specific criterion whose aims are two-fold. First, as to ensure all the key parts of relevance to the subject, the sample covers. The second aim is to ensure the diversity within each of the key criteria so that the characteristics under observation can be explored.

Decisions about the use of a criteria for selection are often made in early research days. These decisions will depend on multiple factors including the main objectives of the study, existing theories about the field, research questions that a researcher may want to answer about the study. The deliberate choices should not be, however, confused with any bias on part of the researcher. The process of sample selection demands sheer objectivity so that it stands up to unbiased, independent exploration.

Selection criteria for samples is mandatory to be mentioned in a research study therefore it is worthwhile mentioning the criteria through which I have selected the samples during this research study. Being member of the Ahmadiyya community was the only major criteria of this research since the research addresses the informal political participation of the Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke. The second criteria which I used to select samples was being a resident of Ralioke. Residents of the village, I thought, would have more detailed information about the topic. Furthermore, homogeneous samples (Holloway and Wheeler, 1996; Patton, 2002; Robson, 2002) were chosen to give an in-depth inquiry of a specific process which enabled a meticulous exploration of social processes with in Ahmadiyya community in a particular context.

My resource person identified the Ahmadiyya households to be interviewed or to be placed in the Focus Group Discussions on the basis of convenience and their availability. I however, met quite a number of community members who had very ordinary information about the topic because of either their lack of interest in politics or were not ready to discuss it. Therefore, I approached more enlightened members of the Ahmadiyya community for conducting interviews and FDGs.

3.7 Sample Size

Qualitative Studies have generally much smaller sample size than the quantitative research studies. It is because of the point of diminishing return to the sample – more data with the development of study doesn't lead to more information (Ritchie, Lewis, Elam 2003). In qualitative research, one occurrence of a piece of data is enough to become a part of the analysis as a whole. Frequency is not so-much important in the qualitative study because qualitative research is more concerned with the meanings than generalized hypothesizes (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006). Lastly, qualitative research is labor intensive research, which requires much more time and resource than the quantitative studies. Though, in a research locale, different respondents can have different opinions on a certain issue therefore, large sample size is recommended to incorporate most / all of the perceptions however, at the same time, a much larger sample size, yields a repetitive data which is unnecessary for the study (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In the current study I gathered the data until there came a saturation point and the information from data started getting repeated. Initially I visited my locale for a pre-testing in December, 2014 and interviewed six respondents. Details of Ahmadiyya community's social and political life in Ralioke were the highlight of this pre-testing. Later next years, in February, I lived in the village for a month and conducted three Focus Group Discussions (FDGs). The Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) had sixteen participants in total divided into 6, 5 and 5 respectively. I conducted 15 in-depth interviews from respondents from Ahmadiyya community during that one month of stay at the locale after which the data started getting repeated. Furthermore, I made several visits to the community where I observed the daily life and social activities of Ahmadiyya community in detail in Ralioke through non-participatory observation technique.

3.8 Pre-Testing

The term pilot study has dual usage in social science research. It can mean to be a small scale studies, done in order to prepare for the major studies or it can refer to the pre-testing of particular research approach (Baker, 1994; 182-3). The advantages of pre-testing or piloting include the warnings about usage of certain instruments, designs and questionnaires or if the project could fail or where research protocols become redundant, and what methods are inappropriate or complicated.

I went to Ralioke before conducting the research for a pre-testing in December 2014. The whole idea behind pre-testing was to understand the dynamics of the Ahmadiyya community in the locale. I did six in-depth interviews during the pre-testing period where six respondents were interviewed. The nature of interviews was unstructured where themes were floated to the respondents and detailed data was penned down. Apart from in-depth interviews, I attended the meetings, which are a usual happening in the rural areas, as a non-participatory observer. The data gathered during the pre-testing was similar to the data acquired later on during my stay with the community and from multiple visits to the locale after that.

Chapter 04: Findings

This chapter investigates the Ahmadiyya question in Pakistan and how the change in State narrative shaped Ahmadiyya life, broadly. Themes were developed during field visits for the sake of more objective analysis. Themes ranging from socio-economic position of Ahmadiyya community to the institutionalised marginalisation have covered almost every aspect of Ahmadiyya political participation in Ralioke. This chapter is further divided into themes that emerged out of data and field notes. These themes encompass the behaviours and decisions of respondents from settling in this village to how they access state.

4.1 Settling of Ahmadiyya Community in Pakistan

Ahmadiyya community is mostly migrants who migrated from Indian Punjab during partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947. Ahmadiyya community considers this migration as a result of negotiations between the community and leadership of All India Muslim League (AIML). AIML according to the local accounts ensured the community a safe homeland in the form of Pakistan where they were to be treated as equal and Muslim citizens along with other inhabitants of the new country. A committee during the crisis of partition was established by Ahmadiyya community to choose a location for their headquarters. This committee traveled throughout Punjab to find the location and finally came up with Rabwah as the ideal location for settlement. The land was not under cultivation then.

However, not all the Ahmadiyya community could be settled in Rabwah, so when sitting in Lahore, one of influential Ahmadiyya community (Mirza Muzafar Ahmad, commonly known as M.M. Ahmad) consulted with head of *jamaat* and asked a few families (these families were living together in Indian Punjab) to be settled in Sialkot. Sialkot was selected as a fine settlement place for these families because of the political and social ties of M.M. Ahmad with the local Government officials. Moreover, land was available in the area because before partition this village was dominated by Sikh and Hindu community who migrated to India during the separation of the State. So lands were available in the village and as instructed by M.M. Ahmad, they came to an adjacent area to Sialkot, which is now near Lahore highway. Later they shifted to Ralioke village because the elders preferred the village to city. The steps of moving to the

village instead of city were necessary to keep the cohesiveness and closeness of the community intact. It was easier to survive as Ahmadiyya community in a village rather than in a city.

Once Ahmadiyya Community was settled in the village, an interaction between the locals and migrants readily started to develop. Along with Ahmadis, few non-Ahmadi close family acquaintances also moved to Ralioke. In this village, they became financially dominant and hence they became interested in the local politics. Soon after that Ahmadiyya community became the centre of local politics. Political dominance of Ahmadiyya community is evident from these words of a community member,

“Ahmadiyya community came to this village in 1947, and after that, an Ahmadi was the member of provincial assembly of this constituency”.
(Personal Communication, 17, December 2014).

“In the past, when we were not pushed back and separated from the rest of the society, we were dominant in all spheres of life. Whether it was politics or other daily activities, Ahmadiyya community were leading others, in this area”
(Personal Communication, 16, December 2014).

4.2 Coping through Time

However, talking about the Ahmadiyya community as a whole, this streak of dominance did not last long and soon another streak of fear and violence took over. Three major incidents of violence against Ahmadiyya community occurred in 1953, 1973 and 1984 respectively. It is pertinent to mention these incidents because situation was quite dismal for Ahmadiyya community during and after these incidents. If we ask from the Ahmadiyya community about these incidents, they explain it as state led violence which forced them to shift their headquarters from Pakistan and deprived them from being Muslims. They categorise it as identity theft movements against Ahmadiyya community.

“Actions of 1973 and 1984 were worst for our community. Our very existence was jeopardised by the State. Ahmadiyya community was massacred throughout the region. These decisions deprived a thriving community; which would have been helpful in making Pakistan a better country, from their

identity. We were not just denied our existence; we were shunned out like a rotten piece” (Personal Communication, 17, December 2014).

Exclusion of Ahmadiyya community from the Muslim citizenship during 70s and 80s led to a country wide discrimination against Ahmadiyya community despite their contribution in the social, political and economic spheres of Pakistan. The translation of this constitutional act saw mass violence against Ahmadiyya community let alone discrimination. The community enjoyed the Muslim identity before this constitutional amendment even when the right wing forces in Pakistan demanded Ahmadiyya community’s forced eviction from the national field. Through these decisions, Ahmadiyya community was denied the very opportunity to participate actively in local politics. They were separated from the rest of the community and these decisions widened the gap between an Ahmadiyya and non-Ahmadiyya community. Ahmadiyya community was a victim to social exclusion and vulnerable to the acts of violence. Community, however always resisted this forced eviction through its acts denying the status of non-Muslims given to it. As one of community member explained:

“In 1984, we faced the worst situation ever, I do not know the peculiarities of this turmoil, which could be religious, political or both. But I do remember that people even my friends told me that Zia has declared a war against you and has forbidden Ahmadiyya community from prayers, reciting Quran and other religious activities. We were banned from preaching and publishing our religion. In 1985, I was in 10th class, younger generation of our community used to display our religious devotion as a protest against the decision of 1984” (Personal Communication, 21, February 2015).

Because of these decisions, Ahmadiyya community was socially excluded from the society. The effects were also evident in this village because before Ahmadiyya community was declared Non-Muslims, the marriages used to take place within the Gujjars but now another divide was there. Inter-marriages between Ahmadiyya and non-Ahmadiyya community members were out of question. Still they were living together and daily interaction was favourable enough. Within Ralioke, people were still living like they used to live in the past but the situation outside the village was not good enough. Ahmadiyya community was forced to hide its identity from others,

outside Ralioko. It was denied financial participation in the business community of Sialkot and socially unaccepted by the rest of the society. There is an incident worth mentioning, that will explain the situation better in terms of how Ahmadiyya community was coping with their daily lives outside the village:

“Once I went to Sialkot to a friend who was running a garments shop in the city. There was another person sitting in the shop at that time. I greeted my friend and the person sitting with him. They got up and we shook hands. During the conversation, that person came to know that I was an Ahmadi and when I was leaving, I again greeted him but he did not reply. Then I tried to shake hands with him but he refused and said, “You better get out of here, I have already sinned by shaking my hands with you”. After that, I came out. The reason for telling you this incident is that how people behaved when they came to know that we are Ahmadi. But in this village, everything is working perfectly fine. We Ahmadi and Non-Ahmadi eat and drink together, our children go to same schools and play together. I would not say that we are marginalised here or we endangered here. Non-Ahmadiyya community is also our relatives and friends with” (Personal Communication, 21, February 2015).

After, Ahmadiyya community was *criminalised* in 1984, they were socially excluded from every aspect of life everywhere in the country. They were objectified and marginalised no matter what class, cadre, or profession they belonged to. Being Ahmadi was itself an enough reason for social boycott. As one of the member recalls memories from his teenage.

“After 1984, the circumstances became worse for Ahmadiyya community. In 1987, after completing my matriculation I went to Government College of Technology to study electrical diploma. It was a class of 54 students. I did not tell them that I am Ahmadi but after four or five months one of my class fellows from previous school told them that I belong to Ahmadiyya community. The next day when I went to school the situation became unbearable, I was sitting in the middle of the classroom and rest of my fellows were sitting in a circle around me. They were asking me about our religious activities. After that those

boys who used to sit with me and were my friends, were not even ready to talk to me. However, my best friend did not know about it yet. Therefore, I thought that it would be better if I will tell him myself instead that he learned from others. Next day when he came to college, I met him at the gate and we went to take a cup of tea to our usual place. I told him that I am Ahmadi and rest of the class is not even talking to me and what is your decision. He told me that it did not matter to him and that we would still be friends. The purpose of telling you this incident is that people are different and have different choices. To some, talking to an Ahmadi and interacting in daily life is intolerable. The situation is an abyss and depends on the people themselves. After all, it is there choice, is it not”? (Personal Communication, 22, February 2015).

Ahmadiyya community was leading the political and social life of Ralioke. Their involvement and prominence is evident from their past in Ralioke. However, the situation for Ahmadiyya community became worse over time. Throughout the country, they faced a critical situation. In this village, the situation also changed over time but not as much as it did out of this village. Ahmadiyya community is and was an important part of the village and is dominating in matters of social and political concerns.

“Before 1954, Ahmadiyya community was politically quite active. It was leading a political arena through electoral politics. However, the period from 1974 to 1984 and onward is not that great for our community. Our houses were burnt, business was destroyed, and there were slogans relating to commensality. It was the era of social and political boycott but no such incident happened in this village. After 1984, the situation had not changed much. People excluded us from their lives but in this village we did not face similar issues” (Personal Communication, 20, February 2015).

The importance of Ahmadiyya community in this village can be attributed to the fact that Ahmadiyya community shares the same extended kinship network along with sharing *Punjabiness*, which provides necessary symbolic capital to maintain the connection with the society at large in Ralioke.

4.3 Discrimination and Assimilation

Ahmadiyya community may have faced discrimination and violence over the period of time and space but no such incidence happened in the village under study. As one of the non-Ahmadiyya community member stated:

“I have never seen that the Ahmadiyya community faced any act of violence or discrimination in the village. However, people do try to make things problematic for Ahmadiyya community by arranging certain religious conferences and activities but until now, real incidence of physical violence hasn't occurred” (Personal Communication, 17, December 2014).

It does not mean that there had never been an attempt to mutilate the Ahmadiyya community. There had been attempts to sabotage the peace of the community but the Ahmadiyya community has successfully countered these attempts with the cooperation of non-Ahmadiyya community. Ahmadiyya community is well integrated in the local habitus infact it would not be wrong to call them as the social innovators of the village. Non-Ahmadi local residents do not have any kind of problem with Ahmadiyya community but a few extremists have tried to commit some acts of violence in the near past but the agitation was suppressed with the help of local residents and the police. During those days when Ahmadiyya community was worried about its existence, locals came to help the community and it reacted as one community. Through developing their roots over the time, Ahmadiyya community has successfully achieved a living place where it has been discriminated anymore and its future generations can live lives without enduring any discrimination. As one of the non-Ahmadi resident of Ralioke accounts:

“There is no one who ever succeeded in committing any kind of violence against Ahmadiyya community. Although there are few people who think about hurting them but they have never tried to do anything and even if somebody tried to do so, the attempt did not succeed because of the integration of Ahmadiyya community with others. There had been two attempts of violence against the Ahmadiyya community but none of them succeeded. Locals do care about them. In fact, we are living together like a single community. Although, inter-marriages are obsolete now, however, we still go to the marriages and

funerals and all other social activities. Our bond with them is not religious, it is social and moral, and believe me it is stronger than the former” (Personal Communication with Non-Ahmadiyya community Member, 15, December 2014).

Ahmadiyya community in Ralioko has not undergone any physical violence as it has happened in other parts of the country. This relatively peaceful coexistence model has been in effect because of the contributions from Ahmadiyya and non-Ahmadiyya community which inherently comes from the *biradari* system of Ralioko. This however, doesn't mean that there is no danger at all. Since, there are factions of the society who are not happy with this mutual coexistence. These factions tried in the past to bring violence to Ralioko through propaganda and lobbying but the social bonding nullified the affect. Therefore, there was no such act in Ralioko where either a single member of the Ahmadiyya community or the whole community was victimised. Despite the fact that such factions could never hurt Ahmadiyya community but still their un-ending efforts continue. This one incident narrated by a local Ahmadi is worth sharing:

“There is an incident worth telling that a local person borrowed a huge amount from an Ahmadi and after sometime when he demanded his money back the borrower failed to comply the agreement. As a result, the Ahmadi went to Police Station to resolve the matter and out of rage, the borrower tried to misuse the 295 C (Blasphemy law). That person gave application to the Police and a financial issue was transformed into a blasphemy. Therefore, despite the fact that Ahmadiyya community has a strong social, moral, and financial, the community still remains, vulnerable because of the State introduced laws” (Personal Communication with non-Ahmadiyya community member, 15, December 2014).

Such incidents leave a huge impression of vulnerability no matter how strong or closely knitted a community is. The argument that ‘community in Ralioko has lived a peaceful life in Ralioko’ does not justify the Pakistani State’s exclusionary political adventures which leave millions of people at the mercy of their socio-economic conditions. Therefore, the question of safety cannot be answered without looking at one’s own situation as one member of the Ahmadiyya community described:

“Circumstances and the places where we are living have an important role that someone would be vulnerable to some agitation or not. As far as the question of my safety is concerned, I am not vulnerable at all”. (Personal Communication, 20, February 2015)

Ahmadiyya community no matter where it is in Pakistan is vulnerable. This vulnerability is relative to place of living. Places where Ahmadiyya community is few in number, they are more vulnerable and the places where Ahmadiyya community is relatively more in number develop good ties with the locals and thus less vulnerable. However, when we say ‘less vulnerable’ we are applying the restrictions of time and space. They may not be vulnerable at one location, at a specific period but they will be vulnerable at different time and different place. Considering all these facts the conditions for Ahmadiyya community in the whole country is not getting any better. Especially when we talk about the safety of their future generation, the situation becomes even more critical:

“Condition for Ahmadiyya community is not getting any better specially regarding their safety and safety of the future generation is the primary concern. This unsafe environment, which had left them, unprotected and had made them vulnerable to religious riots”. (Personal Communication, 22, February 2015)

Ahmadiyya community is vulnerable and they could be victims of religious or political riots. Ahmadiyya community wants to live in peace and that is what the community members expect from others.

“Places where Ahmadiyya community are alone they are vulnerable to religious and political riots. They are not as such aligned with the state and local political situation so that singles them out. But the word ‘fear’ would not describe the situation because we like to live in peace. We do not disturb anyone and same we expect from others. You can say that we are cautious and that is because we want to live peacefully, so the word ‘fear’ will mislead you about the situation. If someone dies because of his bad deed that is something

else and if someone is a victim of other's ignorance that differentiates the situation" (Personal Communication, 22, February 2015).

However, there had been minor incidents where Ahmadiyya community was targeted like a respondent told me about his potato crop:

"Three times my potato crop has been set ablaze. I do not know who did this"
(Personal Communication, 16, December 2014)

Situation for Ahmadiyya community in the local village is much better. Their primary concern about safety comes under question when they have to move out of the village. Outside this community, they are not accepted as they are accepted in this area. They are also facing problems in doing and establishing business out of this village. As one of the Ahmadiyya respondents narrates:

"My life and the life of Ahmadiyya community as a whole is not safe in Pakistan. We do not have a problem in this village but our lives and lives and assets of our future generations are not safe outside this place. We do not accept the decision of declaring us minority but what we can do except staging peaceful protest. We do not feel ourselves as endangered in Ralioker because we did not face any act of extremism especially in this village."

(Personal Communication, 17, December 2014)

The impact of outside madness against Ahmadiyya community however caused a sense of insecurity within the Ahmadiyya community because some outside elements have tried to hurt Ahmadiyya community of Ralioker. As one respondent said:

"After 1974, people came to Ralioker to act against Ahmadiyya community. People even tried to divide our lands among them because they thought that is how now Ahmadiyya community would perish. However, the Police intervened and the situation was controlled. During this entire frightening situation, non-Ahmadi people stood by us. Now Ahmadiyya community is in enough number in the local village and because of media and other ways that are a source of public awareness we are safer than before. Even if such thing appears now, we can defend ourselves here. The recent law about

banning the use of speakers in mosques and other places has also helped us in maintaining the peace. Before this law, there was a permanent threat because in nearby mosques, religious conferences were held on monthly basis and each time people came in large number from outside, there were chances that the mob could get out of control.” (Personal Communication, 16, December 2014).

Ahmadiyya community has not faced any severe act of violence while living in the local village but they do not consider them safe when they move out of the village. As one of the Ahmadiyya community described an incident that he faced during his visit to a village Chandni Kot near Sheikhpura:

“It was Friday and two people asked me to come to the mosque. I did not tell them that I am Ahmadi and I went to the mosque. The Imam was delivering a speech about Ahmadiyya community. He was talking about our religious activities and he was provoking listeners about Ahmadiyya community. After he finished his speech, I went to him, told him he was provoking people against us and but our religious activities are not as you were telling them. It is an absolute fallacy that you are misinterpreting our religious activities and our religious doctrine. When I said it, a few people who heard my words came to me as they were going to kill me. The person who invited me to his village was trying to protect me. I ran from there, jumped from the roof, and came to my host’s home. That is how I saved my life. However, that would not be true saying that I saved my life. Actually, my host and his couple of friends saved my life; otherwise, they would have killed me. Therefore, my question to you is, will u call it that Ahmadiyya community are safe or imperiled. I would like to add that I did not say anything that will provoke them. I was just telling them that you are portraying our beliefs and our doctrine in wrong way. I just wanted to tell him that we are not that. I did not have any other intention except telling him the truth. If I will ask, you will tell me that you are living in a certain city or a village. Then definitely, you would know better than I would about the culture, customs, people and other things or particularities of that village. That is all that I tried to do. So if you will ask me again the question

that we are safe? I would say, in this village, yes we are but out of it, I am not that sure.” (Personal Communication, 17, December 2014)

Ralioke exhibits an entirely different condition as compared to the other parts of the country. As the above incident describes the vulnerability outside the village, but Ahmadis are determined that their lives and lives of their children will be much safer in the village.

“Over time, situation is getting worse since 1947 for Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan, but here life of my future generation would be better. They will have more and better opportunities and better living standard than my generation because their schooling is better, they are mixing well with the other communities, and they are accepting our future generation, as we are one single community. When I was a child, that was the time for riots against Ahmadiyya community and my parents were too concerned about my safety but now we are not that much concerned. However, it does not mean that we feel that we are safe and protected outside this place. Conditions outside this place could be dreadful as anyone can kill you if people know that you are Ahmadi. All the members of Ahmadiyya community feel the same. We fear from Maulvis and especially from the young ones studying in Madrassas. However, we are not afraid from common people like you”. (Personal Communication, 22, February 2015)

A non-Ahmadiyya community member described the situation that how people feel about Ahmadiyya community inside and outside of this village.

“People hate Ahmadiyya community just because they are Ahmadiyya community, they hate them because they had not met them and not lived with them. People hate them because they believe that they had built the afterlife concept of heaven and hell in this world and other conspiracies about their religious activities but people who know them, are well aware of the differences between reality and propaganda. However, such a debate is quite controversial and is beyond the scope of your study, so we should focus on the

main idea. The purpose of telling this to you was that people who are not living with Ahmadiyya community have to rely on the popular rhetoric but those who are living with them know the reality. That is why non-Ahmadiyya community socialized with the Ahmadiyya community and trusted them, through decades in this village.” (Personal Communication with Non-Ahmadiyya community Member, 15, December 2014).

Influential members of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke support the local population both socially and financially without any discrimination of faith. They are financially well off and socially accepted because of their landholding status. Ahmadiyya community wants to live in peace. Even when they were declared minority, they avoided taking law into their hands which is otherwise a common practice in Pakistan. In the near past, there was a danger when certain religious conferences were organised in the mosque of the village but recent ban on the use of loudspeaker mitigated that danger. Ahmadiyya place of worship is protected by a security guard, which lessens the danger of attack of a mob. A respondent described the situation in following words:

“People from outside have tried to hurt us in this village but they have never succeeded. They call this village as Second Rabwa. Religious factions have tried to develop hatred for us in the hearts of the locals but couldn’t succeed. There used to be religious conferences when the loudspeaker was allowed in the vicinity and the slogan used to be “Let us go to Rabwah”, referring to Ralioke. This is how people perceive this village. But after the ban on loudspeakers the situation has become even better for us because now there are no such conferences and no fears from the mob, who otherwise, could have, at least tried to hurt Ahmadiyya community” (Personal Communication, 22, February 2015).

However, the extended kinship system of Gujjar Biradari provides them with the required social cohesion and strengthens them.

“We did not face any problem here after we were declared as minority. The reasons are multiple among them one is that we are all related to each other.

Whether Ahmadi or not, we are all relatives and I am talking about the land owners. Therefore, people know that if we will take such step against Ahmadiyya community, non-Ahmadis will help Ahmadiyya Community.”
(Personal Communication, 16, December 2014).

4.4 Kinship and Strength

In Ralioke, there has not been any act of violence against the Ahmadiyya community and they consider themselves relatively safer in the village as compared to Ahmadiyya community in other areas outside of this village. There are multiple reasons for this relatively safer pattern of co-existence. As in past (when Ahmadiyya community were not declared minority), the marriages were preferred in same Biradari (Gujjar Biradari), these intermarriages provided the required structural cohesion. This structural endogamy helped in establishing a structural cohesion, which further strengthened the close relation of the community. It helped in achieving a community where goal of many became the goal of one. However, this inter-marriage phenomenon is not practiced now but still the inherent kinship network provides the strength to the cohesion of the community.

In the past (before 1974), when the Ahmadiyya community was not declared as Non-Muslims by the state, there were marriages between Ahmadiyya community and non-Ahmadiyya community. Now the Ahmadiyya community members are knitted in the very fabric of the village. Before 1974, the *biradari* system was the most influential and basic in the struggle to consolidate power. In Ralioke, the marriages were performed within the same *biradari* and as most of the Ahmadiyya community are Gujjars like most of the community with big landholdings and assets. The founding of such relations was not the religion or sect but was the *biradari* system. The decision of marriages was based on a notion of a *biradari*, Gujjar marrying in a Gujjar family, instead of an Ahmadi marrying to an Ahmadi or a non-Ahmadi family.

This kinship system further strengthened the social position of Ahmadiyya community and enabled them not to be treated as a minority. It further helped them, along with financial superiority, to continue and flourish their lives as individuals and as a community. Because of this kinship system, Ahmadiyya community entered the very core of social fabric of this village. In addition, once they were declared as Non-Muslims, their financial stature helped them to live

in peace but the kinship system and social relations with other community members played a key role too.

However, after the declaration of Ahmadiyya community as minorities, Ahmadiyya community is not allowed to marry in non-Ahmadiyya community and if someone commits such an act then he is punished by the *jamaat*. This step may have weakened the required social cohesion, but social statues and economic status of the Ahmadiyya community filled in the gap. Since, Ahmadiyya community own most of the landholdings of the village, they are better off financially as compared to non-Ahmadiyya community.

4.5 Accessing the State

Ahmadiyya community has aligned itself in good terms with the local bureaucracy to acquire the statist capital. They disclose their identity in the process of accessing the state machinery. They are also well aligned with the local politicians as they help the local politicians during the elections and in return, politicians help them in achieving their goals.

“To access the police and bureaucracy we have to find someone who can help us. We cannot manage on our own because if we will go there any person can blame us and we do not want to provide people with any reason to attack us. Political leaders are influential enough in the local setting. We do not want to get involved in such situation as we like to live in peace. In the past Ahmadiyya community had direct access to government institutions and they used to help the locals in getting jobs.” (Personal Communication, 21, February 2015)

However accessing state machinery through politicians is not the only channel that Ahmadiyya community utilises for the fulfilment of much needed tasks. One of the Ahmadiyya community members who was in good terms with a former President of Pakistan is a resident of a nearby village. He is American citizen and during his days of Presidency, this president used to visit him at his home. This person was influential enough in the political system and in bureaucracy that he managed all the tasks of Ahmadiyya community. Now even those days are gone but still he is influential enough that Ahmadiyya community had no problem in accessing the state. When

Pervez Ilahi was the Chief Minister of Punjab, he was in good terms with him too. All the developmental works like roads that pass through this area and other link roads were constructed during that period.

Ahmadiyya community of Ralioke is influential enough that it had never faced any problem in accessing the state. The community member's cohesion provides them with necessary recognition (*habitus*). They utilise both formal and informal tactics to access the state. However, Ahmadiyya community had never confronted the state itself or its actions. Even they did not protest as *jamaat*, when they were declared as minority, except a silent protest of boycotting the voting and not participating in the electoral process. Before being declared as minority, Ahmadiyya community was politically active and influential and used to take part in the electoral process. Therefore, still some of Ahmadiyya community members are well acquainted with the local bureaucracy and help each other if someone is facing a problem. They are also quite helpful for the rest of the community as well.

Religious leaders of Ahmadiyya community (commonly called as *jamaat* that represents both, Ahmadiyya community as a whole, and religious leaders), does not provide any support in political and state matters and is more concerned with the religious affairs and keeping the integrity of the Ahmadiyya community intact.

“Our Jamaat is more related to discipline and religious matters. They do not have influence over here, so what we do here, and how we manage our affairs depends on us that how influential we are. In fact, I believe that if Ahmadiyya community is safe to some extent, it is because of that one person. People who wish and try to hurt this community know that we are influential enough so that is why they do not try to hurt us. In a nearby village Jhando Tehsil Daska, houses of Ahmadi community were burnt by the villagers but no such incident happened here in Ralioke.” (Personal Communication, 17, December 2014)

Ahmadiyya community does not accept any aid from the government and has its own centralised financial system. Every year, each member of the Ahmadiyya community provides ten percent of his total earnings to the centre. The centre in return provides religious services to Ahmadiyya community and provides for the education and other purposes to poor members of the

community who are not able to manage on their own. Moreover, the *jamaat* forbids them to take part in any political campaign, to take part in the electoral process and from voting. This act has different implications on the Ahmadiyya community of Ralioko, which are to be discussed below.

4.6 Politics without Voting

Ahmadiyya community used to take part in the electoral process actively in local and general elections before 1974. The members from the community had been the candidates for National Assemblies and Provincial Assemblies as well as for the local bodies' elections. Now Ahmadiyya community does not vote in any sort of elections as their *jamaat* made the decision for the whole Ahmadiyya community that they will not take part in the electoral process and they will not vote for any party. Ahmadiyya community has a self-imposed ban that it will not take part in the local politics because casting vote is only possible under the status of a minority and Ahmadiyya community thinks that casting vote under minority status would be an admission to the Pakistani state's decision of exclusion and criminalisation. Therefore, it withdrew from the active politics but still influencing the local political arena through lobbying and supporting one party/ candidate. Sometimes, if the situation in the elections is dismal for its candidates, even a few members may cast the vote but the activity is kept secret from the superior religious authorities (Shura) who make the decisions for rest of the entire Ahmadi community.

The Ahmadi community is equally disappointed by the decision of not voting. They had been active in the political arena and they are forbidden from taking part in the field both by the Government up to some extent and by their own religious authorities. Ahmadiyya community is mostly migrants who came to Pakistan after 1947. They settled through the regions and have socialised well enough with the locals and made themselves socially acceptable in the local regions. In the given settings of Ralioko, social and political participation of Ahmadiyya community is well renowned.

If we define the channels, through which the Ahmadiyya community affect the landscape of local politics, their financial superiority will stand out. They financially support the local politicians during their electoral campaigns. Above that, local candidates know about their ban on voting but still they come to the leaders of Ahmadiyya community to gain their support because of their

influence over the locals. The Ahmadiyya community can influence the locals and the people with whom they are in good terms to vote for a specific candidate. They utilise their well-developed social relations to gain the local support. However, they do not take part an active role during the campaigns and during voting and all the activities remain tacit. Ahmadiyya community has to obey the order of the *jamaat* for their survival as a community. *Jamaat* forbids them from being active in the local or national politics so they passively join the campaigns and influence non-Ahmadi people to vote for the preferred candidate.

Here a question arises that candidates go to a person so that they can ask him for a vote but in the given case, the candidate already knows that he is Ahmadi and he does not vote. Then why that candidate would go to a person who does not vote. The answer lies in the fact that how Ahmadiyya community has knitted itself in the given social context. They are in good terms with the locals and they help them socially, politically and economically.

Their political involvement is a strategy to counter the vulnerability after being declared non-Muslims. However, in daily life of Ralioke, there is no wide distinguishing line between Ahmadiyya community and non-Ahmadiyya community and the divide is not visible in the village. However, there are a few people in the village who want to pull some strings that could hurt Ahmadiyya community but they have not met with any success.

The decision of the *jamaat* for not voting at all has two reasons. First Ahmadiyya community believes that the decision of declaring them non-Muslims was not just because no one has the power to decide for others' religions and beliefs. Therefore, they decided to boycott the election as a way to protest against the decision of 1974. According to Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke, they were declared as minorities but they are not a minority, they are Muslims and should have rights that all other Muslims have. They will not vote as minority, declare them Muslims and they will vote.

“We back down from the local politics because it was the decision of our jamaat that Ahmadiyya community will not participate in any political movement or in local politics and will not cast vote, as minority.” (Personal Communication, 17, December 2014)

However, there is another alternative explanation to the decision that also originated from the decision of 1974. The *jamaat* advised and ordered Ahmadiyya community and kept them from taking part in the political arena because it will make them more vulnerable. If they will choose to take sides and show preference for a particular party they will make enemies and hence become vulnerable. As a consequence the opposite strong parties can seek their revenge through public provocation against Ahmadiyya community or by utilising state machinery. In either way, Ahmadiyya community will be more vulnerable. As per one of the respondents:

“We have succeeded in unifying our Jamaat because had we also voted, there would have been conflicts over politics with in the community, , then what would have happened to our unity and the Jamaat itself? Our success lies in the fact that by boycotting the political field we saved our Jamaat, we saved our unity and we protected ourselves. If someone explicitly supports some political party or casts a vote then he will be expelled from Jamaat.” (Personal Communication, 20, February 2015)

In the local body’s election, they can help the candidate financially but all such matters are carried out secretly. Ahmadiyya community in the village and Union Council is strong enough that that they can choose a candidate without revealing their identity, they can bear all the expenses and they can gather enough votes to make him win. To gather such political support they utilise their financial resources and their kinship network in the community to support the candidates. In the current local body’s elections, Ahmadiyya community is supporting one of the candidates.

“We made the member of Provincial Assembly win without even casting vote”.
(Personal Communication, 22, February 2015)

“The decision of not voting in the elections was made by jamaat as a protest against putting us under the section of minorities. It was not just. There is a saying in Punjabi “naaley marna, nalley roon vi nai dena” that situation perfectly implies to our situation. On one hand, they declared us minority and on the other hand, they blame us for not voting. However, here in this village, we do not vote but still we are controlling

the political scene. Some people in the Ahmadiyya community have this high of muddling in the political field. However, we do not take part in active politics. People themselves come to us". (Personal Communication, 21, February 2015)

"We do not choose political parties or convince people to vote for a specific candidate as a jamaat. If someone has personal contact with a non-Ahmadi, the person asks him because of his personal relation rather than on the behalf of jamaat. As a community, we are not attached with any political party or programme. We ask them on our own behalf, not as a Jamaat and we do not do it explicitly. That is the case with only a few people not with every one of us. I am 40 years old and I have not cast a vote even once". (Personal Communication, 20, February 2015)

As a protest, Ahmadiyya community decided that they will not be a part of the electoral process in any situation as minority. However, they have not met any success in fulfilling their goals. by boycotting, they have achieved unity and their cohesion is intact but the boycott has not undermined their social and financial position. Although, it affected them politically, but they made the sacrifice happily. Ahmadiyya community, does support the candidates which provides them with the political support.

"We are not involved in the local politics as a community but we do support the candidates. That support is not offered by the community as a whole instead it is the decision of individuals and support is not explicit." (Personal Communication, 22, February 2015)

Another respondent narrates;

"We have never thought about being active in politics, what jamaat had decided for us is better for us. But if we were not declared as minority, then we could have played active role in the local politics and could have influenced it. Overall, we are in good terms with all the biradaries, we are living here peacefully. The Nambardar of the village belongs to Ahmadiyya community and that is one reason that we are able to influence local politics. All the candidates in local body's elections know about it and that is why they ask

Ahmadiyya community to support them. As in my case the candidate for chairman and counsellor both have asked me to support them.” (Personal Communication, 17, December 2014)

Ahmadiyya community is not financially or socially deprived. However, if they were not declared as minority their influence over local politics would have been much more evident. Ahmadiyya community does not have any problem in voting but the community definitely has concerns how the government wants the community members to vote and they are not willing to vote as a minority. Ahmadiyya community of Ralioko has to be involved in the local politics to assure the safety for themselves and for the next generation as well. They are attached to a certain political group in the local settings and people know this fact and they have connections with the MPAs (Members of Provincial Assembly) and MNAs (Members of National Assembly) so people do not try to hurt them.

“We are doing all these political activities to make ourselves safe.” (Personal Communication, 20, February 2015)

But sometimes people do raise a question when Ahmadiyya community asks them to vote for a particular candidate. For instance, during elections, they encourage others to vote for their affiliated candidate. Ahmadiyya community has developed its own strategies to influence the local politics for instance, they use their social and financial resources to support certain candidates and in return, those candidates help them in difficult times.

“We affect the local political system. I will tell you about myself. I am on good terms with the residents of this village and the people living in the surrounding villages. The candidates know that I can influence people and can thus help their elections. Ahmadiyya community is politically active and the members of the community have keen observation that how political alliances are made and how people can be convinced, that is why they can influence the local politics.” (Personal Communication, 21, February 2015)

“We access the state through the politicians to whom we support during elections. I would say that it is kind of a relation with mutual benefits that we

help them in gathering public support and in return they help us in accessing state. However, the politicians do not affect our lives and we have never gone to their Deras as they always come to us.” (Personal Communication, 17, December 2014)

Ahmadiyya community has seen different situations through the course of time since it migrated to Pakistan. In the early years after migration, they were the backbone of the local politics in the given region. After they were declared minorities, they found a new adjustments with the local system but they were not influential like they were in the past. However, during 1974 to 1984 and onward they suffered a lot. Once they were leading the political scene and then they were out of the arena. Situation was quite disappointing in those days as or political opponents were not accepting them. During those days people even divided lands of Ahmadiyya community that how they will be killed. However, they utilised their resources and survived the difficult times. They did not face any act of violence but they lost everything regarding political power and political relations. After that, they started building political relations on new and more solid and implicit basis. The aim was to affect the politics but do not be affected by the political system. Soon the situation started getting better with each passing day and now after three decades they are again at a position that they can influence the political arena.

Ahmadiyya community achieved this success by creating a political alliance which was made through different channels but most important is the *biradari* system. First, they talked to their close relations and after convincing them contacted other community members with landholdings and then they worked through working class. They utilised their personal and kin relations in making them visible again. If the Ahmadiyya community was not declared as minority and they have not been banned from voting, then they would have been much more influential and visible in local politics.

4.7 Ahmadiyya Community in local social setup

During the partition of sub-continent, some part of Ahmadiyya community migrated to Pakistani Punjab from Gurdaspur and here they settled in Ralioke, Sialkot. A village, which was dominated by Hindu and Sikh majority who had migrated to India during the partition. Muslims were not dominant in the village, even before partition because most of the landholding belonged

to Sikh and Hindu community. When Ahmadiyya community shifted to the village, they acquired large landholdings in the village. Their political dynamism along with notable financial superiority helped them in nurturing their political consciousness and provided them with the opportunities to enter political field.

Moreover, when Ahmadiyya community shifted in Ralioker, they came here with other nonAhmadi relatives. It would not be misconception if we try to understand the village as a village dominated by Gujjar *biradari*. They were living together in united India and now they were living together in Ralioker, Sialkot. Consider a village, dominated by a community which had been living together for so long and is closely knitted through endogamous structures. This dominance of *biradari* provided them with enough influence that Ahmadiyya community was aspired within the community. Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi Gujjars together tightly knitted a community, where they gained influence socially, politically and financially. Through this dominance, they asserted their influence on locals of Ralioker.

Through the vicissitudes of time and space, Ahmadiyya community has interacted with the society and the community (described locale) in a way that locals not only accepted them but also provided them with the much-needed space in the political arena. Their financial independence and financial authority helped them in creating that space for themselves and for their future generations. They developed a social capital for themselves that will help them when they were in critical situation. They interacted with the people and came up with a habitus, which would nurture them. It was because of such social structures that nobody differentiated between an Ahmadi and a non-Ahmadi in matter of social dealings as per a respondent,

“Now, nobody differentiates between an Ahmadi and a non-Ahmadi in the matter of social dealings.” (Personal Communication, 20, February 2015)

Ahmadiyya community, with the help of its kinship network and financial independence structured a community in which they were dominant in every field of life. In this community people were living together and their cultural customs, marriages and other social dealings were led by a single objective; superiority of Gujjar Biradari. Then came the period, which every Ahmadi describes that it was chaotic as it could be. They were declared non-Muslims, which changed the very fabric of the community. Intermarriages and dominance of Gujjar Biradari was

being questioned on the merit of religion. Now, ‘dominance of Gujjars’ was not the only objective and the community was divided in Ahmadiyya community and non-Ahmadiyya community. People started to raise questions on the marriages that were previously performed and the religion of partners posed threats. But with the passage of time, loyalties were renegotiated on the basis of existing kinship structures. Ahmadiyya community and nonAhmadiyya community again started to live together in a way that in matters of public dealings, nobody was differentiating between Ahmadiyya community and non-Ahmadiyya community. However, in matter of politics, Ahmadiyya community has to work even harder. Their *jamaat* boycotted the electoral process, which forced them to find new avenues to secure their interests. They focused on honesty and sincerity in matters of public dealings so that people will follow them, even if they are not a part of the electoral process.

“People follow us because we have a strong moral character and we influence non-Ahmadi community through this. They believe and follow us because we believe in common good and do not undermine any human being. Social status and economic status though influence each other but morality is also linked to social status. I was the manager of wheat flour depot, which was to be distributed to the people on subsidised rates. During that distribution, I never took a bribe from anyone and if someone did not have enough money, I asked him to take the flour and return the money whenever he or she can. Through providing services to people I won their heart and it helped me in increasing social stature. Such acts provided me with an opportunity to influence others and they started to believe in me. I always helped others to the extent I can and in return they bestowed me with their confidence and I never let them down”.

(Personal Communication, 20, February 2015)

Ahmadiyya community has knitted itself in the given social context. The members of the community are in good terms with the locals and they help them in conducting all their state oriented affairs. They have successfully remodeled a community where its interests are again secured. However, in the process of creating such community, interests, over the time had been shifted from dominance and reliance on kinship network to a broader social network.

“A child learns from his society and his society will define him that what kind of person he would become. His action, reactions all are influenced by his society. Now, there is no distinction in an Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi child and both are treated equally in this village. These future generations are growing up, so when they will come to an age and will make the decisions of their own, they will treat each other equally. Ahmadi child has non-Ahmadi friends and he socialises with them and so does a non-Ahmadi child”. (Personal Communication with Non-Ahmadi Community Member, 15, December 2014)

They reinforced the concept of common welfare among the community and became exemplary for other members. Strong moral character in matters of daily life and social acquaintance were strengthened through fair play and public dealings.

“If you want to judge somebody judge him on moral grounds and by impression that he imprinted on the others with whom he had dealt with. People who have some experience of working or living or socialising with Ahmadiyya community, they all will tell you that they are human beings with strong moral character. Because of those moral characters, people rely on them and to me that is a better evaluation process instead of evaluating on religious basis. Their moral values and public dealing is better than the others. There could be another explanation for winning the trust of local people that Ahmadiyya community can easily be targeted through state machinery as the law has left them quite vulnerable. So by winning the trust of people and involving passively in politics they can make themselves much safer so that local people can stand with them in the moment of crisis”. (Personal Communication, 21, February 2015)

Through such actions they successfully achieved the support of non-Ahmadi working class and through reinforcing kinship networks they gathered the support of non-Ahmadi Gujjars.

“Though we have not faced any incident of violence here but in our subconscious mind we know that it could happen. Because of this threatening

situation, our social, economic, and political lives are affected to some extent. The decision of 1984, left us alone from others, they demarked us and deprived us from taking part in politics and several other arenas of life. I am an active community member and so is the case with other members of Ahmadi community, we believe in common good and social service.” (Personal Communication, 16, December 2014)

After 1974 to recent past the Ahmadiyya community had been in a state of danger and vulnerability but in the recent years, they have gained confidence as a community. NonAhmadiyya community has not faced any problem because of the presence of Ahmadiyya community in the acquaintance and they are living like one community sharing their social and personal events with each other. Intermarriages between Ahmadiyya community and nonAhmadiyya community had been a common phenomenon until 1973 and after that *jamaat* banned the marriage of an Ahmadi with non-Ahmadi because there number as community was decreasing.

There is another fact about the Ahmadiyya community of Ralioke that their younger generation is more inclined towards higher education. Ahmadiyya community is most educated people in Ralioke. The members of the community are studying in universities in the country and abroad. Such capital will help them further in securing their future and the future of their younger generation.

“We cannot force anyone to vote for a candidate but we can convince him or her. People with whom we have good terms and we can be asked to vote for their candidate. We are living here, as a community if Ahmadis were not living here the situation would be different. The environment of this village is much different but better than other villages. Ahmadiyya community is well off than the rest of community. Landholdings of Ahmadiyya community are better. They are educated; younger generation is studying in universities and they are employed in Public sector jobs. Social Status of Ahmadiyya community is also better than others. There is no problem for Ahmadiyya community in performing daily activities in the village. Before Ahmadiyya community wa

declared minority, the trend of marriages was not based on sect but marriages took place on caste basis". (Personal Communication, 20, February 2015)

In the light of all the evidence, Ahmadiyya community is secure enough in Ralioke. The community has faced difficult times but always overcome hurdles. The community's kinship network is its best capital and provides security for the members and its children. The members of the community have not forgotten the political arena and still get the necessary political support. They have developed links with the local politician and they are known in local bureaucracy. Above all, they are well known among all people and are known as people with strong moral characters. They have developed a network through which they can influence others to support them in the matter of crisis. Ahmadiyya community has not faced any violence and the evidence decides that its future generation would not be facing any act of discrimination. Ahmadiya community, as a special case of state imposed minority, lives a comparatively settled and stable life in the said village because of the social status it carries with being landholding Punjabi class. This way, the social life in the said village does not have evidence of anti-Ahmadiya sentiment, unlike other parts of the country. Apart from being a landholding class, Ahmadiya community's close social networks and affluent economic status, also play a vital role in accessing the state institutions. Once a politically active community, now has a self-imposed ban restricting themselves from formal political engagements. However, informal political participation is one of the many strategies Ahmadiya community deploys in order to cope up with constitutional and institutionalised marginalisation against them.

In the Ralioke village, Ahmadiyya community uses its political and Punjabi landholding identity to access State. This process of accessing State is multifold as well. At the first level, immediate kinship based social capital is secured. This kinship based social capital is helpful in resolving issues of local nature. It has horizontal as well as vertical connection starting from union council to the city police station and around. Then there lies in the list higher bureaucratic capital.

Since, Ahmadiyya community has a long and staunch deference towards education, therefore Ahmadiyya community has relatively been more successful in acquiring bureaucratic jobs. Reliance on social and cultural capital helps Ahmadiyya community grow roots in bureaucratic subfield which makes it easier for them to resolve issues at the administration level. Having connections in bureaucracy makes it convenient for the Ahmadiyya community to deal with any

such issues which have some part to be played by any State institutions. The nature of such issues can be multifold from legal to political and beyond.

The landholding status of Ahmadiyya community in the under-researched village creates a positive influence over local community by helping them in resolving their issues, both social and political. This influence over the local community makes them able to bargain over certain issues and play as arbitrators. These local political leadership plays as a junction of meeting of Ahmadiyya community and the State.

An indigenous model of Ahmadiyya community's State accessing mechanism can be framed as how the Ahmadiyya community makes it to the higher echelons of power at all levels from society to the State. Personalisation of politics in Punjab is paying dividends to the extremely marginalised Ahmadiyya community.

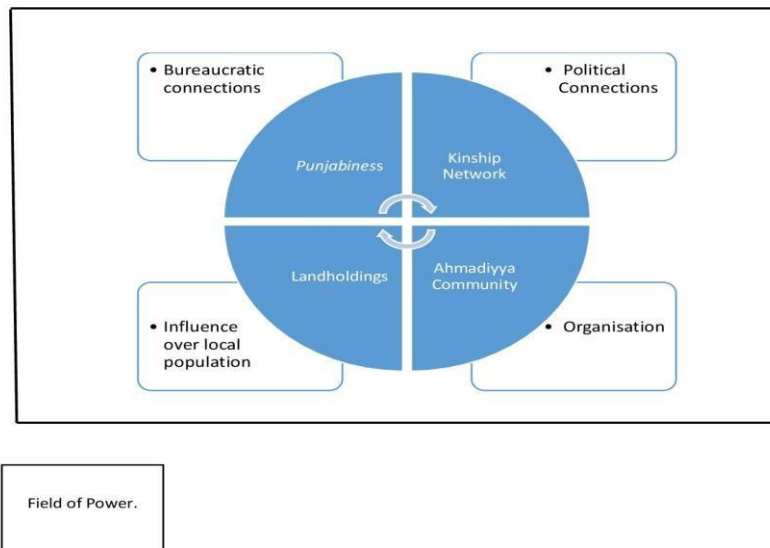


Figure 3: Indigenous Model

4.8 Indigenous Model

The indigenous model which emerges out of this research explains the coping mechanisms of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke against the State-led marginalisation since 1973. Ahmadiyya community in the locale depends on certain inherent as well as self-developed characteristics which enable it to construct a model for peaceful existence in the area, The community relies heavily on the well knitted and organised kinship based network which helps them in accessing the state institutions for making lives and assets of the community members, safe. The other important characteristic is the Punjabi identity of the community which functions as a cultural capital drawing them closer to the Punjabi dominated Pakistani State. The strong organisation of Ahmadiyya community, though based on religious homogeneity, brings the members of the community closer in such a way that it becomes a strongly bonded support base for the community as a whole.

Ahmadiyya community's economic superiority owing to large landholdings in Ralioke creates an influence over the local population which enables the Ahmadiyya community to bargain with the political stake holders despite their non-participatory political stance. This bargain leads to the patron-client relationship with the political establishment of the area, safeguarding the physical and human assets of the community.

In a country like Pakistan, beaurucratic subfield as explained by Saeed (2010) is one of the three subfields required to access the state. Therefore, Ahmadiyya community's kinship network, patron-client relationship with the political establishment and Punjabi identity, which stayed intact even when Muslim identity was snatched by the State, gives them access to the bureaucratic subfield allowing them to play and manipulate the field of power, as explained by Bourdieu (1992).

Chapter 5: Discussion

Foucault has famously said, 'Power creates its own resistance'. Objective of ideological project of post-1971 Pakistani state was to construct a monolith ideology to wipe out the effects of defeat at Dhaka from popular memory. The 'other' was found this time inside country and increase in popularity. The efficacy of political Islam internationally provided the stable background to it. Forced eviction of Ahmadiyya community from Muslim nationhood, which was once popularised by stalwarts of Ahmadiyya community, have made them vulnerable to vagaries of majority.

Vulnerability, however, has many contexts in Pakistan. Legal discrimination, hierarchy in social relations, existence of gendered spaces and most importantly the economic inequalities rendered different groups, ethnicities vulnerable and at risk to social, political and economic atrocities. Ahmadiyya community is one of such group vulnerable to majoritarian auspices of the majority. This study uses a qualitative research design to comprehend the extent of social exclusion (vulnerability), political boycott and coping mechanism of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioko.

Last chapters have provided empirical evidence about 1) the three critical phases of "citizenship" and its impact on community at micro level. 2) Informal means and modes of participation in local political field and 3) How different forms of social and symbolic capital helps in generation of statist capital to access state (required for their protection of life and property). At meta-level theoretical framework of this study locates micro level processes enjoined in a postcolonial system of power that works efficiently and produces political culture of democratised patronage (Akhtar, 2008; Niaz, 2012). This culture of democratised patronage is positively correlated with the informalisation of the economy and both support each other in tandem and provide different sort of opportunities to relatively dispossessed sections.

Rehman (2015) has argued that economic modernisation in central districts of Punjab (Sialkot including) has led to substantial changes in class structure and social formation. The increasing presence of middle classes is evident to common observation through changing life styles, consumption patterns and architectural designs. This middle classes are mostly situated in services sectors (graduated from agrarian sector through acquiring education) and use informational inequalities to develop patronage bonds. Chatterjee (2013) argued that in a

postcolonial state, system of patronage provides advantages to the disfranchised 'political society' vis-à-vis modernised 'civil society'. Taking a clue from that theoretical construct and support from our own findings we can say that Ahmadiyya community participates in local politics as 'outsider' but one which occupies strategic entry points to field of power. Historically Punjabi ethnicity has remained central to this nation building project and received best of its returns. Though, Ahmadiyya community has been thrown out of Pakistani nationhood but its Punjabi identity is still intact and helps it in resisting the power of state and theological elites. Their identification with Punjab and inclusion in higher social status groups provide those required tools of resistance which are used strategically.

This strategic position is obtained because of their belonging to higher socio-economic status groups (*zamindar* castes) and Punjabi ethnic background which provides necessary cultural and symbolic habitus, further required for acquiring statist capital in order to access the field of power (Bourdieu, 1992). Ahmadiyya community, through participation in this intricate process of political patronage and brokerage, carve a breathing space for itself. Their social relations and identification with *zamindar* groups, with a long history of inter marriages (with non-Ahmadi kins) and relatively large size of landholdings have provided them resources that could be used for leverage and protection²². This socio-symbolic capital provides different means that then are used to access state through local institutions of bureaucracy, police and courts. High literacy rates and deference for education also help members to secure jobs in both private and public sectors.

Saeed (2010) has surveyed the whole process of Ahmadiyya persecution and exclusion from mainstream nationhood and citizenship in detail. Our findings add to her with a little more indepth and cross section analysis of the situation. We contend that Ahmadiyya community feel threatened, vulnerable and this feeling has become a routine thing for them. However, in our study area due to their higher economic status and courtesy of their kinship (symbolic and social) capital Ahmadiyya community feels secure and have a say in local set up of power to participate in political field. Political participation is not confined to voting procedures only, one could be as much political by transmitting information, tacitly supporting one of the candidate, and help in building local coalitions and alliances. Vote blocks at village are informal institutions that decide

²² Numberdar of this village also belongs to Ahmadiya community.

the direction of political dynamics (Amin & Asad, 2015). My interaction with the community has provided the insight about the nature of vote-block construction and the role of Ahmadiyya community members in shaping them.

Ahmadiya community, it could be said with confidence, with all persecutions and exposure to assault, is dealing with the situation amicably. Community's rejection of state's verdict is evident through its rejection of casting vote. However, it is important to understand in a state like Pakistan (postcolonial) that, without accessing state, protection of life and security for assets is impossible. Politics in Pakistan is all about taking strategic decisions to get one's self closer to the state. Ahmadiyya community relies on the kinship networks in order to access the state institutions at the local level. It has developed a Punjabi habitus over the years which provides them with the necessary identity to move in the local administrative and political setup.

Ahmadiyya community, in the first fold, relies on the broad kinship network which ensures an access at the local political and administrative institution. Kinship network is very important in Pakistan to creep up to the higher echelons of the state and society (Leiven, 2010). One observes the kinship network as a main strategy of patronage for Ahmadiyya community. This includes support system at police stations, katcheris, hospitals and other state institutions. At the higher level, their *Punjabiness*, which is considered the most important identity in Pakistan for accessing the state because of their influence in Pakistan's military and civil administration, and landholding status provides them with symbolic and economic capital respectively. This increases their influence in the political field and increases the bargaining power in local politics of Ralioke despite the community's formal boycott of electoral politics. The social acceptance of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke further gives it a support-base through which the influencing the local politics is carried out.

Bourdieu (1992) explains, with the emergence of the modern bureaucratic state, there emerges the statist capital which is acquired to access the state. Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke acquires statist capital (access to the state's powerful institutions) through acquisition of symbolic (*Punjabiness*), economic (landholding status) and social capital (kinship networks). The acquisition of statist capital gives the community a manipulative muscle over the field of power. This is how Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke is different and relatively at peace as compared to any other part of the country. This can be attributed to their social status in the village.

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Appendices

Appendix: A

A Local Resident of Ralioke

My life and the life of Ahmadi community are not safe. We do not have problem in here but we cannot call it safe and the life of our future generation will be more endangered than the life of my generation. We do not accept the decision of declaring us minority but what we can do except peaceful protest. We do not feel ourselves as endangered because we have not face any act of extremism or violence living here, especially in this village but we do not consider ourselves as safe because there had been few attempts. We back down from the local politics because it was the decision of our Jamaat that Ahmadiyya Community will not participate in any political movement or in local politics and will not cast vote, as minority.

Boycotting the elections and politics is not an individual decision but it was ordered by the Jamaat. Our social, economic, and financial status has not been undermined by not voting. Until now, we have not met such success in achieving our goals because we were minority then and we are minority now. However, since the boycott, a few may have voted but it was their personal decision, not made by Jamaat and they did this in great secrecy.

We have sound relations with the local political activists. We influence the local politics to some extent because of our personal relations with the local people. People who are influential enough their relations with the state are well aligned and they manage their work in a good manner but those who do not have much influence have to face the problems. As far as I am concerned, I have never faced such problem.

In a nearby village there is a person named Dr. Mehmood. He is a foreign resident and well known and wealthy enough. When Gen. Musharff was the President of Pakistan he used to go there and stayed with him at his home. When Pervez Ilahi was the chief Minister of Punjab, he was in good terms with him too. All the developmental works like roads that passes through this

area and other link roads were constructed during that period and because of Dr. Mehmood. Moreover, all the people living in this village have a blood relation that is why we have not faced any problem and all our needs which involves the state, are fulfilled with the help of Dr. Mehmood.

Our Jamaat is more related to discipline and religious matters. They do not have influence over here, so what we do here, and how we manage our affairs depends on us that how influential we are. In fact, I believe that if Ahmadiyya Community are safe to some extent, it is because of him. People who wish and try to hurt this community know that they are influential enough so that is why they do not try to hurt us. In a nearby village Jhando tehsil Daska, houses of Ahmadi community were burnt by the villagers but no such incident happened here.

Overall, we are not that much interested in Police and other state affairs and all our affairs are handled with the help form this person. Before 1954, Ahmadiyya Community were politically active enough. They were leading the political scenario. However, period of 1974 to1984 and onward is not that great for our community. Our houses were burnt, business was destroyed, and there was slogans that do not sit and eat with Ahmadiyya Community. It was the era of social and political boycott but no such incident happened in this village. After 1984, the situation did not change much. We were not allowed to preach or say Azan. We were denied right to write our religious books.

We do not involve in the local politics as a community but we do support the candidates. That support is not offered by the community as a whole instead it is the decision of individuals and support is not explicit.

We have never thought about being active in politics, what Jamaat had decided for us is better for us. But if we were not declared as minority, then we could have played active role in the local politics and could have influenced it. Overall, we are in good terms with all the Bradaries, we are living here peacefully. Ahmadiyya Community are Chaudhry of this village and that is one reason that we are able to influence local politics. All the candidates in local body's elections know about it and that is why they try to ask Ahmadiyya Community to support them. As in my case the candidate for chairman and councilor both have asked me to support them.

We do not face any problem in conducting our daily affairs. Our young generation is more

inclined towards higher education than the rest of the villagers. If we face any problem, all of us help each other. Whether Ahmadi or not we help each other because we are all relatives with each other. Here, in this village moral support is most of the kind that Ahmadiyya Community get from others. Financial matters are solved by the Jamaat. If someone wants to study but cannot afford it then Jamaat helps him and for that, each Ahmadi gives 10% of his total earnings gives to Jamaat annually.

Ahmadiyya Community are not allowed to marry in Non-Ahmadiyya Community and if someone commits such atrocity then he is punished by the Jamaat. There is no Gender issue (Ahmadi male can marry Non-Ahmadi female but Ahmadi female cannot marry Non-Ahmadi male) in it as the rule applies to both genders.

We have not faced any incident of violence here but we in our subconscious know that what could be the consequences. Because of this threatening situation, our social, economic, and political lives are affected to some extent. The decision of 1984, left us alone from others, they demarked us and deprived us from taking part in politics and several other arenas of life. I am an active community member and so is the case with other members of Ahmadi community, we believe in common good and social service.

We do not feel any financial or social deprivation but we are politically deprived. However, if the situation was not so and we were not declared minority, the situation could have been better. We have not faced any economic marginalization because most of the Ahmadiyya Community are well off enough.

Appendix B: Excerpt from an In-depth Interview

Interview: What do you do to be safe?

Sheraz: We are involved in politics to assure our safety. We are attached to a certain political group in the local settings and people know this fact and they have connections to MPA (Member of Provincial Assembly) and MNA (Member of National Assembly) so people do not try to disturb us. We are doing all these political activities to make us safe and if we do not do this then people can harm us. My children and our future generation is not safe here. Our parents were satisfied enough that they will be able to spend prosperous life but we are not sure about it. If my parents were hundred percent satisfied, then I would say that I am not, not even one percent.....We did not face any problem here after we were declared as minority. The reasons are multiple as one is that here in a village we are all relatives. Whether Ahmadi or not, we are all relatives and I am talking about the community of people who have landholdings. Therefore, people know that if we will take such step against Ahmadiyya community, non-Ahmadiyya will help Ahmadiyya community. However, sometimes, while sitting with friends I feel that anything could happen to my community and the reason would be only one that we are Ahmadi. When we go outside the village, we do not tell anyone that we are Ahmadi, and if we tell someone, then we have to be cautious. I will explain to you by this incident when I went to a village

'Chandi Kot' near Shekhupora.

It was Friday and two people asked me to come to the mosque. I did not tell them that I am Ahmadi and I went to the mosque. The Imam was delivering a speech about Ahmadiyya Community. He was talking about our religious activities and he was provoking listeners about Ahmadiyya Community. After he finished his speech, I went to him, told him that you were delivering a speech, and was provoking people against us but we do not perform our religious activities as you were telling them. It is an absolute fallacy that you are misinterpreting our religious activities and our religious doctrine. When I said it, a few people who heard my words came to me as they were going to kill me. Person who invited me to his village was trying to protect me. I ran from there, jumped from the roof, and came to my host's home. That is how I saved my life. However, that would not be true saying that I saved my life. Actually, my host and his couple of friends saved my life; otherwise, they would have killed me. Therefore, my question to you is, will you call it that Ahmadiyya Community are safe or imperiled. I would like to add

that I did not say anything that will provoke them. I was just telling them that you are portraying our beliefs and our doctrine in wrong way. I just wanted to tell him that we are not that. I do not have any other intention except telling him the truth. If I will ask, you will tell me that you are living in a certain city or a village. Then definitely, you would know better than I would about the culture, customs, people and other things or particularities of that village. That is all that I tried to do. So if you will ask me again the question that we are safe? I would say, in this village, yes we are but out of it, I am not that sure.

The decision to boycott to vote is a protest against declaring us minority. This decision was taken by Jamaat for all the Ahmadiyya Community. If the parliament will consider us Muslims, we will vote. We do not have any problem in voting but we do have problem with how they want us to vote. We will not vote as minority. We are politically active enough but we do not cast a vote and because of that, our interests have been undermined several times. For instance, during elections, we encourage others to vote and obviously, we encourage them to vote for our candidates. Some people say that Ahmadiyya community do not vote then who gave them right to ask us for support to a particular candidate. When such situation comes, we feel ashamed but we cannot do anything or you can say that we would not do anything against the decision of Jamaat. Until now, we do not have any success in meeting our objectives. Sometimes, few Ahmadiyya community members casted a vote but they did not do it explicitly, if the jamaat will know about it, that person will be expelled.

We are in good terms with the local politicians. This is the time for local body's elections and both the candidates are in good terms with us. Before these elections and political rivalry, they used to come and sit with us. Now we are supporting one of them, but still both of them come here.

We affect the local political system. I will tell you about myself. I am in good terms with the residents of this village and the people living in the surrounding villages. The candidates know that he can influence people and can help his election. Ahmadiyya community is politically active and they have keen observation that how political alliances are made and how people can be convinced, that is why they can affect the local politics.

We access the state through the politicians to whom we support during elections. I would say that it is kind of a relation with mutual benefits that we help them in gathering public support and in

return they help us protecting us. However, the politicians do not affect our lives and we have never gone to their deras and always they come to us.

Appendix C: In-depth interviews (IDIs) and Focus Group Discussion (FDGs) Guide

The following themes are just for the sake of a guideline. These would be followed by some probing questions as and when required. On the field, the sequence of questions may change according to the setting and context.

1. How did Ahmadiyya community's migration to Pakistan occurred?

The reason for floating this theme is to get the data on genealogy of Ahmadiyya community's migration to Pakistan. This will enable the researcher to understand how Ahmadiyya community got settled in Pakistan keeping in view the divergent faith community practiced.

2. How did the State reacted to the first anti-Ahmadiyya movement started by Majlis-i-Ahrar after migrating to Pakistan?

This theme brings in the Ahmadiyya community's view on different state responses to the antiAhmadiyya demands by the orthodox Muslim right wing organisations.

3. Why is Ahmadiyya community persecuted in Pakistan?

This theme aims at the local perspective of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke on how the persecution started? What triggered the events of persecution at the society level and how these events translated into the broad state level persecution?

4. What is the co-existence model of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke?

This theme is aimed to draw the data on Ahmadiyya community's everyday life in the village as a religious minority.

5. Why doesn't the Ahmadiyya community boycott the politics?

This theme is aimed at bringing forth the data on the nature of Ahmadiyya community's boycott of electoral politics in Ralioke and how does the indigenous model of political participation is followed (if any).

6. How safe do you feel in Ralioke?

The idea of floating this theme among the participants of Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) and respondents of in-depth interviews is to understand how the interaction of Ahmadiyya and orthodox Muslim community in this village, different from the interaction in other parts of the country.

7. How do you rely on kinship network in the security of your life and assets?

Identity and kinship networks are an important source in securing life and assets in Pakistan. Therefore, the idea of floating this theme is to analyse how and what roles kinship system plays in Ahmadiyya community's effort to safeguard themselves from hatred (if any).

8. How do you access state institutions?

This theme will address the question of state accessing mechanism of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke.

9. What is Ahmadiyya community's landholding status?

In a rural setting of Pakistan, landholding is considered as a status symbol whereas on the other hand it helps in analysing the economic wellbeing of a specific household or community. Therefore, the idea of floating this theme among respondents is to see what is the landholding status of the community and how this plays a part in creating a local model of influence (if any).

10. What roles does Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke plays during local and central election?

This theme is brought in so that the Ahmadiyya community's part in local politics of Ralioke can be analysed.

11. Have you ever relied on local, provincial or state level bureaucracy for any of your community's issue (if faced any)?

According to Saeed (2010), one of the three subfields within the field of power is bureaucratic subfield which is accessed by different stake holders in Pakistan. Therefore, this theme is aimed at understanding the process through which Ahmadiyya community in Ralioke accesses bureaucratic subfield.

12. How does Jamaat-i-Ahmadiyya helps in resolving issues of Ahmadiyya community in Ralioko?

The idea is to see if there is any broad area where the Ahmadiyya community in Ralioko depends on the Jamaat-i-Ahmadiyya for resolving any social, economic or political issues.

13. You were evicted from Muslim citizenship in Pakistan, do you think there is an identity you still claim?

The idea of floating this theme is to re-test the hypothesis of Punjabyat being an important identity used to access the state. (This hypothesis was frame after conducting a pilot study in the same village in December 2014)