

Issues of the Integration of the Baha'is and Hindus in Pakistan:
A Case Study of the Twin Cities (Islamabad- Rawalpindi)



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CERTIFICATE

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Abstract

The increasing situation of restlessness, intolerance and discrimination warns the State and the development organisations to increase their contribution towards creating safe, peaceful and integrated spaces for the majorities and minorities living in a given territory. The minority, being lesser usually is subject to violation of their due rights at the hands of the majority. Pakistan, a country created in 1947, seeks attention on the issues of integration which can preserve the inter-faith harmony within its territory. The research focuses on the topic of the minority groups (Baha'is and Hindus) living in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The twin cities may have majority of the Muslim population but it also accommodates the religious minorities. The study focuses on the Hindus and Baha'is who face discrimination mostly in social spheres of the cities. The study covers the political and economic marginalisation simultaneously which is comparatively lesser than the social marginalisation. The research investigates issues of integration which are prevalent among the two communities using un-structured and semi-structured interviews of the Hindu and Baha'i community members. The research has tried to analyse the circumstances which lead one minority being more discriminated to the other. The light has been shed on the issues which lead to the abandoning of the two groups if any and also which among the two religious group members leave Pakistan due to the fear of living in the country. Thematic Analysis has been used to analyse the findings of the collected data.

Keywords

Discrimination, Fear, Human Rights, Integration, Inter-Faith Harmony, Minorities, Prejudice

Dedication

The thesis is affectionately dedicated to my parents; their interest in my work has been commendable, as it has been among all the other ventures of my life.

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List of Acronyms

AuSSA	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
FSC	Federal Shariah Court
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
NCJP	National Commission for Justice and Peace
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
SDPI	Sustainable Development Policy Institute
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USCIRF	US commission on the International Religious Freedom

Glossary

Ahl al-kitab	Arabic word, it refers to people of the book or people who were given previous scriptures by Almighty God.
Dhols	A large double- headed drum from Punjab.
Fatwas	A nonbinding but authoritative legal opinion or learned interpretation that a qualified jurist or mufti, can give on issues pertaining to the Islamic law.
Huffaz	Huffaz are the people who have learned Quran by heart
Jizya	A per capita yearly tax historically levied by Islamic states on certain non-Muslim citizens permanently residing in Muslim lands under Islamic law.
Kalima	The Six Kalimas in Islam are prayers. They are significant parts of one's religious belief. The prayers contain content mostly from Hadith.
Maghrib	The fourth of five formal daily prayers performed by practising Muslims at the time of sunset.
Monotheistic	Believing that there is only one God
Muslim	Muslim is a person who believes in the Unity and Oneness of Almighty Allah. He believes in the complete and finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) the last of the prophets, and he does not accept, or recognise, a prophet or religious reformer, any person who claimed or claims to be a prophet, in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever, after Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him).
Napak	Urdu word, meaning impious.
Non-Muslim	Non-Muslim means a person who is not a Muslim. It includes people belonging to the Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or Parsi community, Qadiani, Ahmadis or a Baha'i and all the people belonging to the scheduled castes.
Polytheistic	Worshipping or believing in more than one God

Sindoor	A traditional vermillion red or orange-red colored cosmetic powder from India, usually worn by married women along the parting of their hair.
Tablas	A pair of small hand drums used in Indian music, one of which is slightly larger than the other and is played using pressure from the heel of the hand to vary the pitch.
Tahhajud	The mid- night prayer offered by Muslims.
Tandoor	The term tandoor refers to a cylindrical clay or metal oven used in cooking and baking.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

Pakistan is a society with diversity and it consists of numerous ethnic and religious minorities. The country is extremely plural characterized by religious, sectarian, ethnic and linguistic diversities.

Twentieth century has witnessed the birth of many states along the ideological, territorial, linguistic and racial lines. Pakistan was found entirely because of the conflicted ideologies of the people living in the subcontinent. Sayeed (2001) has noted that conflict in the ideology had existed since the Islamisation policy of Aurangzeb¹. He argued that the policies had highlighted the distinct ideological and religious identity in subcontinent. The religious and ideological conflicts aggravated between Hindus and Muslims during the Imperial reign (Aziz, 2001). The idea to create a new homeland, Pakistan, was based on religious symbolism (Khan, 2010). The beginning and half of the twentieth century had witnessed the struggles, which stretched out in the subcontinent and created Pakistan, a separate land for Muslims to preserve their identity and live peacefully. The partition of the subcontinent caused the Muslims to migrate from India to Pakistan. The Hindus and most of the other religious minorities moved towards India to find a sanctuary. The Muslims who left India and the Hindus who left Pakistan were deeply concerned for their security which was under threat in the presence of the majority that existed in the two countries.

The country has a population of 207,774,520 (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017) with an overwhelming Muslim population of ninety six percent. Pakistan was announced as the Islamic State in 1947 at the time of independence. There are religious minorities residing in the territory of Pakistan who are identified as non-Muslims. The constitution shields the rights of the minorities. It provides social, political and economic rights to the religious minorities. The religious minorities consist of the communities who see themselves as distinct from Islam or they have faith in revised versions of Islam. The most prominent ones according to their adherents,

¹ The sixth and widely considered the last Mughal emperor. His reign lasted for 49 years from 1658 until his death in 1707.

are Christians, Hindus Sikhs, the Baha'i, Buddhists, Zoroastrians (Parsis), Kalasha, and Jews. The remaining which are of equal importance but lesser in number, in descending order of their number of adherents, are Zikris, the Ahmadi, Ismailis (including Bhoras, Dawoodis, Khojas). The believers of Christianity, Judaism and Zoroastrianism (Parsism) are treated by the Muslims as “people of the book” (*ahl al-kitab*²). The other non-Muslim faiths are not considered close in practices and beliefs to the majority Muslims. The majority holds prejudice towards the distinct beliefs of the religious minorities (Gregory and Valentine, 2009). Capatorti (1979, p.96) notes minority can be defined as:

A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, whose members being nationals of the state possess religious characteristics differing from those of the rest of the state and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their religion and its associated cultural and linguistic norms.(p.96)

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was proponent of Liberal Democracy who held strongly the idea of inclusive state where the Muslims could be in majority but the minorities must not face discrimination (Jalal, 1991).

Therefore while addressing the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Jinnah said:

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State. We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State.... (August 11, 1947)

Today, Pakistan is seen critically for her treatment towards the minorities. Pakistan is labeled as a country that often violates the minority rights. Minority Rights Group International (MRGI), in its annual state of the World Minority Report for 2007 has put Pakistan as top ten (out of 150 countries) among the list of the states who are violating the minority rights. Gregory and Valentine (2009) argued the religious minorities are worse off than the poor Muslims living in rural and urban areas because they only have to suffer economically, whereas, the minorities have to experience exclusion, prejudice, discrimination, hatred, powerlessness, insecurity, state repression, intimidation, bondage and sometimes violence too. The Constitution of Pakistan

² Arabic word, it refers to people of the book or people who were given previous scriptures by Almighty God.

provides social, political and economic liberty to the minorities. However, the society has witnessed the incidents that target the religious minorities. There has been quite an intolerant attitude projected towards the religious minorities of Pakistan. The reason behind the intolerance is the use of religion as the political weapon. The role of religion in Pakistan affects the statecrafts, the due rights and esteem of the minorities and the wider phenomena of the internal peace and security. Thus, there are certain laws which discriminate against non-Muslim citizens making them victims of the legal prosecution and judicial persecution by their fellow citizens (Rahman, 2012).

The research focuses on the two religious minorities i.e. Hindus and Baha'is. The Hindus, who stayed back in Pakistan after the partition have contributed immensely to the development and peace building in Pakistan, yet they feel vulnerable when it comes to the subject of security (Majid, 2014). The Hindus in particular have faced severe incidents due to the false cases of blasphemy reported against them; there are also evidences of forced conversion particularly of girls (Aftab and Taj, 2015). The adherents of the community who have migrated across the border are usually seen with suspicion there but there are no evidences of reverse migration.

The Baha'i community of Pakistan is not placed in the academic discussions often. The religion is recorded as "religion in diaspora". In 1981, Baha'i community was declared as separate religious minority. The Baha'is of Pakistan belong to variety of linguistic and regional backgrounds and are associated to different schools of thought. They are free to perform their duties and contribute towards the development and social welfare through religious network under their religious administration.

The current research studies the different levels at which the two communities relate or connect with the majority population. The study concentrates on the issues of integration faced by Baha'i and Hindu communities. The purpose is to highlight the different social, political and economic aspects of integration for each community and compare the integration level experienced by each community. The study aims to find out as to which community feels comparatively more integrated. It also ascertains if the community members are moving out of the country due to the fear of intolerance and prejudice.

The study employed focus group discussions and interviews of the Baha'is and Hindu respondents. The data obtained during fieldwork was analysed using thematic analysis.

Almost 74 percent of the world population lives in the countries with restriction on religious freedom (US State Department, 2015). Thus, it is convenient to say that the religious intolerance, discrimination and prejudice are global phenomenon. The phenomenon demand further attention, research and effective policies to resolve the ongoing religious conflicts in the various countries of the world. Following section gives a brief account of history discussing the status of religious minorities in Pakistan.

1.1.1 Acceptance of the Religious Minorities in Pakistan

The division of subcontinent was based on the segregation of the two religions each to the opposite sides of the border. The Muslims started to move to East or West wing of declared Islamic Republic of Pakistan, whereas, most of the Sikhs and Hindus moved to India where they were in majority. The imminent issues related to the minorities were under consideration even before the partition happened.

In 1930, Muslim League had demanded for a separate Muslim state but they ensured that the social and economic status of the minorities would be taken care of (Malik, 2006). But soon they had realised that the separation of the two nations into two states would leave the minorities vulnerable (Ali, 1967).

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan which was newly made managed a subcommittee to handle the minority issues. The first elected leader of the Assembly, Jinnah urged on keeping the religion out of the statecraft.

The idea of allowing everyone freedom to be what they want to be was taken with different reactions; Maulana Usmani³ proposed imposition of Jizya⁴ on the non-Muslim minorities and suggested to bar them from taking important government positions (Salim, 2006). The

³ Maulana Shahbir Ahmad Usmani was an Islamic Scholar who supported the Pakistan Movement 1940. He was an orator, theologian, writer, politician and a religious scholar.

⁴ A per capita yearly tax historically levied by Islamic states on certain non-Muslim citizens permanently residing in Muslim lands under Islamic law.

Government Act of 1935⁵ became the interim constitution; while the process of framing of new constitution was underway in September 1948 Jinnah passed away.

On 12 March 1949, Liaquat Ali Khan⁶ passed the Objectives Resolution with 21 votes to appease the Muslim Clerics. The 10 people who rejected the Resolution belonged to minority. The former Chief Justice for the Supreme Court and co-author of the Munir Report (Report of the Court of Inquiry constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to enquire into the Punjab disturbances⁷ of 1953) was the most honest about the resolution while he said: “*though grandiloquent in words, phrases and clauses is nothing but a hoax.*”

In 1950 Liaquat- Nehru Pact was drawn which was in response to the communal seats. It was not long that in October 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated. After his assassination, Khawaja Nazimuddin took the office of Prime Minister by 1953. Few religious factions demanded the Ahmadis to be declared non-Muslim and they must be restricted to take up key administrative positions of the country. They demanded Chaudhry Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, the Foreign Minister and an Ahmadi, be removed from office.

The Constituent Assembly assumed the first constitution of Pakistan in the year 1956. It consisted of eighty seats from East and West Pakistan. The minorities had nine seats which comprised seven members from East Pakistan and one from Punjab and Sindh. The constitution accepted the Objectives Resolution, which held Pakistan as an Islamic State (Article 2) and stated no non-Muslim can take up the key positions in the government i.e. the office of President (Article 41, clause 2).

In 1962, the constitution, outlined under Ayub Khan⁸, begun under the Presidential system of government which gave dictatorial powers to the Head of the State (the seat could be only taken by a Muslim). He could take on board the governors. He had the authority to dismiss the national assembly at will.

⁵ The last constitution put forward in the British reign which continued till 1947.

⁶ The founding member of Pakistan movement, statesman, lawyer and first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

⁷ The incident that had aroused agitation against the Ahmadi community.

⁸ A five star General who offered services as second President of Pakistan. He was forced to put up resignation amidst the uprisings of the East Pakistan in 1969.

In 1971, after massive bloodshed, Bangladesh and Pakistan were divided into two independent countries reducing the minorities in Pakistan. Later, the constitution of 1973 was framed under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who had introduced federal parliamentary system of government regulated by a ceremonial President and the Prime Minister. Bhutto announced the slogan, “*Islam is our faith, democracy is our politics, and socialism is our economy*” (PPP Manifesto, 1977). The slogan had tried to eliminate all kinds of exploitation in the country.

During Bhutto’s time as the Prime Minister, agitation took place between Ahmadi community in Rabwa and the students of Jamaat (Islamic Political Organisation formed in 1941 by a theologian and socio-political philosopher Maulana Abu Ala Maududi) faction. The opposition demanded Ahmadis to be immediately pronounced as non-Muslims. Bhutto, who was impartial at first, passed the Second Amendment to the Constitution. The amendment included the definition of non-Muslim and that included Ahmadis as well.

After Bhutto, General Zia-ul-Haq⁹ imposed martial law in 1977 until his plane crashed on August 17, 1988. He initiated military-clerical nexus and progressive Islamisation of the constitution occurred (Malik, 2002). The Provisional Constitutional order suspended the 1973 constitution and provided an outline on the fundamental rights. It provided clear definition of Muslim¹⁰ and non- Muslim¹¹.

General Zia-ul-Haq managed to introduce many laws which had Islamic justification but were clearly on political grounds. Five ordinances were legalised which targeted minorities a law against blasphemy; a law which could punish a person who defiles the Holy Quran, strict measures against insulting the wives, family, or companions of the Prophet of Islam (Peace Be Upon Him) and there was law passed which strictly watched over the activities of the newly announced non-Muslims, Ahmadis.

⁹ Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq was a Pakistani four-star general who served as the 6th President of Pakistan from 1978 until his death in 1988, after declaring martial law in 1977. He was Pakistan's longest-serving head of state.

¹⁰ Muslim is a person who believes in the Unity and Oneness of Almighty Allah. He believes in the complete and finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) the last of the prophets, and he does not accept, or recognise, a prophet or religious reformer, any person who claimed or claims to be a prophet, in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever, after Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him).

¹¹ Non-Muslim means a person who is not a Muslim. It includes people belonging to the Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or Parsi community, Qadiani, Ahmadis or a Baha'i and all the people belonging to the scheduled castes.

Zia-ul-Haq presented Federal Shariat Court (FSC) which had the power to determine and conform with all the laws of the country to the Sharia law. The existence of the Sharia law creates jurisdictional crisis for the minorities of the country.

General Zia-ul-Haq held elections which were unopposed and party less which lifted the martial law on October 1, 1985. The eight amendments had the passage so General Zia-ul-Haq could interfere in the constitution i.e. intervention in the discriminatory laws and institutions.

Religious minorities gained separate allocations in the minority constituencies under 1985 quasi-political dispensation. Previously, minority groups had the right to vote in the general electorates and were elected by the National Assembly amongst those minority members who were elected. In November 1988 elections, the system of separate electorates was retained, the first General Elections since 1976. Ten of the 207 seats in the National Assembly were set aside for minorities. This included four seats for Hindus, four for Christians, one for Ahmadis and one for smaller groups such as Parsis, Sikhs, Baha'is, Jews and the Kalash. The re-establishment of the system of joint electorates in January 2002 under another military dictator, General Musharraf, was seen as a step in the right direction. Zia-ul-Haq's dictatorship came to an end on August 17, 1988 when he was killed in an air crash.

On November 16, 1988, in the country's first open elections in more than a decade, Pakistan Political Party (PPP), a political party in Pakistan bagged maximum seats in the National Assembly. A coalition government took power with Benazir Bhutto as the first female Prime Minister of the country but no major changes were made for the religious minorities during her first tenure (1988-90).

Ghulam Ishaq Khan¹² dismissed Benazir's government in August 1990 which had clearly made no efforts towards the integration of the minorities.

In 1993, Nawaz Sharif took up the charge of the government and strove to strengthen the mission of Islamisation initiated by Zia. Sharif's government was sacked in 1996; Benazir took the charge as Prime Minister again till her government collapsed on constitutional and corruption charges.

¹² Ghulam Ishaq Khan was a Civil Servant, who served Pakistan as the 7th President of Pakistan from 1988 to 1993.

Nawaz Sharif too was given another chance in 1997, when Pakistan Muslim League (N) won two thirds majority in general election. Two years later General Pervez Musharraf, the then Chief of Army Staff (COAS) had toppled the Sharif government in charge of daring to dismiss the COAS.

Pakistan's new military dictator, Pervez Musharraf preached "enlightened moderation" and it was under his watch that separate electorates were abolished in 2002. The abolishment ensured that minorities could vote for the general seats and those reserved for the minorities in the Parliament. However, the laws against the Ahmadis and the laws dealing with blasphemy remained the same.

Pervez Musharraf has contributed the most towards the rights of the religious minorities as compared to the democratic governments. Musharraf made efforts towards the liberal system. He did not only abolish the separate electorates but also terminated the statement that reaffirmed finality of Prophethood on the voter's registration form (the statement affected the Ahmadi's most) (Malik, 2002). However, the practice was annulled soon in 2002 due to the religious contradictions. He increased the number of seats for the minorities in the National and Provincial Assemblies.

Blasphemy laws are not peculiar to Pakistan. But certainly they exist in controversial and arguable manner in the country (Siddique, 2007). Musharraf tried to redo the procedures for the blasphemy Law¹³ in 2001 but he had to face criticism from the religious groups. The ten reserved seats for the religious minority group members, communal rights to the property of the minority (Protection of Communal Properties of Minorities Ordinance, 2001), the recruitment of the Hindus and Sikhs in the Defense Military are some of the prominent contributions of Musharraf for the minority religious communities.

The religious parties have never gained any important political office in the federal legislature which is a reflection of majority voter's inclination towards democracy. Despite, the low

¹³ Blasphemy Law is the set of laws mentioned in Chapter XV of the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) titled *Offences Relating to Religion*. The Sections are 295-B, 295-C, 298-A, 298-B, and 298-C.

presence of religious party in the politics, the minority groups suffer worsening security situation in the country.

Today the Constitution has Objective Resolution injected in the form of article 2A. The text has the essence of betrayal which exists since the birth of the country. The proclamation of the constitution in the sovereignty of Allah in the Constitution clearly excludes anyone who does not believe in Allah or for that matter believes in some other God.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The literature studied discrimination and prejudice towards the religious minorities in Pakistan. The hatred, resentment and discriminatory behaviour disrupts the living of the minorities socially, politically and economically.

The research proposed to study the discrimination that the Baha'is and Hindus living in Islamabad- Rawalpindi face. The research focused on the various means their economic, social and political inclusiveness is sacrificed. The study compared the integration of both the communities into the mainstream society. It analysed if the two communities leave Pakistan due to fear and insecurity.

1.3 Research Questions

1. Do the Hindus and Baha'is feel integrated in the mainstream Muslim population?
2. Which one of the two communities feel more integrated socially, economically and politically?
3. Are more people amongst these two communities moving out of the country due to the fear of intolerance or prejudice?

1.4 Research Objective

1. To study and investigate whether Hindus and Baha'is feel integrated in the Muslim Majority.
2. To study the levels of integration of the two communities.
3. To study whether the population of the communities have reduced and moved out of the country due to the fear of intolerance and prejudice.

1.5 Key Terms

a. Integration

On March 4 1995, Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development (Commitment 4) committed towards Integration. They defined integration as a process that fosters a stable, safe and just society based on protection of all human rights as well as on nondiscrimination, tolerance, and respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security and participation of all people. Whereas, it further means creating unity, inclusion and participation at all levels of society within the diversity of personal attributes so that every person is free to be the person he wants to be. Personal attributes include socio-economic class, age, gender - sexual preference and expression, political ideas, ethnicity and cultural traits, religion, citizenship (national origin) and geographical region of origin and so on. (Cruz and Saco, 2008)

There is no one particular definition for the term Integration therefore I have merged the two ideas to form a term which helps in my study and largely includes the idea of acceptance of the minorities. The acceptance of the minorities is central to my research. The integration of the religious minorities must include protection of their identity, availability of equal opportunities and feeling of inclusiveness to avoid and deal with the marginalisation of their rights.

b. Religion

Religion is the opium of the people (Marx and Engels, 1957). The idea implies that the religion obscures the problem of social and economic inequality in the society. The inequality further results in the exploitation of the working class (Nye, 2003). For the purpose of the study I have selected the definition of religion as a system of behavioral patterns by which a group of people accept to deal with the ultimate problems of human life (Davis, 1951).

c. Minority Group

Minority is a group of people who because of physical and cultural characteristics are excluded from others in the society. They see themselves subject to differential treatment and they are target of collective discrimination. Moreover, they carry a status which causes them to feel

excluded from full participation in the life of mainstream society (Wirth, 1993). The minority may respond to the discrimination using one of the three options i.e. exit, voice or loyalty (Hirschmann, 1970). The minority can be defined as group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population in a society, which is politically non-dominant.

For the current study I am borrowing the definition of Wirth (1993) which justifies the minority groups living in the limited territory of Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

d. Majority Group

The social group that has the authority to exercise power and holds the resources that comes with the power is called majority group. The population number may or may not equate to the power (Romero, 2014).

In Pakistan, the Muslims are the majority group. The Muslims constitute 96.28% of the population¹⁴ of Pakistan who hold the social, political, religious and economic power along with the resources.

e. Prejudice

Prejudice refers to the opinions, thoughts or attitude held by a person of a group towards another person or group. There is usually a feeling of hostility and anger towards the weak person or a group (Giddens, 2006). Prejudice is the attitude that is not based on social reality (Romero, 2014). The definition by Giddens has been taken in account to define the term prejudice referred in the research which explains the opinions, thoughts or attitude of the majority which seems resentful to the minority.

f. Discrimination

Discrimination is described as “the behaviour” of a person or group towards other person or a group. It is usually seen as depriving members of the group or the whole group from a certain activity (Giddens, 2006).

¹⁴www.pbs.gov.pk

The study focused the possibly discriminated factions (Baha'is and Hindus) by the Muslim majority. The literature shows that the minorities are frequently discriminated. Therefore a prominent and numerically large minority was opted for the study along with an unrecognized and numerically smaller group.

1.6 Brief Profile of the Baha'i and Hindu Religions

a. Baha'i Faith

Baha'is is a monotheistic religion that teaches: Oneness of God, the adherents believe there is only one God for the people of the whole world. The god is infinite and unknowable. The religion teaches the unity of humanity, which is the pivot of the religion which does not discriminate the humans on the basis of race, caste, and creed. The religion sees all the people as part of human family. The Unity of all religions, all the religions have come from God. There is not only one religion that is true. All the religions promote dignity, love, respect and peace. All the scriptures are sacred and divine (Mazidi, 2003).

The Baha'is follow Baha'u'llah. They believe that he has been sent by God with the spiritual tools, he can instill unity of God, unity of humanity and unity of the religions in the modern era (Mazidi, 2003). The Holy Shrine of Baha'u'llah in Acre and the Holy Shrine of the Bab in Haifa are the two important worship places for thousands of Baha'is around the world who visit the places for pilgrimage (UNESCO, 2008).

Baha'u'llah appointed his son, Abdu'l Baha as the leader and authorised interpreter of his teachings. Abdu'l Baha travelled to Egypt, Europe and North America to spread the religion and strengthen the foundation of the religion (Memon, 97). After the death of Abdu'l Baha in 1921, his grandson Shoghi Effendi (The Guardian of the Baha'i Faith) was authorised the duty of interpretation. The early Baha'i community existed in the subcontinent before Pakistan came into being. Abdu'l Baha had sent Mirza Mahmood Zarqani and later Shoghi Effendi to spread the religion in the subcontinent.

The government has been tolerant towards the Baha'i community. In 1980, the community was recognized and declared as non-Muslim religious minority. The recognition of the religious minority serves importance in the legalities attached to the members of the community. The legal

recognition was made through the constitutional amendment in April 8, 1981. Most of the Baha'is settled in Pakistan have escaped the persecutions in Afghanistan and Iran. All the migrants are ensured full protection. Hence, they settled permanently in Pakistan. The Bahia's of Pakistan are allowed to construct their Baha'i Halls in the major cities. The Baha'is are allowed to hold their meetings within their community, establish their religious and social centers, teach their faith. The Federal government arranges a cultural and social programme at the eve of Eid-Rizwan in Islamabad. There is a huge participation by Baha'i residents which is followed by an overwhelming dinner. There is no restriction on the Baha'is to hold their election of National and Local Spiritual Assemblies. They are free to nominate and elect their administrative councils and members, without any interference from the government.

There are nine to twelve families of Baha'i faith residing within the premises of Islamabad – Rawalpindi. The members of the minority group are educated and involved in diverse privileged professions.

b. Hindu Faith

Hinduism is one of the oldest living religions of South Asia. Hindu religion is a result of the evolution of the ideas, culture and philosophy (Salim, 2015). There is no single authority that established orthodox Hindu belief. The Hindus believe divinity of the Vedas, in one all-pervasive supreme reality, in the cyclical nature of time, in *karma*, in reincarnation, in alternate realities with higher beings, in enlightened masters or gurus, in non-aggression and non-injury, that all revealed religions are essentially correct; the living being is first and foremost a spiritual entity, in an “organic” social system. But, Hinduism is not a monotheistic¹⁵ or polytheistic¹⁶ religion completely. In Hinduism there is no contradiction in believing in one God or many. There are different names for this both and belief in God e.g. monolatry is used to describe the worship of one greater God among many lesser Gods; kathenotheism or henotheism is used to define the worship of different Gods, but only one God at any given time (one God during one season or festival, for example, and another during a different time of the year); and finally, polymorphic monotheism, which refers to the worship of one God (Largen, 2013).

¹⁵ Believing that there is only one God

¹⁶ Worshipping or believing in more than one God

Hindus and Muslims had coexisted in the subcontinent for hundreds of years. After the arrival of the British in the region, the conflicts between the Hindu and Muslims came to consideration (Akbar, 2012). The attempts were made to reconcile the Hindus and Muslims of the subcontinent in the duration of 1916 to 1940 but no effort could bring the desired results. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali wrote in his book “The Emergence of Pakistan” the Hindus and Muslim conflicts could not be resolved till the effective power was limited to the British. The relationship between the Hindus and Muslims consistently remained stressful, leading them to part ways in 1947.

The partition pushed many Hindus to leave Pakistan. The educated, elites of the Hindu Faith moved from Punjab to India. However, most of the Hindus that stayed back were from the lower caste of Hindus. The Hindus are mainly residing in Tharparkar, Sindh. The Hindus living in Sindh were not barbed at the time of partition. They have been living in the region with Muslims peacefully.

The Hindus living in Islamabad and Rawalpindi have mainly moved for the education or professional purposes from Sindh and Balochistan.

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

Internationally, the minorities, whether ethnic, religious, racial are mostly downgraded by the majority. The topic is restricted to the religious minorities; therefore in this regard I have reviewed several papers, reports and books to analyse the issues with the integration of the religious minorities in Pakistan. My research focused on the issues faced by the adherents of Hindu and Baha'i communities. The literature that has been reviewed contains material and data from various internationally published reports, papers submitted to acknowledged journals and chapters from books written by renowned authors.

2.1 The Concept of Integration

The constitution of Pakistan establishes Islam as the state religion but it cannot ensure prosperity and development without accepting diversity of the religions. The term State has been defined as set of Institutions. The institutions are bound to a geographical territory, usually referred to as society. The State monopolies rule making within its territory (Hall, 1993) which needs important components towards the development.

In our context development has been defined as the phenomena of increasing the freedom associated to elimination of the deprivations, freedom to being literate, employed, freedom to the political participation (Sen, 1999). This definition of the phenomenon of development looks similar to what my study focuses on: Integration.

2.2 The Relationship between Majority and Minority Groups

The integration of minority requires the definition of minority to help build a connection. According to Marginalised Minorities (2010), a report published by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) there is no particular definition of minority. The International law doesn't suggest any legal definition of the term minority. The States identify wide range of groups domestically as minorities based on shared ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic characteristics. The minority can be defined on the basis of objective and subjective criteria. The

objective criterion focuses on the shared characteristics of the group like ethnicity, national origin, culture, language or religion. These categories derive from the only global standard on minorities i.e. the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities and article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) concerning the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. The subjective criterion focuses on the principle of self-identification and desire to preserve the group identity. The concept of self-identification emphasises the need to be identified as minority or not ask for their due rights. Harris (1958) identified the minority groups with five characteristics: (1) unequal treatment and less power over their lives, (2) distinguishing physical or cultural traits like skin colour or language, (3) involuntary membership in the group, (4) awareness of subordination, and (5) high rate of in-group marriage. Other examples of minority groups might include the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community, religious practitioners whose faith is not widely practised where they live, and people with disabilities. Whereas, the sociologist, Wirth (1945) defines the term as any group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. The minority does not necessarily have to be small numerically but they usually lack power and resources to exercise power (Wirth, 1945) i.e. the apartheid in South Africa, where the majority inhabitants, Black people were oppressed by the White minority.

The religious minority coexists with majority. The majority does not have to be statistically larger than the minority. Giddens (2006) noted that majority is the group which dominates the minorities; it has more power, prestige and wealth. The majority also hold numerical dominance. Malatesta (1965, p.72) suggests *“It is necessary that majority and minority should succeed in living together peacefully and profitably by mutual agreement and compromise, by the intelligent recognition of the practical necessities of communal life and of the usefulness of concessions which circumstances make necessary.”*

2.3 Marginalisation

The conflict between the majority and minority exists due to the social, economic and political differences. The differences marginalise the minority group. Young (2000) describes marginalisation as exclusion from meaningful participation. It also relegates or confines people

to lower social standing or outer edge of the society (Young, 2004) for instance the Aboriginal communities in Australia were pushed away from their homes as the cities grew. Marginalisation is both a condition and a process that prevents individuals and groups from full participation in social, economic, and political life enjoyed by the wider society (World Fair Trade Organization, 2015). It is a multi-layered concept. The whole society can be marginalised at global level or just a group, or class can be marginalised from a dominant social order. Although, it is a shifting phenomenon linked to the social status (Knorth, 1998).

Leonard (1984) argues social marginality means being outside the mainstream of productive or social reproductive activity. He further noted that such people experience involuntary social marginality.

The marginalised people are usually given tenuous involvement in the economy. Poverty, dependency and the feeling of shame are few types of economic marginality. Kagan (2003) notes the sources of the income for the marginalised do vary from being waged to begging for money.

Marginalisation of minorities has been pervasive in the underdeveloped and developing countries. A true democracy must represent all of its population but in case of underdeveloped countries the minorities are underrepresented in the political institutions. The social and economic marginalisation leads to political alienation in the sense of decrease in political trust, engagement and involvement (Dalton, 2004; Goul Andersen and Hoff, 2001; Kabashima, 2000) for the minorities. Whether or not citizens actually choose to participate is usually seen as an individual decision, depending on the individual's interest and resources (Verba et al., 1995).

Marginalisation is at the core of exclusion. Even within the same geographic area, contact between marginalised groups and society are almost non-existent. Integration means welfare which leads to opportunities and people can have a better chance to achieve their full potential (World Bank, 2013). People who are marginalised have relatively little control over their lives and the resources available to them; they may become stigmatised and are often at the receiving end of negative public attitudes (Kagan, 2003).

The phenomenon of marginalisation is emoting through discrimination and prejudice towards the religious minorities. Discrimination contradicts a basic principle of human rights: that all people are equal in dignity and entitled to the same fundamental rights. This principle is repeated in

every fundamental human rights document (e.g. UDHR Article 2, CRC Article 2, ECHR Article 14 and Article 1 of Protocol No. 12). Discrimination is often based on ignorance, prejudices and negative stereotypes.

2.4 Integration: A Solution to Marginalisation

Marginalisation needs to end for the integration and acceptance to exist in the society. The term integration can be further put into three domains: Social Integration, Political Integration and Economic Integration.

Social exclusion occurs due to the institutional and systematic discrimination which causes the people or the group to feel abandoned or insecure. The term Social Integration has been put differently by various sociologists but the one that fits in the context is by Cruz-Saco (2008, p.2) who defines integration as "*the process of creating unity, inclusion and participation at all levels of society within the diversity of personal attributes so that every person is free to be the person he wants to be*".

Inclusion and participation of the minorities facilitates to engage them and to protect their rights in the job market too. Lemaitre (2007) suggests that the economic integration comes as a result of acceptance and equal opportunity for the minority in the labour market.

The political setup of the country would be incomplete if it lacks the participation from the minority groups. To recognise the inherent diversity, a State must accept the minorities within its political setup. The political integration includes the right to vote, right to speak at public forums and to be part of the political decision-making (Jivan and Jacob, 2012).

The review of the literature specifies various studies with the focus mainly on marginalisation and integration. The literature has been further reviewed to provide evidences of marginalisation and integration from Pakistan and rest of the globe.

In the year 2013, Human Rights Watch submitted a study that covers the research which was conducted from August 2011–December 2012 in Indonesia. The study covers the areas where the most cases of religious tolerance were reported by the print media on the minorities i.e. Ahmadi, Baha'is Christians and Shias. The areas include the ten provinces, on the island of Java, Madura, Sumatra and Timor. The researchers of Human Rights Watch interviewed 115 individuals during

the course of the research. They included 71 victims of violence. They belonged to 14 Protestant congregations, 4 Ahmadi congregations, 2 Shia groups, 2 Catholic groups, and a Sunni Muslim mosque. They also spoke with 26 religious leaders, 7 police officers, 5 leaders of militant groups, 5 private lawyers, and a prosecutor. Interviews were also conducted with experts at the Indonesian Conference on Religions and Peace, the International Crisis Group, the Setara Institute, the Wahid Institute in Jakarta, and the Legal Aid Institute in Padang. The help was also taken from the secondary sources which include: 3000 pages of government letters, court documents, police reports, photos and NGOs reports. Interview consisted of series of open-ended questions. Tiltik Sartika, the head of an Ahmadi women's group in Bekasi, West Java narrates the intimidation that the community has to suffer at the hands of Islamist militants:

"We get nervous every time we go to the mosque, especially those with children. We're afraid to bring them. We also have Sunday school which now is done [in private homes]. We are very afraid. The women often don't come to pray if we see people in white robes [worn by several militant Islamist groups in West Java]" (November 2011).

Over the years Indonesia has struggled to become more democratic but it has somehow failed to accommodate the minorities with justice. Yet, there have been several instances where the government has been involved in the intimidation too. In several cases, the court has revoked the legal permit of the construction of the Churches after being pressurised by the Islamist groups. The documents for ID contains only six prominent religions, in case of enlisting yourself to another religion when you do not belong to one can cause serious blasphemy prosecution. Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Coordinating Board for Monitoring Mystical Beliefs in Society under the Attorney General's Office, and the semi-official Indonesian Ulama Council further worsen the conditions by issuing decrees and *fatwas*¹⁷ against the religious minorities. Therefore the report suggests the government of the Indonesia to take some serious measures to curb the targeting and discrimination of the minority groups .i.e. there must be no tolerance for the attacks on the religious communities, the decrees and *fatwas* must be reviewed by the unbiased authorities, the courts must take serious actions against anyone who disrespects court's judgments and there must be a freedom for the construction of the worship places as desired by

¹⁷ A nonbinding but authoritative legal opinion or learned interpretation that a qualified jurist or *mufti*, can give on issues pertaining to the Islamic law.

the religious minorities, there must be national outreach programs which must allow for the fostering of national culture of acceptance and respect for all the religious groups.

The religious discrimination rules few South Asian countries in similar fashion. The subcontinent was divided due to the conflicted ideologies of the religious groups. However, the discriminations continue to date.

Rita Kothari (2010) writes as how the Sindhi Hindus are seen as a lower class even in the modern India. Gujarat holds one -third of the Sindhi Hindus speaking population of the total population of India. Sindhi Hindus came as challenge for the already settled Hindu- Muslim traders of Gujarat. The arrival had initiated an economic resentment among Gujarat traders, especially the Jains and Vaishnas. The migrants were considered as “Untouchables”. The strong vegetarian Hindus and Jains thought of migrants as suspicious because they came from “Islamic” provinces which avoided the consumption of meat and liquor. The Sindhi Hindus were unwanted immigrants; they were not victims of the Partitions. Sindhi Hindus were not even the population which was exchanged to the other side of the border. The refugees at the camps were referred as phrases like: “*these people*”, “*free*” things, “*unclean ways*” and “*idle lives*”. The Sindhi Hindus who landed at the Okha Port were mistreated and provided food which was two to three days old. The ration to the new (Sindhi) people was banned at few incidents. The local Gujaratis did not want Sindhi Hindus to occupy the evictee properties left behind by Memons who had migrated to Pakistan willingly once it was decided that Junagadh would be merged with Independent India. The Sindhi Hindus were hated presumed as Muslims. All the migrants were assumed to be Muslims because of their clothes, manners and appearance. It was assumed that they all eat meat. The majority of the population which had migrated were so much influenced by the Muslims of the Sindh. They would unknowingly utter phrases like “Allah knows” even if they were not Muslims. They were also slowly getting hold of the Muslim evacuated properties because the process of transfer was really slow. So the population which had arrived was socially and economically both under a threat and challenged as they were the Unwanted entities in the territory.

The authors work does highlight the negative perception tagged to the Sindhiness. The Hindus who had migrated were in minority in the Sindh region. Most of them were established traders of their area who had quickly got into the retail and wholesale trade of Gujarat, offering tough

competition to the already established, powerful business man of Gujarat. They had established such resentment against them that it was said: “*If you see a Sindhi and a snake, kill the Sindhi first*”. The upper social echelon, Brahmins, Vishnus and Jains had set strict behavioral standards for Gujarat. The state was considered non-vegetarian and clean area which was contaminated by the presence of Sindhis. There is a cultural vacuum for the second generation of Sindhis who were raised in India who have internalised that their past and history is no glorious enough to be remembered. As far as the third generation is concerned they abstain from speaking Sindhi which was the only historical marker of this linguistic identity to avoid prejudices. The prejudices have resulted in unconscious alienation from the Sindhiness which is considered an unwanted identity in Gujarat.

There are several instances where the minority groups were not discriminated rather they had to face prejudice. Prejudice literally means to form an adverse judgement or opinion beforehand without good justification. Prejudice towards the racial and religious minorities distorts values such as equality and liberty that have been central to American Ethos (Myrdal 1944). The prejudice towards minorities has declined over the years but, for Muslims, it elevated more after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 which were further triggered by the political circumstances. The attacks initiated the American “war on terror” which was particularly targeted towards the Islamic fundamentalist groups. The US militants landed to wage war against the predominantly Muslim nations of Afghanistan and Iraq. Nacos and Torre-Reyna (2002) argue the Muslims were put in negative media coverage and the negative remarks about Muslims by the religious and political leaders made the situation worse. Kalkan, Layman and Uslaner (2009) note that the Muslims may have come in bad light for many Americans after 9/11 which may have led them to put restrictions to their civil liberties. Davis (2006) suggested the similar evidences. The Social identity theory stresses individuals are less likely to trust and accept people who look different from themselves and Muslim’s religious beliefs and practices, cultural orientations, and ethnicities have long made them different in many ways from the Judeo-Christians. The paper picks data from American National Election Study, 2004. The study puts Muslims into the band of others. Americans see two bands one which has racial and religious minority i.e. African Americans, Jews and the other band that has the cultural minority group i.e. gays, illegal immigrants. Muslims are distinct; they can be associated to both the groups. Levin and Sidanius (1999) mention there is a basic desire for human beings to maintain and develop systems of

group-based social hierarchy and most people also agree about top and bottom of the hierarchy. Muslims fall outside the mainstream American society (whites, Protestants, Catholics) (Brewer 1999; Davis 2006).

Similarly, Social balance theory discusses that the individuals tend to balance negative evaluations of one social group with positive evaluations of groups that oppose or are in competition with the first group (Situngkir 2004). Thus, attitudes toward groups such as Jews, gays, and feminists should be negatively related to views of Muslims. In contrast, social identity theory points to the centrality of an “in-group” bias in how people think about their own identity. People attempt to maintain or enhance their own self-esteem by comparing other social groups “outgroups” unfavorably to their own (Tajfel and Turner 1979). As Levinson (1949) argues, “outgroups are the objects of negative opinions and hostile attitudes and they are regarded as properly subordinate to ingroups”. Thus, prejudice against one minority group is part of a tendency to belittle outgroups more generally (Hagendoorn 2007). Tajfel (1982) argues one of the principal features of the intergroup behavior and attitudes are the tendency shown by the members of an ingroup to consider members of outgroups in a relatively uniform manner as undifferentiated items in a unified social category. Thus, we expect positive relationships between views of Muslims and evaluations of a variety of religious minorities (e.g. Jews), racial minorities (e.g. African Americans), and cultural minorities (e.g. gays, illegal immigrants).

Attitude towards the minorities i.e. Muslims could be structured onto other factors too such as Authoritarianism; it refers to convention, uniformity that translates into negative feelings or attitude towards the Muslims who are not part of the mainstream (Altemeyer 1996). Two other factors that may shape Muslim affect are patriotism and religious traditionalism. (Adorno et al. 1950) analyses patriotism often has been linked to a strong preference for in groups. Since Muslims often are portrayed as hostile to the United States, patriotic feelings may be linked to negative views of Muslims. Altemeyer (2003) notes there exists connectivity between religious traditionalism and aversion to groups that have unfamiliar characteristics, behaviors, or cultural practices. Certain religious affiliations also may be connected to anti-Muslim sentiments. White evangelical Protestants may view Muslims negatively because of their traditionalist religious orientations and their strong support for Israel and an aggressive posture toward Islamic extremism (Guth 2006). Jews may have negative views of Muslims due to Israel’s longstanding

conflicts with the Palestinians and large portions of the Muslim world. Feelings about Muslims appear to be more closely connected to cultural outgroups than to racial and religious minorities. This has important implications for the future of American views of Muslims because racial or religious minorities are far more popular than cultural outgroups. However, there have existed countries who take immense pride in the fair treatment towards the minority group citizens.

Australia's colonial history has been of the religious freedom and absence of religious discrimination. From first European settlement in 1788 through to the late twentieth century, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, other Protestants, Catholics, Jews and later Orthodox and some Muslims mostly cooperated in the development of a new nation. These settlers and their families were distanced both socially and geographically from the religious powers, conflicts and prejudices of Britain and Europe. Levi (2006) noted most Australians mixed with people of other religions in school, work and leisure and religious identity was de-emphasized. Religious identity always existed in the Australian intergroup which was mainly expressed in family lifestyles, education, politics, ethics and even sporting loyalties (Bouma and Dixon 1986). Hogan (1987) argued that the recognition of religious identity differences introduced forms of religious exclusiveness and inter-religious suspicions and sectarian rivalries. However, social cohesion was never threatened. Rather, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus and other religious groups particularly those expanding significantly are integrating into everyday Australian society and achieving in education, the arts, business, public service and politics (Jupp, Nieuwenhuyzen and Dawson 2007; Markus 2008, 2009, 2010).

Integration has not, however, always been smooth for certain groups, particularly Muslims have been singled out in public as 'others' whose difference is too great or as a religious group to be feared (Bouma et al. 2011; Deen 2009). In the mid-1990s concern was expressed about coping with Asian migration, following the events of 11 September 2001, Muslims became the focus of concern (Bouma et al. 2006). In recent years there have been notable incidents of religious-based tension, exclusion and, in some reported cases, violence (HREOC 2004). The people with 'no religion' have been excluded from the analysis . The data was taken from a stage of the 2007 AuSSA. Total respondents for the module numbered 2769. Respondents were randomly selected from the electoral roll. This analysis of religious social distance preferences used nationally representative data provided by respondents from Australia's largest and most consolidated

religious identities: Anglicans, Catholics, Uniting and Presbyterians. Responses scales indicated that people who identify with these religious groups were prepared to be socially closest to Greek Orthodox; second-closest to Buddhists, Jews, Born Again Christians and Hindus; and that they preferred to be most distant from Jehovah's Witnesses and Muslims. Respondents were most likely to prefer greater social distance from Jehovah's Witnesses and Muslims. As a larger percentage of respondents wanted Muslims to 'keep out of the country altogether', the negative response to Muslims was possibly a reaction to both their religion and the fact that they are a migrant group. This, however, is equally true of Buddhists and even more so of Hindus, both of whom are religiously different and most of whom are migrants. Thus, it would appear that the significantly greater negative reaction is to Muslims as a religious group rather than as a migrant group. This is made all the more likely by the fact that there are groups in Australia who actively campaign to limit, reduce or eliminate Muslim migration (Bouma et al. 2011). The term 'Born Again Christians' does not apply to a specific denomination. Rather, it refers to Christians with vigorous re-found faith. Born Again Christians may identify with any Protestant denomination, but they are probably associated most with evangelical and growing Pentecostal groups outside the main denominations (Hutchinson 2009; Piggin 2009).

The Muslim majority countries target the minority groups frequently by involving religion to their institutional matters. Lebanon, a sovereign state in western Asia has a history of religious tensions due to sectarian violence writes Rania El Rajji (2014). The country also hosts one million refugees. With the help of interviews and field research the paper draws attention to the threat which the religious minorities undergo in Lebanon. The country has a history of Confessionalism, which is a form of consociationalism when political and institutional matters are dealt by the religion, and the religious communities which was developed by the majority and dominant religious minorities (Christians and Sunni) which aimed to bring all the religious faith under one national identity. The country has 18 religions, including 12 Christian and 4 Muslim denominations, as well as the Druze faith and Judaism, not all of these groups are adequately represented within the Confessional system. The deputies are elected on the basis of their religious affiliation therefore they work for the progress of particular communities and not towards the national interests. Article 9 of the Lebanese Constitution protects '*absolute freedom of conscience*' without any reference to recognition. It further protects '*the free exercise of all religious rites provided that public order is not disturbed*' and guarantees that '*the personal*

status and religious interests of the population, to whatever religious sect they belong, shall be respected'. Article 7 of the Constitution stipulates that '*all Lebanese shall be equal before the law*' and enjoy the same civil and political rights. But there exist few religions in the country which are not even recognized i.e. Baha'i, Hindus and Buddhists. These groups have to show submission to one of the recognized groups otherwise they are deprived of the right to marry divorce or inherit property. Baha'i's admitted that it has been a custom since decades for them to leave for Cyprus when they want to get married. Two Baha'i individuals described the typical reactions they experienced when someone discovered their religious identity:

'They start off by being curious and asking questions about our faith. As time passes, however, some of them start avoiding us.... By then, they would have had time to ask around them and [may have] heard the many prejudices surrounding our faith.'

No respondent mentioned physical violence but there have been incidences of verbal abuses. Hence, the major problem with the religious minorities of the Lebanon is legal and administrative discrimination.

Tessler (1978) conducted a survey on the Jews in Tunisia and Morocco and Arabs in Israel during the year 1972-1973. The study included interviews with stratified quota samples of Moroccan and Tunisian Jews as well as conversations with community leaders, and stratified quota samples for the Arabs in Israel. The study surveyed why there exists an unnnarrowed culture difference between the minorities and the host societies as well as what is the understanding of the minorities of their sociocultural identities. Jews in Tunisia and Morocco and Arabs in Israel are religious minorities in the countries which clearly reject secularism. Israel is strongly committed to its religious identity; it doesn't see Church and the State separately. There are many Jewish customs which are Law of the Land and religious instruction is a compulsory in State run schools. Similarly, in Morocco, Tunisia as well as other Arab countries, Islam is the religion of the State as per constitution. Morocco is more devoted to its rulings as it practices the traditional religious institutions –Shariah law¹⁸. Government spends on mosques and cemeteries, the countries conform to only Muslim holidays and follow the Quranic interpretations and instructions in its legal code. The study finds the religious minorities in the secular states try to

¹⁸ The religious law constituting part of the Islamic tradition. It is derived from religious percepts of Islam i.e. Quran and Hadith.

appear as a separate ethnic unit while also taking on the values of the dominant community. However, the identities of these communities do vary over time and space.

The religious minorities in Pakistan suffer human rights violation because the State has moved to the right in a bid to seek legitimacy and cohesiveness by using Islamic Symbols and rhetoric in support of its rule. Thus there are laws which discriminate against non -Muslim citizens making them vulnerable to the legal prosecution and judicial persecution by their fellow citizens. As the extremist Islamic groups gain strength they make the non- Muslims find the society getting increasingly intolerant (Rahman, 2012). The constitution establishes Islam as the state religion, and requires all provisions of the law be consistent with Islam. The constitution also states, “*subject to law, public order, and morality, every citizen shall have the right to profess, practice, and propagate his religion (Article 20)*”

Rais (1995) writes about the political integration of the minorities. He writes that the minorities have never been heard by the politicians in Pakistan. He argues that Pakistan has always remained at the backend to use the two necessary tools of constitutional politics and true representation to bring the interests of minorities to the forefront. During the process of making of the country, Islam was at the heart of the struggles. But the All India Muslim League had shown commitment towards the formation of a country where the minority rights would be safeguarded and their interests would be protected. After half a century Pakistan is still confused as to what kind of polity should it adopt? Should it be Liberal Democratic or should it Islamic? Therefore, while framing the constitution of 1965, the parliament had failed whether there must be a joint or separate electorate. The parliament had kept the decision pending to the new parliament. The issue got so aggravated that it leads to division of parties into two groups: the liberal and regional parties got to one side and the religious parties to the other side. The founder and prominent leader Maulana Abul Ala Maududi were at the forefront of opposition to the joint electorates. So much so, that, the liberal politicians chose to stay quiet during the bout. They argued that some pro-India parties and groups would capture power with the support of the Hindu minority in a system of single member electoral constituencies, mainly in East Pakistan. The commission that sat down to frame in 1962 ended up deciding for separate electorates too. General Muhammad Ayub Khan did not accept the recommendations and so the joint electorates were held which led to an end to formal marginalisation of the minorities in the “elections”. The

paper had thoroughly scrutinised how the decision of electorates had neglected the minorities without the politicians giving a thought to the true meaning of democracy, fairness and equality of the citizens. The seats for the minorities must be maintained in the national and provincial assemblies in the light of true democracy.

Majid (2014) shares the similar views regarding the political disintegration of the minorities as Rais. The paper has examined the constitutional position and population of the minorities of Pakistan. It also has examined the tolerance towards the minorities and the integration pattern of the different religious communities. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of the country had a liberal and progressive vision towards the building of the State whereas, after his death the cultural and religious diversity was vastly mishandled. The constitution of Pakistan article 227 states that: *All existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the injunctions of Islam*. Whereas, the article 227 clause 3 overrules the article 227 by providing that the “*Nothing in this part shall affect the Council of Islamic Personal laws of non-Muslim citizens or their status as citizens*.” The statement implies that all the citizens would be treated with the Islamic Laws, which may or may not benefit the minorities. The literature sees the two articles contradictory as; in 1991 a federal statue was promulgated whereby Islamic Sharia became the supreme law of the land (Chaudhary, 2006). The imposition of the Sharia law strengthens certain groups of radical Islamist which in return increases the level of exclusion and insecurity among the religious minorities.

Gregory and Valentine (2009) wrote about the religious minority groups of the country in a report. The report relies on primary, secondary data, reports, documentaries and media for the compilation. The report mainly focuses on the Sharia Act and Blasphemy Law which puts the religious minorities to strict trials in case of negligence or ignorance towards the rituals or symbols that Muslims hold sacred. The introduction of Sharia law in 1979 had not been so favorable towards the minorities in various ways i.e. (i) The Sharia benches in the Pakistan High Court were introduced to analyse, evaluate and correct any law that would be repugnant to Islam which may or may not be inclusive. (ii) The introduction of Hudood Ordinance in 1979 to observe the boundaries drawn by Allah in Quran which included the cases of adultery (Zina), fornication, theft, drug consumption and drinking. The “boundaries” set by the Hudood Ordinance may not be equally viable to all the citizens of the State. For example, drinking

occasionally is not a crime among the Christian community which is one of the largest minority groups in Pakistan. (iii) The introduction of 1984 Qanoon-e-Shahadat or Law of Evidence which took the testimonial of non-Muslim male citizen half of a Muslim male citizen and that of a non-Muslim woman to be quarter of the male Muslim citizen or may rule non-Muslim witnesses as non-admissible entirely (iv) In 1982, Pakistan Penal Code (section 295) introduced series of changes to the Blasphemy Laws which require the law for the life imprisonment for the humiliation or tearing apart the Quran (295B), and in 1986 mandated death penalty for using offensive or foul language in respect of Prophet Muhammad. This clearly indicates that the constitutional and legal position discriminates against the religious minorities giving lesser weight age to their testimony and granting them severe punishments compared to the Muslim citizens of the country. Though the country does not impose any Jizya on the minority citizens but they are engaged in bonded labour and slavery and also their property is seized without any legal evidences. The report mentions the reasons linked to the discrimination towards the Hindu and Baha'i community particularly. The Hindus had converted to Christianity in a large number to escape the worse consequences of being poor and Hindu after the partition of subcontinent. In 2006, the Catholic Church of Pakistan's Human Rights Monitor annual report drew attention to the systematic ideological warfare against Hindus in Pakistan". The major reason of the cultural prejudice against the Hindus comes from the fact that the Hindus and Muslims had parted ways in 1947 due to their ideological and religious differences which still exist. The report states:

"From government-issued textbooks, students are taught that Hindus are backwards and superstitious, and if given a chance would assert their power over the oppressed, especially the Muslims ... Students are taught that Islam brought peace, equality, and justice to the Subcontinent and only through Islam could the sinister ways of the Hindus be checked. In Pakistani textbooks 'Hindus' rarely appears in a sentence without adjectives such as politically astute, sly or manipulative."

Firstly, The Hindus are seen as part of Hindustan although now they are citizens of Pakistan. Secondly, there exists political tension on the Pak-India border that somehow manages to put Hindus in the bad light. Thirdly, the rich Hindus flee to India when the partition happened; most of those who had stayed back in Pakistan were the Dalits (lower caste, less educated, also known

as *churas*). The Churas are considered *napak* who are given limited opportunities in the running of the economy. The Hindus, unlike Zikris, Shias, or Christians are not the people of the book.

Whereas, the authors of the same report also pointed out the major issues which cause problem for the integration of the Baha'i community. The Baha'is are a monotheist community who are greatly influenced by the Christianity and Islam unlike the Hindus who are polytheists, therefore, they have to bear comparatively little less hatred from the extremists. The Baha'is also belong to the affluent strata of the society therefore they live in Urban areas in privileged conditions. They are allowed to celebrate Eid Rizwan, hold public meetings, establish academic Centre, teach their faith and elect their administrative councils. Despite all the privileges, in 1985, the constitution had announced the community as independent, non-Muslim minority. Therefore they are not allowed to visit their Baha'i world Centre (The Universal House of Justice) in Israeli City of Haifa. They are also limited to certain areas in the major cities of the country where they community feel secluded and restricted socially. Unless the community does not assert itself on the Muslim majority, they are comparatively safer than the Christians, Hindus and Ahmadis living in the society.

The report states that the minorities exist as Dhimmis or second class citizens in Pakistan who demand the government to repeal the Hudood Ordinance, Law of Evidence and Blasphemy Law.

A report compiled by the SDPI and Minority Rights International (2013) highlights the events; such as the double bombing of a church in Peshawar, the murder of a doctor being an Ahmadi in the consecutive years. The religious minorities face discrimination in almost every aspect of their lives including education, marriage, and freedom of belief. These practices are not in line with the legal commitments of the State. The report supports the notion with interviews with 12 rights activists from Baluchistan, Islamabad, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and Sindh, focus group discussion were held with five minority members in London, 2014. It also quotes five interviews with five legal advocates.

The majority of the papers that have been reviewed have strong view point on the education system which teaches discrimination against the minority groups. Education in Pakistan is critical due to the ethnically and religiously diverse population in the country. In 2011 annual report of US commission on the International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) found that the

material taught in the Pakistani primary and secondary schools instill prejudice and intolerance of religious minorities. The commission later recommended the government to focus on the setting of a committee who can design or reform new curricula which would ensure tolerance towards all the persons and form a mechanism to check if the new curriculum was taught in the schools, the teachers of the madrassas must be trained on Human Rights Issues so that they can further educate their students along with the religious syllabus.

In this view Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) conducted a thorough research with International Centre for Religion and Diplomacy which was published in 2011 .The study reviewed 100 textbooks from classes 1-10 across all the provinces. The interviews of students and teachers were conducted. Thirty seven middle and high schools were visited, with 277 students and teachers interviewed individually or in group settings. Two hundred and twenty six madrassas students and teachers were interviewed from 19 madrassas. The objective of the study was to answer the following questions: 1.How the religious minorities were portrayed in these schools and what negative stereotypes do exist against the religious minorities? 2. Does the prejudice result in violent thoughts or intolerant behavior towards the members of the religious minorities? 3. If the religious intolerance has been induced among the students, how can we encounter this? The semi-structured interviews with the students, the teachers, experts in the educational field, focus group discussions with public school teachers and students and madrassas and review of case studies on discrimination towards minorities concluded in findings which are categorised in three themes. The three themes are: Text book analysis, Students view, Teacher's view. The text book analysis shows the textbooks are not in the line with constitution 22. There is no clear discrimination against the Muslim and non-Muslim content. The review of Urdu text books showed 96 chapter and poems out of 362 had high orientation towards the Muslim content without any mention of the minorities. Ethics, as a separate subject was to be introduced for the students belonging to religious minorities but the subject is still inaccessible. According to National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP) report:

“Government issued textbooks teach students that Hindus are backward and superstitious, and given a chance, they would assert their power over the weak, especially, Muslims, depriving them of education by pouring molten lead in their ears...”

The books of Pakistan studies and Islamiyat are rife with negative comments against the Hindus and British. It is also taught that Ahmadis who call themselves Muslims have nothing to do with Islam and are announced as non- Muslims by the constitution. The defense of the country is similar to the defense of Islam therefore whoever is against Islam would be an enemy to Pakistan too.

The student's interviews were contradictory. They believe the national identity is correlated to religious identity. Therefore, the non-Muslims are enemies of Islam and Pakistan. In general, they are taught that they have to be polite and tolerant towards their non- Muslim fellows so that they can inspire them for conversions.

The teacher's interviews highlights that they must be polite towards the minorities only if they are polite towards them. Teachers were more disposed towards the "people of the book" (Christians, Jews) than the non-monotheistic religions. There were teachers who gave lesser importance to the `sectarian differences but then there were others who thought they were highly significant. Many of them consider Ahmadis as non- Muslims. The Public school teachers view Jihad as violence against the enemies of Islam and they believe they must put themselves forwards for Jihad whenever needed. There were few of them who understand that Jihad could be violent and non-violent too. They view blasphemy as the biggest reason for the anger towards the non- Muslims. The Madrassas teachers identified correctly the minorities as citizens of Pakistan but they have strong opinion that the worldly knowledge is less superior to the religious knowledge. In fact the worldly knowledge is similar to the vocational trainings.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

The literature discusses extensively the discrimination and prejudice towards the minority religious groups. The study identifies minorities as the groups or communities who are distinct from Muslims and Islam.

The purpose of the research was to study the problems faced by the two religious minority communities: Baha'is and Hindus. The social, economic and political problems they face such as acquiring employment, getting health facilities, building of worship places, the attitudes of their neighbors/colleagues with them in their daily lives, and lack of representation for them in the National Assembly.

The second focus of the study was to investigate which one of the two Bahá'ís or Hindus are more integrated among the majority of the population and which ones are more acceptable to the society.

2.5.1 Diagrammatic Representation

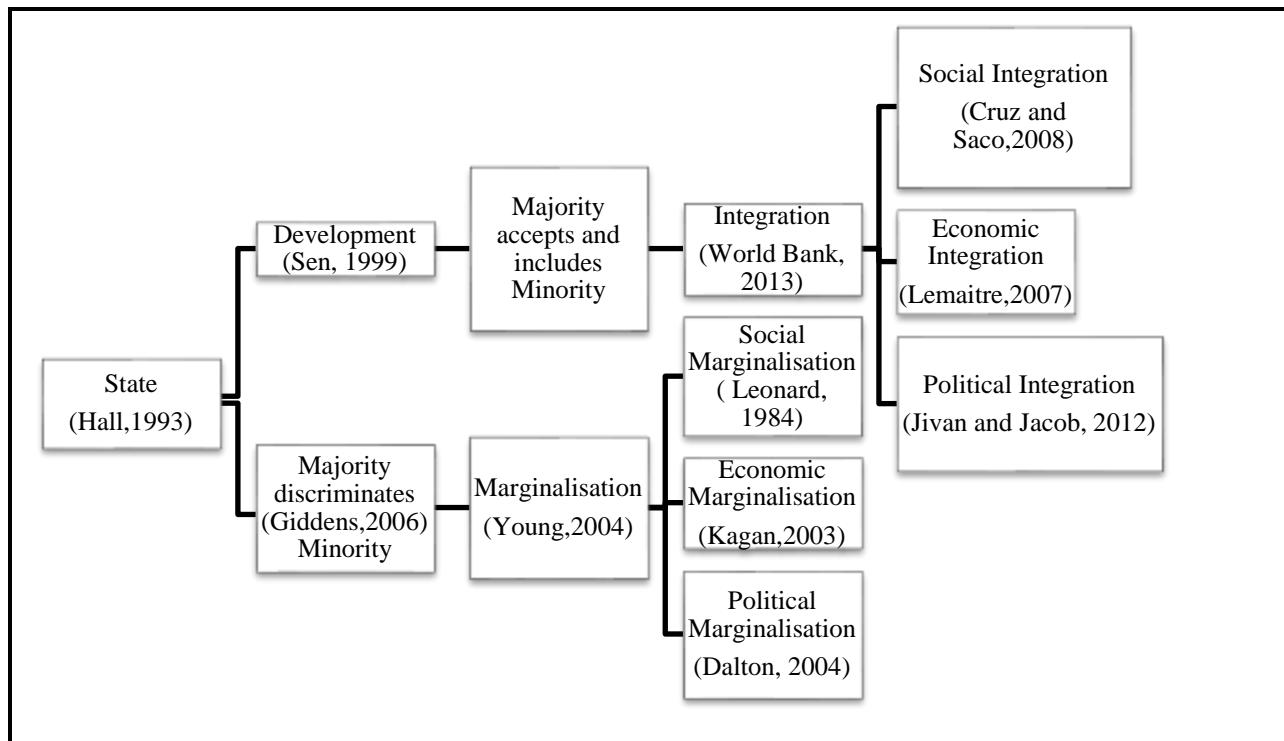


Figure 1: The diagrammatic representation of the concepts of Integration and Marginalisation

The figure shows the diagrammatic representation of the State that consists of the majority and minority. The state usually has more than one minority group residing in the territory. The process of development as explained by Sen (2009) can exist only if there would be harmonious relationship between the majority and minority communities. The development has been explained by Sen as the right to equal opportunities in employment sector, education and justice.

The World Bank (2013) defined integration as a process which helps people to get on the way of welfare. The definition states that the welfare helps the citizens and the people to reach their full potential.

However, it is convenient to say that the process of integration takes place as a result of the majority accepting the minority or when the majority allows the minority to relish the freedom as much as the majority does. The constitution of Pakistan completely supports the idea of freedom and acceptance which allows the freedom to the minority enunciated by the Islam.

The integration can be further categorised, but considering the limited time span and scope of the study only three dimensions of integration have been considered. The three dimensions are: Social Integration, Economic Integration and Political Integration.

Simultaneously, the process of marginalisation has been presented too. The process of marginalisation as defined by Young (2004) as the phenomena which excludes people from the meaningful participation. The definition means that the exclusion would discourage and eliminate the productive participation of the people living within a territory. The certain group of people would be barred from taking initiatives and giving inputs which will cause them to feel secluded. The exclusion and separation can either cause rebellion, discomfort in the social spaces or the minority groups might opt to abandon their home countries. The abandoning of the home countries portrays a negative image on the International Forums. The abandonment of the people portrays the country to be an unsafe space to practice religion as well as results in weakened relationships with the other religious groups and the countries.

Though, the process of marginalisation has been studied along with the process of integration. I have consistently focused on the process of integration. The study repeatedly includes the terms discrimination and prejudice. Discrimination and prejudice towards the minority results in the marginalisation of the groups.

The social, political and economic dimensions of marginalisation have been shown in the figure.
1. The authors of the definitions have been mentioned in the boxes next to the type of integration and type on marginalisation.

The research has tried to highlight the areas where the two communities feel marginalised and how integrated do they feel in the given circumstances.

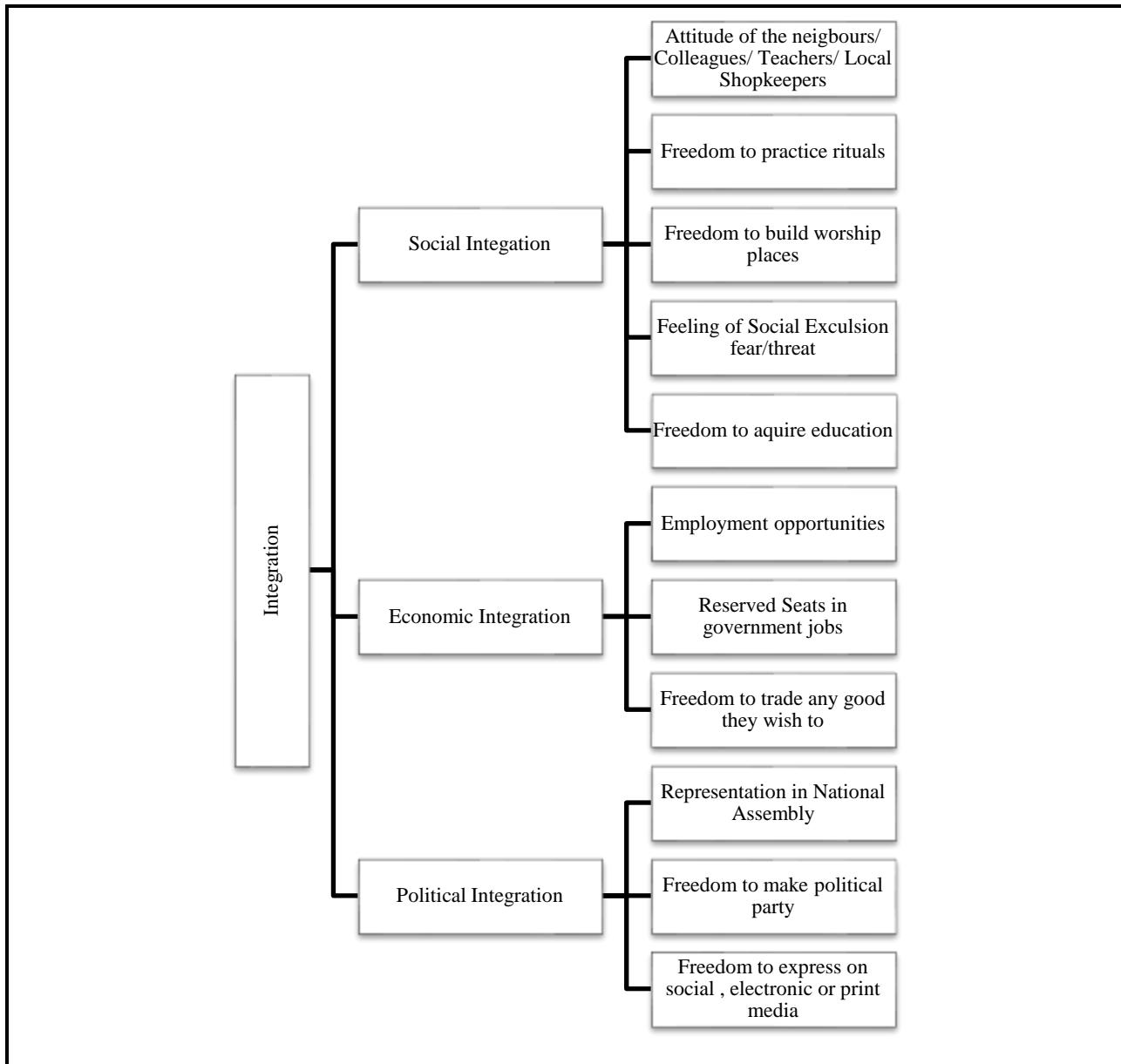


Figure 2: Diagrammatic representation of the integration and types of integration

The figure 2 presents the division for the dimensions of the integration. Considering the time span and the resources available for the research, the three dimensions have been taken in account. The social, political and economic integration of the minorities has been further elaborated considering the research questions. The social, political and economic integration can take into account more themes or can be explored further. Each of the theme has been derived from the research papers or the manuals on the issues of integration. The following

categorisations are the most prevailing issues of the minorities living particularly in Pakistan. The Social Integration includes issues such as attitude of the neighbours/ colleagues/ teachers/ local Shopkeepers, freedom to practice rituals, freedom to build worship places, feeling of social exclusion fear/threat. The categorisation of the Economic Integration includes issues related to employment opportunities, reserved seats in government jobs, freedom to trade any good they wish to. The political integration includes issues such as representation in National Assembly, freedom to make political party, freedom to express on social, electronic or print media.

The findings and discussions elaborately explain the extent to which the two communities feel integrated.

CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

3.1 Methodology

Research is defined as the investigation which is systematic, logical and conducted to search for useful information on a particular topic (Burns, 1997). Research methodology refers to the concept that considers logic behind the techniques or methods employed to get the result so that they make sense to the researcher and the other people who want to analyse the results (Kothari, 2004).

3.2 Research Strategy

There are three types of Research Strategies which are: Qualitative Research, Quantitative Research and Mixed Methods Research. The three methods of research are not as discrete as they first appear; rather they are different ends on a continuum (Newman and Benz, 1998).

The researcher has used qualitative research strategy to investigate the research problem considering the research questions and research objectives. The qualitative research has been used because the study includes the words and terminologies (interpretivist epistemological approach) of the participants who were part of the study. In qualitative research, the study includes the data from stories, subjective understanding, beliefs, feelings and opinions (Matthews and Ross, 2010).

3.3 Research Design

Research design provides direction for the procedures in research strategies (Creswell, 2003). In quantitative research the focus is made to the observer's independence of object of research, it relies for its statistical evaluation on high degree of standardisation in data collection (Flick and Kardoff, 2005). Whereas the qualitative research relies on spectrum of methods belonging to different approaches, it ensures appropriateness of strategy for each research object. This type of research has strong orientation towards everyday events of those who are under investigation, and it considers diversity of the perspectives of the participants, it relies on understanding of complex relationships rather than the cause and effect (Hoffman- Reim, 1980).

There are number of genres of qualitative research which can be combined together to work towards the objective and some of them can be used discreetly (Saldana, 2011).

The researcher relied on explanatory research design to explain the impacts or the factors which are contributing towards the difference in the integration of the two communities namely Baha'i's and Hindus. Sarantakos (1993) defines explanatory research that “aims at explaining social relations or events, advancing knowledge about the structure, process, and nature of social events, linking factors and elements of issues into general statements.”

3.4 Units of Data Collection (UDCs)

Units of data collection can be objects, entities, individuals, groups or processes that are explored by the researcher to obtain data relevant to his or her research questions. For the current study the following constitute units of data collection:

1. Heads of households (UDC1)
2. The religious and political leaders (UDC2)
3. Businessmen (UDC3)
4. Students at schools, colleges, universities (UDC4)
5. Government officials (UDC5)
6. Functionaries of NGOs who are working on the issues of minorities (UDC6)

3.5 Methods

Research methods can be of various types, including the field research (Kothari, 1990). Subsequent to the research design the researcher employed the following methods to collect data.

3.5.1 Interview

Interviews are the conversations which are made with a purpose to gather important information (Babbie, 1998). There are many types of interviews depending on the continuum of the situations based on the control the researcher has over the responses of the informants (Dohernwend & Richardson, 1965). Owing to this, the interviewees would be interviewed more than once. The researcher used interviews as they provide insight into one's life and the true side of the picture.

The interviews can give an insight into emotions, feelings, perceptions and underlying contradictions which may remain unarticulated by means of a survey questionnaire. Considering the research questions the researcher used following types of interviews: Structured interviews, Semi-Structured Interviews and Telephone Interviews.

a. Unstructured Interviews

The unstructured interviews are conducted to gather important information required at the start of the research. The interviewer allows the interviewee to reply as short or long as he wishes to. The purpose of the unstructured interview is to broaden the scope of the discussion which enables the interviewee to give his or her opinion regarding the topic (Mathew & Ross, 2010).

The researcher used the unstructured interviews for participants of all UDCs. The unstructured interviews have been used throughout the field work which allowed building rapport, comparing the data from unstructured interview to other kinds of interview; it also allowed me to know what kind of relationship minority shares with the majority group. The information gathered from unstructured interviews contributed to explain the relationship within the studied minority groups as well.

b. Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interviews lie somewhere between structured and unstructured interviews. In this set of interviews the interviewers are expected to probe far beyond the answers to their standardised and prepared questions (Berg, 2001). Probing is a key to successful interviewing (Merton et al; 1956).

The researcher used semi-structured interviews for all the units of data collection. The technique allowed the researcher to prompt and probe during the interviews. The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to make the respondent feel less intimidated. The technique was helpful because most respondents felt insecure about responding to the more arranged and structured questions. The technique helped establishing cordial relationship which facilitated probing.

c. Telephone Interviews

Unlike face-face interviews the verbal cues are lost during telephone interview but due to the long distances or geographic location telephone interviews can be conducted (Berg, 1981). The telephone interviews were used for the few respondents of UDC 4 and UDC6 who were able to provide important information and data till the end of the research work.

3.5.2 Interview Guide

Interview guide refers to the brief prompts for the areas to be covered in the research. Sarantakos (1993) notes prompts are questions that offer more than one answer, of which the respondent selects one or more. The interviewer has list of questions, the interviewee has great deal of leeway as how to reply the questions. The interviewer picks up on the things that the interviewee says and builds up more questions based on them. Similar questions and prompts were given to each interviewee (Bryman, 2012). The researcher used interview guide for UDC1, UDC2, UDC3, UDC4, UDC5, and UDC6 to avoid missing out on important areas of the study.

Probing

Prompting leads to probing. Probing is the secondary question, which helps to extract explanation for the primary question. The interviewer gives cues when the interviewee is hesitant to answer or remains silent (Sarantakos, 1993). Probing can be divided into two types: non-directive probing and summary technique (Sellitz et al., 1976). Non-directive probing includes brief assertion and neutral phrases to supplement the primary question.i.e. *I see, Oh, then*. The summary technique is helpful to give meaningful direction to the interview. The interviewer summarises the last statement of the interviewee, so as to motivate him or her to tell more about the issue in question.

Non-directive probing was used for UD1, UDC2, UDC3, UDC4, UDC5, and UDC6 to keep the conversation controlled. The summary technique was used for the female interviewees of the Hindu community and all the interviewees from the Baha'i community who were most insecure while providing relevant data and information.

3.5.3 Observation

The qualitative researchers prefer observation because it can help them feel, see, and basically experience the reality more intimately (Stake, 2010). Different field researchers advocate different level of involvement. The level of involvement may vary depending on negotiations with the members, specifics of the field setting, researcher's comfort level, and the social role the researcher occupies within the field site. Denizen (1989) describes four researcher roles: complete observer, observer as participant, participant observer, and complete participant.

a. Complete Observer

The researcher is behind a one-way mirror or taking on an “invisible role” (Roy, 1970). The researcher employed the complete observer role to ensure comfort of the community members. The researcher did not spend days or nights regularly with the community members. However, the researcher visited the families of the members quite frequently. The visits were spread over 4-8 hours. The researcher was also allowed to be at gatherings in the Baha'i Centre.

3.5.4 Rapport Building

Rapport is “frank and open” discussion (Goudy and Potter, 1975). The research shows the more the interviewee is comfortable and trusting towards the interviewer, the more rich stories he narrates and elaborates. Therefore, researcher has to know the nature of the situation and the inter-personal relationship to make meaningful conversations with the respondents which can elicit useful data (Ryan, Dundon 2008). Further, the interviewer’s appearance, sponsorship, accreditation and his or her characteristics are also necessary to establish a good or bad impression among the community or respondents (Benny et al 1956). The researcher has acquaintance with the Hindu members which helped knowing new people in the community. However, the researcher established rapport by attending the Baha'i ceremonies. The researcher visited Baha'i families to make acquaintance with the community members. During the rapport building researcher shared the objectives of study with the respondents. The researcher needed to develop rapport among the community members so that they would trust the researcher and could be more open about their views.

3.5.5 Focus Group Discussions

The focus group discussion is a group interview where the researcher learns through conscious, unconscious psychological, semi-conscious and socio-cultural characteristics and processes of the group members or various groups (Basch, 1987). The group size is usually 6-13 people (Mathew & Ross, 2010).

The Focus Group Discussion was conducted among the 3 members of the Baha'i and 3 members of the Hindu Community; so as to spark off a discussion which helped the researcher to comprehend the real issues of the integration being faced by both the communities. It enabled the researcher to compare the experiences and perception of both the communities. The discussion further highlighted the problems which have not been earlier discussed. It also allowed the researcher to know about changes the minority groups want to see in the mainstream society. The data collected from Focus Group Discussion came from the UDC4 who were mostly shy to open up in front of their elders. The data from focus group discussion was compared to the information obtained from the semi-structured interviews. The researcher acted as moderator in the focus group discussion.

3.5.6 Sampling

The research questions usually guide as to which site would be appropriate for collecting data (Flick, 1998) or which site has the target population. The whole population cannot be usually studied therefore a sample of subject is used to make inferences about some large population from a smaller one which is called sample (Berg, 2001).

Non- Probability Sampling

The social science selects research areas which cannot usually select the kind of probability samples used in large scale survey or which are exactly according to probability sample. In such cases we use non-probability sampling to create the sample size because it is not possible to list all the elements or members of the population (Berg, 2001).

The non-probability sampling was further categorised in the following categories:

a. Snowball Sampling

A non-random sample in which the researcher begins with one case and then, based on information about interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases and then repeats the process again and again (Neuman, 2015). Snowball sampling was used for the construction of sample frame of UDC1 and UDC4 which are based in various localities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The respondents of UDC1 and UDC4 were further selected using purposive sampling. The households and the students did not allow access unless they were not sure of their security and the researcher's identity. It was feasible for the researcher to reach the respondents through a network or acquaintances.

b. Purposive Sampling

This category of sampling is also known as judgmental sampling. The researchers need to have particular expertise to choose subjects among the population after the field investigation (Glassner et al, 1983).

The study deals with the minority groups. There are various reasons for using purposive sampling i.e. the community members are a) smaller in number, b) not readily available, c) reluctant to share their opinions openly, d) hesitant to participate in the study. The purposive sampling also allowed the researcher to approach the respondents who were able to disseminate the best possible knowledge about the community. The purposive sampling was used for UDC1, UDC2, UDC3, UDC4, UDC5, and UDC6.

The sample gathered the information regarding the level of integration that is experienced by the respondents belonging to respective UDCs. The data collected from the respondents is discussed in the chapter 4.

3.6 The process of data analysis

Qualitative data is entirely dependent on the interpretation. The *data item* is interpreted as the individual or respondent who participates in the research. The data extract refers to the data which has been extracted from the data item. In the given study the data items were the Baha'i

and Hindu respondents. The data was collected using semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews, telephonic interviews and focus group discussion.

Data analysis is an elusive process. Though, there is a model to follow but each study is case specific. The particular data, collected by the specific research design requires a specific way of analysis. Miles and Huberman (1994) identify three types of approaches to qualitative data analysis: interpretative approaches, social anthropological approaches, and collaborative social research approaches.

A basic principle to follow for the data analysis is to analyse the data along with the data collection (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). This helps the researcher to focus on the interviews and observations which eventually contributes to the emerging conclusion. Strategies for qualitative analysis fall into three main groups: categorising strategies (such as coding and thematic analysis), connecting strategies (such as narrative analysis and individual case studies), and memos and displays (Maxwell, 2005; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Dey, 1993).

In qualitative research, in contrast, the goal of coding is not to produce counts of things but to “fracture” (Strauss, 1987, p. 29) the data and rearrange it into categories that facilitate comparison between things in the same category and between categories. The research employs the coding and thematic analysis to interpret the data.

3.6.1 Thematic Analysis

The most common approach to data analysis is the Thematic Analysis. There are few researchers who do not discern between the coding and theming. Whereas, the rest see the two as different terms and concepts, they see the theme as a phrase that transcends codes and actually includes numbers of codes as its category.

Prainsack and Kitz Berger (2009) note that themes usually emerge from the interviews. Ritchie et al. (2003) write the idea is to construct an index of central themes and subthemes. The themes and subthemes are recurring ideas in the text that are then applied to the data. The themes and subthemes are usually the result of reading and re-reading the data thoroughly.

For the purpose of this research, framework analysis was employed when analysing the data. The tool of framework analysis was developed as a social policy research approach and is best

employed when the objectives of the research are well defined, highly focused and the research work is guided by structured tools. In the analysis process, the framework approach uses five basic steps to sift, chart and sort the collected data based on key themes and issues. These steps include: transcription, familiarisation, indexing and coding, identifying a thematic framework and interpretation (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009).

Data Collection

The process of data collection was completed over a period of 3 months i.e. 15th June, 2017 – 15th September, 2015.

The data from the minority group members was collected through unstructured and semi-structured interviews mainly. Researchers sometime refer to unstructured and semi-structured interviews as qualitative interviews (Bryman, 2012). The interviews were facilitated by the interview guide. However, probing was the key to the extensive elaboration and details acquired from the respondents.

Recording

The interviews were audio recorded (Bryman, 2012) with the permission of the respondents. The researcher used mobile phone to record interviews. The recording was done with the consent of the respondents. The members who refused to record their voices were usually the ones who refused to give interviews. The interview with each respondent was carried out separately in a room to avoid extraneous voices. Therefore, all the interviews were carefully recorded to be transcribed.

Transcription

Gerson and Horowitz (2002) suggest that some portions of the interviews maybe uninspiring therefore it is effective to listen to all the recordings before transcribing. The researcher had two folders containing the “Interviews from Baha’is” and “Interviews from Hindus” and a recording of the focus group discussion.

The recordings were carefully listened to after each interview. The transcription was initially done in the recorded verbatim. The recorded verbatim was bilingual (Urdu and English) in most cases, except for the few respondents who communicated only in either of the one language.

Clean verbatim was used to transcribe the recording.

Translation

The recorded data was in Urdu and English language. The Urdu verbatim was translated into English language. The transcribed data was incorporated into the chapter “Findings and Discussion”, while the Urdu sentences are italicised and translated to English. The English narrative of the respondents is italicised too. The italicised content seems distinct in between discussion paragraphs.

Coding

Coding the data is an important phase of the qualitative data analysis (Bryman, 2012). Charmaz (1983) describes coding as a short hand device to label separate, compile, and organise data.

Generation of Coding Framework

Coding begins with the reviewing of the transcripts and giving labels to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance or that appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studied (Bryman, 2012).

The transcribed data was reread several times. The data was marked with codes labelled as Code 1 containing relevant sub codes 1.1, 1.2, 1.3...., Code 2 containing relevant codes 2.1, 2.2..... Each document carrying the transcribed data was marked with the codes which helped to separate the similar coding.

The data was gathered in the consolidated form in one file. The Code 1 for example was put on the table with the sub codes. Code 1.1 from each document was marked which was to be tabulated against the row. The tabulation of coding is further elaborated in the thematic charting.

Codes and Sub codes
1. Social Integration
1.1 Believer / non-believer
1.2 Practices Religion

Thematic Charting

The thematic charting contained codes /sub codes against the narratives of each interviewee. The charting was done in the following manner:

Coding	No of Interviewees and their responses				
	Interviewee 1	Interviewee 2	Interviewee 3	Interviewee 4	Interviewee 5
Codes and Sub codes					
1 Social Integration					
1.1 Believer/ Non-Believer					
1.2 Practises religion					

The narrative of each interviewee is put against the coding picked from the transcribed file of the interviewee. The two minority groups were assigned different colors to keep it convenient to compare e.g. Baha'i respondents were marked in grey color and the Hindus were marked in blue in the boxes of interviewees.

The codes helped to generate the Themes and sub-themes which were closely related to each other and explain each other too e.g. the “believer or non – believers” and “practices religion”

sub codes helped in generation of theme “Attachment to the Religion” which were categorised under Social Integration.

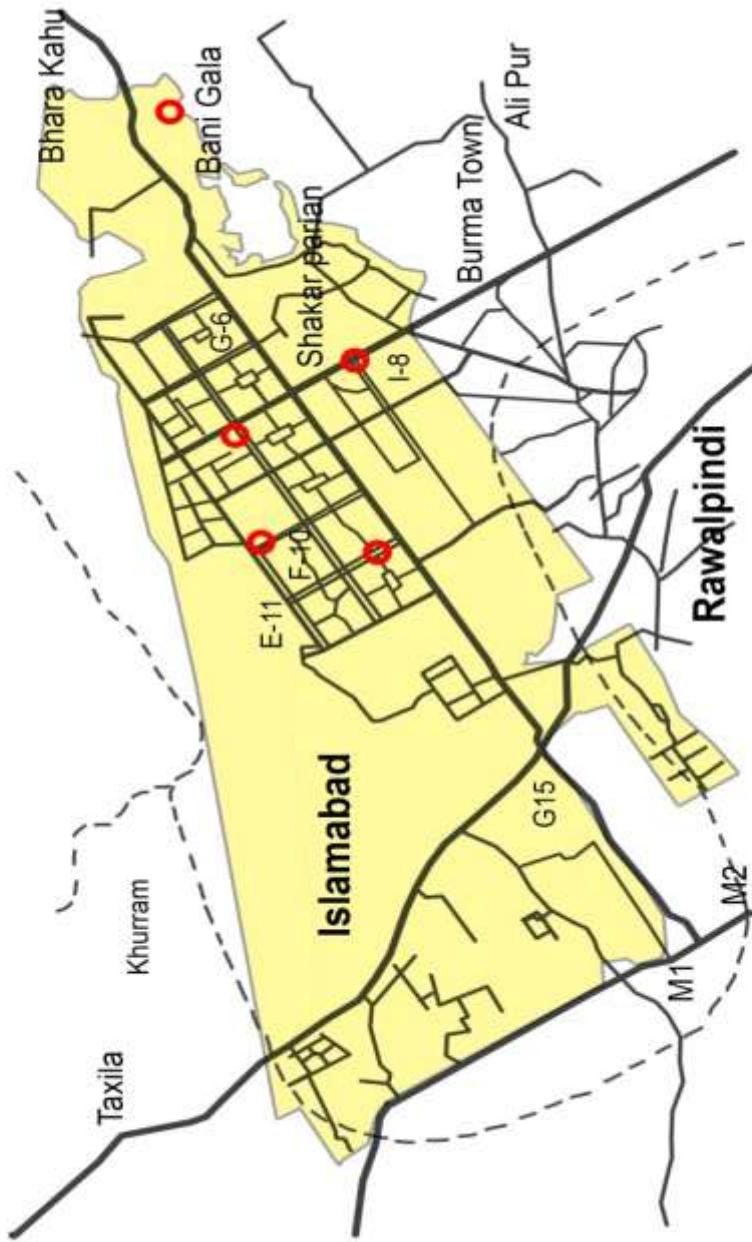
3.7 Locale

The observations can be made in a particular space or place. If the observations are made in the natural setting, then it is specified which location, area, city was assigned to make the task (Sarantakos, 1993). The locale that the researcher selected for the study was Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

The Hindus who mainly have migrated from Sindh and Balochistan are scattered in different areas of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The Hindu respondents who participated in the research were located in I-8, G-11 and F-8, Barakahu (Islamabad) and Civil Lines (Rawalpindi).

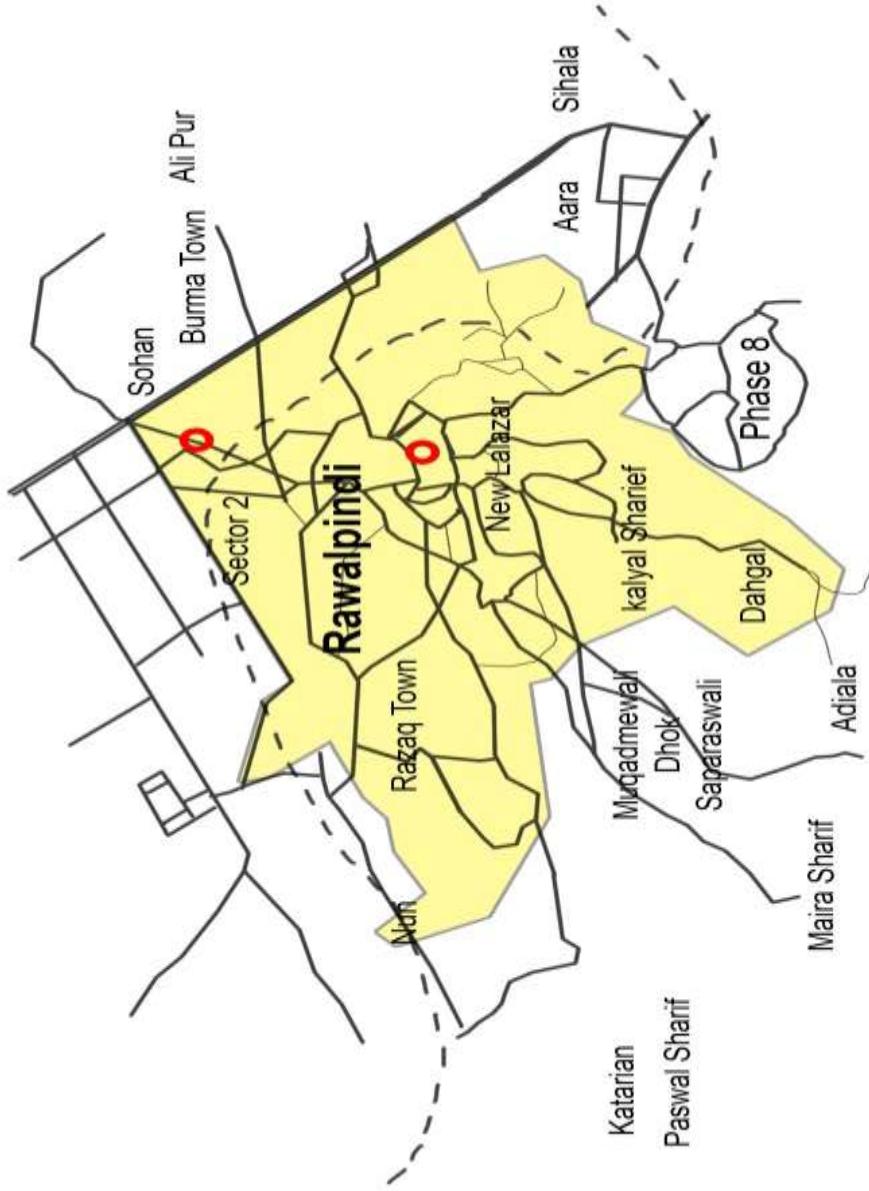
The Baha'i respondents who participated in the research as respondents were located in I-8, F-8, F-10, G-11 (Islamabad) and Satellite Town (Rawalpindi).

The respondents have been particular about their privacy. The specifics of the respondents have not been given out considering their concerns.



Map 1: The location of interviewees of Islamabad¹⁹

¹⁹ The map was constructed by a freelance architect Mominah Arif, graduate of School Of Art, Design and Architecture (SADA) NUST.



Map 2: The location of interviewees of Rawalpindi²⁰

²⁰ The map was constructed by a freelance architect Mominah Arif, graduate of School Of Art, Design and Architecture (SADA) NUST.

Ethics

The research ethics depend on issues of harm, consent, privacy and confidentiality of the data (Punch, 1994).

The research started with a permission letter signed by the Head of the Department which affirmed the Institute's reliability on the researcher. The letter was presented to all the respondents who inquired for researcher's identity. The researcher was honest about her religious beliefs and identity. The researcher carried the National Identity Card to each meeting with the respondent to avoid any insecurity. She answered all the queries of the respondents i.e. queries regarding family and academic background, interest in the research topic.

The researcher's home was visited by two elderly woman respondents to confirm the identity too.

The researcher did not force any respondent to participate in the research work. Four community members backed out from the agreed meetings, their decisions were respected. All the respondents were contacted before the meeting through phone calls. The researcher only visited the respondent's once they agreed to it.

The religious beliefs and faith of the respondents were respected at all the times. The researcher did not indulge in any arguments even when her religious belief was questioned several times. The respondents were explained thoroughly about the research focus. They were not asked any question which would have caused embarrassment, guilt, discomfort, risk or hazard as suggested by Sproull (1988).

The researcher only visited the ceremonies on which she was allowed by the community members. She insisted but did not force to be part of the religious activities which the community members thought were for the ingroup only.

The interviews were recorded with due verbal permission from each of the respondents. The confidentiality and anonymity of the data has been ensured as promised to the respondents. The data was safe with the researcher and she transcribed all the data herself to ensure privacy. Pseudonyms are used to replace the real names. There is just one name of the Hindu respondent which has not been changed due to the title that he has earned in 2017. Haggan (1992) suggests

the researcher must be careful while discussing the subjects and their settings. The maps do mention broadly the sectors the members are situated in but their exact addresses are kept anonymous. The respondents are referred mostly with their ages or professions.

The researcher visited the meeting places by her own car or different cab drivers every time. It was ensured that nothing relevant to the respondent was communicated while driving.

CHAPTER 4

Findings and Discussion

The Chapter will discuss the findings of the research. The field research has brought about some unexpected findings. The discussion on the findings will further elaborate the collected data.

At this time, when media particularly and literature too focuses on the terrorism, extremism, fundamentalism and religious violence, the research findings intend to study the issues of integration closely.

Pakistan and its people have a history of thousands year old (Salim, 2015). There are 2.5 million Hindus in Pakistan. The Baha'i are few in number with 30,000 in total (Ahmad, 2015).

The Muslim society wishes to assimilate the minorities of Pakistan, whereas, the minorities wish to preserve their religious, ethnic and cultural identities as well. The majority-minority are unified by the food, language, dances, national days, struggle towards making and building of Pakistan. As a respondent had put it:

“We share the same food, we share the same culture. We share the same significant national days. The parliament belongs to all the religions. I like biryani²¹ like all the Pakistanis.”

Yet, there remain gaps which are an everyday struggle for the religious minority of Pakistan. The minority and majority belong to the same land. The religion remains an identity marker for the masses which results in intolerant society. The study unfolds the various dimensions which troubles the minorities along with the many factors which keep them integrated. The Hindus and Baha'is feel comparatively safer in Islamabad compared to their native cities. Islamabad is an urbanised city with progressive and educated residents.

This chapter on Findings and Discussion would include the data gathered from the field. The data disseminates the issues of the integration linked to Hindus and Baha'is living in Islamabad. The chapter will also discuss the community that is better integrated. Furthermore, it also directs as how frequently the members of the two communities leave Pakistan due to insecurity.

²¹ A Pakistani dish made with highly seasoned rice and meat, fish or vegetables.

4.1 Issues of Social Integration

The Hindus and Baha'is of Islamabad deal with excessive social marginality issues. Leonard (1984) argues that minority experiences involuntary social marginality. The social marginality causes social exclusion. Cruz and Saco (2008) suggest that unification, inclusion and participation at all levels of society can ensure social integration which results in every person being what they wish to be.

The discussion is initiated by considering how closely the minority group members feel towards their own religion. The theme gives an understanding of the fact that whether the religious minorities fulfill their religious requirements or not or how strongly do they feel towards their own religions.

4.1.1 The Attachment towards the Religion

The community members practice their religions at their convenience. The Hindus pray twice a day, while they visit the temple as frequently as they wish to, or they can. There were few Hindu respondents, mostly men who professed that they have been to temples just once in their life. Few Hindu respondents identify themselves as Hindus but they do not practice any rituals other than the festivities of the religion. Few of them do not believe in existence of God but others do not believe in practising the religion.

One of the respondents who is Head of the family, responsible father and a pathologist argues:

“The religion has come to strengthen the human beings. I don’t think it should be included in the talks and discussions. It remains a topic of discussion in the Third World countries; it never bothers anyone in European countries. My kids live there.”

The religion is an important component in a country like Pakistan (a developing country). The respondent believes the religion exists as an identity to each individual. It doesn't contribute to the development of the country. He is convinced that developed countries are less bothered by the issues of the religion therefore they are progressing. Therefore, his children have moved to the countries that are more advanced and progressive. The narrative of the respondent has been justified by La Porta et al. (1997) that countries with more dominant hierarchical religions i.e. Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, and Islam have less efficient judiciaries, greater corruption,

lower-quality bureaucracies, higher rates of tax evasion, and lower rates of participation in civic activities and professional associations, a lower level of importance of large firms in the economy, inferior infrastructures, and higher inflation. Thus, leaving them less developed to the countries that are not so religious.

Another respondent working for Engro Corporation Limited admits he rarely visits temple. The last time he went to temple was when he was in his teens.

Whereas, another respondent working for an INGO believes he may be born to a Hindu family but he has some ideological reservations with the religions. In his childhood he used to visit temples with his mother in Thar. The researcher inquired "*Why did you visit the temples when you did not believe in your religion?*" He explained he liked beating *dhol*²² and *tablas*²³. He says, "*Music was the sole attraction for me*". He identifies himself as a Marxist. He says he organises Diwali for his community members in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. He mentioned that the Diwali celebration is attended by many Muslim, Christian and Baha'i friends too. He thinks he can relate to the religious festivities more due to the entertainment attached to it but he cannot relate to the theistic context of the religion.

A female Hindu respondent was asked "*how strongly does she relate to her religion?*" Her approach was entirely different to the respondent mentioned earlier. The female college lecturer thinks she is a practising and staunch Hindu. She thinks if living in a Muslim society has not changed her idea of the religion then obviously her religion is significant to her. She prays two times daily at the sunrise and the sunset.

There have been several respondents who feel close to their identity as Hindus but they say they are not so much in the practices of the religion. They do relish the festivities of the religion.

The Baha'i community feels strongly towards their religion. All the respondents excessively mentioned Baha'u'llah, "*Kitab- e- Aqdas*", the teachings of the Baha'i faith. They take Abdul Baha in high esteem and showed a lot of reverence towards him. Each Baha'i emphasises on the

²² A large double- headed drum from Punjab.

²³ A pair of small hand drums used in Indian music, one of which is slightly larger than the other and is played using pressure from the heel of the hand to vary the pitch.

teachings, though, they usually quoted the similar scriptures which shows the community attends the same religious ceremonials that too, quite often.

The researcher visited a Baha'i family in Rawalpindi, at the end of the meeting, around Maghrib²⁴ prayers, they all recited Manajat. All the family members read one scripture from the book. They offered the researcher to read it too, which she did.

Two Baha'i women visited the researcher's home, who live quite nearby. At the end of the meeting they read sayings of Baha'u'llah.

The Baha'i religion allows the children to pick their faith once they are fifteen. The Baha'i respondents believe they see completeness in the religion; therefore they picked to be Baha'i when they were 15.

Another seventy years old Baha'i respondent, who had to leave Iran due to Baha'i persecutions, says :

"Religion is important to me? Obviously. It is the most important thing (the respondent emphasised on the important thing) to me. Back in Iran, they told me just say this once that you are a Muslim, your job and status would be secure. I decided to stay loyal to my religion".

The findings shared above suggest that the Hindu community members are loyal and faithful to their religion. There are few members of the community who see the spirituality of the religion as a necessary component for an organized living. The rest of them hold their identity as Hindus close to heart but are not devoted to the daily rituals.

The Baha'is feel strongly connected to the identity as well as the religious practices. The believer of the faith commented that their religious practices are easy and convenient too.

4.1.2 Sentiments towards other Religions

The Muslims and Hindus share a history of conflicts and rivalries from the partition of the subcontinent. Levison (1949) argues the outgroups are the objects of the negative opinions and hostile attitude. It is important to discuss the acceptance and tolerance of the minority groups.

²⁴The fourth of five formal daily prayers performed by practising Muslims at the time of sunset.

The tolerance towards other religions helps to understand if the minority is ready to accept other religious groups or they hold strong stereotypes against them too.

The Pakistani Hindus do not see themselves as outsiders. They feel Pakistan is their land, they belong to this place. Therefore, they have acceptance towards all the religions.

A respondent who recently graduated as an econometrician said

"If I say my religion is the best, in other words, I am saying rest of the knowledges and religions are wrong. Who am I to say that?" The respondent believes respecting each individual's religious ideology makes me a better human and a better Hindu. He believes ridiculing other religions will not make my religion better anyways.

The Baha'i have settled in Pakistan long before partition. The larger number migrated due to the persecution in Iran against the Baha'i. The country is not a motherland to many of the Baha'i. They have their origin in Iran. As far as, the religion is concerned they believe their religion is introduced to converge the Humanity towards oneness. They believe their religion came to introduce religious revolution. The Baha'i feel their religion is the religion for the modern era.

A Baha'i respondent was asked "*Ap baki mazahib ke baray maen kaisay mahsos krti haen? (How do you feel about the other religions?)*". The 72 year old from the Baha'i community said:

"I believe in universality of the religion. We, as Baha'i believe if a child learns ABC in grade one, then in the later classes he is told to make words. Does he unlearn what he studied in grade one? No. Baha'i religion is not so old; similarly, it is a modern religion for the modern era. It doesn't tell you to demolish other religions, it just adds in more."

A Baha'i respondent, aged 65, said his religion is a convenient religion. The other religions (naming Islam) are quite harsh on the given capacity of human beings. He narrated my grandfather who was a Muslim would ask my father to say the *Tahhajud*²⁵ prayers the whole night. The respondent feels other religions are physically strenuous and require effort. He added:

"We don't have clergy in our religion, rest of the religions, they don't let you die and they don't let you live either."

²⁵ The night prayer offered by Muslims.

Another respondent from the Baha'i community quoted Baha'u'llah's saying

"If religion creates disunity, it is better for one to not have one".

The Hindu respondent of Islamabad sound more accepting of the other religions, whereas, the Baha'i residents too accept the diversity of the religions yet they believe that their religious teachings resonate peace and harmony more compared to any other religion. It would not be wrong to say that the Baha'i community thinks their religion is the latest version of the belief in one God and it is complete in every manner.

The two above given themes, shed light on the acceptability that the two communities show towards the other religions and the citizens of Pakistan. Though, the two community members living in Islamabad gather at various congregations and gatherings. The two communities may not be accepting towards Muslims in some cases but they hold cordial relations amongst each other.

4.1.3 Freedom to Profess, Practice and Propagate Religion

The two communities share diverse opinions on freedom to profess, practice and propagate religion. The article 20 of the constitution of Pakistan mentions the rights of the minority to freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions. The findings have been discussed here.

The theme includes views of all the Hindu respondents who may or may not be into the practising of the ritual and prayers. A Hindu respondent believes that living in a Muslim society makes practicing difficult for him. The religion seems a complicated business to him. It confuses him. The Hindus do not feel obsessively towards their religion but a Hindu respondent working for a corporate firm said

"Hum jayen na jayen ... hamaray liye mandir tu hona chaye na Islamabad maen" (Even if we don't visit, there should be a temple for us in Islamabad).

The Hindus living in Islamabad feel resentment due to unavailability of a worship place in Islamabad. Kennedy (2006) states that in Byzantine, the Muslim and non-Muslim spaces existed nearby too. However, that may not be the case in Islamabad or Rawalpindi. The report on

Human Rights Watch (2013) suggests that the State must allow the religious minorities to build their worship places, as well as they must be provided land for this purpose. A Hindu respondent mentioned that a temple was promised to them in H-9 last year (2016) but they are still waiting for the project to become a reality. There were also Hindu respondents who do not know if there are any temples in Rawalpindi. The respondents have long resided in the vicinity of the twin cities though. Whereas, the Hindus of Islamabad can visit the Krishna Mandir situated in Kabari Bazar Saddar, and Balmiki Mandir situated in Gracy Lane, Chaklala. The Hindu residents living in Islamabad have to travel 30-40 minutes by car to Rawalpindi to visit there two temples. This can be concluded that the respondents maybe interested to visit the worship places if they are constructed in nearby places.

However, they acknowledge that once in the temple they are free to practice the religion. They also can hold meetings inside the temples which has separate rooms for the community meetings. They acknowledge the State's provision of security for the people who come to the temples.

A respondent recalled that after the Babri Masjid incident the government had sent Rangers to look after the temples. He also mentioned that even after the Gujarat riots, uprisings started against Hindus in Pakistan too but the government ensured all preventive measures for the Pakistani Hindus. The statement ensures that the State never steps aside when it comes to providing security to the minorities of Pakistan.

Whereas, the respondents mentioned frequently that their religion does not emphasise on preaching. Therefore, they do not feel any suppression in the context.

A female college lecturer said:

“We celebrate our Holi, Diwali but we don’t feel the festivity. It doesn’t feel like a festive occasion like you would feel on your Chaand Raat”.

However, a respondent mentioned that the government helps us celebrate our festivals. He said *“Prime Minister comes to a Diwali function, Gaytri Mantar is played on the national television. This all shows efforts from the government to integrate us”*.

In contrast, there are also members of the community who feel that the government has to stage the drama on the television. They believe the world has globalised, Pakistan cannot afford to

portray itself as a non- inclusive country. Therefore, the political leaders greet and wish us on our religious celebrations. This gives a positive image of Pakistan to the world.

Khan (2011) argues that Pakistan has been engaged in war on terror since September, 2001. The war has brought immense destruction to the country by slowing down the economic growth, deteriorating the social structure and making the country vulnerable politically. Inspite of this State invests its economic resources to make the non- Muslim festive occasions a success. The State may intend to portray a positive image of inter-faith scenario in the country. But, it is not justified to say that the State entirely invests to stage a drama to the globe. The economic and human resource investment to the festivities shows that the government keenly intends to integrate the minorities and holds itself responsible for their well-being.

The Hindu respondents agreed that they are allowed to practice, profess and propagate the religion. However, they organise their religious activities cautiously to avoid criticism from the conservative minds.

The Baha'i community has a National Spiritual Assembly in H-8 Islamabad. The community members from Rawalpindi have a separate Baha'i Centre for them. The Baha'is meet every weekend to discuss the religious teachings. They also meet at the nineteen day feast (*diyafat-i-nazdah-ruzih*), the monthly Baha'i community meeting for worship, administrative business and fellowship. The feast is held every nineteen days in each Baha'i community, usually on the first day of each Baha'i month. The community also holds study circles at different durations in a Baha'i residence or the nearest Baha'i Centre. The researcher wished to be part of the feast but the community members did not see the idea so appealing. A Baha'i respondent present at the focus group discussion defensively agreed "*We do not allow non-Baha'is at intimate gatherings because we can't afford to let out our personal information for example allocation of budget towards different projects*".

There was no security guard at the main gate of the National Spiritual Assembly of Baha'i when the researcher visited the place. The day marked important to the Baha'is. 9th July, marks important to the Baha'is because it is commemorated as the Martyrdom Anniversary of Baha'u'llah. Two children were playing outside the main door. They introduced themselves as:

"app kon haen , hum dosray religion say haen (Who are you? We are from other religion)".

The children so young understood the segregation of the religions too. They were confident to introduce themselves as someone different from the majority. The male Baha'is also wore rings that carry the symbol of Baha'i faith or Haykel, a five pointed star. The symbol was also seen hanging in their cars and in their homes as wall hangings. The display of the religious symbol in the day to day articles shows that the Baha'i respondents are not worried about declaring their religion, rather this could be considered as a way of promoting and teaching their religion.



Figure 3: The Baha'i respondent wearing a ring which has the sign of Haykel engraved on it

The Baha'i faith may not have a clergy. The faith has an administrative body which functions the Local Spiritual Assembly. There are 14 Spiritual Assemblies, each in urban parts of Pakistan. The Baha'is are open to practising their religion. A Baha'i respondent shared:

"The government organises for us a gala and dinner at PNCA each year on the eve of Eid-Rizwan."

An eighty two years old Baha'i respondent shared: *"Incase the situation goes wrong sometimes; the government provides us with the security guards"*

The Hindus and Baha'is living in Islamabad feel they are allowed to practice, profess and propagate their religion. They do feel intimidated by the conservative minds that they believe is because of their religion which is distinct from Islam. The respondents believe the negativity may come from anyone, sometime educated people behave recklessly too.

The Hindus and Baha'is have limited worship places in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The respondents of Hindu faith believe it would be easy to access the temple, if built in Islamabad too. The respondents living in Rawalpindi did not complain for the lack of worship places or even the lesser land area of the worship place. They feel themselves free to practice their religion within their religious spaces or at home. They do not feel the need to propagate their religion, neither their religion has an obligation of preaching. They do, however, discuss their religion occasionally with fellows and friends.

The Baha'is feel contended with their religious places available to them. They are free to profess their religion, practice, and propagate too. The Baha'is hold study circles and workshops to teach about their religious teaching. As discussed in the theme "Attachment towards the religion", at the end of the meetings the Baha'is narrated quotes of Baha'u'llah which significantly shows that the community members do not shy away from discussing and preaching their religion.

4.1.4 Fear of Identity

The identity remains an arguable topic. Identity indicates the identification with someone on the basis of specific observable elements and, at the same time, the differentiation from someone else not sharing similar characteristics (Hall, 2004). The two communities, Hindus and Baha'is admit that they never deny their association to their respective religions. They feel privileged to be categorised to a distinct religion. Self-categorisation is an important process of human cognition. It helps to simplify and organise stimuli perceived from the environment. Turner (1990) suggests people tend to form sense of "we" when they can relate to certain characteristics of other people. However, when the community members sense the other person does not have the tolerance towards other religions they remain silent or change their names. Tajfel and Turner (1988) propose that in order to protect positive self-image, people tend to downgrade or negatively evaluate the outgroups. The Muslim population sees themselves as better humans and followers of superior religion.

The Hindus agreed their women do wear *sarees*, but do not put *sindoor* to avoid being seen as different from the rest of the population. However, they feel that their group feels threatened immensely. They believe people see them as non-Muslims and impure. They see them as born to an unfit religion. The names of the Hindus create an instant awkwardness for them.

a. What's in a name?

The names of Hindus usually speak for themselves. They do not name their children according to the regional preferences. A Hindu would be most likely to name his child Raj (a Hindi word, which means, the ruler), Amit (the boundless, It is one of the 108 names of the Hindu God Shri Ganesha), Priyanka (a Hindi word which means lovable). The distinct or easily differentiable non-Muslim names can put the community members in trouble sometimes. The respondents narrate that social interactions sometime do get awkward because of their names. They narrate that people are comfortable talking to them, when they get to know of their names. They automatically feel insecure considering them as non-Muslims. The people also tend to ask them many questions regarding their faith and even sometimes try to convince them to convert to Islam on the first meeting.

The members of the minority groups quetched about the ignorance and lack of the awareness of the Muslim citizens of the country. They shared that the worst they feel is when someone tells them that they belong to India. A Hindu respondent, enrolled as a student of mass communication, mentioned:

“They ask us who you prefer in India vs Pakistan match. Is this something to even ask? I am a Pakistani. How am I any lesser Pakistani than them if I am Varsha”?

She said it gives her immense pain, to be born in Pakistan, stayed here forever and still being called as Indian. She said she knows being of another country is not an insult but calling me lesser patriotic and lesser citizen of Pakistan is not understandable at all.

A respondent with Hindi name mentioned a Careem driver who told him he had never known a Hindu ever in his life. The masses do not know much about the diversity that exists among them. He further added that to avoid the illogical questions from the lesser educated and lesser tolerant people, he introduces himself as K.D (or Khair-ud-din).

A Hindu student studying in Islamabad shared that to avoid unnecessary questions, if he has to, he tells he is Ali. This saves him from the bothersome and undesirable queries.

Whereas, a male Hindu respondent shared he was sitting in the park. An elderly stranger inquired about his whereabouts. When he told him his name was Raj. He spontaneously and sternly reacted:

What are you doing in a public park?

Whereas, the Baha'i shared no such incident that suggest prejudice on the basis of name. The prominent reason for no such precedence lies in what a Baha'i said:

"We name ourselves according to the region we are living in. You will see a Baha'i named Michel, Robert, Patrick, and then you would find a Baha'i named Ishraq, Mohammad, Moneeb, Farhan, Jamal, and Saba". The Baha'i's name their kids according to the region or part of the world they may be living in. A Baha'i born in the West will be named Michel, Robert etc but all the Baha'i's living in Pakistan have the local names. Their names are mostly Persian and Muslim. The Baha'i's who migrated from Iran, do have the Persian Surnames. The Baha'i's shared that no one asks for their surnames, neither a stranger asks randomly for the religion in the first few meetings.

The Hindus feel prejudiced because their names are self-evident of their religion but the Baha'i's are not targeted because of the subtlety in their names. The fear attached to distinct names is limited to the Hindus only.

4.1.5 The Supremacy of the Majority

The members from the both religious groups adjudge that all citizens cannot be the same. They do meet sensible Muslims and they interact with conservative minds too. But, Giddens (2006) argues that majority is usually the group which has more power prestige and wealth. The majority overpowers the minority as Harris (1985) noted that the minority group usually has lesser power over their lives. A Hindu respondent mentioned:

"All people aren't the same. There are few who shower you with love when they get to know you are a Hindu but then few are quick to make criticism because you are Hindu".

A Baha'i respondent added "*No one has ever come up to my face about the religious difference, it has probably more to do with the residents of Islamabad, and they are broad minded*".

A Baha'i respondent said:

"From childhood to this age, I have felt discriminated and prejudiced at every level. Be it education or sports, whatsoever"

Though, he added recently he has been introduced to a teacher who respects his religious belief but then he mentioned that such kindness is a rarity.

Most Hindu and Baha'i respondents mention that once in a while they do meet such people who convince them that their religion lacks wholeness and completeness. They are often preached against their will. The findings do suggest that not all the Muslims believe in sabotaging the existence of separate religion, but somehow, the educated and well informed people go overboard about preaching the religion of the majority. Though, the respondents believe they maybe not insisting but never persuasive enough.

4.1.6 Invitation to Convert

The communities have been most bothered by the Pakistani Muslims who preach. The community members mentioned that they understand the good intentions of the people who invite to convert but mostly the situation gets uneasy and annoying. The respondents believe they feel insulted and not equally treated. The article 2 of UDHR quotes; "all human beings are equal in dignity".

A Baha'i respondent mentioned:

"Everyone wants you to be like them if they love you. Recently a Noor Bakshia friend came to convert me. I told him you think about yourself, I would think about myself". He mentioned that he was delinked to the friend now.

The President of Hindu Panchayat mentioned that he counters the one who says:

"Islam qabool kr lo, Jannat maen jao gay (Accept Islam, you would go to Paradise)". He says people often come and tell us to accept Islam. I tell them:

“Are you a good Muslim enough to convert me? Or there are times when I tell them who do you think is bigger you or Allah? Obviously he says Allah, I tell him then Allah has decided for me to be a Hindu and you to be a Muslim. Else, I would have been born to a Muslim family too.”

A respondent, who answered most of the questions discreetly, responded to the invitation of the conversion as:

“Maybe, or maybe not. People can ask you to convert out of love”.

A Hindu respondent mentioned he lies to the passengers while travelling back to his native town. He said:

“The passenger sitting next to me if asks my name I tell him I am Ali. If I tell him I am Amit, he will be preaching me the next 20 hours. He won’t even let me sleep”

The two communities see this as distortion and disrespect to their identity. The Hindu respondents seemed more offended by this frequent practice. The eminent reason being their axiomatic names which allows them to be easy target of criticism.

The Baha'i religion and the teachings believe in oneness of the religion. The Baha'is do have subtle names. They also believe, like Muslims that Prophet Mohammad was sent to the world as a messenger. Furthermore, unlike Muslims they do not believe in finality of Prophethood on Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). They normalise their equations with the Muslims by accepting that there was Prophet named Muhammad sent to the world. The society had to evolve, therefore, Baha'u'llah was sent later. The religion is also confused as an offshoot of Islam quite frequently.

Of the two communities Hindus definitely seem more exhausted by the constant crusading of the other religions on them. Whereas, not that Baha'is are not offended about the fact but they are slightly more careful while expressing because they are just few families residing in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. They believe any comment can put them in trouble as put by a Baha'i Doctor who refused to talk to me saying:

“I cannot to talk to you; I do not want to say something that may be documented against me”.

The minority groups equally resent the invitation to convert. They feel contented with their own religion and believe people need to work on themselves more before they go on teaching the minorities about their religion.

a. Forceful Conversions

Conversion refers to a change in one's religious affiliation (Rambo, 1993). Whereas, forced conversion is the change in religious affiliation of an individual by inflicting him or her with physical harm or / and threats.

Forced conversions take place when violence, physical, emotional or psychological attempts are made, so as to ensure a religious conversion. Thus, victims of forced conversions are usually abducted and submitted to force, duress or threats, being coerced to choose between bearing the abuses and converting. Violence is commonly directed not only to the victims, but also used to threaten their loved ones.

The community members believe they cannot be forced to convert. They believe it is not so convenient to force someone in somewhat law abiding cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. However, the situation gets severe in certain cases. A respondent mentioned that:

"I have read La illaha Illah Muhammad ur Rasool Allah a thousand times but that doesn't mean I have become a Muslim".

He further added Muslim friends sometimes say that jokingly, other times they tell you are a perfect human being, only if you would accept Islam.

A Baha'i respondent retired from notable and privileged government office shared when his son was in the Medical school at Bahawalpur he was captivated in a room and told to accept Islam till the sun came out.

A female Hindu respondent shared her paternal uncle had to move out of Pakistan due to the fear that he might be forced to marry his daughter to a rich Muslim man who was after her. He would have converted her if the marriage would have happened.

The two community members believe that it is not easy to force someone to change the religion. Yet, sometimes it gets threatening.

The findings suggest that the force has not been applied on the minority groups in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The threats have been made in cities like Karachi or Bahawalpur, which are hundreds of miles away from Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The respondents believe they may be asked to convert but no incidents of forceful conversions have ever occurred in the twin cities. The Protection of the Minorities Act, 2016 states that “a person who forcefully converts another person in a manner- shall be liable to imprisonment of either description for a minimum of five years and maximum of life imprisonment and fine to be paid to the victim”. The bill is on hold due to the raucous opposition by various groups in Sindh.

Inspite of this, the minority groups living in Islamabad and Rawalpindi do not feel threatened by the preaching or invitation to conversion.

b. Abductions

There are no cases of abductions of girls in Baha'i faith. There are numerous cases of the abduction of the young girls in Hindu community living in Sindh. The Hindu community remains careful about their children visiting their Muslims friends. They are careful as to what kind of friends their children would be making. Whereas, not many people know who Baha'is are. Almost all the Baha'i respondents asked the researcher how she got to know about their faith as not many know it as a separate religion.

However, Hindus can be differentiated by names even. The young Hindu respondents told that their parents are usually concerned about their security especially when they are young. The sole reason being, that the people sometimes try to persuade naïve minds to convert. They believe young girls can be trapped easily. One respondent said:

“The problem with a Muslim guy wanting to marry a Hindu girl is that he would always want her to convert”

All the Hindu respondents agreed that they know people in their relatives and families who have faced the cases of abduction. The abduction of young girls usually happens in Sindh and Balochistan which ends in forced marriages too. Forced marriage involves the lack of free and full consent on the part of at least one of the parties to a marriage (Home office, 2000). A respondent added:

“Why are men or elderly women never converted? Why is it always young women who convert? It is because they are either lured or abducted”.

A Hindu respondent shared that her uncle did not want to leave Pakistan but he had to move to India because the man after their girl was filthy rich with immense political influence. The Police had offered to give them complete security but the guy had sent a message to the family saying: *“maen isko mar do ga yah iska jeena haaram kar don ga (I will kill her, or will make her life difficult to live)*.

Abductions remain a prominent problem for the Hindus living in Sindh and Balochistan. It does affect the Hindu community living in Islamabad emotionally and psychologically because most of them have their origin in Sindh and Balochistan. The female Hindu respondents living in Islamabad believe that such incidents make their parents insecure about the security of their girls. Though, no cases of abduction have ever been reported in Islamabad.

4.1.7 Prejudice and Preconceptions

Myrdal (1944) analysed that prejudice towards the racial and religious minorities always distorts values such as equality and liberty. The prejudice is mostly attached to set of useless stereotypes. Prejudice against one minority group is part of a tendency to belittle outgroups more generally in most cases (Sniderman and Hagendoorn, 2007).

The Baha'i community is scarce in number. They are careful of the statements they make. As Hindu respondent commented:

“Baha’is do not feel prejudiced either because they are so less in number. They are careful of their comments about other religions. Secondly, most of the Baha’is living in Islamabad are earning a good living which makes them more acceptable to the classist society”. Whereas, many Baha'i respondents were not open about the problems but two men from the same community went on to confirm several kinds of discriminations that the community faces. A Baha'i respondent even went on to say:

“If they tell you they (Baha’is) haven’t ever been discriminated, then, maybe they are in denial or living in false consciousness”.

However the following sub-themes explain the prejudice the two minority groups face.

a. Offensiveness towards Religions

The respondents agreed that sometimes people are over polite when they realise we are from other religion, others can be really harsh and offensive too. They believe constantly preaching their religion is offensive. The respondents can yet relate to some obvious incidents of prejudice. The respondents of the Baha'i faith extend the knowledge of their religion which they see as complete and whole for the rest of the world. Although, they claim that they do not talk about their religion to the people who are not interested in their religious teachings. Yet, they excessively and continuously mention their faith and their religious teachings during the non-religious conversations. There is a chance that they do this to promote their religion and to give away an enlightened vision about their religion.

A Hindu respondent recalls that when they shifted to their new home in Rawalpindi, the neighbourhood showed deep resentment. She mentions that their backdoor neighbours happened to call each other Hindu while they fought among themselves at home. She says they called each other “*chal tu hindu hae (You are a Hindu)*” to insult each other. She remembers vividly that the voices were clear and tone was quite rude as they mockingly called each other Hindu.

A Baha'i girl enrolled in dentistry shared that once in school, while they talked a student shared that Muslims were not allowed to share their utensils or crockery with non-Muslims. She told that everyone knew that she was a non-Muslim, everyone started staring at her. She further explained that it was not offensive, yet, careless of the student to bring in topic of religion when it was not even required. Wirth (1945) noted that the minority groups because of their physical or cultural characteristics are usually singled out from the others in the society. They experience differential and unequal treatment and therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.

The two community members profess that they have faced similar incidents quite frequently which hurts their sentiments.

b. Educational Institutes

Colleges and Universities are often seen as bastion of free thoughts and expressions. The students are expected to grow personally and academically. Students tend to even explore their beliefs and religion at colleges and universities too. The environment is destroyed when students face anti-social behaviour because of their religious belief. The victims suffer a range of psychological and emotional responses, from lowered self-confidence and insecurity to depression, isolation and anxiety. It sometimes involves their families too.

All the respondents had faced some sort of discriminatory situation in school, college, university. They could vividly recall the irrational attitudes of the fellow students and the teachers. The respondents who received their education from Convent schools or private elite schools share an entirely opposite view.

Two Hindu respondents shared that they were unable to join military schools and cadet colleges respectively. One of the respondents shared he was allowed to be at the military educational institute after he was entreated by the friends who were military officers. The other respondent said that the principal told his father that:

“Our students pray five times a day, they recite Quran, and how would your son be able to adjust”.

The constitution 22 (3b) of the country, states, “no citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution receiving aid from public revenues on the ground only of race, religion, caste or place of birth”.

He added that he understands the reservation of the institute but this should not bar him from acquiring the best education available in the area.

A Hindu girl, shares that once during Urdu class, her teacher told them that:

“Hindus worship the dogs, they use the utensils licked by the dogs”. She added that Hindu culture does not even allow shoes to be worn in the kitchen. Her father had to go to college to complain against the teacher. The members of the community believe they are allowed to be vocal incase the problem arises. The respondent said the complaint was filed against the teacher,

her behaviour changed too. However, she added that the class consists of numbers of naive minds; they could not be corrected about the misconception of her faith once they were taught differently by the teacher. She says many fellow students were crude towards her after what the teacher taught them in the class. The respondent is a daughter of a notable and influential Hindu community member, not all Hindus are able to file complaints when they are faced with similar situations.

Another Hindu respondent had strong opinions on the discrimination at academic institutes. He mentioned that the university board had refused to accept him because he is a Hindu. He said during Masters his teacher failed him so he could not choose the option of thesis. The teacher often would ask him where are you exactly from (considering him an agent). He would doubt the respondent's identity. He shares that once he had to present on Sufism in a English class as a project. He was elaborating Hadith, Quran during his presentation. The respondent shares that a student who was ethnically a Syed went on to say:

"ab yeh kaafir humein Islam sikhaye ga (Now this Non- Muslim will teach us Islam).

A Baha'i respondent says that she respects the code of the college but it is obligatory for all the girls to cover their head. So, she does cover her head with a *dupatta* though her religion has no obligation towards covering of the head.

Another Baha'i respondent recalls several times in school, the boys would beat him. They would encircle him and ask him to recite *First Kalma*. He would. Then they would go to the teachers and tell them. The teachers would ask him to recite *Kalma* again and then allow him to sit in class.

Another male Baha'i respondent who feels suffocated by the intolerance recalls during his Islamiat class, the teacher would particularly point him out to go and wash hands before touching the Quran. He shared that he has immense respect for the Holy Books; he has keen understanding of Quran too, since it has been taught to him since the first grade. He said it is wrong of a teacher to particularly point him in the class and embarrass him in front of the fellow students for something that does not even need correction.

Perpetrators of hate crime are often perceived to be hate-fueled individuals who plan attacks upon their victims, but the reality is that the majority of perpetrators are unremarkable people. Indeed, they are often fellow students or sometimes teachers who commit these acts within the context of their everyday lives. The Hindus and Baha'i respondents have experienced discrimination at schools, college and universities due to their different religions. The respondents say that they have felt most discriminated at educational Institutes. It obviously discourages them to share their view about controversial issues. They often avoid the discussions which can lead to intellectual arguments or even fights. The minority group members say they had to be careful at their educational institutes at all times.

c. The Discriminatory Syllabus

On the UNDP World Development Report Education Index, Pakistan ranks 141st of 182 ranked countries (HDR, 2011). The government spends merely 2.59 % of its total GDP on education (World Bank, 2011). The education sector has been low on priority list of all the governments to date. This neglect is coupled with lack of uniformity in the syllabus and low standards of curriculum of the academic institutes. The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) report (2011) found that the material taught in the Pakistani primary and secondary schools instill prejudice and intolerance of religious minorities. The report closely studied the curriculum of the local text books from grade 1- 10. It further added that the syllabus does not abide by the Constitution 22 of the State which quotes: “No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own”.

The respondents believe there is not anything wrong with learning about other religions. They also believe there should not be any imposition either but the syllabus surely is discriminatory. A respondent mentioned that they are asked to study “Ethics” as a subject if they do not wish to study Islamiat. He said: *“What is wrong with our ethics that they want to teach us ethics? If they want to offer us something other than Islamiat, offer subjects like World Religions etc. We don't need ethics as a subject”*.

Most of the students feel if they drop out on Islamiat then they cannot either compete or they will not be able to score well. Therefore, to stay in the competition they prefer opting for Islamiat.

A respondent from Hindu belief shares his cousin did not want to study Islamiat compulsory which is a requisite to qualify as a medical graduate. So, he refused to take Islamiat but this called for some serious discussions and arguments at the university board.

There were also respondents who have absolutely no problem with studying the subject. However, they feel the content of the books from grade 1-12 is quite discriminatory. The students are taught that the “*Ghair Muslims*” are only the Hindus. The respondents mentioned they also feel unequal when the *Huffaz*²⁶ are given extra marks.

A Hindu respondent said, “*The Urdu book expects a Muslim friend to write letter to a non-Muslim friend to convert*”. He believes we are teaching differences and intolerance to the young, fragile minds.

The Hindus and Baha’is both highlighted the discriminatory nature of the syllabus of the local text books. They suggest that the books on Inter-Faith Harmony must be introduced in the curriculum.

d. Prejudice from the Neighbours

The Hindu and Baha’i residents of Islamabad and Rawalpindi feel safe living amongst the Muslim community. However, sometimes they feel that the Muslims are not so polite while making the dealings. The respondents say that neighbours in Islamabad do not visit each other often. They share food on special and festive occasions.

A Baha’i respondent of privileged socio-economic status says that the neighbourhood hesitates in mingling with us. Once during jogging in the park nearby his home, a woman walked them home. She mentioned that

“*A Baha’i family lives in this street too, they are not Muslims*”. As soon as they told her that they are the Baha’i family she is talking about, she ran from there.

²⁶ Huffaz are the people who have learned Quran by heart.

A Hindu respondent mentioned that the neighbours were not happy when they shifted to their current locality. They told the house owner:

"Hindu he milay thay ghar beechnay ko, humein day detay (You could have sold the house to us, why did you sell it to a Hindu)".

A female Hindu respondent mentioned that the next door neighbour, a well-educated medical practitioner stops their mutual house helper to visit her home because she says:

"yeh hindu haen, inka diya howa paisa tum per haram hae (They are Hindus, their money is haram on you).

The researcher observed that the neighborhood does not visit the non-Muslims so often. They do exchange food on occasions but they avoid gatherings with them. The Baha'is and Hindus do feel the lack of connection among the neighborhood due to their religions.

e. Prejudice from Relatives

The prejudice from relatives does not exist in Hindus, since; they all belong to the same religion. Whereas, Baha'is have to select their religion at the age of fifteen or they are even open to marriages with other religions as well. Therefore, the Baha'is have relatives from other religions too.

A Baha'i respondent shared that his maternal Aunt, a Sunni Muslim separates the utensils which she uses for her Baha'i family. He further added that the women of that family cover their hands with a cloth to shake hands with us.

The Baha'is feel discriminated by their Muslim relatives.

f. Discrimination while renting or buying houses

The discrimination is more familiar to the Hindus living in Islamabad - Rawalpindi. A male Hindu respondent shares that he had to urgently shift the house. He went to the house owner, the deal was done, and as soon as he mentioned he was a Hindu, the deal was off. The respondent says that I insisted upon which he told me

“Prophet Muhammad has told me to keep my commitment therefore I am giving it to you. If I were a Hindu I would have never fulfilled my commitment. You can take the house but make sure you don’t worship here, neither are you allowed to bring your female friends to the house.”

I insisted the respondent to share the copy of legal document which stated the agreement, he refused to share.

A Hindu respondent says that he clearly mentions his religion to the real estate agent to avoid future inconvenience whenever he has to change the house.

The Baha’is living in Islamabad –Rawalpindi did not mention any such incident.

g. Food: An Instrument to Discriminate

The Hindus and Baha’is think Muslims avoid having food with them. I have already mentioned under the theme “Prejudice from the relatives” how a Baha’i respondent was served in the plates separated for them.

A Hindu respondent says, *“The problem with the society is, they don’t have problems eating with Deepak Pirwani or Cyril Almeida but they will have problems eating with the non-Muslim who belong to low income class. If someone is from low income and religious minority, he or she is double jeopardised.”*

On the contrary, some respondents expressed that discrimination is solely religion based. For instance, a respondent shared an incident where both the girls were of the same economic class. She shared *“I offered a girl food at college, she took it from me, when I wasn’t looking she threw the food away”*. She believed it would not have happened to her if she were of the same religion as the other girl.

A Hindu female respondent said that she fasts on Monday and Saturday. People enquire *“Why can’t you have a month of Fasting like Muslims and Christians. Why do you have to observe this unnecessary routine of fasting on Monday and Saturday?”*

A male respondent said his fellow students did not use the same glass as his when he was in school. Another male Hindu respondent shared that once he was invited at a dinner. He requested the host to have any meat other than beef. He said at the dinner someone informed him that the

only option to have is beef. He said that he felt insulted and offended because clearly the host had not considered his request to mock him.

The Hindus and Baha'i shared various incidents when they were avoided at the meals, not offered food or were served food in sorted utensils.

4.1.8 Keeping the Profile Low

The members of the two communities believe that it is important for them to not indulge in religious arguments and discussions. The respondents of the Baha'i community believe that if they would be good, people will reciprocate. However, there were two community members who completely refused to talk to me after knowing the research topic. It would have been convenient for them to feign unavailability but they expressed their insecurities and refused to be part of the study. The Baha'i members in the Focus Group Discussion were adamant that they are taught and groomed well at home but they are so polite that never puts them in trouble. The Hindu respondents countered the narrative by telling them that all the families and religions guide the students right at home, still they can face some problems. The respondents further added that they are taught at home to not comment on religious matters.

Despite being fearful the Hindu respondents reported that they usually voice their religious opinions. Though, they have to stay careful else they can get into trouble. A social activist added he was condemning against the Peshawar Attack, his video got viral and he was questioned over his comments made against the attack. He opined that he must be allowed to talk on any topic unless it is not hurting someone's sentiment.

A Hindu respondent who completed his undergraduate from Islamabad told that his father had asked him to stay out of the arguments when he was leaving for a boarding school. A female Hindu respondent told that her parent have always told the siblings to remain silent on the controversial matters.

A female Hindu respondent said that the Hindus avoid the religious topics because of 295-C Blasphemy Law. The Blasphemy Law (295C) states:

"Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation or by any imputation, innuendo, or insinuation, directly or indirectly, defiles the sacred name of the Holy Prophet

Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) shall be punished with death, or imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine”.

The female respondent said the law makes them vulnerable and any misperceived statement can land them into trouble.

The respondents say they are also careful about voicing their opinions on social media. The respondents of the two communities believe they are generally cautious while communicating with people. They also look after their actions to avoid the uncertain situations.

a. Unwanted Phone Calls

The respondents say they usually are careful about sharing their personal information and contact numbers. Although they agreed that the undesired calls are always an outcome of their comments on religious personalities and Muslim clergy.

A Baha'i respondent says he receives threatening calls but he never takes them seriously. A guest at his home who happened to be a Baha'i too mentioned that he runs a school in Sialkot, sometimes he does receive unwanted calls, he remains careful.

A Hindu social activist when inquired about the calls, said that threatening calls are usual to him *“I receive threatening calls; I am a Sindhi, Hindu, working for an International non-governmental organization (INGO), an activist, and a communist. So this makes me an easy prey.”*

A Hindu respondent working for a Non-governmental organization (NGO) admitted that he made some strong comments on a prominent Mullah which resulted in unwanted calls. He also argued that *“If you being a Muslim can point out the social dilemmas then why can’t I voice my opinions”*.

The Hindus and Baha'is do stay careful with the calls they take. Most of them could report calls that could be bothersome and targeting their religion. However, many times the calls come due to the controversial statements that the respondents had made. The calls can be mostly avoided by keeping one's self out such controversial arguments and statements.

b. Otherisation

Said (1979) noted that the Middle East and Asia (Orient) is discriminated and prejudiced by the West (Occident). The West looks down upon them. The Occident believes the Orient is not aware of their own culture and history. This concept was called Orientalism. Holiday et al (2004) suggested that the similar situation exists to date when one group “otherises” another. Otherisation, they suggested was a concept that constructs and reduces the other people i.e. racial, ethnic, religious group to be lesser than what an individual thinks of one’s self or a group thinks of themselves. A similar term subaltern was coined by Antonio Gramsci. The term has been carefully explored by Spivak (1992) in her essay called Can the subalterns speak? The theory formulates that the subaltern that is the lower rank or the powerless can speak but others do not have the patience to listen to them. The sender usually conveys the message but it is hindered by the element of noise. Similarly, the otherized members of the society too voice their opinions but they are never catered. They feel marginalised.

The Baha'i respondents, when asked about the concept of Otherisation, insisted that they understand the differences that exist between majority and minority. It was apparent that they did not wish to involve themselves in a critical discussion based on religions and their differences.

A doctor from Baha'i community said “*we are minority in Pakistan; you go to West Muslims are in minority there*”.

She believes Muslims too have to make compromises in West to survive because they have no choice. She also believes the Baha'is of Pakistan do not feel marginalised after what they had to suffer in Iran. The Islamic Revolution in 1979 resulted in systematised persecutions in the country. The Baha'is moved to different countries to escape the torture.

A Baha'i respondent who is a house wife, aged 88, was asked to share her experience about living in Pakistan, shared that, “*We did not face any significant problem in Pakistan; my grandfather was put in tandoor²⁷ and baked because of his faith back in Iran*”.

However, the respondents of the Baha'i community believe they have to watch their attitudes. They cannot be responsible of someone else's attitude.

²⁷ The term tandoor refers to a cylindrical clay or metal oven used in cooking and baking.

Hindus believe this is their land as much as it belongs to a Muslim Pakistani. They say they have not come from anywhere, they belong to this land.

The respondents were asked if they would leave Pakistan if the situation does not change for them. They responded, they could easily leave Pakistan taking asylum but they do not leave Pakistan because it is their motherland. Therefore, a Hindu respondent questioned as to why their community is labelled as Non-Muslims?

He said: “*There is a lack of awareness because the state hasn't represented us enough. The state uses an accumulated term for us Non-Muslims. My identity isn't non-Muslim. I am Hindu. Non is a negation of anything. Otherisation of the minorities is a big factor. The language plays an important role in the narrative*”. He said “*to justify your rivalry with India; you portray Hindus as wicked, pixilated characters which keeps brewing the hatred for Hindus.*”

Fiske (2010) argued that stereotyping is the application of an individual's own thoughts, beliefs, and expectations onto other individuals without first obtaining factual knowledge about the individual. The respondents shared that they are stereotyped without having enough information and knowledge of their religion. Education and familiarisation with the object of a prejudice or stereotype allows the truth to be discovered and applied (Fowers & Richardson, 1996; Rudman, Ashmore, & Gary 2001).

Hindus mentioned that they are also told frequently that they are spies, intelligence agents working for India. The findings suggest that both the communities feel otherised in unsimilar fashion. Both the communities feel their religion is looked down upon.

c. Inter-Faith Marriages

Barron (1972) writes out marrying has a secularising impact on the family members especially the future generation. The argument of Barron suggests that the new born family members would never be consolidated on a religion if the husband and wife do not share the same beliefs and religion. The practice of inter-faith marriage may sound convenient but most respondents argued that it can end up in grievous manner i.e. divorce, widening misconceptions about spouse's religion and indecisiveness about the religion of the new generation.

The Hindu respondents strictly see the interfaith marriage as a taboo. The older generation believes that the younger generation might want to marry outside their faith, but this is not preferable.

An elderly Hindu when asked about the idea of inter-faith marriage commented in following words: “*We should think of the whole family. When a girl is married to a family she becomes their daughter and the boy becomes son to the other family. Considering the family and the roots and the background inter-faith marriage must not happen*”. Whereas, the younger generation of the community feels there is nothing wrong with the inter-faith marriages. However, they argue that why must Hindus convert while they marry Muslims, why can’t Muslims convert for us? The young male respondents also mentioned that the Muslim girls tell them “*Musalman ho jao maen tumsay shadi kar longe (I will marry you if you convert)*”. The young Hindu men do not subscribe to the idea of converting for marrying.

The Hindu female respondents believe an individual must follow his/her boundaries. Religion is a boundary. The narratives of the respondents prove their bond to their identity and religion.

A male Hindu respondent mentioned: “*I have to marry in my religion, I am accountable to the whole family, and they look up to me*”. The male Hindu respondent says they usually have limited choices when selecting a spouse. The female respondents did not talk about the options but they believe marrying a person with similar religious beliefs is preferable.

A Hindu respondent noted that Islamic religious practices require unswerving devotion and not every individual can comply. She opined: “*I don't think a Hindu girl can pray five times a day, when she can't even pray twice a day*”. The religious differences are wide; they believe the families and societies would never accept the union. The Hindu respondents prefer marrying in their circle to keep the religious lineage and to avoid criticism of lifetime for their spouses.

On the contrary, the Baha’is do not see any restriction in marrying someone outside the faith. However, they also prefer marrying in their religion as put by a Baha’i respondent “*I think one must marry a person who can convey the Baha'i faith to the coming generations, the Baha'i teachings must not be lost*”.

The findings suggest that the minority groups living in Islamabad and Rawalpindi may agree to the idea of inter-faith marriage but they do not prefer it. They all prefer being married to a person of the same faith to keep their religion intact and running in the family.

d. Documentation for the Minorities

The respondents of Islamabad and Rawalpindi were inquired if they had to face any hassle related to the documentation process. Both Hindu's and Baha'i's agreed that most of the official documents mention their religions, if not, it can be listed on the blank space available. None of the respondents reported facing any problems during the documentation process. The documents like national identity card, B-form, visa application, job application forms and admission forms require mentioning the religion which may make minorities conscious in some instances. For example, a young, 19 year old Baha'i said, she was afraid if she must write her religion to fill the form of the Medical School which is run under strict Islamic Laws.

The findings of the study show that Hindus and Baha'i's may feel insecure while mentioning their religion sometimes but it has never put them in trouble. Their religions are mostly mentioned on the documents, if not they are given the space saying "other religion" and blank space next to it. Hence, documentation process rarely poses a problem for the minorities.

One of the essential documents required for registering marriage is Nikkah Nama. None of the Baha'i respondent faced any inconvenience with respect to marriage certification. Their marriages are registered in the Union Councils (Nikkah Registrar) as per laws of Pakistan. However, Hindus respondents highlighted the issues related to absence of Marriage Act. One of the participant mentioned Hindu Marriage Act was not enacted till 2017, for 70 years there was no evidence for the husband and wife to prove their marriage. The absence of Marriage Act makes the women vulnerable to the forced conversions. It has also rendered it difficult for women to inherit property.

e. Abandoning the country

The two communities are different economically; therefore, their views on insecurity are different too. The Hindus who come to Islamabad or Rawalpindi are mostly not well off, moving to the city makes their life comparatively comfortable that they do not imagine moving to any

other space. Though they have the choice of moving out of Pakistan by seeking asylum but they choose to stay here. Some of the respondents believe they cannot think of leaving Pakistan due to the patriotism and endless love for their country. However, several of them admit that the status they enjoy being in a minority cannot be availed in any other developed country. A respondent who has recently received an Emerging Leader Award, Raj said: "*I have more opportunities as Raj in Pakistan, then anywhere else in the world.*" He clarified that there are thousands of Raj in India with immense capabilities compared to what I have, what makes him different is that he is Raj who is living in Pakistan as a minority.

A Hindu respondent was asked about leaving the country. He commented that it is not necessary that one has to leave Pakistan due to the lack of opportunities. He said his children left Pakistan to leave behind the fear that they were living in. When he was inquired anyone he knows who left Pakistan due to the lack of opportunities he spontaneously replied: "*Yes, my own kids. They did not leave because we did not have enough money. But because they thought it wasn't justified to live in constant fear.*"

There are also cases of abduction in the Hindu families which compel the families to abandon Pakistan.

The Baha'i families living in Islamabad and Rawalpindi have made frequent visits to several countries. The families see no threat living in Pakistan because they are usually unidentified and not many people know about their religion. There are no significant cases of harassment and discrimination which have been reported in media.

The community feels secure, as a respondent mentioned: "*Aj kal majority ho yeh minority ho ye pressure sab per hay. Competitive ho gya bhoot so you can't label ... kitnay log gaie haen but religion ke waja se nahi not in Pakistan religion ki waja se nhi but baki countries mei bhi log jaty hain but not because of religion ye Pakistan mei aysa problem nhi hy. Sab karty hain sab jaty hain .Australia mei, UK mei. Job opportunities ky liyay (These days, no matter if it is minority or majority, all feel the pressure of the competition, so you can't label that only minority leaves the country. People leave Pakistan and move to countries like Australia and UK to seek better job opportunities).*

The community sees no threat in living in the country. The community members have been diplomatic about their opinions on integration issues. However, it is safe to say that the community holds enough economic resources that if they would feel uncomfortable they would easily migrate to another country. It is also important to note that the Baha'is living in Islamabad and Rawalpindi have their roots in Iran where the persecution of the Baha'is was deucedly high. The lesser number and the past painful experiences make their present situation adaptable.

Whereas, the discussion of the finding suggests that the Baha'is may leave the country to grab more economic opportunities and comfortable living. The Hindus still do leave Pakistan because they feel threatened and harassed. A member of the ruling Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), Dr Ramesh Kumar Vankwani revealed in the National Assembly on May 12 , 2014 that around 5,000 Hindus are migrating from Pakistan to India every year (Dawn News, 13 May 2014).

According to theorisation of Cruz and Saco (2008) , the two minority groups do not feel included, their participation is hindered socially at several levels and they cannot be freely be the person they wish to be. However, they do not lie outside the productive and social reproductive activities either. It would be convenient to say that the two minority groups do not feel completely integrated nor they feel completely marginalised.

4.2 Issues of Economic Integration

Lemaitre (2007) suggests that economic integration could only be brought about if there would be acceptance and equal opportunity for the minority in the labour market. The labour force participation rate indicates the supply of labour in the economy and the proportion of people in the labour force of the country. It also shows the working capacity of labour and job market trends (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2015- 2016). The labour force participation does depend on the employment opportunities available to the labour in the market.

4.2.1 Employment Opportunities in Pakistan

Pakistan Employment Trends (2013) defines employment as all persons 15 years of age and above who worked at least one hour during the reference period and were either paid employed or self-employed. Persons employed on permanent or regular footings have not worked for any

reason during the reference period are also treated as employed, regardless of the duration of the absence or whether workers continued to receive a salary during the absence. The theme studied when the labour is introduced in the market, is he or she discriminated on the basis of the religion?

The respondents of both the communities believe that it would be wrong to say that the religious minorities do not have enough employment opportunities in the labour market. The employment opportunities are less for all the students graduating out of universities in Pakistan.

a. Reserved Seats

There are reserved seats for the minorities in the government jobs. The respondents believe they are sometimes discriminated due to nepotism or the religion. However, there are several members of the minorities at the government jobs too.

A female, working as a college lecturer was asked about her experience in the job market, she said that she was questioned about her religion before the interview panel for the job but she still got on board. She added that she avoids sharing her religious identity with the students because then most of them are coming from conservative families they might start ridiculing her.

A Baha'i respondent commented on the reserved seat for the religious minorities saying he agrees that there are seats for the religious minorities in the government jobs but why are we supposed to take Islamiat exam.

A Hindu male respondent shared that his senior doctor discouraged him so that he could not get the promotions. However, he managed to become the Head of the Pathology Department at a Public Hospital in Islamabad.

A Baha'i respondent shared about his job market experience saying he was told not to mention his religion while he was being called for the interview of Secretary Education and Health Baltistan. He still did and got the job. He said maybe it depends on the people in the government too. They may or may not be flexible towards other religious members.

The seats maybe allocated to the religious minorities, yet they face discrimination from the individuals not necessarily in the organisations or the institutes. The respondents believe

somewhat the government jobs are suitable because they provide pension after retirement and health security too.

Naggad (1998) argued that nepotism, cronyism and favoritism brings in unprofessional attitude to the workplace. No matter how objectionable it maybe, Ekiz (2006) noted that preferential treatment does exist in workplace. The preferential treatment happens to be detrimental to the business but it does not only affect the religious minorities, but also the common citizens without personal connections (Loewe et.al, 2007). However, the religious minorities do have the privilege to take up reserved seats. They do not essentially face any hassle while taking up government jobs. They may face some discrimination and resentment from few colleagues who think of them of lesser religion.

b. Other Employment Avenues

The young generation of both the communities prefers private jobs. They do believe that the private jobs have more religiously tolerant people as compared to the government jobs.

A Baha'i respondent working for an embassy said, his colleagues were insulting towards him when they came to know he belongs to a different religion. The example of the Baha'i shows that the criticism or discrimination is not limited to government organisations.

Another Baha'i respondent when inquired about employment opportunities mentioned that his cousin who is working for a private firm is often asked to join prayers, although his colleagues know he is a Baha'i.

The findings suggest that the religious minorities i.e. Hindus and Baha'is do find jobs conveniently. They are also elevated to the maximum of their potential at their jobs. They receive promotions, awards and the organisations do not have any policies to discriminate against them.

c. Opportunities in the Business

The Hindus and Baha'is feel there is no constraint in opening a business or entrepreneurial activity.

A Baha'i woman runs her beauty salon in Islamabad which is never affected on the religious basis. The parlor is located at a posh sector of Islamabad. The respondents believe religious differences cannot affect business when especially it is in Islamabad where the people are well aware and learned compared to any other rural or backward area in Pakistan.

A Hindu businessman said he has had wood selling shops for several years. He said “*People don't care for the religion in business; they are concerned with the goods that is being exchanged for the money*”

There are several shops of Hindus in Jinnah Super selling clothing without fear. In Sindh, Hindus run the grocery and vegetable shops too.

The minorities have automobile business, photography business, furniture workshops, fabric and clothing shops, beauty salons and private medical clinics. They feel no threat in running their businesses. They think the customers are pleasant towards them too in most cases.

Deepak Perwani, a Hindu Sindhi is a member of religious minority managing number of International Awards for his clothing brand, growing from the opportunities available within Pakistan.

The respondents reported no problems in dealing with the food business either as reported by Aftab and Taj (2015).

d. Jobs in the Military

The theme intended to study whether the military jobs are as open to the religious minorities as the rest of the job market. The findings and conversation with army personnel suggests that the military does offer jobs to minorities in the supporting arms and services. The military is open to the religious minorities for the fighting arms as well.

e. Jobs as Sweepers

The jobs of sweepers are opened to minority groups especially Hindus and Christians. The Hindu respondents argue on the matter of the jobs as sweepers, expressing this is to be an insult to the community members. A respondent commented “*We are preferable as the sweepers, the job*

description says ghair Muslim khakrob ke nokri kay liye apply kren (Non- Muslims apply for the job of sweeper). The Hindu respondents feel resented by the descriptions given in the newspaper.

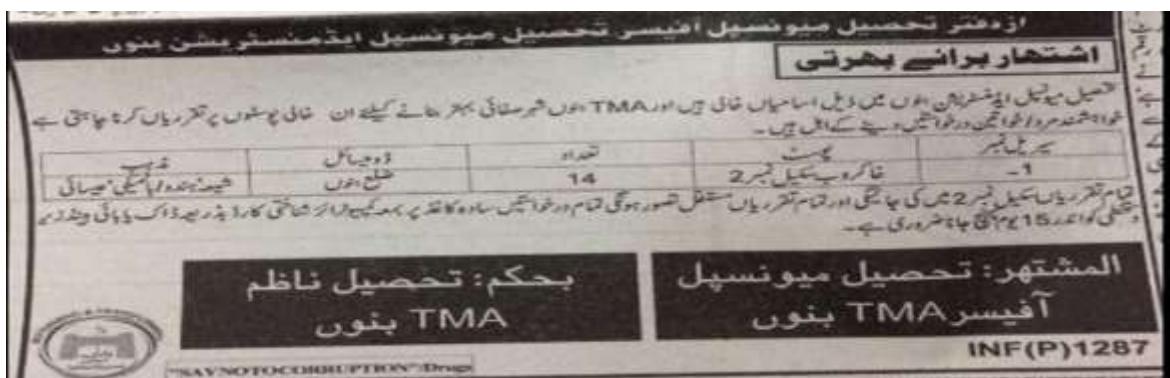


Figure 4: Advertisement in the daily newspaper by the tehsil administration of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (K-P) in District Bannu (AJJ News, March 2017)

The figure 4 shows the news which advertises for the position of a sweeper. The document advertisement is published in a local daily newspaper. The position intends to hire a sweeper only from the Shia, Hindu, Balimiki and Christian communities. The Hindu respondents feel it is extremely unreasonable to mock the Hindu community by specially putting their names on such jobs. Gregory and Valentine (2009) argued that the religious minorities especially of the lower income strata are thought of as *napak*²⁸ or filthy, they are considered for the cleaning jobs. The Baha'i did not report any such case when inquired.

The Hindu minority group members belonging to lower income group do facilitate to the job description quite often. The practice exists all over Pakistan especially in the hospitals.

According to the findings the minority groups are provided with equal opportunities and are accepted at the workplaces (Lemaitre, 2007) after obtaining required qualification. However, they may not be included to few specific military jobs. They are also required particularly for cleaning jobs. Therefore, they cannot be called economically marginalised because they do not experience dependency or shame. The minority groups do not involve in begging either.

²⁸ Urdu word, meaning impious.

4.3 Issues of Political Integration

Dalton (2004) had discussed that the social and economic marginalisation of minorities causes political alienation.

The Baha'i informed the researcher that the members of the community do not believe in taking part in politics. A Baha'i mentioned, "*Baha'u'llah has banned us from taking part in politics, we don't believe in riots, we don't go on strikes, we join no political parties*".

The researcher inquired if the Baha'i religion increases massively, would they still not require a political system. The respondents replied saying that they think politics has hazards and no benefits. They say they do not have any such demands that need to be said through a representative in parliament. They believe politics only corrupts the social-economic system.

On the contrary Hindus who occupy six out of ten seats (reserved for minorities) in National Assembly of Pakistan argue the growing population of the Hindus must have increased their seats too. The respondents say that the political representatives of the minorities are not in the National Assembly to defend their rights, they represent manifesto of a party. They believe the parliamentarians of the minority group are merely ornamentations; they have no say in the decision making. They blame the non-Muslim parliamentarians for their ignorance towards their community members.

A Hindu respondent added "*The minority representatives are not elected. They are selected*". Another respondent recalled that during his childhood a Hindu political party was introduced by Rana Maha Chandra as Pakistan Hindu Party in 1990. There are no more political parties representing Hindus, although there are 240 registered parties with Election Commission of Pakistan. He added that, "*We have the vote bank, we must be part of the elections by forming a party, and we have 20 such potential constituencies where we have a huge vote bank*".

4.3.1 The Representation of the Religion on the Television

The Hindu respondents believe that due to the satellite channel they have an easy access to the religious and cultural content. The content shared by the Indian Television Channels caters to the needs of Hindus of Pakistan too.

The Baha'is of Pakistan seem fine with the absence of the Baha'i content on the satellite channels. They claim there are few channels which represent their religion.

The respondents of both the communities believe there must be a programme or a channel on the National Television which could talk about the commonalities and diversities of the religions. They emphasised that the National Television must never highlight the differences that exist among the religions.

The Baha'is are not part of the politics. They do not have a say in political decision making. However, the Baha'i community has the right to vote, they are allowed to speak for their rights at various forums which are provided to them.

The Hindu respondents share the right to vote. They vote, they voice their opinions. But they believe their political representatives are selected who fail to provide for their needs. Their say in political decision entirely depends on the powerful political party which forms the government and the opinion of the majority. The Hindus feel somewhat politically integrated. They do not feel satisfied with the level of their political integration.

Chapter 5

5.1 Conclusion

The findings and discussions in the previous chapter ascertain a conclusion which holds accurate for the Hindus and Baha'is residing in Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

The two community members are living in peaceful manner within the twin cities. The larger share of the peace comes from their calmness and passiveness towards the intolerance that they have to deal in their daily lives. There are exceptions in the community too. Few of the activists do get into trouble or are harassed for being opinionated. However, the two communities are differently excluded.

Islamabad and Rawalpindi have comparatively educated, well-informed and tolerant population. However, the religion remains an identity marker for the masses. The Hindus and Baha'is do feel strongly towards their religion. Their religion is an imminent part of their life exactly like the majority Muslim population. They distinguish themselves as member of other religions without hesitation and reluctance. Few Hindus may identify themselves as secular but they emote immense respect and belonging to their religion.

The Hindus and Baha'is both consider their respective religious paths and beliefs to be the divine paths. Baha'is hold their religious beliefs in high prestige and superior compared to other religions. The two communities share better relations with each other compared to their views towards the Muslims.

The Baha'i community is unrecognised and often seen as an off-shoot of Islam. They are not considered as members of distinct religion many times. They do not take part in politics but they are not politically marginalised. They are socially discriminated and often excluded by the majority population. They do not face any trouble securing prominent, relevant and career oriented jobs. They do face insulting and humiliating behaviour at the workplace.

The Hindu community is recognised, heard and given space in social, political and economic spheres. The Hindus feel discriminated by the intolerant forces but they are not unrecognized. They hold their distinct identity, without hesitation. The Hindus are discriminated socially,

economically and politically but they are yet the part of the mainstream society in every way possible. The community is part of important decisions of the society and the country. They admit the preferential treatment towards them at many instances.

The two communities are allowed to profess, practice and propagate their religion without fear in the authorised spaces or homes. Hindus are distinct due to their names and often socially discriminated on that basis. The two communities have never been forced to convert in the given territory. They do feel offended by the frequent invitations to convert, criticism towards their religions, mistreatment mostly at the educational institutes, discriminatory syllabus and prejudice from the neighbors or relatives. The two communities may not be discriminated in the similar ways and for the same reasons but they both are socially marginalised and challenged. Both the communities keep their profiles low, separate themselves from arguments to avoid any unwanted circumstances i.e. criticism, mocking, threats, embarrassment. However, the Hindus use the verbal freedom more often to report any cases of discrimination against them. The Hindus maybe socially challenged but they do not feel excluded and unheard. Hindus are socially more integrated, known and recognised compared to the Baha'i members.

The employment opportunities are scarce for the labour force. The Hindus and Baha'is may face discrimination and prejudice at the work place due to their religion. They are often mistreated i.e. belittled, insisted to convert and their promotions often hindered. However, it would be wrong to assume or state that they are not offered positions and job opportunities. Baha'is and Hindus get equal employment opportunities as other citizens. The other citizens are victims of nepotism and favoritism more often than these two communities. The Hindus maybe considered for the blue-collared jobs but the jobs are available to the uneducated and lower economic strata of the community. They often also land high paying jobs and receive significant admiration for their contributions to being part of the minority group. The two communities feel psychologically and socially discriminated in this regard too. However, they are not given equal opportunities in the armed and fighting units of the military. The two communities feel excluded as far as economic integration in military is concerned.

The Baha'is are not any way part of politics due to their religious beliefs but they do use their right to vote. The Hindus have a say in the governance. They are part of politics. They may not have a separate political party but they secure six reserved seats in the National Assembly. Their

representatives are not competent who fail to defend the demands of the communities. The Hindus are not politically well integrated but they exist in political scenario unlike the Baha'is who are completely missing from the picture.

The Hindus and Baha'is do leave Pakistan for better living, less religious pressure and discrimination. However, the Hindus and Baha'is living in Islamabad and Rawalpindi are quite comfortable with their life styles. They can seek asylum if they would wish to move out of Pakistan. However, the Hindus and Baha'is continue living in Islamabad and Rawalpindi without fear for their lives. There have not been any cases reported in Islamabad and Rawalpindi who have left Pakistan due to fear of intolerance and prejudice.

Limitation of the Study

The following shortcomings, influences and conditions were beyond the control of researcher.

Only educated and vocal respondents were made part of the study to collect relevant information and data in the limited time. There was a constraint of budget and conveyance too. The castes of the Hindus and the ethnically different Baha'is were not discussed in the study which required more rapport building, time and contacts to extract more information. The researcher belonged to the Muslim, majority population this could have compromised the information extracted from the data in some way maybe.

Areas for Further Investigation

The study had barriers and limitations attached to it. The study can be further improved by incorporating data from respondents belonging to different castes, ethnicity and economic background. The study can include different cities for reference to compare which components of rural and urban life make living convenient for the Baha'is and Hindus. The study can also include the perspective of the majority groups to compare between the ideas behind their attitudes. The study can include children which were absent in this study. The study can be made more comprehensive by including case study method to investigate the victimised individuals.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 and the Religious Minorities

Article 2A

The principles and provisions set out in the Objectives Resolution reproduced in the Annex are hereby made substantive part of the Constitution and shall have effect accordingly.

The Objective Resolution has been reproduced here:

"Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a Constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan;

Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed;

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to freely profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;

Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a

Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

Wherein the independence of the Judiciary shall be fully secured;

Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honored place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity."

Article 20

Freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions.

Subject to law, public order and morality:-

- (a) every citizen shall have the right to profess, practice and propagate his religion; and
- (b) every religious denomination and every sect thereof shall have the right to establish, maintain and manage its religious institutions.

Article 21

Safeguard against taxation for purposes of any particular religion.

No person shall be compelled to pay any special tax the proceeds of which are to be spent on the propagation or maintenance of any religion other than his own.

Article 22

Safeguards as to educational institutions in respect of religion, etc.

(1) No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own.

(2) In respect of any religious institution, there shall be no discrimination against any community in the granting of exemption or concession in relation to taxation.

(3) Subject to law:

(a) no religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any educational institution

maintained wholly by that community or denomination; and (b) no citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution receiving aid from public revenues on the ground only of race, religion, caste or place of birth.

(4) Nothing in this Article shall prevent any public authority from making provision for the advancement of any socially or educationally backward class of citizens.

Article 28

Preservation of language, script and culture.

Subject to Article 251 any section of citizens having a distinct language, script or culture shall have the right to preserve and promote the same and subject to law, establish institutions for that purpose.

Article 36

Protection of minorities.

The State shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial services.

Article 51

National Assembly -(1) There shall be three hundred and forty-two seats for members in the National Assembly, including seats reserved for women and non-Muslims.

(2) A person shall be entitled to vote if

- (a) he is a citizen of Pakistan;
- (b) he is not less than eighteen years of age;
- (c) his name appears on the electoral roll; and
- (d) he is not declared by a competent court to be of unsound mind.

(3) The seats in the National Assembly referred to in clause (1), except as provided in clause (4), shall be allocated to each Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the Federal Capital as under:

	General Seats	Women	Total
Balochistan	14	3	17
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	35	8	43
Punjab	148	35	183
Sindh	61	14	75
Federally Administered Tribal Areas	12	-	12
Federal Capital	2	-	2
Total	272	60	332

(4) In addition to the number of seats referred to in clause (3), there shall be, in the National Assembly, ten seats reserved for non-Muslims.

(5) The seats in the National Assembly shall be allocated to each Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the Federal Capital on the basis of population in accordance with the last preceding census officially published.

(6) For the purpose of election to the National Assembly,—

- (a) the constituencies for the general seats shall be single member territorial constituencies and the members to fill such seats shall be elected by direct and free vote in accordance with law;
- (b) each Province shall be a single constituency for all seats reserved for women which are allocated to the respective Provinces under clause (3);

(c) The constituency for all seats reserved for non-Muslims shall be the whole country;

(d) Members to the seats reserved for women which are allocated to a Province under clause (3) shall be elected in accordance with law through proportional representation system of political parties' lists of candidates on the basis of total number of general seats secured by each political party from the Province concerned in the National Assembly:

Provided that for the purpose of this paragraph the total number of general seats won by a political party shall include the independent returned candidate or candidates who may duly join such political party within three days of the publication in the official Gazette of the names of the returned candidates; and

(e) Members to the seats reserved for non-Muslims shall be elected in accordance with law through proportional representation system of political parties' lists of candidates on the basis of total number of general seats won by each political party in the National Assembly:

Provided that for the purpose of this paragraph the total number of general seats won by a political party shall include the independent returned candidate or candidates who may duly join such political party within three days of the publication in the official Gazette of the names of the returned candidates.

Appendix 2

Interview Guide

Name	Age
Qualification	Gender
Single/Married/Widow	Religion
Profession	Native village ,town ,city

Social Integration

1. Do you practice your religion? (a) How strongly do you feel towards your religion?
2. Do you think Muslims do exercise their supremacy? (a) Did anyone ever offer you to convert? (b) Did anyone ever force you to convert?
3. Do you remember ever being called offensively (which was to target your religion)? (a) If Yes? (b) How did you respond to it? (c) Have your parents ever stated any incidence from their lives of religious discrimination? (d) Do you know anyone who had faced discrimination or prejudice? Did you ever not disclose your identity due to fear? (e) Did you ever receive any undesired call or threatening news regarding your group?
4. Were you ever treated unequal or less at school, college, university? Does the teacher discriminate while marking? (a) Does the program impose you to study a certain religious subject?
5. How do the shopkeepers at the local market / neighbors treat you?
6. Do the government/ private official documents mention your religion if required? (a) Are you a patriotic Pakistani? (b) Do you think Pakistan has enough opportunities for you? (c) Do you know of anyone who left Pakistan because of lack of opportunities? (d) Do you know of anyone from your group who left Pakistan because of the unfair treatment towards them? (e) Have you ever travelled abroad? (f) Did you face any difficulty while submitting your documents?
7. Are there any restrictions from the government on the celebration of your festivals?
8. Is your group allowed to preach? (a) Does your group indulge in proselytization? (b) Is your group allowed to hold religious meetings in public spaces?

9. Does your religion allow for interfaith marriages? (a) How do you see the concept of interfaith marriages?
10. Who do you think is safer comparatively low income individual or minority group member? What do you think of the diversity of the religions? (a) Do you think an issue of the integration of the minorities is a global phenomenon? (b) Do you feel any minority group other than yours is more integrated or acceptable?

Economic Integration

1. Are there any jobs that clearly state that you are not eligible for them? (a) If you have to state your religion, does that trouble you in any manner?
2. What kind of business are you into? How long have you been in the business? (a) Was it difficult for you to set up the business because of you being part of the minority group? (b) Have you always wanted to be in this business? (c) Did you ever feel insecure about trading? (d) Do you feel part of the business community as much as any businessman from majority group would?
3. What was the process of your appointment? (a) Were you appointed on the reserved seat? (b) Would you recommend the youngsters of your group to join Public Organizations?

Political Integration

1. Do you feel your rights as a minority are secure? (a) Do you think your group needs must be represented in the parliament?
2. Do you think you must be free to form a political party which can present your demands?
3. Do you think there should be a separate channel on local satellite to represent your group?

Appendix 3

Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation

Pakistan is a signatory to the UN since 30th September, 1947.

In 1992 the General Assembly adopted the United Nations Minorities Declaration by consensus (resolution 47/135). It is the main reference document for minority rights. It grants to persons belonging to minorities:

- Protection, by States, of their existence and their national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity (art. 1);
- The right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, and to use their own language in private and in public (art. 2 (1));
- The right to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life (art. 2 (2));
- The right to participate effectively in decisions which affect them on the national and regional levels (art. 2 (3));
- The right to establish and maintain their own associations (art. 2 (4));
- The right to establish and maintain peaceful contacts with other members of their group and with persons belonging to other minorities, both within their own country and across State borders (art. 2 (5)); and
- The freedom to exercise their rights, individually as well as in community with other members of their group, without discrimination (art. 3). States are to protect and promote the rights of persons belonging to minorities by taking measures to:
 - Ensure that they may exercise fully and effectively all their human rights and fundamental freedoms without any discrimination and in full equality before the law (art. 4 (1));
 - Create favorable conditions to enable them to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs (art. 4 (2));

- Allow them adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue (art. 4 (3));
- Encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of minorities existing within their territory and ensure that members of such minorities have adequate opportunities to gain knowledge of the society as a whole (art. 4 (4));
- Allow their participation in economic progress and development (art. 4 (5));
- Consider the legitimate interests of minorities in developing and implementing national policies and programmes, and international programmes of cooperation and assistance (art. 5);
- Cooperate with other States on questions relating to minorities, including exchanging information and experiences, to promote mutual understanding and confidence (art. 6);
- Promote respect for the rights set forth in the Declaration (art. 7);
- Fulfill the obligations and commitments States have assumed under international treaties and agreements to which they are parties. Finally, the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system shall also contribute to the realization of the rights set forth in the Declaration (art. 9). In 2005, the Working Group on Minorities adopted a commentary intended to guide the understanding and application of the United Nations Minorities Declaration.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and, in particular, article 27 inspired the contents of the United Nations Minorities Declaration. It states that: In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language. This article protects the rights of persons belonging to minorities to their national, ethnic, religious or linguistic identity, or a combination thereof, and to preserve the characteristics which they wish to maintain and develop. Although it refers to the rights of minorities in those States in which they exist, its applicability is not subject to official recognition of a minority by a State. States that have ratified the Covenant are obliged to ensure that all individuals under their jurisdiction enjoy their rights; this may require specific action to correct inequalities to which minorities are subjected.

The Human Rights Committee's general comment No. 23 (1994) on the rights of minorities provides an authoritative interpretation of article 27. The Committee stated that "this article establishes and recognizes a right which is conferred on individuals belonging to minority groups and which is distinct from, and additional to, all the other rights which, as individuals in common with everyone else, they are already entitled to enjoy under the Covenant." The right under article 27 is an autonomous one within the Covenant. The interpretation of its scope of application by the Human Rights Committee has had the effect of ensuring recognition of the existence of diverse groups within a State and of the fact that decisions on such recognition are not the province of the State alone, and that positive measures by States may be "necessary to protect the identity of a minority and the rights of its members to enjoy and develop their culture and language and to practise their religion, in community with the other members of the group."

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights mentions explicitly in article 2 (2) that "the States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to guarantee that the rights enunciated in the present Covenant will be exercised without discrimination of any kind as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." General comment No. 14 (2000) of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the right to the highest attainable standard of health states that health facilities, goods and services must be within safe physical reach for all sections of the population, especially vulnerable or marginalized groups, including ethnic minorities. Furthermore, all health facilities, goods and services must be culturally appropriate, for instance respectful of the culture of minorities. "States are under the obligation to respect the right to health by, inter alia, refraining from denying or limiting equal access for all persons, including [...] minorities, to preventive, curative and palliative health services". Article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination defines discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life." Article 30 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child provides that "in those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of

his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language". The Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, adopted by General Assembly resolution 60/147 of 16 December 2005, states that "restitution should, whenever possible, restore the victim to the original situation before the gross violations of international human rights law or serious violations of international humanitarian law occurred. Restitution includes, as appropriate: restoration of liberty, enjoyment of human rights, identity, family life and citizenship, return to one's place of residence, restoration of employment and return of property." This principle could be broadly interpreted to include the right to have one's status as indigenous person or person belonging to a minority restored, in particular where this is provided for under national legislation and if such status is lost as a consequence of displacement.

B. Additional sources of minority rights The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide is a legal source referred to in the United Nations Minorities Declaration for protecting the rights of minorities. It is one of the first conventions that the General Assembly adopted (resolution 260 A (III) of 9 December 1948) and relates to the protection of groups, including minorities, and their right to physical existence. No mechanism has been established to monitor its implementation. The ad hoc International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda were the first to apply this international Convention. Its article II defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: Killing members of the group; Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court provides for the prosecution of cases that encompass not only the crime of genocide but also crimes against humanity. Acts which would constitute crimes against humanity are listed in its article 7, paragraph 1. It is important to note or example, that forced population transfers intended to move persons belonging to minorities away from the territory on which they live, or with that effect, as well as forced sterilizations, would constitute serious breaches of the Rome Statute. The ILO Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111) requires States to

adopt and implement national policies to promote and ensure equality of opportunity and treatment in employment and occupation, with a view to eliminating direct and indirect discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin (arts. 1 and 2). These national policies must address discrimination and promote equality, in law and in practice, regarding access to education and training, employment services, recruitment, access to particular occupations, as well as terms and conditions of employment. The 1998 ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work provides that all members of the Organization have an obligation to respect, promote and realize the fundamental principles and rights at work (“core labour standards”). These include the principle of non-discrimination in employment and occupation, freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining, and the elimination of forced and compulsory labour, as well as child labour. The enjoyment of equality of opportunity and the treatment of minorities are monitored under this Declaration. The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage provides safeguards and promotes the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the associated instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. For this purpose, the Convention establishes a fund and a listing system of representative and endangered heritage. The 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions encourages States to incorporate culture as a strategic element in national and international development policies and to adopt measures aimed at protecting and promoting the diversity of cultural expressions within their territory. It emphasizes the importance of the recognition of equal dignity and respect for all cultures, including that of persons belonging to minorities, and of the freedom to create, produce, disseminate, distribute and have access to traditional cultural expressions, and asks States to endeavour to create environments conducive thereto. In addition, several regional human rights treaties include provisions that can be invoked to advance minority rights. The Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities contains particularly detailed provisions on minority rights in various fields.

Appendix 4

Islamabad



The National Spiritual Assembly for Bahá'ís showing a symbol of Bahá'í Faith (a star with 9 pointers). The symbol shows the unity, perfection and their association to Bahá.



The gates of the National Spiritual Assembly without any security, while the believers of the faith pray inside the assembly.



The wall hanging in a Baha'i home showing their reverence towards Baha'u'llah.

Rawalpindi



A view of the temple in Rawalpindi. (Source: Google)