

# Pakistan

## *Ethnicity in Pakistan*

### *Power relations*

Pakistani history in short (cf. <sup>3422</sup>)

<sup>3422</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

- 1947 Independence
- 1955 One Unit Scheme
- 1958 Suspension of Constitution and declaration of Martial Law by the military
- 1970 General Elections polarize East and West Pakistan
- 1971 Partition of Bangladesh (East Pakistan)
- 1973 New Constitution and return to democracy
- 1977 Military coup and suspension of constitution - Islamization starts under Zia Al-Haq
- 1988 Zia dies; Elections take place - B. Bhutto forms coalition government with MQM
- 1999 Musharaf coup and return to military rule
- 2008 Resignation of Musharaf and return to democracy

According to Oldenburg (<sup>3423</sup>), Adeney (<sup>3424</sup>), Malik (<sup>3425</sup>), and Cohen (<sup>3426</sup>) the army and the civil bureaucracy have been the dominant institutions of Pakistan, even during democratic rule. "The army has been an extremely powerful force in Pakistan, effectively holding power over the periods 1958-1970, 1977-1988 and 1999-2002, and possessing a veto on policy on many matters in other periods, notably for much of the 1990s" (<sup>3427</sup>, 97). Based on these judgments it is reasonable to take the army leadership as the top executive, even under democratic rule with the exception of the Bhutto (1971-1977) era, when the army was discredited after the Bangladesh partition and Bhutto was perceived to be the first democratic politician of Pakistan (<sup>3428</sup>, 132-36).

<sup>3423</sup> [Oldenburg, 2010]

<sup>3424</sup> [Adeney, 2009]

<sup>3425</sup> [Malik, 2008]

<sup>3426</sup> [Cohen, 2004]

<sup>3427</sup> [Adeney, 2009]

Despite having four ethnically delineated provinces since 1972, namely, Baluchistan for the Baluchis, Sindh for the Sindhi, Punjab for the Punjabis, and the North-Western Frontier Province for the Pashtuns, the various ethnic groups do not enjoy territorial autonomy. More often than not, the government has intervened in provincial politics, the provinces are extremely dependent on resources from the center, and migration has blurred ethnic frontiers.

According to the 2012 Bertelsmann Stiftung report, democratic institutions have gained more authority since the 2008 parliamentary elections (<sup>3429</sup>; <sup>3430</sup>). The elections brought the government under the leadership of President Asif Ali Zardari (widower of PPP leader Benazir Bhutto) and his PPP, with Yousuf Raza Gilani serving as prime minister (<sup>3431</sup>). Initially a broad coalition government of the former opposition parties, this was dissolved in 2009, leaving the PPP to govern (<sup>3432</sup>) in league with the Awami National Party (ANP), the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and several smaller partners (<sup>3433</sup>).

<sup>3429</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

<sup>3430</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

<sup>3431</sup> [US State Department, 2010]

<sup>3432</sup> [US State Department, 2010]

<sup>3433</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

A constitutional amendment passed in 2010 “transformed Pakistan again into a parliamentary democracy” (<sup>3434</sup>), transferred chief executive power from the president to the prime minister and removed the army’s formal political role. The provinces gained more autonomy, an effort has been made by the government to strengthen the legislative power of the provinces (regarding health care, labor issues and education), and attempts have been made to address the grievances of the respective populations, as for example, through the negotiations between the federal government and Baluchistan on provincial autonomy (<sup>3435</sup>; <sup>3436</sup>). However, the provincial assemblies still lack in power, due to security issues, but also because the division of responsibilities between the central government and the provinces remains unclear (<sup>3437</sup>). Moreover, President Zardari continued to exercise strong political influence throughout the update period as he remained acting party chief of the PPP; the army remained largely autonomous as well as involved in decision-making (<sup>3438</sup>). In light of this, all groups can still be coded as not having territorial autonomy.

<sup>3434</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

<sup>3435</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

<sup>3436</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

<sup>3437</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

<sup>3438</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

## *Group selection*

### *Bengalis*

Bengali or East Pakistanis belonged to the most ardent supporters of Pakistani independence from India prior to 1947. Yet, being geographically separated from West Pakistan and systematically excluded from state power as well as discriminated in cultural and economic matters, Bengalis quickly felt alienated from the state and eventually demanded separation which they obtained with help from India in 1971. According to Choudhury (<sup>3439</sup>) Bengalis were discriminated against in three ways: exclusion from state, regional and military power, discrimination in the area of language and finally economic deprivation. No Bengali was ever involved in the Pakistani center which was always located in West Pakistan. Even the regional government consisted of mainly of West Pakistanis (Punjabis/Biharis). Economic inequality between the two regions was staggering and rising due to neglect by the center. Finally, the 1948 language law making Urdu the sole and official language made the majority of Pakistanis, i.e., the Bengalis, feel like second-class citizens (also see <sup>3440</sup>; <sup>3441</sup>). Given these facts the discrimination coding

<sup>3439</sup> [Choudhury, 1972]

<sup>3440</sup> [Rahman, 1997]

<sup>3441</sup> [Van Schendel, 2009]

of the entire period from 1947-1971 is warranted (cf. <sup>3442</sup>, 74-5; <sup>3443</sup>, 95).

### *Punjabi*

Punjabis are the largest ethnic group in Pakistan. The army consists almost entirely of Punjabis and so does most of the civil bureaucracy (<sup>3444</sup>, 223-5). Yet, under democratic rule the influence of the army was somewhat limited which is why one can consider Punjabis, who make up 70% to 80% of the rank and file, as Senior Partners under democratic rule while the smaller ethnic groups of Pashtuns and Muhajirs are powerless during episodes of democratic rule. Since Sindhis were usually represented by the PPP they are coded junior partners during democratic rule.

Many of the reports consulted emphasize the continuing dominance of the Punjabi ethnic group in recent years, both in the army and in the civil bureaucracy (e.g. <sup>3445</sup>; <sup>3446</sup>; <sup>3447</sup>; <sup>3448</sup>; <sup>3449</sup>). Therefore, the senior partner coding is maintained.

In 2013 parliamentary elections were held, “marking the first time in Pakistani history that a democratically elected government completed a full term and transitioned to a successive democratically elected government” (<sup>3450</sup>). The democratic transition was solidified “by orderly transitions in the military (chief of army staff) and the judiciary (Supreme Court chief justice)” (<sup>3451</sup>). President Zardari, having completed his 5-year term in 2013, stepped down and was succeeded by Mamnoon Hussain of the PML-N (<sup>3452</sup>). The PML-N also returned to control the National Assembly with a vast majority and Nawaz Sharif (PML-N) replaced Raja Pervazi Ashraf (PPP) as Prime Minister (<sup>3453</sup>). He called in a new cabinet, of which all officials belonged to the PML-N (<sup>3454</sup>). Therefore, Punjabi are still coded Senior Partner as of 2014.

The Sindhi’s PPP still held the most seats in the senate after legislative elections in 2015 and were the second largest faction in the National Assembly, even though far outnumbered by the Punjabi PML-N (<sup>3455</sup>). Therefore, they keep their status as Junior Partner in the current coding period despite their defeat in the 2013 parliamentary elections.

The military still played the central role in decisions regarding defense and security issues. While it “took a back seat when the Pakistan People’s Party was in government” (<sup>3456</sup>) it regained power under PML-N rule in the last period, especially in foreign policy matters and through the establishment of new military courts.

<sup>3442</sup> [Oldenburg, 2010]

<sup>3443</sup> [Adeney, 2009]

<sup>3444</sup> [Cohen, 2004]

<sup>3445</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

<sup>3446</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

<sup>3447</sup> [Abderrahim, 2014]

<sup>3448</sup> [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

<sup>3449</sup> [Wikipedia, 2014b]

<sup>3450</sup> [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

<sup>3451</sup> [U.S. Department of State, 2016]

<sup>3452</sup> [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

<sup>3453</sup> [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

<sup>3454</sup> [Wikipedia, 2014a]

<sup>3455</sup> [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

<sup>3456</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

*Sindhi*

Prior to 1971, Sindhis were powerless <sup>(3457)</sup>. After the partition, Sindhis quickly found themselves being a minority in Karachi and only constituted a bare majority in the entire province <sup>(3458, 212)</sup>. With the rise of the Sindhi Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Sindhis gained more influence and became junior partners 1971-1977 <sup>(3459, 163)</sup>. In the mid 1970s "Sindhi was made an official provincial language, more university admission slots were reserved for Sindhis, and they were allocated a substantial number of the province's civil service positions" <sup>(3460, 214)</sup>. Nevertheless, they repeatedly remained excluded from central power and did not necessarily have territorial autonomy because of Punjabi migration into Sindh <sup>(3461, 96, 100)</sup> and government intervention into the provinces <sup>(3462, 99)</sup>.

The PPP and its federal coalition partners controlled the executive and legislative branches of the national government and 3 of the 4 provincial assemblies <sup>(3463, 3464, 3465)</sup>. The Sindhi make up only a very small proportion of the army (13.5% in 2007) <sup>(3466)</sup>.

*Pashtuns*

Pashtuns have strong army representation after independence and thus, are considered junior partners <sup>(3467, 95/6)</sup>. Under Bhutto's government Pashtuns were powerless. Bhutto dismissed provincial governments and the governing "PPP did not have any visible presence" in the North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP) which is home to the majority of Pashtuns <sup>(3468, 166)</sup>.

Following the 1977 army coup, Pashtuns again became junior partners. Under democratic rule starting in 1989, the Pashtuns were again powerless. From 2007 onwards the army indiscriminately moved against many Pashtuns to root out the Pakistani Taliban and other radical Islamist groups, first in the Swat valley and later in Waziristan - both areas are homes to Pashtuns. However, Pashtuns had still a high profile within the army which warrants a junior partner coding.

More recently, the Pashtun hold a relatively prominent position in the army (21% in 2007, = second largest group <sup>(3469)</sup>, and according to Abderrahim Amghar <sup>(3470)</sup>, have strong relations to Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence. With regards to the current update period, there are also several sources confirming the ANP as a coalition partner of the PPP in the federal government (cabinet), as well as in the Sindh, Baluchistan and KP provincial governments <sup>(3471; 3472; 3473; 3474)</sup>. One source mentioned that the ANP was "in control" of the senate, together with the PPP <sup>(3475)</sup>. In several cabinet reshuffles during the period, held the ANP posts in the ministries of narcotics control, railways, local bodies and rural development, and population at some point between 2008 and 2013 <sup>(3476; 3477; 3478)</sup>. The ANP also had chairmanship of 3 Senate standing committees: human rights, housing and works, and commerce <sup>(3479)</sup>. Based on this, their power status remained junior partner throughout.

3457 [Malik, 2008]

3458 [Cohen, 2004]

3459 [Malik, 2008]

3460 [Cohen, 2004]

3461 [Adeney, 2009]

3463 [US State Department, 2012]

3464 [US State Department, 2011]

3465 [US State Department, 2010]

3466 [Wikipedia, 2014b]

3467 [Adeney, 2009]

3468 [Malik, 2008]

3469 [Wikipedia, 2014b]

3470 [Abderrahim, 2014]

3471 [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

3472 [Wikipedia, 2014c]

3473 [Nisar, 2009]

The Pashtuns are represented by Awami National Party (ANP). The Pashtun-affiliated ANP was ousted from the National Assembly in 2013 and only gained 6 seats in the Senate in the 2015 elections (<sup>3480</sup>). Further reports on the group are rare, it is reported that they could not openly campaign for their candidates in the running up to the 2013 elections due to civil violence (<sup>3481</sup>). They are still an influential force in the Sindh province and violent clashes with other local groups are reported (<sup>3482</sup>) but they seem to have lost weight on the national level. Based on this, their status is adjusted to powerless.

<sup>3480</sup> [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

<sup>3481</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

<sup>3482</sup> [International Crisis Group, 2017]

### *Mohajirs*

Mohajirs are the amalgamation of the various migrant communities that came to Pakistan during and after the upheaval of the subcontinent's partition in 1947. The majority of Muhajirs speaks Urdu. Muhajirs were among the leading figures of the independence movement and vastly overrepresented in the post-independence civil service and high-status jobs (<sup>3483</sup>, 206). Moreover, they received a disproportionate allocation of farm land in the Sindh province. Following Wright (<sup>3484</sup>) and Waseem (<sup>3485</sup>) the Muhajirs were junior partners in the early years of Pakistan: "Similarly in Pakistan, it can be argued that the Urdu-speaking Muhajirin have gradually slipped from dominance (1947-51), to partnership with the Punjabi elite (1951-71), to subordination under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1971-77) and General Ziaul Haq (1977-88) without even a province of their own, to tentative attempts at a return to partnership under Benazir Bhutto (1988-90)." (<sup>3486</sup>, 300).

<sup>3483</sup> [Cohen, 2004]

<sup>3484</sup> [Wright, 1991]

<sup>3485</sup> [Waseem, 1996]

<sup>3486</sup> [Wright, 1991]

However, leading up to 1971 and especially after the secession of Bangladesh, Sindhi nationalism and later the migration of Punjabis and Pashtuns into Karachi led to feelings of discrimination (<sup>3487</sup>, 326). In 1978 a Mohajir student movement was founded and in 1984 the Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) presented the first Mohajir political party (<sup>3488</sup>, 325). While the MQM gained some influence at the state level it was not included in the federal government. Rather, it tried to push its agenda through street violence in Karachi. However, this seems to be social discrimination and Muhajir elites were still influential in the army and the civil bureaucracy (<sup>3489</sup>, 96). In 1997 the MQM removed the Mohajir label from its name and attempted to be a party open to all ethnic groups. Nevertheless it is still dominated by Mohajirs.

<sup>3487</sup> [Waseem, 1996]

<sup>3488</sup> [Waseem, 1996]

<sup>3489</sup> [Adeney, 2009]

Since 1999, General Pervez Musharraf, a Mohajir, ruled Pakistan. While Musharraf did not become leader of Pakistan qua ethnicity, he certainly represents some group interests, which asks for a junior partner coding from 1999 until his leaving of office in 2008 (cf. <sup>3490</sup>, 98). Otherwise, powerless coding is applied during democratic rule.

<sup>3490</sup> [Adeney, 2009]

Although represented by Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), the Mohajirs are powerless since 2009. The MQM is also allied with the PPP, yet there is no evidence of the Mohajirs playing a major

role in the army. According to a report on RefWorld<sup>(3491)</sup>, they face severe competition in government jobs, especially from Punjabis. On the other hand, there is no discrimination or political victimization of members of the MQM, at least in Lahore, Islamabad and Faisalabad, although there have been ethno-politically motivated armed clashes in the MQM-controlled city of Karachi between members of the MQM, ANP and PPP parties<sup>(3492, 3493, 3494)</sup>. The MQM has dominated local politics in the Muhajir areas of Karachi (where they are the largest ethnic group), Hyderabad, and other urban centers in Sindh; at the national level, the party holds only 25 of 342 seats since the 2008 elections<sup>(3495)</sup>. The MQM movement gained 18 seats in the 2013 parliamentary elections and 8 seats in the Senate in 2015. As the ANP, they are an influential force in the Sindh province and were also involved in violent clashes in that province<sup>(3496)</sup>. Holding less seats in parliament than the PPP and as no major political shifts regarding this group have been reported, their coding is kept powerless.

### *Baluchis*

Baluchis are severely underrepresented in the army and the civil bureaucracy owing to low levels of education as well as neglect by the government<sup>(3497)</sup>. Until 1971 Baluchis were powerless in West Pakistan's One-Unit scheme and in almost constant rebellion against the state. Under the new constitution they were granted their own province but already in 1974 Bhutto dismissed the regional government and civil war broke out (cf. <sup>3498</sup>, 219-22). "[A] Baluch served as prime minister under Zia and Musharraf... Although such appointments do not automatically confer power on a given province, they do help to co-opt regional elites"<sup>(3499, 227)</sup>. It appears questionable to think that this co-optation is tantamount to our perception of inclusion. Various splits within in the Baluchi ethnic group and ongoing rebellion against the state speak a different language. Moreover, state discrimination does seem to be a problem: "Particularly following the 11 September 2001 attacks, there has been an increase in arrests and detention of ethnic minorities under anti-terror laws. In early 2007 Pakistan's Human Rights Commission said they had reports of 400 disappearances since 2002"<sup>(3500)</sup>.

There is some SOS dynamic going on but there was no evidence for overt discrimination by the Pakistani government except in reaction to Baluch uprisings which were followed by suppression and Human Rights violations (see MAR coding, Uppsala reports and Minority Rights Group International<sup>(3501)</sup>). "Instead of redressing Baloch political and economic grievances, the military is determined to impose state control through force. The killing of the Baloch leader Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti by the army in August 2006 was followed by the incarceration of another, Sardar Akhtar Jan Mengal, who has been held on terrorism-related charges without due process since December. Law enforcement agencies have detained thousands

<sup>3491</sup> [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

<sup>3492</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

<sup>3493</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

<sup>3494</sup> [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

<sup>3495</sup> [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

<sup>3497</sup> [Adeney, 2009]

<sup>3498</sup> [Cohen, 2004]

<sup>3499</sup> [Cohen, 2004]

<sup>3500</sup> [UNHCR, 2007]

<sup>3501</sup> [Minority Rights Group International, 2008]

of Baloch nationalists or those believed to be sympathetic to the cause; many have simply disappeared" (3502).

<sup>3502</sup> [International Crisis Group, 2007]

Since 2000, the Baluchis are discriminated based on the following evidence:

- Baloch separatists allege that the central government is systematically suppressing development in Balochistan to keep the group weak (3503).
- According to Amnesty International, Baluch activists, politicians and student leaders are being specifically targeted in enforced disappearances, abductions, arbitrary arrests and practices of torture and other ill-treatment (3504).
- According to UNPO, the Baluchis are increasingly marginalized, discriminated against by the state and have only limited access to the benefits of citizenship (3505).
- Human Rights Watch has recorded numerous serious human rights violations by the military, intelligence agencies and the paramilitary Frontier Corps, including extrajudicial executions, torture, enforced disappearance, forced displacement, and excessive use of force against protesters, practiced against the Baluchi people because of suspected ties to the Baloch nationalist movement, as well as specifically against well-known Baloch politicians and activists (3506).

<sup>3503</sup> [Kemp, 2010]

<sup>3504</sup> [Amnesty International, 2010]

<sup>3505</sup> [UNPO, 2007]

<sup>3506</sup> [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

In response to their fight for an independent state, the national government has announced large-scale support to address the grievances of the Baluch population (3507). According to Rizwan Zeb (3508), the provincial authorities have started to implement the Aghaz-e-Huqooq Baluchistan package, which involves the creation of local employment opportunities and financial support for development projects, as well as the creation and assignment of federal government vacancies. However, since the devolution of power to the provinces has been only moderately successful, and is certainly not at a stage where regional autonomy could be coded positively.

<sup>3507</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

<sup>3508</sup> [Rizwan, 2011]

In 2016, nationalist Baluchi forces continued their struggle for independence and were involved in violent clashes with government forces and other ethnic groups such as the Punjabi. Further, forced disappearances of Baluch nationalists and alleged terrorists were reported (3509). Therefore, their coding as discriminated is kept throughout.

<sup>3509</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]



*Ahmadis*

Tensions resurfaced in the early 1970s amid demands on the part of Pakistan clerics to declare Ahmaddiyas non-Muslims <sup>(3510)</sup>. In 1974 a constitutional amendment declared Ahmadis to be non-Muslims and they were threatened with the death penalty if they openly identified as Muslims <sup>(3511, 11)</sup>. "Since then the Ahmadiyyah have experienced considerable persecution, particularly during the administration (1977-1988) of Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq — when they were denied all semblance of Islamic character — and they have been denied positions in the civil service and the military and often have been forced to conceal their identity" <sup>(3512)</sup>. "The penal code severely restricts their religious practice, and they must renounce their beliefs to vote or gain admission to educational institutions." Freedom House <sup>(3513)</sup>. The Ahmadis are coded discriminated starting with the introduction of the new constitution in 1973.

In 2017, Ahmadis are still targeted with blasphemy charges <sup>(3514)</sup>, a provision of the criminal code that is often used specifically against religious minorities and political opponents <sup>(3515)</sup>. More generally, having been declared non-Muslims by the state, the political participation of the Ahmadi population at large has suffered, since voters are required to indicate their religion when registering to vote <sup>(3516; 3517, 3518, 3519)</sup>. It has also prevented them from occupying official positions <sup>(3520)</sup>. Also, the group faces systematic (societal) discrimination, and the police often fails to provide sufficient protection <sup>(3521, 3522, 3523, 3524)</sup>. Although non-Muslims are allowed to serve in the army, there is no evidence of substantial inclusion of the Ahmadi minority <sup>(3525)</sup>.

*Hindus & Christians*

Blasphemy laws are applicable to all religious minorities, therefore Hindus and Christians are affected. Violent attacks against Christians became increasingly common during the Zia ul-Haq regime, a trend that continued afterward with the increase of religious strife <sup>(3526)</sup>. Christians have faced not only violations of religious freedom but also systematic discrimination, some of which has been sanctioned by law (including through the anti-blasphemy provisions). The police did not afford adequate protection, and the courts have failed to uphold their rights <sup>(3527; 3528, 3529, 3530)</sup>. The fact that the constitution defines Pakistan an Islamic republic bars Christians from various official positions <sup>(3531)</sup>. There is also no evidence of their inclusion in the military, even though non-Muslims are officially allowed to serve <sup>(3532)</sup>. Christians are represented by a Christian National Party according to UHNCR <sup>(3533)</sup> and there have been efforts to improve their position by naming a Christian minority minister under the democratic government in 2009. Hindus are discriminated since independence. Discrimination of Christians only started in 1984 under Zia ul-Haq.

"General Musharraf has continued with his promise that reli-

<sup>3510</sup> [Minority Rights Group International, 2017]

<sup>3511</sup> [Cohen, 2004]

<sup>3512</sup> [Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017]

<sup>3513</sup> [?]

<sup>3514</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

<sup>3515</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

<sup>3516</sup> [US State Department, 2013]

<sup>3517</sup> [US State Department, 2012]

<sup>3518</sup> [US State Department, 2011]

<sup>3526</sup> [Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017]

<sup>3527</sup> [US State Department, 2013]

<sup>3528</sup> [US State Department, 2012]

<sup>3529</sup> [US State Department, 2011]

<sup>3530</sup> [US State Department, 2010]

gious minorities will be protected, and there are limited signs that Christians, Hindus (and, to a lesser extent, the Ahmaddiyas) are not being overtly discriminated against with regard to public positions." (3534)

<sup>3534</sup> [UNHCR, 2007]

"The implementation of the Hudood Ordinances has had seriously damaging consequences on all sections of Pakistani society. Women and religious minorities, in particular, have been targeted and victimized as a result of these Ordinances." (3535)

<sup>3535</sup> [UNHCR, 2007]

"In March 2005 the requirement that passport holders state their religion was restored, despite considerable protest from minority communities." (3536)

<sup>3536</sup> [UNHCR, 2007]

The non-muslim religious minorities are declared "discriminated" in regard to the Islamic constitution of the country. The government requires voters to indicate their religion when registering to vote and requires Ahmadis to declare themselves as non-Muslims. Since Ahmadis consider themselves Muslims, many were unable to vote in the 2013 parliamentary elections if they did not comply (3537). It is reported that the state "has failed to reform the legal system to ward off abuses of blasphemy laws" (3538). Though it should be noted that the constitution reserves four seats in the Senate for religious minorities (one for each province) and minorities held 23 reserved seats in the provincial assemblies: eight in Punjab, nine in Sindh, three in KP, and three in Balochistan (3539).

<sup>3537</sup> [U.S. Department of State, 2016]

<sup>3538</sup> [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

<sup>3539</sup> [U.S. Department of State, 2016]

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## Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan

*From 1947 until 1971*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Bengali	0.55	DISCRIMINATED
Punjabi	0.3	SENIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.04	POWERLESS
Pashtuns	0.04	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mohajirs	0.03	SENIOR PARTNER
Baluchis	0.01	POWERLESS
Hindus	0.01	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	IRRELEVANT
Ahmadis	0.002	JUNIOR PARTNER

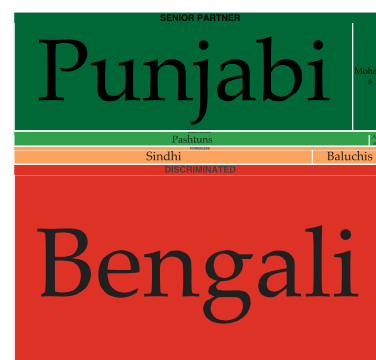


Figure 680: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1947-1971.

*From 1972 until 1973*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.56	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	POWERLESS
Sindhi	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mohajirs	0.08	POWERLESS
Baluchis	0.03	POWERLESS
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	IRRELEVANT
Ahmadis	0.002	JUNIOR PARTNER

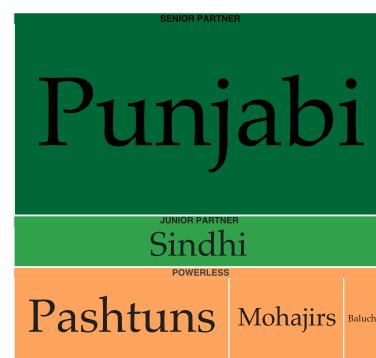


Figure 681: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1972-1973.

*From 1974 until 1977*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.56	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	POWERLESS
Sindhi	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mohajirs	0.08	POWERLESS
Baluchis	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	IRRELEVANT
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

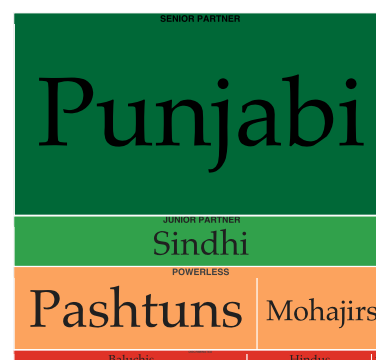


Figure 682: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1974-1977.



*From 1978 until 1983*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.56	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.14	POWERLESS
Mohajirs	0.08	JUNIOR PARTNER
Baluchis	0.03	POWERLESS
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	IRRELEVANT
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

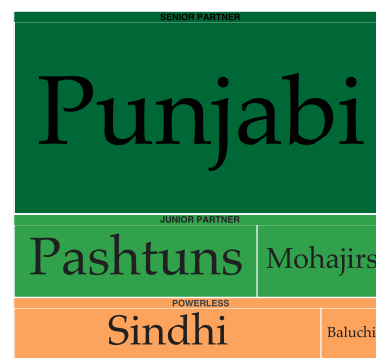


Figure 683: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1978-1983.

*From 1984 until 1988*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.56	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.14	POWERLESS
Mohajirs	0.08	JUNIOR PARTNER
Baluchis	0.03	POWERLESS
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

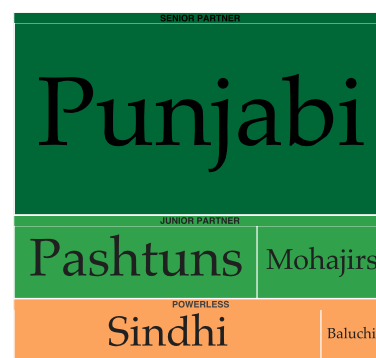


Figure 684: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1984-1988.

*From 1989 until 1999*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.56	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	POWERLESS
Sindhi	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mohajirs	0.08	POWERLESS
Baluchis	0.03	POWERLESS
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

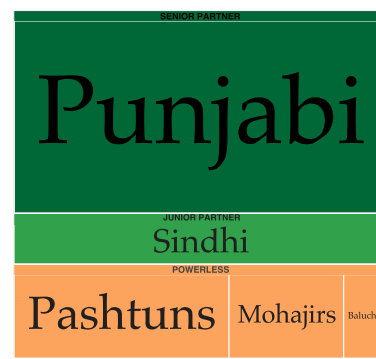


Figure 685: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1989-1999.

*From 2000 until 2008*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.56	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.14	POWERLESS
Mohajirs	0.08	JUNIOR PARTNER
Baluchis	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

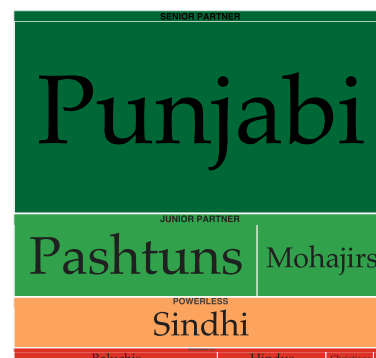


Figure 686: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2000-2008.

*From 2009 until 2013*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.56	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mohajirs	0.08	POWERLESS
Baluchis	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

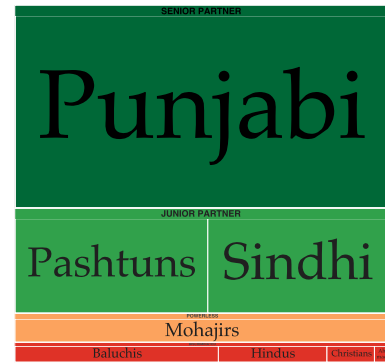


Figure 687: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2009-2013.

*From 2014 until 2017*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.56	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	POWERLESS
Sindhi	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mohajirs	0.08	POWERLESS
Baluchis	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

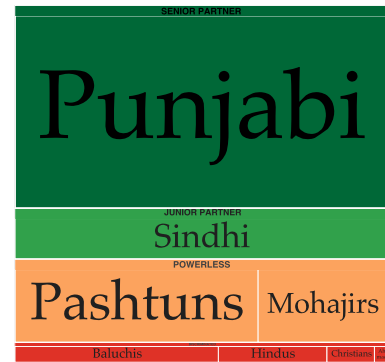


Figure 688: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2014-2017.

## Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Pakistan

*From 1947 until 1948*

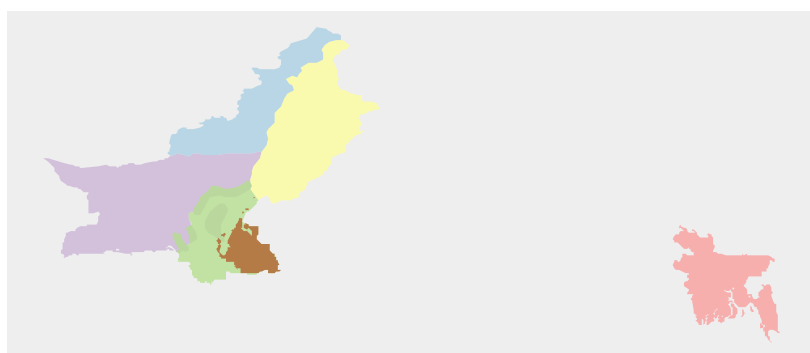


Figure 689: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1947-1948.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Baluchis	314 744	Regionally based
Punjabi	209 661	Regional & urban
Sindhi	150 411	Regionally based
Bengali	137 839	Regionally based
Pashtuns	133 982	Regionally based
Hindus	43 938	Regionally based
Mohajirs		Urban
Ahmadis		Dispersed

Table 234: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1947-1948.

*From 1949 until 1949*

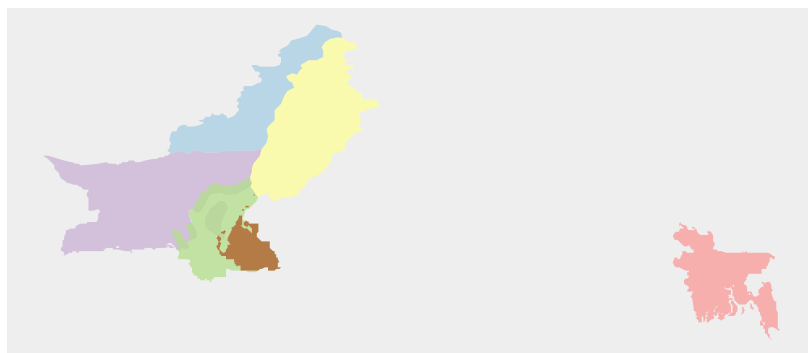


Figure 690: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1949-1949.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Baluchis	314 744	Regionally based
Punjabi	219 996	Regional & urban
Sindhi	150 411	Regionally based
Bengali	137 839	Regionally based
Pashtuns	134 132	Regionally based
Hindus	43 938	Regionally based
Mohajirs		Urban
Ahmadis		Dispersed

Table 235: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1949-1949.

*From 1950 until 1970*

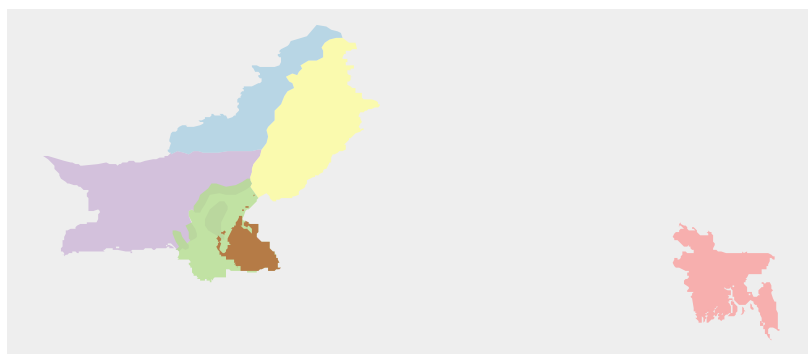


Figure 691: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1950-1970.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Baluchis	314 744	Regionally based
Punjabi	219 996	Regional & urban
Sindhi	150 411	Regionally based
Bengali	137 839	Regionally based
Pashtuns	134 132	Regionally based
Hindus	43 938	Regionally based
Mohajirs		Urban
Ahmadis		Dispersed

Table 236: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1950-1970.

*From 1971 until 1971*

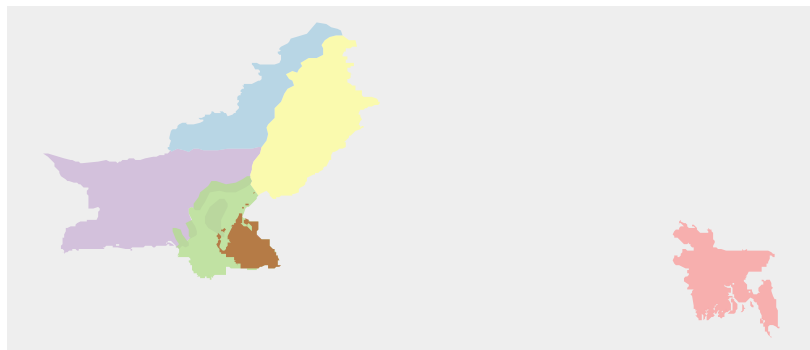


Figure 692: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1971-1971.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Baluchis	314 744	Regionally based
Punjabi	219 996	Regional & urban
Sindhi	150 411	Regionally based
Bengali	137 839	Regionally based
Pashtuns	134 132	Regionally based
Hindus	43 938	Regionally based
Mohajirs		Urban
Ahmadis		Dispersed

Table 237: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1971-1971.

*From 1972 until 1983*

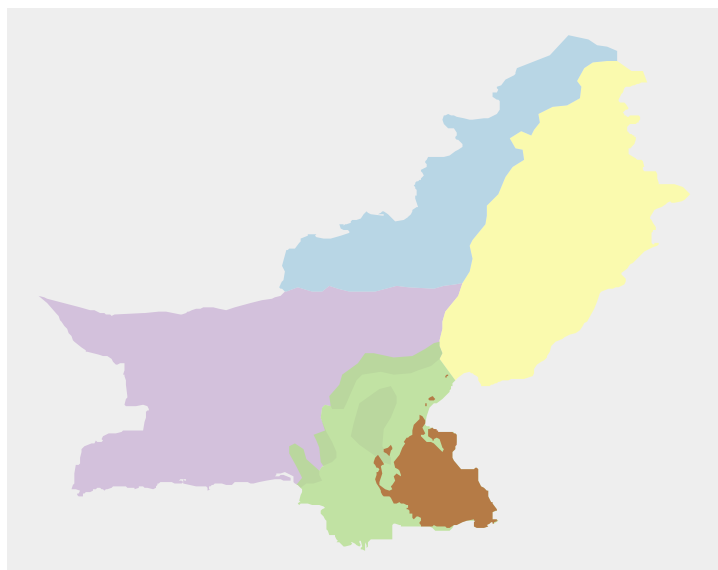


Figure 693: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1972-1983.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
<span style="color: purple;">■</span> Baluchis	314 744	Regionally based
<span style="color: yellow;">■</span> Punjabi	219 996	Regional & urban
<span style="color: green;">■</span> Sindhi	150 411	Regionally based
<span style="color: blue;">■</span> Pashtuns	134 132	Regionally based
<span style="color: brown;">■</span> Hindus	43 938	Regionally based
Mohajirs		Urban
Ahmadis		Dispersed

Table 238: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1972-1983.

*From 1984 until 2017*

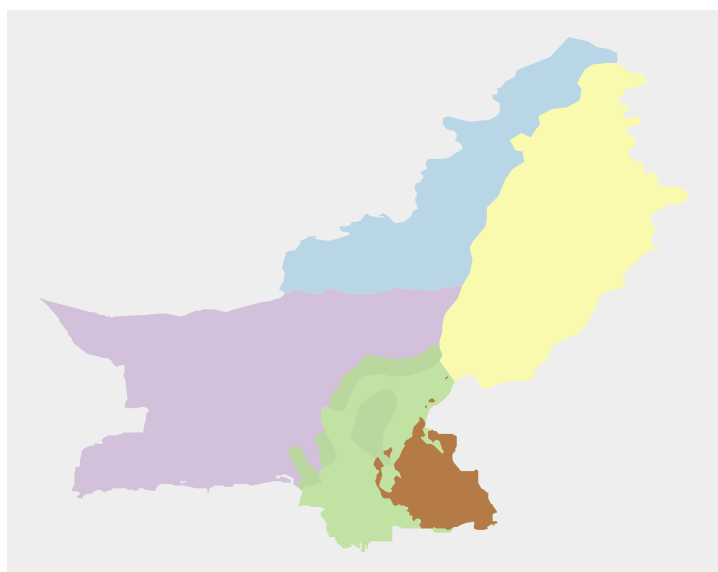


Figure 694: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1984-2017.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
<span style="color: purple;">■</span> Baluchis	314 744	Regionally based
<span style="color: yellow;">■</span> Punjabi	219 996	Regional & urban
<span style="color: green;">■</span> Sindhi	150 411	Regionally based
<span style="color: blue;">■</span> Pashtuns	134 132	Regionally based
<span style="color: brown;">■</span> Hindus	43 938	Regionally based
Mohajirs		Urban
Ahmadis		Dispersed
Christians		Dispersed

Table 239: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1984-2017.

## *Conflicts in Pakistan*

*Starting on 1948-12-30*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of India	Government of Pakistan		1948-12-30			

*Starting on 1971-03-25*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Pakistan	Mukti Bahini	Bengali	1971-03-25	Explicit	Yes	Yes

*Starting on 1973-05-17*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Pakistan	BLF	Baluchis	1973-05-17	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Pakistan	BLA	Baluchis	2004-06-24	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Pakistan	Baloch Ittehad	Baluchis	2006-01-11	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Pakistan	BRA	Baluchis	2007-08-24	Explicit	Yes	
Government of Pakistan	UBA	Baluchis	2012-10-07	Explicit	Yes	

*Starting on 1990-02-10*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Pakistan	MQM	Mohajirs	1990-02-10	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Pakistan	TTP	Pashtuns	2007-07-03	No	Yes, from EGIP	No
Government of Pakistan	Lashkar-e-Islam	Pashtuns	2008-10-21	No	No	No
Government of Pakistan	TTP - TA	Pashtuns	2012-06-01	No	No	No
Government of Pakistan	IMU		2013-05-11			
Government of Pakistan	Jamaat-ul-Ahrar		2014-03-02			

*Starting on 2016-02-11*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Pakistan	IS		2016-02-11			