

Pakistan

Ethnicity in Pakistan

Power relations (-2009)

Population: According to the Pakistani census and the CIA World Factbook Punjabis, Urdu and Sariaki speakers make up 62% respectively 66% of the Pakistani population without much fluctuation over the last 30 years. The current estimate of 0.64 for the Punjabis seems to be on target. The Sindhi and Pashtun population numbers needed to be corrected upwards. The Hindu population estimate slightly downwards.

Muhajirs speak Urdu and according to Wright ⁽²⁶⁴³⁾ made up 8% of the Pakistani population in 1951. Waseem puts the Muhajir percentage of population in the years after independence at 3% ^(2644, 621). If Muhajirs = Urdu speakers and are subtracted from Punjabi speakers, then overall population setup would make sense. Therefore, Punjabis will not encompass Mohajirs and make up 0.56 of the population since 1971.

²⁶⁴³ [Wright, 1991]

²⁶⁴⁴ [Waseem, 1996]

Ahmadis 0.022 according to census - (cf. http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/pco/statistics/other_tables/pop_by_reli)

Pakistani History in short (cf. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3453.htm>)

- 1947 Independence
- 1955 One Unit Scheme
- 1958 Suspension of Constitution and Martial Law
- 1970 General Elections polarize East and West Pakistan
- 1971 Partition of Bangladesh
- 1973 New Constitution and return to democracy
- 1977 Again military coup and suspension of constitution - Islamization starts under Zia Al-Haq
- 1984 Ordinance XX - allows Pakistani government to punish Ahmadis for declaring to be Muslims (according to Wikipedia)
- 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

Preliminary comments: According to Oldenburg (²⁶⁴⁵), Adeney (²⁶⁴⁶), Malik (²⁶⁴⁷), and Cohen (²⁶⁴⁸) the army and the 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" (²⁶⁴⁹, 97). Based on these judgments it appears fair 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 (²⁶⁵⁰, 132-36). However, under democratic rule the influence of the army does recede a little which is why one can only consider Punjabis, who make up 70% to 80% of the rank & file, as Senior Partners under democratic rule while the smaller ethnic groups of Pashtuns & Muhajirs are powerless during episodes of democratic rule. Since Sindhis were usually represented by the PPP they should be coded junior partners during democratic rule .

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.

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 the help of India in 1971. According to Choudhury (²⁶⁵¹) 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 ²⁶⁵²; ²⁶⁵³). Given these facts the discrimination coding of the entire period from 1947-1971 is warranted (cf. ²⁶⁵⁴, 74-5; ²⁶⁵⁵, 95).

²⁶⁴⁵ [Oldenburg, 2010]

²⁶⁴⁶ [Adeney, 2009]

²⁶⁴⁷ [Malik, 2008]

²⁶⁴⁸ [Cohen, 2004]

²⁶⁴⁹ [Adeney, 2009]

²⁶⁵¹ [Choudhury, 1972]

²⁶⁵² [Rahman, 1997]

²⁶⁵³ [?]

²⁶⁵⁴ [Oldenburg, 2010]

²⁶⁵⁵ [Adeney, 2009]

Punjabi: The Punjabi coding in EPR seems to consist of Punjabi and Sariaki speakers. Both live in the Punjab province.

Punjabis are clearly the dominant ethnic group in Pakistan. The army consists almost entirely of Punjabis and so does most of the bureaucracy (²⁶⁵⁶, 223-5). The Punjabis are therefore the dominant ethnic group throughout the entire history of Pakistan.

²⁶⁵⁶ [Cohen, 2004]

Sindhi: After partition Sindhis quickly found themselves in the minority in Karachi and only constituted a bare majority in the entire province (²⁶⁵⁷, 212).

²⁶⁵⁷ [Cohen, 2004]

Prior to 1971 Punjabi/Muhajir dominance (²⁶⁵⁸, 133), therefore Sindhis powerless.

²⁶⁵⁸ [Malik, 2008]

With the rise of the Sindhi Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who became the political leader of Pakistan from 1971-1977, the Sindhis gained more influence and can be called junior partners (²⁶⁵⁹, 163). 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" (²⁶⁶⁰, 214). Nevertheless they remained excluded from central power and did not necessarily have territorial autonomy because of Punjabi migration into Sindh (²⁶⁶¹, 96, 100) and government intervention into the provinces (²⁶⁶², 99). So Sindhis are only junior partners under Bhutto from 1971-1977 and otherwise powerless.

²⁶⁵⁹ [Malik, 2008]

²⁶⁶⁰ [Cohen, 2004]

²⁶⁶¹ [Adeney, 2009]

²⁶⁶² [Adeney, 2009]

Pashtuns: Prior to 1971 Punjabi/Muhajir dominance (²⁶⁶³, 133), but Pashtuns have strong army representation (²⁶⁶⁴, 95/6). Under Z. A. 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 (²⁶⁶⁵, 166).

²⁶⁶³ [Malik, 2008]

²⁶⁶⁴ [Adeney, 2009]

²⁶⁶⁵ [Malik, 2008]

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.

Pashtuns in Pakistan and Afghanistan are Transnational Ethnic Kin (TEK) groups.

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 (²⁶⁶⁶, 206). Moreover, they received a disproportionate allocation of farm land in the Sindh province. Following Wright (²⁶⁶⁷) and Waseem (²⁶⁶⁸) the Muhajirs were at least partners if not even dominant actors 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 Zulfikar 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)." (²⁶⁶⁹, 300) .

²⁶⁶⁶ [Cohen, 2004]

²⁶⁶⁷ [Wright, 1991]

²⁶⁶⁸ [Waseem, 1996]

²⁶⁶⁹ [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 (²⁶⁷⁰, 326). In 1978 a Mohajir student movement was founded and in 1984 the Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) presented the first Mohajir political party. (²⁶⁷¹, 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 bureaucracy (²⁶⁷², 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 mainly by Mohajirs.

²⁶⁷⁰ [Waseem, 1996]

²⁶⁷¹ [Waseem, 1996]

²⁶⁷² [Adeney, 2009]

Since 1999, the General Pervez Musharraf, a Mohajir, ruled Pakistan. While Musharraf did not become leader of Pakistan qua ethnicity, he can certainly be seen as representing some group interests, which asks for a junior partner coding from 1999 until his leaving of office in 2008 (cf. ²⁶⁷³, 98). Therefore, junior partner coding during army rule, and powerless coding during democratic rule is applied.

²⁶⁷³ [Adeney, 2009]

Mohajirs and Biharis are TEK groups (²⁶⁷⁴, 307) - also see Waseem (²⁶⁷⁵, 626)

²⁶⁷⁴ [Wright, 1991]

²⁶⁷⁵ [Waseem, 1996]

Baluchis: "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 of Baloch nationalists or those believed to be sympathetic to the cause; many have simply disappeared."

"The government's inadequate response to the cyclone and floods that devastated the area in June and July 2007 has further worsened

alienation." Both quotes from: ICG ⁽²⁶⁷⁶⁾

²⁶⁷⁶ [International Crisis Group, 2007]

Baluchis in almost constant rebellion against Pakistan since independence and certainly powerless or discriminated until Zia comes to power who offers territorial autonomy in 1977 ^(2677, 221).

²⁶⁷⁷ [Cohen, 2004]

According to Adeney Baluchis are severely underrepresented in the army and the bureaucracy which is due to low levels of education as well as neglect by the government ⁽²⁶⁷⁸⁾. Until 1971 Baluchis were powerless in West Pakistans One-Unit scheme. 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. ^{2679, 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. " ^(2680, 227) It appears questionable to think that this cooptation 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:

²⁶⁷⁸ [Adeney, 2009]

²⁶⁷⁹ [Cohen, 2004]

²⁶⁸⁰ [Cohen, 2004]

"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." ⁽²⁶⁸¹⁾.

²⁶⁸¹ [UNHCR, 2007]

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 and Uppsala reports).

For an overview see Minority Rights Group International ⁽²⁶⁸²⁾.

²⁶⁸² [Minority Rights Group International, 2008]

Ahmadis: In 1974 Ahamdis were declared non-Muslims and threatened with the death penalty if they identified themselves as Muslims ^(2683, 11) - Wikipedia says this only happened in 1984 and Ordinance XX which would be in accordance with coding so far. Powerless coding until 1984 therefore seems to be incorrect - this is clear-cut discrimination.

²⁶⁸³ [Cohen, 2004]

"The penal code severely restricts their religious practice, and they must renounce their beliefs to vote or gain admission to educational institutions." Freedom House ⁽²⁶⁸⁴⁾

²⁶⁸⁴ [?]

That warrants discrimination rating.

Hindus & Christians: First Hindu High Judge in 2005 (UNHCR 2007)

Christians are represented by a Christian National Party according to UHNCR ⁽²⁶⁸⁵⁾ and there have efforts to improve their position by naming a Christian minority minister under the democratic government in 2009.

²⁶⁸⁵ [UNHCR, 2008]

"During most of 2007, Pakistan's Christian and Hindu minority populations continued to face persecution, particularly at the hands of religious extremists." ⁽²⁶⁸⁶⁾

²⁶⁸⁶ [UNHCR, 2008]

Blasphemy laws applicable to all religious minorities, therefore

Christians may also be included. Ahmadis more clearly targeted by the state as laws exist that explicitly single out Ahmadis.

"General Musharraf has continued with his promise that religious 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." (2687)

²⁶⁸⁷ [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." (2688)

²⁶⁸⁸ [UNHCR, 2007]

"In March 2005 the requirement that passport holders state their religion was restored, despite considerable protest from minority communities." (2689)

²⁶⁸⁹ [UNHCR, 2007]

The last two quotes seem to support discrimination coding for Hindus and Christians, and possibly other religious minorities. However, how far is the law applied and how much is social discrimination really at play here? Ahmed (²⁶⁹⁰) suggests that since 1988 55-60 Christians a year were charged with the blasphemy laws.

²⁶⁹⁰ [Ahmed, 2002]

The ultimate question for both Hindus, and possibly Christians is, whether the blasphemy laws are directed at excluding them from state power. By now they seem to be so entrenched that hardly any government could repeal them, even if it wanted to. Despite these laws few Christians and Hindus do obtain high jobs in the judiciary but how far they are able to represent their community is questionable. A discrimination coding for Hindus since independence is in order. Discrimination of Christians only started in 1984 with the declaration of Ordinance XX:

"Under the existing blasphemy laws, a person can face indefinite imprisonment or the death penalty for criticizing the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad. The reforms called for the punishment for blasphemy to be reduced to a maximum five-year prison sentence and a fine. In a special report on Pakistan the Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR) said that in 2007 some 25 people, of whom 16 were Christian and 9 were women, were victims of the blasphemy laws. The report also said that on 30 May 2007, Younis Masih, a Christian, was sentenced to death under the law" (²⁶⁹¹).

²⁶⁹¹ [UNHCR, 2008]

Power relations (2010 - 2013 Update)

Population: There is no evidence of any major demographic changes in the period 2010 - 2013 in the literature consulted, and the population figures provided by Abderrahim Amghar ⁽²⁶⁹²⁾, largely match those in the dataset, except for Punjabis = 44%, and Baluchis = 4%. The existing data is therefore left unadjusted.

²⁶⁹² [Abderrahim, 2014]

Political Changes: Executive: As mentioned in the comments on the previous update, Pakistan has been predominantly ruled by the military and the bureaucratic elite, with the army chief and the president as the main power centres. Nevertheless, according to the 2012 Bertelsmann Stiftung report, the democratic institutions have gained more authority since the 2008 parliamentary elections ^(2693; 2694). Also, a constitutional amendment passed in 2010 “transformed Pakistan again into a parliamentary democracy” ⁽²⁶⁹⁵⁾, and transferred chief executive power from the president to the prime minister and removed the army’s formal political role. However, 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, especially as regards internal and external security and foreign policy, or as the 2012 reports by the Bertelsmann Stiftung puts it: “the civilian government remains under the extensive tutelage of the military”. ⁽²⁶⁹⁶⁾ National Elections: The party system in Pakistan is characterized by competition between the PPP and the PML-N. ⁽²⁶⁹⁷⁾ Elections at the end of the last update period (2008) 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. ⁽²⁶⁹⁸⁾ Initially a broad coalition government of the former opposition parties, this was dissolved in 2009, leaving the PPP to govern ⁽²⁶⁹⁹⁾ in league with the Awami National Party (ANP), the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and several smaller partners ⁽²⁷⁰⁰⁾.

²⁶⁹³ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

²⁶⁹⁴ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

²⁶⁹⁵ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

²⁶⁹⁶ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

²⁶⁹⁷ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

In the next parliamentary elections, held in 2013, power shifted back to the PML-N. Nawaz Sharif (PML-N) replaced Raja Pervazi Ashraf of the PPP (successor of Gilani, who had been declared ineligible to hold public office by the Supreme Court in 2012) as Prime Minister ⁽²⁷⁰¹⁾, and called in a new cabinet, of which all officials belong to the PML-N ⁽²⁷⁰²⁾. President Zardari, having completed his 5-year term, stepped down, also in 2013, and was succeeded by Mamnoon Hussain, also of the PML-N ⁽²⁷⁰³⁾.

²⁷⁰¹ [US State Department, 2013]

²⁷⁰² [Wikipedia, 2014a]

²⁷⁰³ [US State Department, 2013]

Any shifts in the distribution of political power among ethnic groups due to the 2013 elections should however be reflected in the coding only as of 2014 (i.e. next update), in order to abide by the 1st January rule.

Ethnic Minorities in general: Following the 2010 constitutional amendment, which assigned the provinces 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 (2704; 2705). 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. (2706) In light of this, all groups can still be coded as not having territorial autonomy.

2704 [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

2705 [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

2706 [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

At the national level, the 2010 constitution reserves 4 seats in the Senate and 10 seats in the National Assembly for religious minorities. 23 seats are reserved in the provincial assemblies (2707; 2708; 2709). Shahbaz Bhatti, a member of a religious minority, served as Federal Minister of Minorities, and took an active role in assisting victims of religiously motivated attacks. (2710) He, as well as Salman Taseer, the Punjab governor, were however assassinated in 2011 due to their support for revisions of the blasphemy law (2711). A last point, while minorities do have the right to vote, their representatives are elected through separate constituencies, affording them less political influence (2712).

2707 [US State Department, 2013]

2708 [US State Department, 2012]

2709 [US State Department, 2011]

2710 [US State Department, 2010]

2711 [US State Department, 2011]

Punjabi: Represented by Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N/Q).

Many of the reports consulted emphasise the continuing dominance of the Punjab ethnic group, both in the army and in the bureaucracy (e.g. 2713; 2714; 2715; 2716; 2717). According to Wikipedia, the Punjabi made up 53.19% of the military in 2007 (2718). While there has been an effort to increase the representation of the other ethnic groups in the army during the last couple of years, judging by the reports cited above, the Punjabi were clearly still the majority during the current update period.

2713 [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

2714 [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

2715 [Abderrahim, 2014]

2716 [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

2717 [Wikipedia, 2014b]

Regarding their position in the bureaucracy, relevant changes took place especially towards the end of the current update period (2013) (which should therefore be reflected only in the next update), when the PML-N returned to fully control the executive, the National Assembly, and the Provincial Assembly of Punjab.

In view of the above, it appears recommendable to maintain the senior partner coding for the period 2010 – 2013.

Sindhi: Represented by Pakistan People's Party (PPP).

Up until the 2013 elections, the PPP and its federal coalition partners controlled the executive and legislative branches of the national government and 3 of the 4 provincial assemblies (2719; 2720; 2721). The junior partner coding thus makes sense also for the current update period. Given the defeat of the PPP in 2013, however, one could perhaps consider changing their power status to powerless in the next update (1st January rule!), bearing in mind also that the Sindhi make up only a very small proportion of the army (13.5% in 2007 (2722)). There has, however, been an attempt to bring Sindhis on par with other ethnicities in all branches of the army (2723),

2719 [US State Department, 2012]

2720 [US State Department, 2011]

2721 [US State Department, 2010]

2722 [Wikipedia, 2014b]

2723 [Wikipedia, 2014b]

perhaps also something to watch out for in the next update.

Pashtun: Represented by Awami National Party (ANP).

The Pashtun hold a relatively prominent position in the army (21% in 2007, = second largest group ⁽²⁷²⁴⁾, and according to Abderrahim Amghar ⁽²⁷²⁵⁾, 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 ^(2726; 2727; 2728; 2729). One source mentioned that the ANP was "in control" of the senate, together with the PPP ⁽²⁷³⁰⁾. It looks like there were also several cabinet reshuffles during the period, with the ANP holding the ministries of narcotics control, railways, local bodies and rural development, and population at some point between 2008 and 2013 ^(2731; 2732; 2733). The ANP also had chairmanship of 3 Senate standing committees: human rights, housing and works, and commerce ⁽²⁷³⁴⁾. Based on this evidence, their power status was changed to junior partner during 2009 – 2013.

²⁷²⁴ [Wikipedia, 2014b]

²⁷²⁵ [Abderrahim, 2014]

²⁷²⁶ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

²⁷²⁷ [Wikipedia, 2014c]

²⁷²⁸ [Nisar, 2009]

Mohajirs: Represented by Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM).

Abiding by the 1st January rule, the current powerless coding for this group was extended through 2013, given that political changes which may affect their power status occurred only towards the end of this update period, and should thus be reflected in the dataset only as of 2014. The current powerless coding seems apt: although the MQM is also allied with the PPP, there is no evidence of the Mohajirs playing a major role in the army, and according to a report on RefWorld ⁽²⁷³⁵⁾, 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 ^(2736; 2737; 2738). 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 ⁽²⁷³⁹⁾.

²⁷³⁵ [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

²⁷³⁶ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

²⁷³⁷ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

²⁷³⁸ [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

²⁷³⁹ [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

Baluchis: Represented by Muttahida Majlis Amal (MMA) (?).

Assigned a powerless status for 2009 during the previous update, the status changed to discriminated for the period 2009 – 2013 (especially if their situation is compared to that of the Ahmadis, who are also coded as discriminated). This judgment is based on the following evidence:

- Baloch separatists allege that the central government is systematically suppressing development in Balochistan to keep the group weak ⁽²⁷⁴⁰⁾.

²⁷⁴⁰ [Kemp, 2010]

- 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. ⁽²⁷⁴¹⁾

²⁷⁴¹ [Amnesty International, 2010]

- According to UNPO, the Baluchis are increasingly marginalized, discriminated against by the state and have only limited access to the benefits of citizenship. ⁽²⁷⁴²⁾

²⁷⁴² [UNPO, 2007]

- 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. The organization questions the willingness (and ability) of the national government to control the respective security forces, and emphasizes the tense relationship between the province and the center due to issues of provincial autonomy, control of resources and a consequent sense of deprivation. ⁽²⁷⁴³⁾

²⁷⁴³ [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

- On the other hand, ethnic Baloch nationalists have attacked army and police convoys as well as specifically targeted ethnic Punjabis and Mohajirs. ^(2744, 2745)

²⁷⁴⁴ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

²⁷⁴⁵ [Rizwan, 2011]

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. ⁽²⁷⁴⁶⁾ According to Rizwan Zeb ⁽²⁷⁴⁷⁾, 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, as mentioned above, 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.

²⁷⁴⁶ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

²⁷⁴⁷ [Rizwan, 2011]

Regarding their position in the army, according to Wikipedia Baluchis made up only 3.2% of the military in 2007, although an effort has apparently been made since to increase their representation.

Ahmadis: As has been mentioned in the comments of previous updates, Ahmadis are targeted with blasphemy charges (²⁷⁴⁸), a provision of the criminal code that is often used specifically against religious minorities and political opponents (²⁷⁴⁹). 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 (²⁷⁵⁰; ²⁷⁵¹; ²⁷⁵²; ²⁷⁵³). It has also prevented them from occupying official positions (²⁷⁵⁴). Also, the group faces systematic (societal) discrimination, and the police often fails to provide sufficient protection (²⁷⁵⁵; ²⁷⁵⁶; ²⁷⁵⁷; ²⁷⁵⁸).

Although non-Muslims are allowed to serve in the army, there is no evidence of substantial inclusion of the Ahmadi minority (²⁷⁵⁹).

In light of the above, it appears reasonable to extend the current discriminated coding through 2013.

Hindus: As the Ahmadis, the Hindus are excluded from participating effectively, given that the constitution gives preference to Muslims, as well as are targeted via the anti-blasphemy provisions of the criminal code (²⁷⁶⁰). There is no evidence of their inclusion in the military, even though non-Muslims are officially allowed to serve (²⁷⁶¹). Coded as discriminated during the initial EPR periods, this was changed to powerless as of 1989. Given the lack of evidence for any event that may have led to this change in power status, and the fact that Hindus are largely treated similarly as the Christian minority (which is coded also as discriminated in all periods), Hindus are coded as discriminated for the current update period (2010 – 2013), as well as adjust the power status to discriminated for all previous periods back to 1989.

Christians: Christians, as the other religious minorities, have faced not only violations of religious freedom but also systematic (societal) 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 (²⁷⁶²; ²⁷⁶³; ²⁷⁶⁴; ²⁷⁶⁵). The fact that the constitution defines Pakistan an Islamic republic bars Christians from various official positions (²⁷⁶⁶). There is also no evidence of their inclusion in the military, even though non-Muslims are officially allowed to serve (²⁷⁶⁷). Given the lack of changes in the power status of the Christian minority, extending the current discriminated coding through 2013 appears justified.

²⁷⁴⁸ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

²⁷⁴⁹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

²⁷⁵⁰ [US State Department, 2013]

²⁷⁵¹ [US State Department, 2012]

²⁷⁵² [US State Department, 2011]

²⁷⁵⁹ [Wikipedia, 2014b]

²⁷⁶⁰ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

²⁷⁶¹ [Wikipedia, 2014b]

²⁷⁶² [US State Department, 2013]

²⁷⁶³ [US State Department, 2012]

²⁷⁶⁴ [US State Department, 2011]

²⁷⁶⁵ [US State Department, 2010]

²⁷⁶⁶ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

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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
Pashtuns	0.04	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.04	POWERLESS
Mohajirs	0.03	SENIOR PARTNER
Ahmadis	0.015	JUNIOR PARTNER
Baluchis	0.01	POWERLESS
Hindus	0.01	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	IRRELEVANT

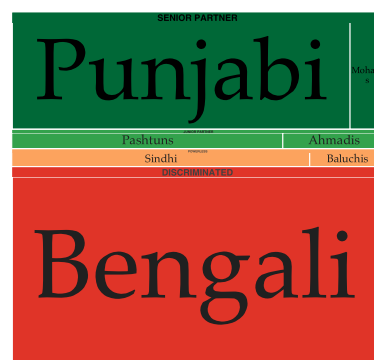


Figure 574: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1947-1971.

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
Ahmadis	0.022	JUNIOR PARTNER
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	IRRELEVANT

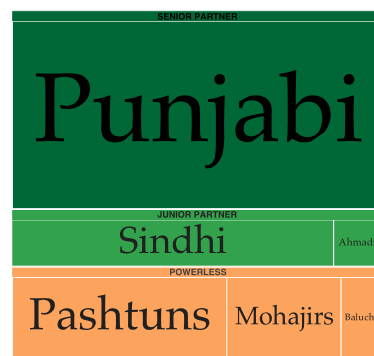


Figure 575: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1972-1973.

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
Ahmadis	0.022	POWERLESS
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	IRRELEVANT

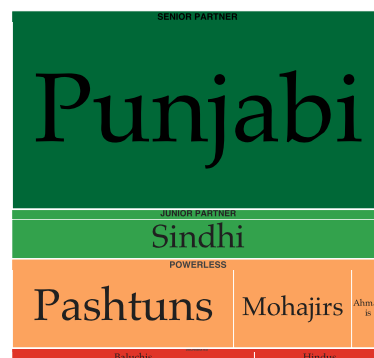


Figure 576: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1974-1977.

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
Ahmadis	0.022	POWERLESS
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	IRRELEVANT

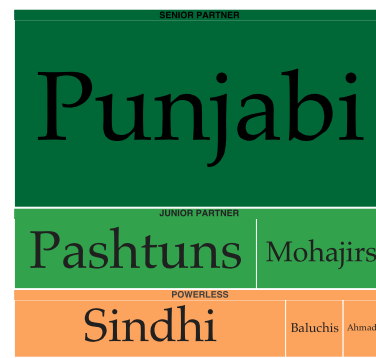


Figure 577: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1978-1983.

From 1984 until 1988

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.555	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.14	POWERLESS
Mohajirs	0.08	JUNIOR PARTNER
Baluchis	0.03	POWERLESS
Ahmadis	0.022	DISCRIMINATED
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED

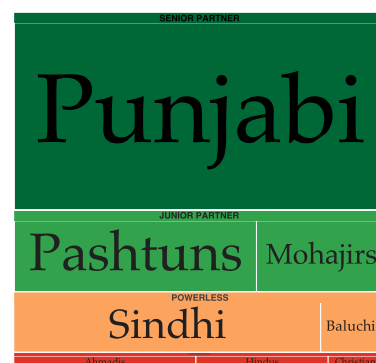


Figure 578: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1984-1988.

From 1989 until 1999

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.555	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	POWERLESS
Sindhi	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mohajirs	0.08	POWERLESS
Baluchis	0.03	POWERLESS
Ahmadis	0.022	DISCRIMINATED
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED

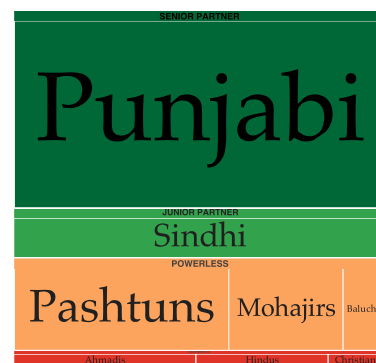


Figure 579: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1989-1999.

From 2000 until 2008

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.555	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.14	POWERLESS
Mohajirs	0.08	JUNIOR PARTNER
Baluchis	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Ahmadis	0.022	DISCRIMINATED
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED

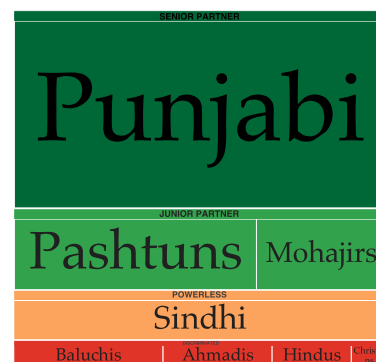


Figure 580: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2000-2008.

From 2009 until 2013

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Punjabi	0.555	SENIOR PARTNER
Pashtuns	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sindhi	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mohajirs	0.08	POWERLESS
Baluchis	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Ahmadis	0.022	DISCRIMINATED
Hindus	0.016	DISCRIMINATED
Christians	0.007	DISCRIMINATED

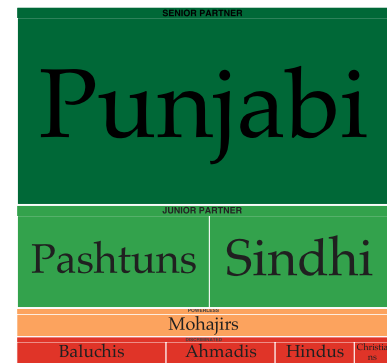


Figure 581: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2009-2013.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Pakistan

From 1947 until 1971

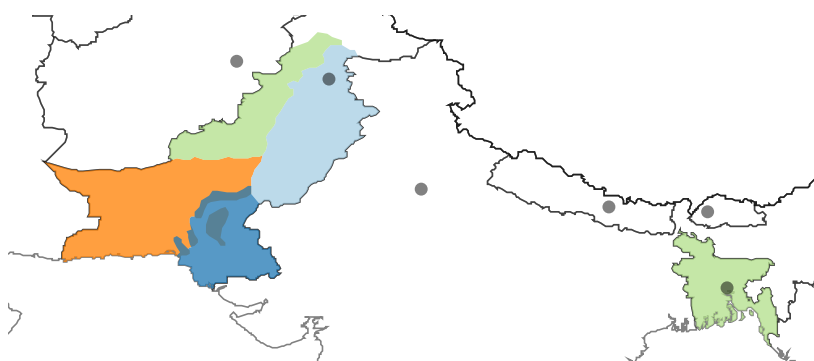


Figure 582: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2009-2013.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Baluchis	315 242	Regionally based
■ Punjabi	220 189	Regional & urban
■ Sindhi	150 697	Regional & urban
■ Bengali	138 195	Statewide
■ Pashtuns	134 222	Regional & urban
Mohajirs		Urban
Ahmadis		Dispersed
Hindus		Dispersed

Table 168: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1947-1971.

From 1972 until 1983

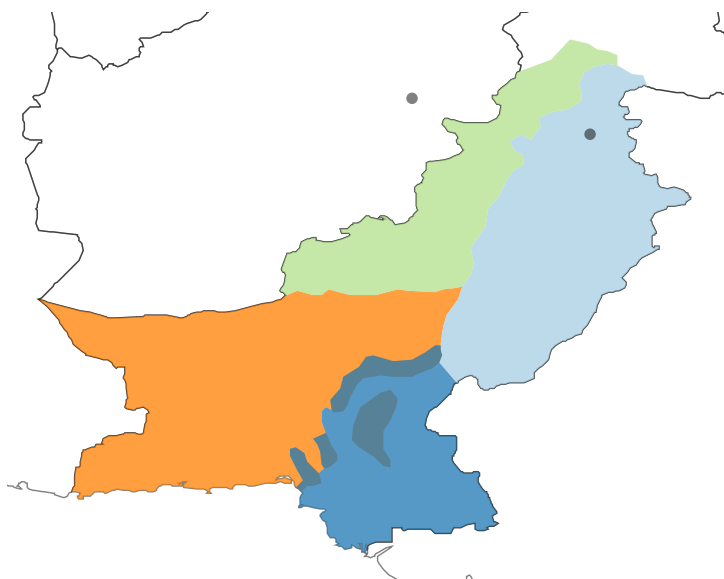


Figure 583: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2009-2013.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Baluchis	315 242	Regionally based
Punjabi	220 189	Regional & urban
Sindhi	150 697	Regional & urban
Pashtuns	134 222	Regional & urban
Mohajirs		Urban
Ahmadis		Dispersed
Hindus		Dispersed

Table 169: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1972-1983.

From 1984 until 2013

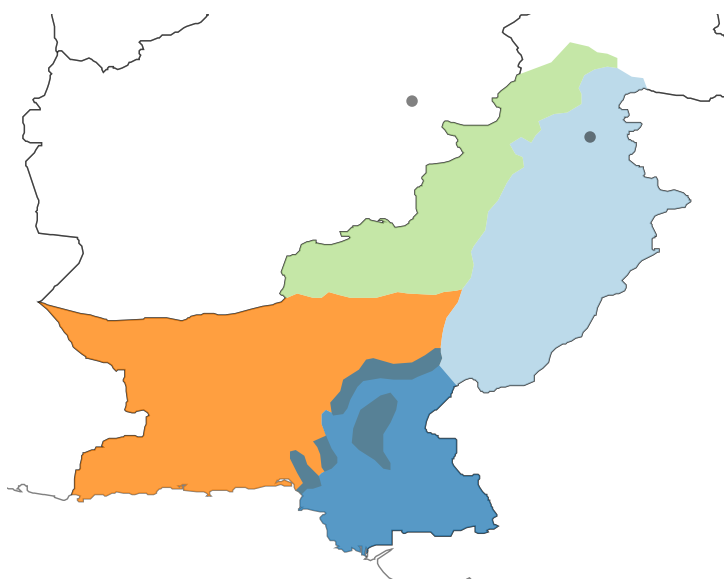


Figure 584: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2009-2013.

	Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■	Baluchis	315 242	Regionally based
■	Punjabi	220 189	Regional & urban
■	Sindhi	150 697	Regional & urban
■	Pashtuns	134 222	Regional & urban
	Mohajirs		Urban
	Ahmadis		Dispersed
	Hindus		Dispersed
	Christians		Dispersed

Table 170: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1984-2013.

Conflicts in Pakistan

Starting on 1948-12-31

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of India	Government of Pakistan		1948-12-31			

Starting on 1971-03-26

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Pakistan	Mukti Bahini	Bengali	1971-03-26	Explicit	Yes	Yes

Starting on 1973-05-18

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Pakistan	BLF	Baluchis	1973-05-18	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Pakistan	BLA	Baluchis	2004-06-25	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Pakistan	Baloch Ittehad	Baluchis	2006-01-12	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Pakistan	BRA	Baluchis	2007-08-25	Explicit	Yes	

Starting on 1990-02-11

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Pakistan	MQM	Mohajirs	1990-02-11	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Pakistan	TTP	Pashtuns	2007-07-04	No	Yes, from EGIP	No
Government of Pakistan	Lashkar-e-Islam	Pashtuns	2008-10-23	No	No	No
Government of Pakistan	TTP - TA	Pashtuns	2012-06-03	No	No	No

Starting on 2001-09-11

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of United States of America	al-Qaida		2001-09-11			