

Pakistan

Ethnicity in Pakistan

Power relations

Pakistani history in short (cf. ⁴⁰⁷⁸)

⁴⁰⁷⁸ [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 (⁴⁰⁷⁹), Adeney (⁴⁰⁸⁰), Malik (⁴⁰⁸¹), and Cohen (⁴⁰⁸²) 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” (⁴⁰⁸³, 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 (⁴⁰⁸⁴, 132-36).

⁴⁰⁷⁹ [Oldenburg, 2010]

⁴⁰⁸⁰ [Adeney, 2009]

⁴⁰⁸¹ [Malik, 2008]

⁴⁰⁸² [Cohen, 2004]

⁴⁰⁸³ [Adeney, 2009]

⁴⁰⁸⁴ [Oldenburg, 2010]

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 (⁴⁰⁸⁵; ⁴⁰⁸⁶). 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 (⁴⁰⁸⁷). Initially, a broad coalition government of the former opposition parties, this was dissolved in 2009, leaving the PPP to govern (⁴⁰⁸⁸) in league with the Awami National Party (ANP), the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and several smaller partners (⁴⁰⁸⁹).

A constitutional amendment passed in 2010 “transformed Pakistan again into a parliamentary democracy” (⁴⁰⁹⁰), 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 (⁴⁰⁹¹; ⁴⁰⁹²). However, the provincial assemblies still lack power, due to security issues, but also because the division of responsibilities between the central government and the provinces remains unclear (⁴⁰⁹³). 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 (⁴⁰⁹⁴). In light of this, all groups can still be coded as not having territorial autonomy.

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 (⁴⁰⁹⁵) 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 ⁴⁰⁹⁶; ⁴⁰⁹⁷). Given these facts the discrimination coding of the entire period from 1947-1971 is warranted (cf. ⁴⁰⁹⁸, 74-5; ⁴⁰⁹⁹,

⁴⁰⁸⁵ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴⁰⁸⁶ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

⁴⁰⁸⁷ [US State Department, 2010]

⁴⁰⁸⁸ [US State Department, 2010]

⁴⁰⁸⁹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

⁴⁰⁹⁰ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴⁰⁹¹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴⁰⁹² [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

⁴⁰⁹³ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴⁰⁹⁴ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

⁴⁰⁹⁵ [Choudhury, 1972]

⁴⁰⁹⁶ [Rahman, 1997]

⁴⁰⁹⁷ [Van Schendel, 2009]

⁴⁰⁹⁸ [Oldenburg, 2010]

⁴⁰⁹⁹ [Adeney, 2009]

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 (⁴¹⁰⁰, 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 during such periods.

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. ⁴¹⁰¹; ⁴¹⁰²; ⁴¹⁰³; ⁴¹⁰⁴; ⁴¹⁰⁵). 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” (⁴¹⁰⁶). The democratic transition was solidified “by orderly transitions in the military (chief of army staff) and the judiciary (Supreme Court chief justice)” (⁴¹⁰⁷). President Zardari, having completed his 5-year term in 2013, stepped down and was succeeded by Mamnoon Hussain of the PML-N (⁴¹⁰⁸). 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 (⁴¹⁰⁹). He called in a new cabinet, of which all officials belonged to the PML-N (⁴¹¹⁰). Therefore, Punjabi are still coded Senior Partner as of 2014.

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” (⁴¹¹¹) it regained power under PML-N rule in the last period, especially in foreign policy matters and through the establishment of new military courts.

In July 2018 the country held direct elections that resulted in a PTI-majority national government led by Prime Minister Imran Khan. The PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) was traditionally not a strong party and its support base is difficult to pinpoint in the ethnic make up of the country. In Punjab, the PTI and the PMLN won most of the votes (⁴¹¹²). It is further reported that the military establishment contributed significantly to the PTI’s election win. “The ability of the ‘deep state’ to fix the field to put one party in first position is indicative of the continuing power and influence of the establishment” (ibid.). Therefore, and due to lack of further sources, the Punjabis’ senior partner status continues through 2021.

Sindhi

Prior to 1971, Sindhis were powerless (⁴¹¹³). After the partition, Sindhis quickly found themselves being a minority in Karachi and only constituted a bare majority in the entire province of Sindh (⁴¹¹⁴, 212). With the rise of the Sindhi Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the

⁴¹⁰⁰ [Cohen, 2004]

⁴¹⁰¹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴¹⁰² [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

⁴¹⁰³ [Abderrahim, 2014]

⁴¹⁰⁴ [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

⁴¹⁰⁵ [Wikipedia, 2014b]

⁴¹⁰⁶ [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

⁴¹⁰⁷ [U.S. Department of State, 2016]

⁴¹⁰⁸ [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

⁴¹⁰⁹ [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

⁴¹¹⁰ [Wikipedia, 2014a]

⁴¹¹¹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

⁴¹¹² [Shah and Sareen, 2018]

⁴¹¹³ [Malik, 2008]

⁴¹¹⁴ [Cohen, 2004]

Sindhis gained more influence and became junior partners from 1971 to 1977 (⁴¹¹⁵, 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" (⁴¹¹⁶, 214). Nevertheless, they repeatedly remained excluded from central power and did not necessarily have territorial autonomy because of Punjabi migration into Sindh (⁴¹¹⁷, 96, 100) and government intervention into the provinces (⁴¹¹⁸, 99).

The Sindhi-dominated PPP and its federal coalition partners controlled the executive and legislative branches of the national government and 3 of the 4 provincial assemblies (⁴¹¹⁹, ⁴¹²⁰, ⁴¹²¹). The Sindhi make up only a very small proportion of the army (13.5% in 2007) (⁴¹²²).

The PPP continued to hold the most seats in the senate after legislative elections in 2015 and was the second largest faction in the National Assembly, even though far outnumbered by the Punjabi PML-N (⁴¹²³). Therefore, they keep their status as Junior Partner in the current coding period despite their defeat in the 2013 parliamentary elections. Due to lack of sources stating otherwise, the Sindhi's junior partner status is retained until 2021. In the elections of 2018, the votes in the Sindh province were split between Imran Khan's PTI and the PPP (⁴¹²⁴).

Pashtuns

Pashtuns have strong army representation after independence and thus, are considered junior partners (⁴¹²⁵, 95/6). 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 (⁴¹²⁶, 166).

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 (⁴¹²⁷), and according to Abderrahim Amghar (⁴¹²⁸), have strong relations to Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence. The Pashtuns are represented by the Awami National Party (ANP). Several sources confirm 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 (⁴¹²⁹, ⁴¹³⁰, ⁴¹³¹, ⁴¹³²). One source mentioned that the ANP was "in control" of the senate, together with the PPP (⁴¹³³). In several

⁴¹¹⁵ [Malik, 2008]

⁴¹¹⁶ [Cohen, 2004]

⁴¹¹⁷ [Adeney, 2009]

⁴¹¹⁸ [Adeney, 2009]

⁴¹¹⁹ [US State Department, 2012]

⁴¹²⁰ [US State Department, 2011]

⁴¹²¹ [US State Department, 2010]

⁴¹²² [Wikipedia, 2014b]

⁴¹²³ [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

⁴¹²⁴ [Shah and Sareen, 2018]

⁴¹²⁵ [Adeney, 2009]

⁴¹²⁶ [Malik, 2008]

⁴¹²⁷ [Wikipedia, 2014b]

⁴¹²⁸ [Abderrahim, 2014]

⁴¹²⁹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

⁴¹³⁰ [Wikipedia, 2014c]

⁴¹³¹ [Nisar, 2009]

⁴¹³² [Wikipedia, 2014d]

⁴¹³³ [International Crisis Group, 2013]

cabinet reshuffles between 2008 and 2013, the ANP held posts in the ministries of narcotics control, railways, local bodies and rural development, and population (⁴¹³⁴, ⁴¹³⁵, ⁴¹³⁶). The ANP also had chairmanship of 3 Senate standing committees: human rights, housing and works, and commerce (⁴¹³⁷). Based on this, their power status remained junior partner throughout.

The Pashtun-affiliated ANP was ousted from the National Assembly in 2013 and only gained 6 seats in the Senate in the 2015 elections (⁴¹³⁸). 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 (⁴¹³⁹). They are still an influential force in the Sindh province and violent clashes with other local groups are reported (⁴¹⁴⁰) but they seem to have lost weight on the national level. Based on this, the Pashtun's status is adjusted to powerless in 2014.

After the 2018 elections, the ANP only held one seat in the Senate and one in the National Assembly (⁴¹⁴¹). However, the incumbent Prime Minister Imran Khan is Pashtun and the voting patterns of the elections suggest that his PTI won with significant Pashtun support (⁴¹⁴²). Therefore, the Pashtun's Junior Partner status is restored starting from 2019.

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 (⁴¹⁴³, 206). Moreover, they received disproportionate allocation of farm land in the Sindh province. Following Wright (⁴¹⁴⁴) and Waseem (⁴¹⁴⁵) the Mohajirs were very influential in Pakistani politics the early years but subsequently lost their status. "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)" (⁴¹⁴⁶, 300).

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 (⁴¹⁴⁷, 326). In 1978 a Mohajir student movement was founded and in 1984 the Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) represented the first Mohajir political party (⁴¹⁴⁸, 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. Meanwhile, Mohajir elites remained influential in the army and the civil bureaucracy (⁴¹⁴⁹, 96). In 1997 the MQM rebranded itself as the

⁴¹³⁴ [Dawn, 2008]

⁴¹³⁵ [Awaztoday, 2011]

⁴¹³⁶ [One India News, 2008]

⁴¹³⁷ [Tauseef, 2012]

⁴¹³⁸ [Central Intelligence Agency, 2017]

⁴¹³⁹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

⁴¹⁴⁰ [International Crisis Group, 2017]

⁴¹⁴¹ [Central Intelligence Agency, 2020]

⁴¹⁴² [Shah and Sareen, 2018]

⁴¹⁴³ [Cohen, 2004]

⁴¹⁴⁴ [Wright, 1991]

⁴¹⁴⁵ [Waseem, 1996]

⁴¹⁴⁶ [Wright, 1991]

⁴¹⁴⁷ [Waseem, 1996]

⁴¹⁴⁸ [Waseem, 1996]

⁴¹⁴⁹ [Adeney, 2009]

Muttahida Quami Movement in an attempt to become a party open to all ethnic groups. Nevertheless, it is still dominated by Mohajirs and promotes Mohajir interests (⁴¹⁵⁰).

With General Pervez Musharaf, a Mohajir ruled Pakistan from 1999 to 2008. While Musharaf did not become leader of Pakistan qua ethnicity, he certainly represented some group interests (⁴¹⁵¹, 98), which warrants a junior partner coding in this period.

After the end of Musharaf's rule, the Mohajirs become powerless. According to a report on RefWorld (⁴¹⁵²), they face severe competition in government jobs, especially from Punjabis. Moreover, there have been reports of ethno-politically motivated clashes in the MQM-controlled city of Karachi between members of the MQM, ANP and PPP parties (⁴¹⁵³, ⁴¹⁵⁴, ⁴¹⁵⁵, ⁴¹⁵⁶). In 2016, the MQM broke up into two factions, leaving "the idea of a single united party for Mohajirs [...] virtually collapsed due to a series of organisational and ideological problems" (⁴¹⁵⁷). Moreover, the 2018 general election "was disastrous not only for the MQM but also for Mohajir politics"(ibid.). While MQM leader Altaf Hussein had called for a boycott of the elections, voters in the Mohajir areas rejected his appeal and voted overwhelmingly for Imran Khan's PTI. Based on this evidence, the Mohajir ethnic group is coded as powerless through 2021.

Baluchis

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. ⁴¹⁵⁸, 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" (⁴¹⁵⁹, 227). 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" (⁴¹⁶⁰).

"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"

⁴¹⁵⁰ [Shah and Sareen, 2019]

⁴¹⁵¹ [Adeney, 2009]

⁴¹⁵² [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

⁴¹⁵³ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴¹⁵⁴ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012]

⁴¹⁵⁵ [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

⁴¹⁵⁶ [International Crisis Group, 2017]

⁴¹⁵⁷ [Shah and Sareen, 2019]

⁴¹⁵⁸ [Cohen, 2004]

⁴¹⁵⁹ [Cohen, 2004]

⁴¹⁶⁰ [UNHCR, 2007]

(⁴¹⁶¹).

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

- Baloch separatists allege that the central government is systematically suppressing development in Balochistan to keep the group weak (⁴¹⁶²).
- 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 (⁴¹⁶³).
- According to UNPO, the Baluchis are increasingly marginalized, discriminated against by the state and have only limited access to the benefits of citizenship (⁴¹⁶⁴).
- 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 (⁴¹⁶⁵).
- Baluchis are severely underrepresented in the army and the civil bureaucracy owing to low levels of education as well as neglect by the government (⁴¹⁶⁶).

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 (⁴¹⁶⁷). According to Rizwan Zeb (⁴¹⁶⁸), 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, the devolution of power to the provinces has been only moderately successful.

The Baluchi continued to be involved in violent clashes with government forces and other ethnic groups such as the Punjabi. Furthermore, forced disappearances of Baluch nationalists and alleged terrorists were reported (⁴¹⁶⁹). Other reports suggested that “security agencies and separatist groups harassed local political organizations, such as the Balochistan National Party and the Baloch Students Organization” (⁴¹⁷⁰). Therefore, their coding remains Discriminated until 2020.

Ahmadis

Tensions arose in the early 1970s amid demands on the part of Pakistani clerics to declare Ahmaddiyas non-Muslims (⁴¹⁷¹). In 1974

⁴¹⁶¹ [International Crisis Group, 2007]

⁴¹⁶² [Kemp, 2010]

⁴¹⁶³ [Amnesty International, 2010]

⁴¹⁶⁴ [UNPO, 2007]

⁴¹⁶⁵ [Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2012]

⁴¹⁶⁶ [Adeney, 2009]

⁴¹⁶⁷ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴¹⁶⁸ [Rizwan, 2011]

⁴¹⁶⁹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

⁴¹⁷⁰ [US State Department, 2019]

⁴¹⁷¹ [Minority Rights Group International, 2017]

a constitutional amendment declared Ahmadis to be non-Muslims and they were threatened with the death penalty if they openly identified as Muslims (⁴¹⁷², 11). 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” (⁴¹⁷³, further see ⁴¹⁷⁴; ⁴¹⁷⁵; ⁴¹⁷⁶; ⁴¹⁷⁷; ⁴¹⁷⁸).

The penal code continued to restrict their religious practice until recently, and they must renounce their beliefs to vote or gain admission to educational institutions. As the government requires voters to indicate their religion when registering to vote, Ahmadis are required to either swear Muhammad was the final prophet of Islam and denounce the Ahmadi movement’s founder, or declare themselves as non-Muslims, in order to vote. Ahmadis consider themselves Muslims, and many were unable to vote in the 2018 direct elections because they did not comply (⁴¹⁷⁹). Therefore, the Ahmadis are considered discriminated for the entire period under review since the constitutional amendment of 1974 (also see ⁴¹⁸⁰).

Hindus & Christians

The non-Muslim religious minorities are discriminated with regards to the Islamic constitution of the country. Blasphemy laws are applicable to all religious minorities, therefore Hindus and Christians are affected as well. Violent attacks against Christians became increasingly common during the Zia ul-Haq regime, a trend that continued afterward with the increase of religious strife (⁴¹⁸¹). 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 (⁴¹⁸²; ⁴¹⁸³; ⁴¹⁸⁴; ⁴¹⁸⁵). The fact that the constitution defines Pakistan an Islamic republic bars Christians from various official positions (⁴¹⁸⁶). There is also no evidence of their inclusion in the military, even though non-Muslims are officially allowed to serve (⁴¹⁸⁷). Christians are represented by a Christian National Party according to UHNCR (⁴¹⁸⁸) 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 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" (⁴¹⁸⁹).

"The implementation of the Hudood Ordinances has had seriously

⁴¹⁷² [Cohen, 2004]

⁴¹⁷³ [Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017]

⁴¹⁷⁴ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴¹⁷⁵ [US State Department, 2013]

⁴¹⁷⁶ [US State Department, 2012]

⁴¹⁷⁷ [US State Department, 2011]

⁴¹⁷⁸ [US State Department, 2010]

⁴¹⁷⁹ [US State Department, 2019]

⁴¹⁸⁰ [Human Rights Watch, 2021]

⁴¹⁸¹ [Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017]

⁴¹⁸² [US State Department, 2013]

⁴¹⁸³ [US State Department, 2012]

⁴¹⁸⁴ [US State Department, 2011]

⁴¹⁸⁵ [US State Department, 2010]

⁴¹⁸⁶ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014]

⁴¹⁸⁷ [Wikipedia, 2014b]

⁴¹⁸⁸ [UNHCR, 2008]

⁴¹⁸⁹ [UNHCR, 2007]

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" (⁴¹⁹⁰).

⁴¹⁹⁰ [UNHCR, 2007]

"In March 2005 the requirement that passport holders state their religion was restored, despite considerable protest from minority communities" (⁴¹⁹¹).

⁴¹⁹¹ [UNHCR, 2007]

Even though the Elections Act of 2017 stipulates special measures to enhance electoral participation of women, religious minorities, transgender persons, and persons with disabilities (⁴¹⁹²), it is reported that the state has failed to reform the legal system to ward off abuses of blasphemy laws against religious minorities (⁴¹⁹³; ⁴¹⁹⁴; ⁴¹⁹⁵). Therefore, Hindus and Christians remain discriminated until 2021.

⁴¹⁹² [US State Department, 2019]

⁴¹⁹³ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

⁴¹⁹⁴ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2020]

⁴¹⁹⁵ [Human Rights Watch, 2021]

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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
Hindus	0.01	DISCRIMINATED
Baluchis	0.01	POWERLESS
Ahmadis	0.002	JUNIOR PARTNER

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
Ahmadis	0.002	JUNIOR PARTNER

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
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

From 1978 until 1983

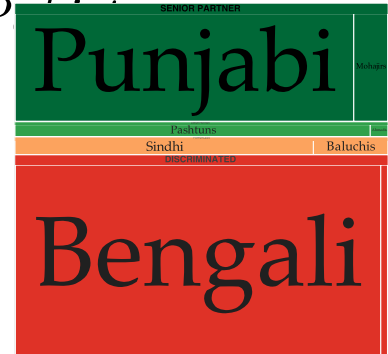


Figure 787: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1947-1971.

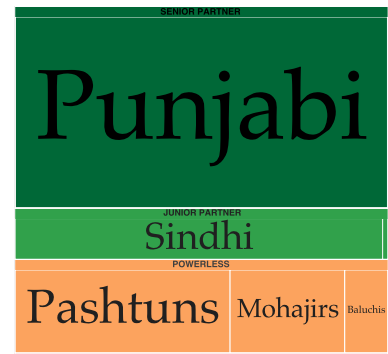


Figure 788: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1972-1973.

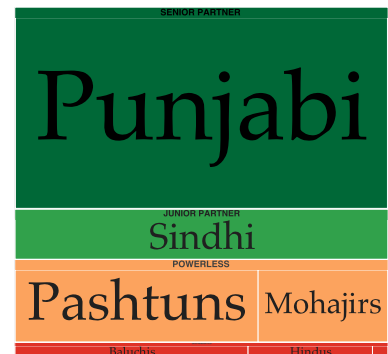


Figure 789: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1974-1977.

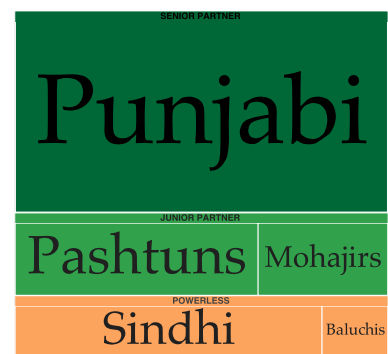


Figure 790: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1978-1983.

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
Ahmadis	0.002	DISCRIMINATED

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

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

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

From 2009 until 2013

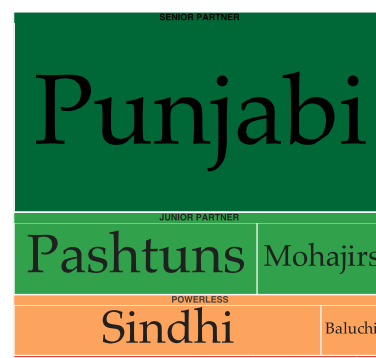


Figure 791: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1984-1988.

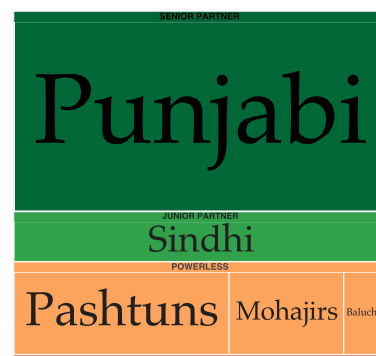


Figure 792: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1989-1999.



Figure 793: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2000-2008.

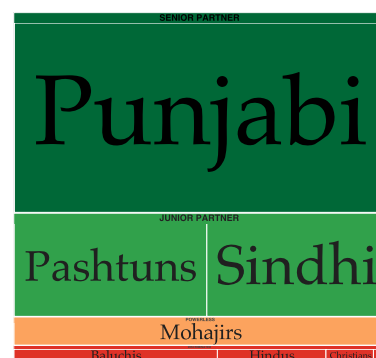


Figure 794: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2009-2013.

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

From 2014 until 2018

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

From 2019 until 2021

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

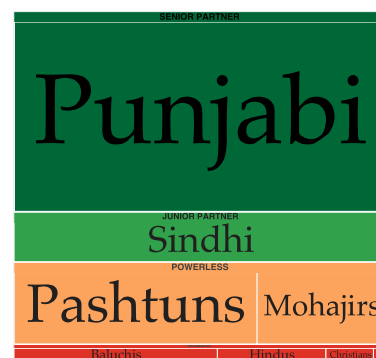


Figure 795: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2014-2018.



Figure 796: Political status of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 2019-2021.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Pakistan

From 1947 until 1948

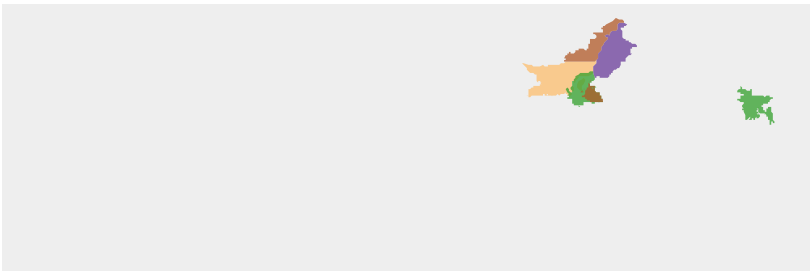


Figure 797: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1947-1948.

	Group name	Area in km ²	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	0	Urban
■	Ahmadis	0	Dispersed

Table 291: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1947-1948.

From 1949 until 1949

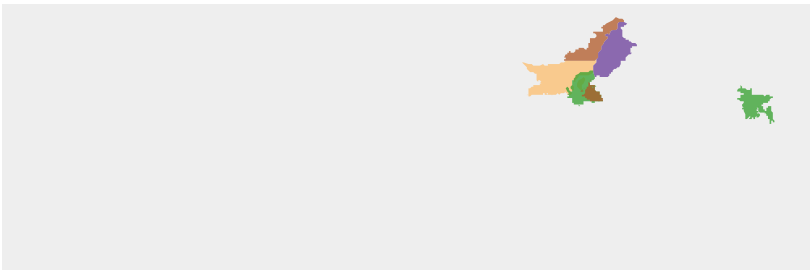


Figure 798: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1949-1949.

	Group name	Area in km ²	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	0	Urban
	Ahmadis	0	Dispersed

Table 292: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1949-1949.

From 1950 until 1959

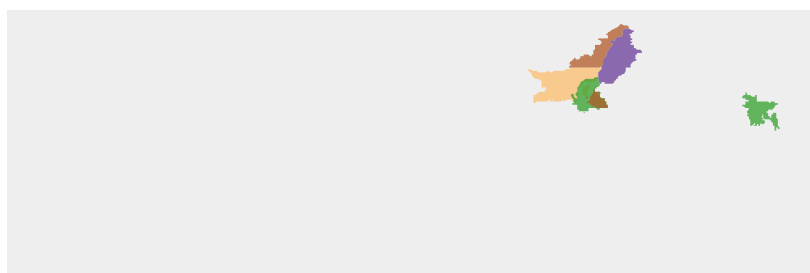


Figure 799: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1950-1959.

	Group name	Area in km ²	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	0	Urban
	Ahmadis	0	Dispersed

Table 293: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1950-1959.

From 1960 until 1967

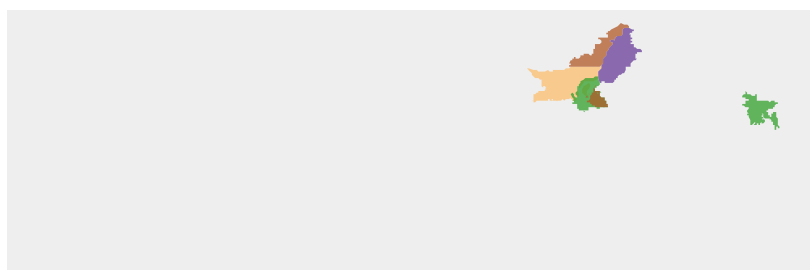


Figure 800: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1960-1967.

	Group name	Area in km ²	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	0	Urban
	Ahmadis	0	Dispersed

Table 294: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1960-1967.

From 1968 until 1970

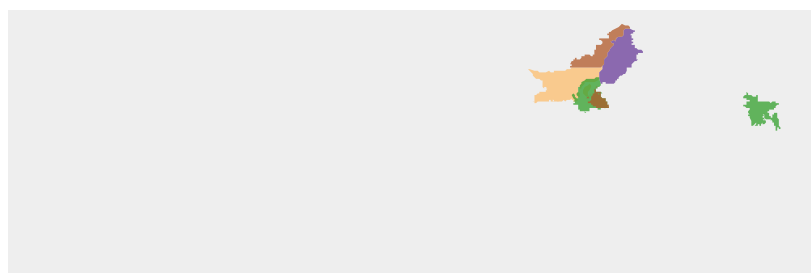


Figure 801: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1968-1970.

	Group name	Area in km ²	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	0	Urban
	Ahmadis	0	Dispersed

Table 295: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1968-1970.

From 1971 until 1971

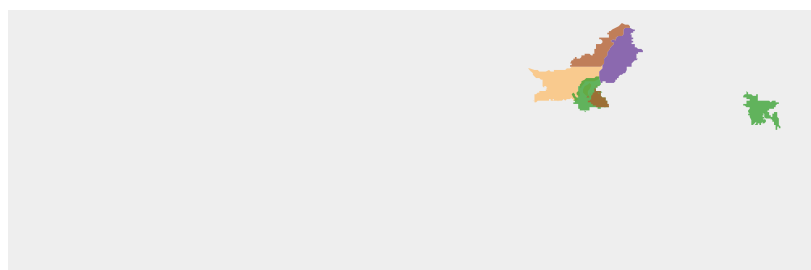


Figure 802: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1971-1971.









	Group name	Area in km ²	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	0	Urban
	Ahmadis	0	Dispersed

Table 296: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1971-1971.

From 1972 until 1983

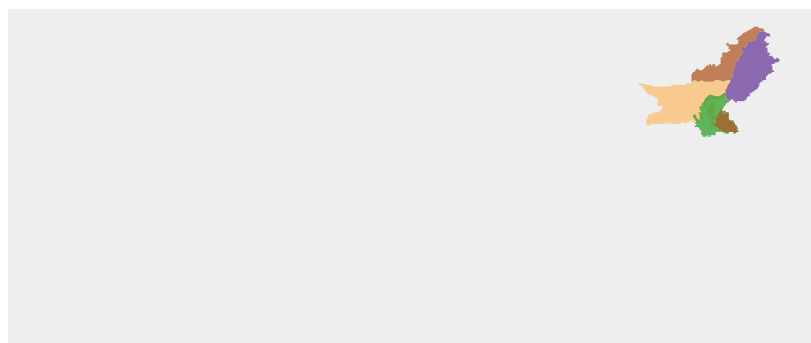


Figure 803: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1972-1983.








	Group name	Area in km ²	Type
	Baluchis	314 744	Regionally based
	Punjabi	219 996	Regional & urban
	Sindhi	150 411	Regionally based
	Pashtuns	134 132	Regionally based
	Hindus	43 938	Regionally based
	Mohajirs	0	Urban
	Ahmadis	0	Dispersed

Table 297: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1972-1983.

From 1984 until 2021

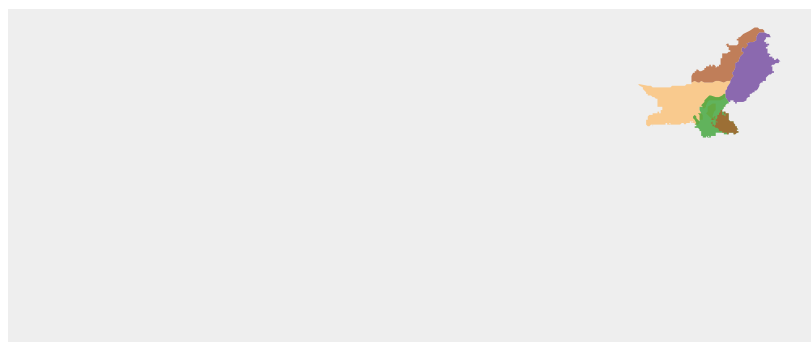


Figure 804: Map of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1984-2021.









	Group name	Area in km ²	Type
	Baluchis	314 744	Regionally based
	Punjabi	219 996	Regional & urban
	Sindhi	150 411	Regionally based
	Pashtuns	134 132	Regionally based
	Hindus	43 938	Regionally based
	Mohajirs	0	Urban
	Ahmadis	0	Dispersed
	Christians	0	Dispersed

Table 298: List of ethnic groups in Pakistan during 1984-2021.

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	
Government of Pakistan	BRAS		2019-02-16			

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		2008-10-21			
Government of Pakistan	TTP - TA		2012-06-01			
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			