ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF MINORITIES:

A CASE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

By

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
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ABSTRACT

The members of Christian community have participated actively in developmental processes of the country yet their issues remain unresolved and they are often subjects to different controversies and their status in the society has been a topic of debate for many years To have the opportunity to empower the community has direct relations to their active participation in the political process. There is a need to put political mechanism in place that enables them to engage in democratic process, and policy making to help address their issues with a better approach. This research project addresses the question of empirical importance and tries to explore issues and challenges that hinder political empowerment of minorities. This qualitative study was conducted to get an insight to this concerned matter. Interviews were conducted from 15 participants including 10 Non-Muslims and 5 Muslims. Additionally, focus group discussions were also conducted. Themes and codes were discussed with reference to research questions. Responses of participants revealed that minorities on the basis of their reservations are reluctant to participate in active politics. These reservations of participation are believed to have their origin in the challenges of discrimination, low socio-economic status and fear of isolation and violent consequences. It was brought to light that social factor such as ignorance, narrow-mindedness and fairly biased behaviors result in underrepresentation in politics and other professions. Furthermore, it was highlighted that the quotas promised to minorities in jobs and educational institutions are not being allocated fairly. Respondents also revealed that among minority communities; Christians have better political representation which can help them to empower the community and will assist to strengthen democracy and minorities' rights in the country.

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List of Abbreviations

OHCHR   The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

PM   Prime Minister

CM   Chief Minister

NGO   Non-Government Organization

DC   Deputy Commissioner

AC   Assistant Commissioner

UNESCO   The United nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

NA   National Assembly

UN   United Nations

Col   Colonel

Lt. Col   Lieutenant Colonel

TPDF   The Peace and Development Foundation

B. D System   Basic Democracies System

LFO   Legal Framework Order

PML   Pakistan Muslim League

PPP   Pakistan Peoples' Party

(R)   Retired

CMLA   Chief Martial Law Administrator

Gen   General

FATA   Federally Administrated Tribal Areas

F.C. College   Forman Christian College

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Academic investigation on minorities has a long tradition. For decades, one of the most popular ideas in this field of research is minority rights. Different authors have worked on highlighting "social status", "political participation" and rights of minorities. Common subjects used to study minorities are their rights, marginalization, political participation and social justice. This study constitutes a relatively new area in research nowadays, the concept of "empowerment" which has emerged from the feminist movement, in developed countries in the second half of the 20th century in the 1970s and in the 1980s, by community psychology. In the 1990s, motivation came from those movements which wanted to confirm citizens' rights in specific areas of social life and society (Garcia-Almeida, Cabrera-Suárez, & De Saá-Pérez, 2001; Carvalho, 2004). Over the years the field has broadened and is now being studied at social, psychological, economic, educational and political level. This research considers the field of "Political Empowerment" as the main subject of its study, with special reference to minorities in Pakistan, focusing on the Christian population.

Ibidem (2006) believes that increase in the problems of minorities has developed a substantial academic and social interest in empowerment of minorities. It is believed that political participation and participation in various decision-making institutions is considered to be an important instrument towards empowerment as politics decides who will get how much; furthermore, political empowerment is the passing on of power and executive authority (Mandal, 2013). However, there are examples of minority communities which gained political empowerment over the years. It is marked in the history that Jews in America have become active partners in building a developed America from being passive and suffering objects of the

society (Dine, 1988). However, American Muslims are even not left behind in the political sphere as they have secured 131 seats, a little below 50 percent of all the candidates who participated in elections of 2018 after a struggle for many years (Bazain, 2018). The Muslims have been politically active since their arrival in Britain. In fact, in 1985, a Muslim named Molvi Raffi-ud-din Ahmed, was a member of the British Parliament. But with the passage of time, especially when the "War on Terror" unfolded, things became difficult for the Muslims, as they started facing rejection in every field, including politics (Moosavi, 2018). Jyoti (2016) observes that the minorities of Indian origin participate actively in British politics and as a result they have their problems addressed actively rather than other minorities.

Similarly the region of South Asia is home to considerable religious minorities. Though states offer a range of constitutional guarantees and protections regarding freedom of religion and religious practices, legal equality and social justice, however, when it comes to the execution of these laws, governments find themselves powerless. For this reason religious minorities have come out as one of the most susceptible segments of these societies (Hussain, Salīm, & Naveed, 2011). Shabbir & Mian (2015) state that India being the largest secular state of South Asia is even unable to give its minority's equal political representation. They further believe that the higher offices being allocated to members of the minority communities is just to create an impression that minorities in India have chances of equal participation.

While the issue is being addressed around the world, we are still facing problems of empowerment. This research focuses on investigating the problems that hinder the political empowerment of religious minorities in Pakistan, with preference to Christians. The investigation was based on interviews of participants having affiliation with political parties or involved in politics. Themes will be extracted.

1.2. Pakistani Context

Pakistan was carved out of the Indian sub-continent, as a free state where Muslims could be free from the Hindus (Saeed, 2013). At the time of partition, the founding father of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, promised that minorities will enjoy same rights as other citizens (Gregory & Valentine, 2009). The state is responsible for the safeguard of constitutional rights and wellbeing of the minorities, together with their equal representation in the National and Provincial services (Ahmad, 2006). It is claimed that the constitution of Pakistan promises provision of equal rights to all the citizens but unfortunately, these provisions have never been fully applied in practice, and are contradicted by other provisions of the Constitution. There are several hindrances in the provision of equal rights to the minorities; in addition to other rights minorities also have a low representation and low participation in the political sphere of the country (Riaz & Khan, 2015).

Christians in Pakistan (both Catholics and Protestants) make up country's second largest religious community (Faruqi, 2011). Members of the Christian community have laid down their services for the creation and development of the country (Faruqi, 2011). Yet, the Christians are stigmatized and marginalized citizens in Pakistan (Beall, 2002). At the time of partition, the Christian political leadership achieved incredibly. Exceptional were S. P. Singha, C. E. Gibbon and Master Fazal-Elahi- who became members of the Punjab Assembly. In the constitution of 1973, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto reserved the seats for minorities only on the provincial stage through the selection of the ruling party. Thus the system of selection of minority members was made the right of governing party (Shamsi, 2011). The low fractions of representation were opposed by the Christian leaders and later after the 5th amendment of 1976; minorities were allocated only 6 seats in the National Assembly (Riaz &Khan, 2015).

1.3. Problem Statement

For this study it is of interest to investigate the challenges faced by the minorities, especially the Christians of Pakistan, in their "Political Empowerment". To illuminate this uncharted area I examined some literature and found out, that the idea of empowerment is considerably new in the field of research and in recent years has shown increasing academic and social importance in various fields of knowledge (Ibidem, 2006). It is a common observation that minorities around the world face problems in their political representation. The political parties hardly choose any member from minority communities and very few are elected to hold the office (Noriss & Lovenduski, 1995). It would be of special interest to carry out the study in accordance with the Christian community of Pakistan.

Christians are considered the most important minority community in Pakistan as they have provided their utmost services for the development of the nation (Faruqi, 2011). The Christian community has been a subject of interest for a lot of researches. Although a lot of studies have been conducted regarding their role during independence, early days of independence, contribution in development of the country, their rights, social status, socio-economic status and political participation, yet their empowerment as a community is an issue less studied and addressed in these researches

Shamsi (2011) states it clear from the political history of Pakistan that minorities in Pakistan are not politically empowered, as their constant struggle made them earn only 6 seats in the National Assembly and a few seats in Provincial assemblies. So, political empowerment of minorities remains an open problem in the area. According to Aamir (2018), the main practical problem that confronts us is that in Pakistani politics, politicians from religious minority backgrounds have no choice but to depend on the party leaders who have the power for nomination on

reserved seats. Aqeel (1996) believes that Hindus are given importance over Christians by the political parties when they have to select a candidate for reserved seats. Christians are not just overlooked for the general seats; they are also under-represented on the reserved seats for minorities.

The present study focuses on the political empowerment of Christians of Pakistan. This project has identified the issues and challenges that obstruct the process of empowerment of the community. This study will be helpful to understand the causes of these obstructions and will provide an insight to the problem to help achieve political empowerment and attain a better position in public policy halls and decision-making institutions to get their community issues addressed with an improved manner.

This research will be of great importance of the Christian community, as it addresses the core of their many problems. Furthermore, it can be of great interest for the political parties to understand the basic problems of under-representation and to shape their policies to be more inclusive and diverse. Additionally, this can be a productive work for the policy makers to guarantee the inclusion of members of each minority community in the political system to ensure their equal representation and empower them politically so their community issues can be resolved.

1.4. Research Objectives

The research aims at investigating following factors:

- To explore whether the members of Christian community are ignored during the selection of candidates to contest elections.

- To investigate whether the members of Christian community are reluctant to take part in politics.

- To study the role of Christian members in decision making process of the political party they are affiliated to.

- To examine the issues of uneven representation of Christians in the political system.

1.5. Research questions

In this research, I am chiefly concerned with the political empowerment of the minorities. This study is governed mainly by the proposition that to what degree the challenges faced by Christians hinder their political empowerment. Beside this, I have three driving questions about this broader query. These are the following:

1. Are the Christians reluctant to take part in active politics of Pakistan themselves?

2. Are the members of Christian community ignored by the party members during the selection of candidates' and decision making process of the party?

3. What are the factors responsible for under-representation of the Christians in politics?

1.6. Significance of Study

The contributions of this research will have a wide applicability as the concept of "Empowerment" is a part of mainstream research. The key contribution of this research is that it will be executed to highlight the issues and challenges that hold back the political empowerment with special reference to the Christian community of Pakistan. It is observed that the Christians in Pakistan face many obstacles because of little political representation. The insight to problems provided in this study can help them overcome these obstructions and achieve political empowerment to get policies made their favor to address their issues. This research can also be dynamic on decision making platforms to make sure the policies are inclusive in nature for minority communities. The contribution made by this study will be of wide interest as two concepts of high importance to the field of research are being studied together: "Minorities" and "Empowerment".

1.7. Rationale

This is an exploratory study about political empowerment of the Christian community in Pakistan. This study will be a small contribution towards unfolding the facts that hinder the mainstream political involvement and in the major scenario effects their political empowerment. This research aims to highlight the factors causing problems to achieve political empowerment, in order to provide better understanding that can be helpful to overcome these hindrances and get a prominent position in policy making offices to get basic community issues addressed. This project aims to enlighten the political parties and policy makers to be considerate about this existing problem and to make sure it is addressed in future to provide better opportunities for

minority members to become part of active politics. As a limitation I want to highlight that the study focuses on the Christian community only due of time limitation and accessibility.

1.8. Scope of Study

This study is designed to understand the factors responsible for under-representation of members of religious communities in active politics of the country and to explore underlying aspects that hold back political empowerment of the Christian community. Therefore, this study intends to exclusively explore these issues in detail, either they are the issues existing within community or the challenges posed by the external factors such as political parties or the society. The sample size of this study is limited to 15 participants, having their affiliations to political parties. These 15 participants will further be considered upon their basis of religion as the area of interest is minorities and specifically Christians, 5 participants from Christian community, 5 from other religious minority communities and 5 Muslim participants will be included, so the issues can be discussed in detail and the grey areas can be highlighted. Having a diversity of population will help to get an insight of the problem in a better way. Although this study will be conducted in the Rawalpindi district only yet it will be kept in mind that the selected participants belong to different cities as Rawalpindi district has a diverse population from all the cities, which can further help to probe into the problem.

1.9. Purpose of Study

This study in hand aims to bring to light the factors which hinder the political empowerment of Christian community. The study aims to highlight both the broad and specific areas of problems which in a broader spectrum create a communication gap between the government and the community itself.

1.10. Operational Definitions

The basic variables under study are minority groups and political empowerment: these variables will be studied in order to assess existing issues and challenges. The operational definitions of these variables under study are discussed below.

Minority:

A generally agreed upon definition is "A group numerically lesser to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members - being nationals of the State - possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population is called minority" (Francesco Capotorti,1977).

Political Empowerment

Political Empowerment refers to the process of transferring various elements of power (resources, capabilities, and positions) to those who do not have it. Political Empowerment requires inclusion in democratic decision-making process (Budryte, 2010).

1.11. Organization of Study

Chapter 1 discusses in detail, the variables under study i.e. empowerment and minorities. It includes secondary data clarifying the variables under study with reference to past studies. This chapter develops an understanding about relevance of these variables in indigenous settings. It further explains objectives of this project and the questions being addressed. Furthermore, limitations of the study and its significance and scope are also being referred to in this chapter. It amplifies in detail all the key terms of this project.

In **chapter 2**, the concept of empowerment is discussed in detail with its goals and types, with special reference to political empowerment. further discussing about minorities in Pakistan, their issues of participation and political struggle over the years under different regimes. This chapter also discusses Bird's political opportunity structure in detail which is the basis of conceptual framework of this project. It also illustrates empowerment opportunities provided by government to the minorities.

Chapter 3 explains in detail, conceptual framework of this project, plan of study, sample size, sample technique, instruments used and data analysis.

Chapter 4 includes Data Collection and Analysis inform of codes, categories and the themes extracted from those codes. In this section codes and themes are related to research questions. For each question diagrams for related codes are also placed in this chapter.

Chapter 5 includes discussion of all themes, extracted from content analysis. Themes are discussed with reference to literature review and in light of the views of the participants.

Chapter 6 includes Conclusion and Recommendations, based on the findings; I present the results and the conclusive outcomes on the political empowerment of the minorities. This chapter

suggests measures for positively improving political empowerment of minorities, to strengthen democracy and minorities rights in the country.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

2.1. Empowerment

The history of empowerment dates back to the evolution of the ideology of social action, the feminist movement, and civil rights struggles, present in advanced countries in the middle to late 20th century. In the 1970s, it started off as a self-help movement, and in the 1980s, it evolved as community psychology. Later in 1990s, particular spheres of community life and society inspired movements which wanted to substantiate the rights of the citizens (Garcia-Almeida, Cabrera-Suárez, & De Saá-Pérez, 2001; Carvalho, 2004). The idea of "empowerment" has immense importance in the fields of health education and health promotion, nursing, mental and psychological health, social work, development work, education, psychotherapy, etc., during last few years. There is still lack of literature on defining the concept in various contexts and if different authors defined the term based on the common ground or not (Banducci, Donoan, & Karp, 2004).

Literally, the word empowerment has multiple meaning, the Merriam-Webster (MW) dictionary defines empowerment as "to give legal authority or power to someone", the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines the term as "giving lawful power and authority to somebody, yet another dictionary, the Free Dictionary Online, defines empowerment as "to invest with power or to authorize". According to Pinto (2011) the English word, "empowerment" has been derived from the root word "power" and when we use the word 'empowerment" the basic concept under discussion is actually of "power". Empowerment follows a process in which people are able attain control of the lives, making a contribution in the betterment of the community and develop critical understanding of the surrounding (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995).

The perception of empowerment is complex, and in the last few years has shown increasing social and intellectual importance in various spheres of knowledge (Ibidem, 2006). The term empowerment has been used frequently in the fields of social involvement, and its characterization involves its expansion across a range of areas of knowledge, as a result necessitates a contextualization of its significance. It recommends the creation of responsible communities where individuals create the body, have greater control over their lives and render services democratically in daily life, keeping in mind communal activities (Horochovski, 2006). Another definition of Empowerment is given by McWhirter (1994) stating it as a process by which organization, people or groups who are deprived of their rights develop the capacity and skills for attaining for the control over the lives, become attentive to the power dynamics at the work setting related to their lives, start exercising their power while taking care of the rights of other people and show agreement and support to the empowerment of other people within the community.

According to Zimmerman & Rappaport (1988) Empowerment is a continuous process and its practice is determined by situations and events, and its core is human activity that directs it towards the change from a passive to an active state. The process is one that incorporates social and political understanding, self-acceptance and self -confidence, and a personal capability to adopt a significant function in decision-making and to have power over the resources in one's environment. The wisdom of individual aptitude is linked to that of communal obligation.

The concept of empowerment is not only seen as distinctive skill of an individual to develop through working in a professional environment but it is also regarded as a n approach, a process, a method or a means. The inclusions of the people who are willing to be empowered are included in this approach. There is notion that through empowerment people should be able to reduce the

impact at the professional work also the group looking for the support should be given authority to carry on the change process. The means through which empowerment is achieved must be linked with the goals mentioned before in such a way that it should result in increasing self-esteem, awareness, autonomy, control, and ability (Banducci, Donoan, & Karp, 2004).

2.2. Goals of Empowerment

Empowerment is a concept that relates individual's strengths and abilities that lead to social change (Rappaport, 1987). According to Banducci, Donoan, & Karp (2004).generally there are three goals of empowerment. Empowerment leads to

1. Enhancing the control of individual's health

2. Enhancing capability to gain control over life

3. Developing the ability to bring change in the world

Banducci, Donoan, & Karp (2004).further suggests that the second goal is most important as it is the necessary for individuals and groups to be empowered. The control over one's life further suggests that the quality of life can be changed (Ibid, 2003). Most commonly it is perceived that empowerment results in having autonomy, consciousness rising, skills and control (Banducci, Donoan, & Karp, 2004).

An individual is able to achieve empowerment by developing skills such as self-confidence and autonomy, as these skills enhance the ability of an individual to gain control over the quality of their lives. The studies also showed that an increase in the self-esteem, self-efficacy, familiarity, freedom and health are strong contributors of empowerment since an individual could naturally develop the ability to control the aspects of the life. In some cases, people often fail to practice empowerment. There are number of examples where individuals lack value for freedom, health, proficiency or knowledge and despite of having these opportunities, they do not

practice empowerment. There are also real life examples where it has been seen that increase of a variable leads to the increase in control while in some case this relationship does not work in this pattern. Self-esteem is one such characteristic that leads to increase in control but in some cases the moderate to high increase in self-esteem does not necessarily increase the control. This shows that although knowledge, self-efficacy and self-esteem are key determinants of empowerment but they are not enough for inducing rise in the empowerment level. Through these findings, we conclude that these determinants must increase along with autonomy and self-confidence to enhance the empowerment of an individual.

2.3. Types of Empowerment

Mandal (2013) showed that empowerment can be defined from multiple perspectives. For this reason, empowerment exists in five types, namely, educational empowerment, social empowerment, political empowerment, economic empowerment and psychological empowerment.

2.3.1. Educational Empowerment

Traditional concepts recognize that higher education plays a significant role in individual's well-being and possibility for empowerment (Mishra, 2016) Education makes an individual confident, self-sufficient and gives him high self-esteem. It brings hope, societal, political, logical, religious and cultural awareness along with broadening the mind and reducing the prejudice false notion and enhances values like empathy and tolerance etc. (Mandal, 2013).

According to Mukhopadhyaya (2003) empowerment means autonomy from deficit; empowerment refers to equal opportunity to knowledge specifically knowledge of being part of groups, and developing association with the social network. Empowerment also serves as the base of knowledge and information system.

2.3.2. Economic Empowerment

Economic empowerment refers to the process through which landless, poor, oppressed and deprived group of society is given autonomy to overcome all types of oppression and deprivation and directly get benefits from the surrounding along with managing their food requirements and fulfilling the basic requirements such as medicine, cloth, house and clean water (Mandal, 2013). According to Diener, Wirtz, Tov, Kim-Prieto, Choi, Oishi, & Biswas-Diener (2010) economic empowerment is a powerful means against poverty. Ginsber (2001) explains that Jews have gained an important place in American politics because of their major financial commitments.

2.3.3. Social Empowerment

Social Empowerment means the power that supports social affairs and arrangement of social composition. Social empowerment deals with social distinctions present in the society based on religion, gender or traditions (Mandal, 2013). According to Alston, Harley & Middleton (2006) the principles of social justice encourage an equal and fair distribution of resources and power within the community through interventions, advocacy and political conscious. Social justice means that the facilities are accessible to each citizen equally. In short, people will have their basic human rights and dignity guaranteed.

2.3.4. Psychological Empowerment

Psychological empowerment refers to the state of people's mind where they admire and accept the fact that they gained control over their lives (Spreitzer, 1995). Psychological empowerment is the state of mind and not the personality trait. It is based on the perceptions that are formed and changed by the happening in the environment. Psychological empowerment is studied and understood in the light of various schools of thought presented by Thomas and Velthouse (1990), Conger and Kanungo (1988), and Spreitzer (1995). The most accepted aspect of empowerment is

presented by Conger and Kanungo (1988) describing it as a process of developing feelings of self-efficacy among the people by identifying the factors leading to powerlessness and making efforts to eliminate them through informal and formal practices of offering efficacy information.

2.3.5. Political Empowerment

As mentioned above, empowerment is a mutli-faceted concept. As my area of interest is Political Empowerment, I will discuss it in detail.

According to Chattopadhyaya (2004) empowerment has several attributes and refers to the increase of independence of choice and action in all fields (social, economic, and political) of one's life. Political process is the shaping, sharing and exercise of power (Niroj, 2000). Political participation of minorities in administrative bodies is an essential instrument towards empowerment (Mandal, 2013). Rajput (2001) claims that empowerment of minorities is important in every field of life; especially in politics, it is very important, for their development and to set the basis of society based on principles of equality. Brill (2000) explains that without the right to be heard from within the ruling party and halls of power, people do not have the access to accountability of authorities.

Mandal (2013) further explains political empowerment as decentralization of authority and power towards underprivileged and deprived group of the society. He further claims that people joining politics are given some sort of power that ultimately makes them feel empowered. It is taken as an opportunity to move up in the social system. It also serves as the source of empowerment for the helpless and needy. Having political influence, the individuals look for the opportunities to inspire and change the decisions according to their interests. It also helps them to protect their legitimate rights an self-interest and bring justice for the citizens. Batliwala (2007) explains empowerment as a process that challenges existing power-relations and gaining control

over sources of power. Blanchard, Carlos, & Randolph (1996) define empowerment as letting out the power one has. This motivates people to gain knowledge and skills and overcoming the barriers in their work and life affairs, thus, becoming capable of developing themselves in the society.

2.4. Political Empowerment and Public Policy

Political empowerment is central to achieve the goals of equality, peace and development (Rajput, 2001). It is believed that political empowerment brings "communicative advantages", as it is perceived that there exist certain barriers in communication of the problems of minority group, on the contrary, their representation can break such barriers (Mansbridge, 2009). This communicative advantage can help them to become a part of democratic process of decision making and put forward their community issues in the halls of policy making in a better way. Brill (2000) believes that political participation of minorities is crucially important for the implementation of minority rights. However, implementation of human rights does not focus on political participation of minorities. Therefore, the implementation of these rights and policies can be assured when they become administratively empowered and monitor both the policy making process and its execution. Carolyn (2008) clarifies political empowerment as the movement which mobilizes the government to progress in a specific direction, to achieve particular goals. This can be operative for minority groups to accomplish their goals both at community and social level and to guarantee to outline the policies according to their specific needs.

2.5. Political Empowerment of religious minorities

The concept of minority protection revolves around the concept of minority rights (Ahmad, 2006). In understanding this concept one could include a group of political philosophers that has addressed minority protection in terms of autonomy and identity and the need to be recognized as a cultural group (Phillips, 1995; Taylor, 1995). According to Mandal (2013) Participation in political field is the most important tool towards empowerment. Niroj (2000) explains that political process is the shaping, sharing and exercise of power, Malloy (2010) states that over the years, the concept of minority protection has changed. According to Verstichel (2005) in the discussion of minority protection societal and political participation has gained considerable attention.

Recently things have begun to change and improve in terms of political representation of minorities; still the minorities have not gained enough representation opportunities (Bird, 2005). Both New Zealand and America have incorporated structures in their electoral system to make it possible for the minority groups to elect representatives of their choice (Lijphart, 1986). In both the countries there was an increase in minority representation in national legislature in 1990s (Endersby &Meinfield, 2000; Karp, 2000). Jews in America have gained considerable place in American government and politics over the years, they play an important role in electoral politics and policy making of the country (Ginsberg, 2001). An example of political empowerment of minorities comes from recent Indian elections where 27 Muslims have become members of the parliament; the number has increased than the last Lok Sabha which had only 23 Muslim MPs' yet another example of same sort is the increased political power of the Sikhs, after the achievement of "Punjabi Sabha" (Sikh majority state). Eventually resulting in the country having its first Sikh Prime Minister in 2004 (Singh, 2019). In the British parliament Muslim and Jewish

MPs are involved in political discussions making far beyond only expressing the interests of the religious communities. Being elected from particular districts with diverse population they cannot and do not want to be seen as 'single issue politicians' (Saalfeld, 2011; Saggar, 2000).

2.6. Political Opportunity Structure

Political empowerment of minorities can be understood with the help of Political Opportunity Structure presented by Bird (2005). Where he explains that his model focuses on the importance of capacity and collective identity for political mobilization. The implications of the model are also evident that differences in the representation of minority are the outcome of the underlying elements comprised of a complex pattern. In some instances, there are certain aspects through which minority representation receives visible representation; however, it appears to be of least importance. He believes that these elements are of three types: i. citizenship regimes, ii. Institutions and iii. Interest constellations.

The citizenship regime of the country consists of the legal rights and cultural rights accessible to citizens including cultural pluralism and cultural assimilation termed as Macro-context in the model. Micro-level context deals with differences in the interest in political participation of minority group. The differences originate from the degree of similarity existing between the political realms of the society and the level of settlement of a group within a community. Bird also explains that there is Meso-level context, which explains that ethnic minorities possesses good collective mobilization but its impact on the representation will be overshadowed when there is no response from the political system. The level of response received by the ethnic mobilization from the political system is determined by different factors. Countries possessing

culture having increased participatory democracy is focused more on developing the leadership resources.
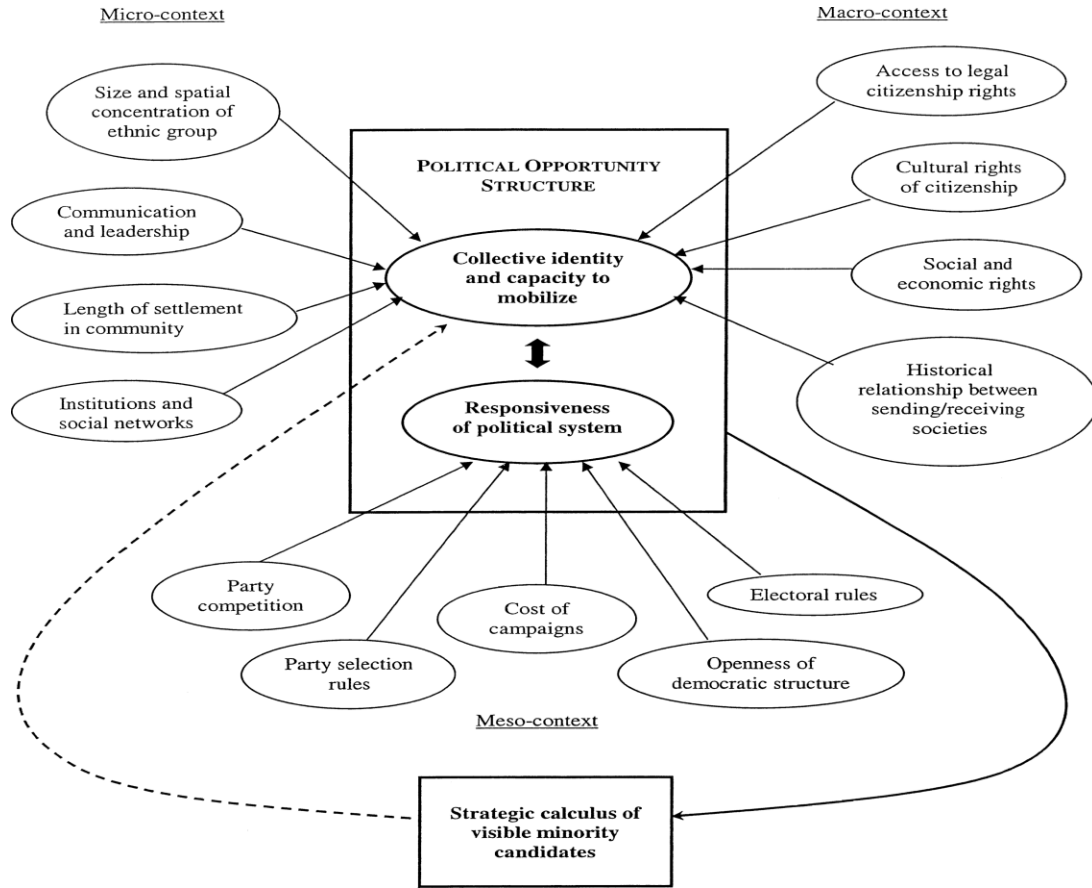
Fig 1: *Political Opportunity Structure (Bird, 2005)*

2.7. Application of Theory

Bird's political opportunity structure has been selected as a base for theoretical framework of the study, as it argues in detail the underlying factors that are responsible for political mobilization of the community in an intricate manner. This model helps to understand the relationship between variables in a detailed method, as it provides a clear understanding by dividing these factors into three categories. Micro-level context deals with variances in the interest in political participation within community. These differences instigate from the degree of similarity prevailing between the political realms of the society and the level of settlement of a group within a community. The model also explains that there is Meso-level context, which explains that minorities possesses noble collective mobilization but its impact on the representation will be dominated when there is no reaction from the political system. The level of response received by the mobilization from the political system is determined by different factors.

2.8. Standard Socioeconomic Model of Participation

According to the standard socioeconomic model of participation socioeconomic status is strongly related to political participation. People with higher education and higher incomes tend to participate more because they are more conscious of the impact of politics on their lives and aware of the legitimate ways to influence government actions (Janda, 2012; Wong, 2006; Kim, 2008). The Christian community of Pakistan lacks behind in both these factors. Malik (2002) states that very little number of Christian students is enrolled. 70% of Christians are literate, if we consider grade 5 as passing criteria. Alston & Harley (2006) states that most of the Christians work as labor force and live below the poverty line. This makes it difficult to excel in other fields of life including politics

2.9. Application of theory

The Standard Socioeconomic Model of Participation is applied to define the relationship between the variables as it is a common perception that political participation or excelling in politics is related to an individual's socio-economic status. Another evident application of this model is because most members of the Christian community live below average socioeconomic status. The socioeconomic factor has also been discussed in Bird's model, as social and economic rights that can affect political participation of the community at Macro (social) level. Christians have become more illiterate and poor as a result of the privatization of Christian educational institutions and the abolition of allocated seats for minorities in government institutions in 1972. Only four percent Christian women and eight percent Christian men have a high school degree in Pakistan. As a result, 92 percent of men and 96 percent of women are poor and uneducated (Malik, 2002). And at Meso level, where it cost of campaign is related to responsiveness of political system.

2.10. What is a minority?

There is no globally approved definition as to which groups make up minorities. It is often stressed that any classification must include various factors such as ethnicity, language or religion (OHCHR). Literally the term "minority" means "the smaller number or part, specially representing less the half of the whole". According to Barzilai (2010) a minority group denotes to a set of individuals distinguished from the social majority, those who possess the majority of positions of civic power in a society. The discrepancy can be based on one or more apparent human features, including: ethnicity, race, faith, disability, gender, capital, health or sexual orientation. In their definition of a minority Longva & Roald (2012) claim that the word minority is a synonym to "inferiority". Sabiescu (2013) suggests that minority groups have been held in

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uneven power relationships with the majority, where majority makes the rules and the cultural ethos of minorities are suppressed. Ven (2000) believes that human rights give members of religious minorities access to the civil, political and socioeconomic sphere, but that does not change the fact that (religious) minorities are actually, directly or indirectly, incidentally or structurally, discriminated and suffer from experienced and perceived discrimination in society.

Naveed, Munir, & Saeed (2014) have classified minorities in terms on ethnic, racial sexuality, gender, age, religious and disability basis. International law defines minorities as the group driven by their aim of preserving their languages, tradition, religion and culture within a state. According to Wilkinson (2006) minority is "a sociological euphonium for oppressed people". Additionally, Wrigth (2004) defined minorities with specific characteristics as "object of collective discrimination".

According to Longva & Roald (2012) the word "Minority" is a synonym of inferiority and weakness. This association is so strong that suppressed and disempowered numerical majority are not commonly known as minorities. This is why it is difficult to detach minorities from powerlessness, although there are plenty of examples around the world of powerful and dominating minorities. Longva and Roald (2012) further explain in their book that minorities are often questioned about their political loyalty.

2.11. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan

The way Pakistan has become today is very different from the vision upon which basis of the country were laid in 1947. The country was developed as a homeland for all regardless of the creed, caste and religion of the people and served to provide equal rights to all citizens. But currently the state that has to protect rights of every group has failed miserably to serve the

purpose of honoring the basic principle upon which the foundation of Pakistan was laid. Pakistan is the only country in the world carved distressingly out of India on the basis of its population's Muslim identity. Its early leaders including the founder, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, were stung supporters of equal rights to the minorities. After Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, these brotherly relations, however, were not shared by the leadership of Muslim League (Tahir, 2011). The state establishment in Pakistan has always been a subject to the conservative Islamist forces in the country that made the system entirely for the majority whereas the minorities – particularly the Christian minority – of the country were institutionally relegated and suppressed, resulting in the restriction of civil liberties and minority rights (Riaz & Khan, 2015). Pakistan that the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah tried to create was, apparently, not meant to be an Islamic state but a secular state in which the welfare of the Muslim community of the Indian sub-continent could be safeguarded (Talbot, 2009). However, the fundamentalists, the military and civil bureaucracy and the political leaders began to outline the nature of Pakistan and the role of Islam in it rendering to their own different and often conflicting visions of democracy and faith (Anwar, 1984). Zia's coming to power in 1977 and his experiments of uniting the state power with orthodoxy to govern the country was the breaking point for the Christians and other minorities of Pakistan (Riaz & Khan, 2015).

2.12. Minorities in Pakistan

Pakistan means "land of the pure" was developed on the notion that it will work as an independent state where autonomy will be given to every ethnic, racial and religious group. Pakistan exemplifies the culmination of the demand put forward by the Muslims of the British India to have a separate homeland (Jalal, 1992; Boyle & Sheen, 1997; Ali, 2010; Sayeed, 1960).

The Muslim minority had feared submersion and oppression at the hands of the Hindu majority within an independent India. The movement for Pakistan began in sincere after the Lahore Resolution of 23 March 1940- had been built around the declaration that Hindus and Muslims are two diverse nations, and in order for the Muslims to preserve their identity and interests, an independent Islamic state was the only option (Noman, 1989).

Pakistan constitutes various, languages, ethnicities, sub-sects, religions, cultures, and sects. The basis of the country were laid on the principals of autonomous notion where freedom and protection of rights of every group will be assured and everyone is given due right of participating in the government of the country through freely selecting representatives (Ibidem, 2006). Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, served the principle through his actions by appointing, an Ahmadi named Sir Zafarullah Chaudhry, as first foreign secretary of Pakistan (Hamdani, 2010).

Pakistan is primarily a Muslim state and the core of the Indus Valley, which came into being in 1947. It shares ecology, religious practices, languages, historical events and ethno social commonalities (Malik, 2006). Pakistan is an enormously varied country categorized by religious, provincial and linguistic varieties. It holds an overpowering Muslim majority with more than 90 per cent of its 142 million population following Islam, yet they belong to several doctrinal groups (Anon, 2001).According to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics the estimated population of Pakistan calculated in the census of 2017 is:

Table: 1.

Results of 6th Population and Housing Census-2017 (Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics).

Administrative Unit	Households	Total Population	1998-2017 Average Annual Growth Rate
Pakistan	32,205,111	207,774,520	2.40
KPK	3,854,168	30,523,371	2.89
FATA	558,379	5,001,676	2.41
Punjab	17,103,835	110,012,442	2.13
Sindh	8,585,610	47,886,051	2.41
Balochistan	1,775,937	12,344,408	3.37
ICT	336,182	2,006,572	4.91

Table: 2 *Population of Pakistan by Religion. (* refers to a small population)(Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics)*

Administrative Unit	Muslims	Christians	Hindus	Qadiani (Ahmidis)	Scheduled Castes	Others (Percent)
Pakistan	96.28	1.59	1.60	0.22	0.25	0.07
KPK	99.44	0.21	0.03	0.24	*	0.08
FATA	99.6	0.07	0.03	0.21	0.03	0.07
Punjab	97.21	2.31	0.13	0.25	0.03	0.07
Sindh	91.31	0.97	6.51	0.14	0.99	0.08
Balochistan	98.75	0.40	0.49	0.15	0.10	0.10
Islamabad	95.53	4.07	0.02	0.34	*	0.03

The number of minorities in Pakistan that is projected is 40,00,000 Ahmadis, 32 Lac Hindus, 28 Lac Christian, 30,000 Bahai faith, 78,000 Sikhs, 20,000 Zoroastrians, 70,000 Buddhists (Dawn, 2010). In Sindh, the situation of minorities is very bad and is not better then all of the other minorities who are living in different parts of the country, mostly the community of Hindus which includes Bheels, Kohlis, Meghwars, etc. These people are forced to live under conditions that are very tough without any access to basic rights of humans. The unprivileged number within these communities is very high. And the very important part is that that these people are uneducated, which is the reason why these people are not aware of their basic rights and are living a very hard as well as difficult life (Shamsi, 2011).

2.13. Constitutional Discrimination

On March 7, 1949, PM Liaqat Ali Khan proposed a bill, which was met with strong opposition from minority representatives. Declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic state would relegate minorities to 2nd status according to minority's point of view (Shahani, 2004). Activists demanded that all high-ranking Ahmadis in the civil and military institutions be fired by the provincial and federal governments. CM Mumtaz Dualtana resigned as a result of PM Nazimuddin's intervention. Afterward, stringent laws were implemented, in which prohibition of a variety of religious-political bodies took place, like Ahrars (Nadeem, 2017).

In1974, with the introduction of Article2, this intuition was carried from the roads to the constitution. A statement dismissing Ahmadis as non-Muslims was introduced during the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto regime, with subsequent changes in the constitution of 1973. Bhutto also took over the private institutions by the government, such as owned by Christian missionaries, and in the constitution, he designated separate seats for non-Muslims, with the Electoral College consisting of representatives of national or provincial assemblies (Shamsi, 2011). The constituent assembly established a commission on basic rights of minorities in August 1947. The draft was debated in the constituent assembly in October 1953, along with the electorate's structure and the committee report on basic rights (Salim, 2006).

Separate electorate will not be in the interest of country as well as minorities, according to B.C. Mandal, P.H. Burman, and R.K. Chakravarty's joint disobedient note (Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens of Pakistan and on Matter Relating to Minorities, 1953). Under a military dictatorship characterized by indiscriminate policies, General Zia-ul-Haq came into power. His implementation of the Hudood Ordinances and subsequent formation of the Federal Shariat Court as a consulted judicial power for violations covered by the Hudood laws had a significant effect on non-Muslim citizens (Shamsi, 2011). After the Hudood Laws were declared, each High Court set up a special Shariat Bench,

and the Supreme Court created an Appellate Bench. These courts were given the authority to hear cases from Sessions' Judges against Hudood laws' principles, and to issue a ruling with the clause that the state can challenge to the Supreme Court if the judgment was overturned. The government was forced to obey and uphold the Shariat Courts' rulings (Ibidem, 2006).

2.14. International commitments of Pakistan for the protection of freedom of citizens

Pakistan is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed in1984, and has agreed to provide its people with the following freedoms:

Article1: Every individual is free by birth and has equal rights and freedoms

Article2: Everyone has the right to all of the rights and freedoms outlined in this Declaration, regardless of gender, birth, race, land, language, color, beliefs, social origin, faith, other status, political background, or national origin.

Article7: Everyone is equal in the eyes of the law and is qualified to equal treatment under the law without racism.

Article8: Everyone has the right to an effective resolution before national courts for actions that violate his constitutional or legal rights; and

Article18: Every individual has the freedom of choice of thinking, faith, and belief, which involves the freedom to changing one's ideology or faith, as well as the freedom to express one's religious belief in observance, teaching, praying, training, and whether separate or in group of people, in privately or publicly.

According to international customary and treaty law, Pakistan is bound by the above agreement. Within its borders, the legislation and judiciary are intended to enforce the religious freedom and belief of its citizens, especially minorities, who, as equal citizens of the country, are entitled to equal legal

protection.

2.15. Constitution of 1973 and Christian Minority

In any product of social circumstances, effective democratic system and constitutional law are the most effective institutional instruments for safeguarding religious minorities' interests (Rizvi, 2000). The "Fundamental Rights" of minorities were emphasized significantly in the 1973 constitution. Minorities' rights and liberties are safeguarded by the country, which ensures their equitable representation in provincial and national services. Minorities should be protected by the state in the following ways:

1. "Trade, industry, and career freedom.

2. The right to free expression.

3. The right to know.

4. Religious freedom and the ability to administer religious institutions.

5. Protect against taxes for the sake of a specific religion.

6. Protection of religious freedom in academic system.

7. A clause for property is made.

8. Property rights are safeguarded.

9. Citizenship equality.

10. Education is a fundamental human right.

11. 11. Access to public places should be free of discrimination.

12. Ensure that services are free of discrimination.

13. Culture, language, and heritage preservation." (Ahmed, 20006).

Pakistan's people are guaranteed "fundamental rights" under Article 25(1) of the Constitution, which include "freedom of religion, thinking, worship, speech, and belief ", "fair treatment of opportunity,   status, impartial before the law," and   " lack of bias on social, political and

economic status" (Ibid, 2003). Religious minorities in Pakistan are given such rights under the Pakistani Constitution of 1973.

Table: 3

Articles about protection of religious minorities in 1973 constitution of Pakistan (Source: Gregory and Valentine, 2009)

Article No.	General overview
Article 20	Religious freedom and the ability to administer religious institutions
Article 21	Anti-discrimination laws are in place to prevent individual sects from being taxed
Article 22	Religious rights safeguards in the area of teaching
Article 25	Nationality equal rights
Article 36	Minority rights defense

These clauses, however, still haven't been fully implemented in reality, according to Riaz & Wakil (2015), and are disputed by other Constitutional provisions. As an illustration,

Table: 4 *Contradictory articles for protection of religious minority rights in constitution of 1973(Source: Gregory and Valentine, 2009)*

Article No.	Description
Article 2	Pakistan's official religion would be Islam
Article 41(2)	If an individual is not a Muslim, he is ineligible to be elected President
Article 227 (1)	All current laws must be brought into compliance with the Islamic injunctions specified in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah

Other than framing the constitution of 1973, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, reserved seats for minority members in provincial assemblies only. Furthermore, he declared that the minority members will be selected by the ruling party. Thus, making the selection of minority candidates a sole right of the ruling party (Shamsi, 2011). Under this system Pakistan People's Party selected D.P. Singha Samson Manoha, Ch. Paul, Professor S. Stephen, and C. Ayub for Punjab Assembly, Bashir Masihi for Balachistan Assembly, Francis X Lobo for Sindh Assembly and John Jacob for NWFP Assembly (Jacob, 1977).

Under the leadership of Emmanuel Zafar, the Azad Masihi League opposed the insufficient minorities representation at the provincial level based on selection and demanded representation in the Senate and NA (National assembly). In 1975, on constant demand for representation, Pakistan People's Party made the 5th amendment in Article 51, and 6 seats were allotted to the minorities in the National Assembly (Riaz & Khan, 2015).

2.16. Political Status quo of Pakistan's Minorities

Pakistan established a system of separate electoral lists for all non-Muslims minorities in 1985 by enacting the eighth amendment to the Constitution of 1973. Registered voters were asked to sign a certificate denying the supremacy of the Ahmadiyya community's holy founder during the 2008 elections. "They were in fact denying their voting rights" because Ahmadis refused to sign this document (Tahir & Tahira, 2016). Sadly, minority members have no right to become Senate Chairman, President of Pakistan, Speaker of the NA, and Prime Minister of Pakistan, according to Pakistan's constitution. Due to these constitutional bindings, minority members are always ignored when people are considered for these posts (Shamsi, 2011).

As my community of interest is the Christians of Pakistan, I will discuss that in detail.

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2.17. Christians in Pakistan

Pakistan's 2nd largest religious group is Christians (Protestants and Catholics). In the area, Christianity has a rich history, with communities going all the way back centuries in Cochin and Goa. The British-led preaching programs in the Punjab and other parts of current Pakistan played a prominent part in the spread of Christianity (Faruqi, 2011). Pakistani Christians face similar problems in the country as other minority communities, despite the fact that they have Pakistan's second-largest population. Peshawar, as well as the surrounding areas of Hyderabad, Quetta, Bahawalpur, and Rawalpindi had a significant number of Christians working in various service-related occupations. Christians and Hindus are most popular to face resentment than other religious communities (Malik, 2006). Like other minority communities Christians are also likely to face maltreatment. The Christians in Pakistan are on a frontline to face persecution and violence. (Faruqi, 2011).

Despite the fact that on August11, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor General of Pakistan said,

"Religion has no impact on public policy."

Christians are barred from being Pakistan's President, Speaker of the Lower House, Prime Minister, and Chairman of the Upper house, under the country's constitution. According to the binding of constitution, the policies and performs have been applied by all government and legal executives to disregard and abandonment of Christian consistently, far and wide. No Christian has ever served as the Chief of the paramilitary forces, Army, Air Force, Criminal Investigation Department, Navy, Federal Investigation Agency, police, Central Intelligence Agency, or any other government agency. Christian public servants, such as Commissioners, DC (Deputy Commissioner), and AC (Assistant Commissioner), are uncommon. In the judicial system, there are hardly any Christian judges on the benches of High Court, Supreme Court, Federal Shariat Court, District and Session courts. Similar conditions prevail in

education and other sectors.

It's worth noting that Christians had four seats in Pakistan's legislative assembly when the country was formed. In the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, six seats were set aside for Christians in the NA, but these were reduced to four in the 1985 national general election, when the house had 232 representatives. The total number of seats in the 2002 national general election was 365, but Christian seats stayed at 4 (Ali, 2013). How incredible is it that the Muslim community continues to rise while the Christian community continues to decline in Pakistan's census division? Christians who have established feelings of safety and protection of life by the actions of extremists or government bodies have been subjected to laws, which are direct accounts of democratic annihilation from 1985. In 1950, the Pakistani government signed the Liaquat-Nehru treaty, which further protects the rights of minorities in neighboring states. A bill of rights for India's and Pakistan's minorities was included in this treaty. Minorities' basic human rights, such as freedom of travel, expression, employment, and religion, were also guaranteed. Minorities were also granted the right to participate in the country's public life, to hold political and other positions, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces as a result of this agreement. This pact established a mechanism for dealing aggressively with unequal factors (Malik, 2002).

Indian government and Pakistan government agreed to create a minority commission, which would be overseen by an acting judge of a higher court in their respective countries, to monitor and report on the treaty's implementation. The Indian government created the Minority Commission, which was chaired by a Supreme Court Justice, but the Pakistani government was unable to do so. For contributions or promotions of Christians in Pakistan, an acting Supreme Court justice established a "Minority Commission." Instead of any Supreme Court justice disrespecting the Liaquat-Nehru Pact, Pakistan's current regime is continuing the path of past administrations, has appointed a federal minister for minorities as the head of the "Minority Commission."

According to Articles 9-29 of the constitution of 1973, Pakistan, as a member of the UN and the signatory states of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights announced in the United Nations Charter, has treated poorly the basic right to freedom of religion or speech. The joint Electoral System was recommended in the legal framework for the first time since independence in the 1971 elections. There was no Christian presence in the parliament when the Joint Electoral System was established in Pakistan's 1973 Constitution, and Muslim members of parliament made nominations rather than voting. Joint Election System was never pushed by Christians. Christians voted for Muslim candidates in their constituencies, while Muslim parliament members use Christians as agents of Muslim tribal chiefs and corporate tycoons on assigned seats, which cannot be called autonomy. For Kashmiri Muslims, a dual voting structure is in place, in which they cast ballots within Pakistan's area to appoint their leaders to the Azad Kashmir's parliament assembly and also caste vote in their respective constituencies for the Pakistan's NA. Christians have asked for dual voting, but they have not been granted. Christians have requested the formation of a "Minority Commission" led by a Supreme Court justice to give Christian registered political parties, civil society representatives, and clergymen the opportunity to administer their own elections using the election method of their choosing (Ali, 2013). In the February 2009 elections, the Pakistani government promised to allocate seats in the Senate for Christians, but this pledge was not kept, and there is no Christian presence in the Pakistani Senate once again. The government announced a five percent annual quota for Christians in government jobs, but no formal notice has yet been released in this regard. (Shamsi, 2011).

2.18. Political involvement of Christians after partition

Unfortunately, the historical documentation of events does not reveal important responsibilities; minority members took part in during the organization and then later the improvement of the motherland. The Christian and Parsi community acknowledged Pakistan as their homeland and in the earlier years helped in relocating the Muslims immigrants during partition (Shamsi, 2011). The Christians working in different fields carried out their jobs and retained the offices operational irrespective of the lack of staff due to partition (Ahmad, 2006). Following the partition of the sub-continent, the Pakistani religious minorities took part actively in the development of the national democratic process. Only twelve members from the minority communities became a part of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly; whereas the provincial assemblies had an appropriate number of minority representatives. In the Punjab, Christian members S. P. Singha, C.E. Gibbon, Fazal Ilahi and B. L. Rallia Ram, made a noteworthy involvement in the Radcliffe Award, supporting the addition of some parts of the Punjab in Pakistan. Gibbon was elected the first speaker of the Punjab Provincial Assembly session that followed the partition (Salim, 1995).

The minority leadership emphasized on their individuality from the very first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. At an occasion, Liaquat Ali Khan, on 12 March, 1947, passed a resolution as discuss with a committee on public and the basic rights (Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates, 1947). Fifteen associates of this committee, five members were from minority communities – Bhim Sen Sachar Raj Kumar, Chakravarty, Prem Hari Barua, Biret Chandra Mandal and Yogendra Nath Mandal. Partaking in the dialogue, Sir Chandra Chattopadhaya declared that hearing Pakistan being referred as a Muslim State aggrieved him. For a long period

he thought that it was people's state and that along with Muslims it had equal rights for minorities (Ibidem, 2006).

The Christian members, part of the Punjab Assembly rendered crucial significance to the constitutional rights of the minority communities. They put forward the troubles and complexities of the Christians, as past the relocation of Hindus and the Sikhs, Christians were the only large minority in the province. The discourse that S.P. Singha prepared in the Punjab Assembly, on 20 January 1948, has attained its place as a chronological reference. In the perspective, he disapproved the course of action of the Sikhs for preferring to abandon the motherland after having resided there for ages and send-off a tradition of despair in addition to misery for Christian community. Muslim immigrant travelling from India into Pakistan where given cheering response by the Christian and Parsi community and took part in their restoration and in making available medical and educational services for them. After the creation of Pakistan, the United Christian Hospital of Lahore looked after the injured travelling across the border. As the number of immigrants arriving in Pakistan went from hundreds to thousands, the services offered by Christian community workforce, were beyond measure (Shamsi 2011).

Christian leadership like S. P. Singha, C. Gibbon, B. L. Ralliaram and others community members were busy in making preparations for the refugee encampments. Capuchin priests protected a large number of Muslim refugees from being murdered while crossing over Pakistani border at the Narowal. Actually Christian spirit of love was displayed; members of the community made tremendous public-spirited assistance in early periods of establishment of Pakistan. The request to Christian nurses put forward by S. P. Singha is itself an important part of record of that time. The Archbishop reported, two capuchin priests, father Provident and father Mackier were always ready in Saint Anthony's Parish to help the ones living on the streets

and support the poor. They signed an agreement with the police force and with the government officials, so the needy could be facilitated (Salim, 1995).

2.19. Political contribution of Christians after Partition

Unluckily, the historical documentation of events does not reveal the important responsibilities the minorities took part in during the organization and then later the improvement of the motherland. Pakistan was acknowledged as their homeland by the Christian and Paris community but in the earlier years of difficulty facilitated in relocating the Muslim immigrants (Shamsi, 2011). The Christians working in different fields carried out their jobs truly and retained the offices operational irrespective of the lack of staff due to the partition (Ahmad, 2006). Following the division of the sub-continent, the minorities living in Pakistan played a part dedicatedly in the political development of the country. Twelve constituents from the minority communities where a part of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly; whereas in the provincial assemblies an appropriate number of representatives of minority population played their part in affairs of state. S. P. Singha, C.E. Gibbon, Fazal Elahi and B. L. Rallia Ram, all four members, belonging to minorities, of the Punjab Assembly, were Christian, and made noteworthy input to the Radcliffe Award by sustaining the adding up of several fraction of the Punjab in Pakistan. (Salim, 1995).

2.20. Contribution of Christians to the National Politics

In his address to a meeting of civil, naval, military and air force officers, on Saturday, 11 August 1947, in Karachi, the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared that:

"I have constantly made it clear in my words, both private and public, that we would treat the minorities honestly and that nothing is farther from our thoughts than to drive them away."

In the fifth session of the lawful assembly meeting at Karachi, the minorities believed that an attack was made on March 7, 1949 when objective resolution was bound for approval (Mughal, 2014). With the same intention on March 7, the head of the state declared that the content of the objectives resolution; was conflicted by the minority members. They believed the insight to title Pakistan as an Islamic state (Nadeem, 2017).

The manuscript of the objectives resolution was in reality a negotiation involving ones who soughed after Pakistan to be a progressive state and the orthodox Ulema. It apprehended a diverse meaning for diverse people (Bahadur, 1988). No matter what the meanings be, mutually the progressive minded and the conservatives were pleased with it, for sure excluding the minorities. As said by Justice Muhammad Munir, the declaration was strength (Ali, 2010). To date we are in the imprint that the establishment would be set on the worldwide concept of fairness, democratic system and financial impartiality. It was certain not to involve faith into affairs of the state. This was make known in the assembly by the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, but the declaration that was progressed was founded on religion. Allah Almighty is declared as the sole authority of the universe, in the first paragraph of the resolution. Although the attitude of Sri Chandn Chattopadhyaya (member of the assembly, belonging to a minority community) possibly did not influence Prime Minister, of the time, Liaquat Ali Khan and his suggestions were cast off by means of an outsized majority (Chaudhary, 1999).

The lengthy and powerfully debated speech of Bhupendra Kumar Datta was unsuccessful to influence the greater part in the house and the likely alterations in objectives resolution were overruled. The Muslim constituents of the assembly stressed the fears of the community members belonging to the minority as baseless and guaranteed them that they shall not deprived of their religious rights by the objectives resolution. According to Ishtiaq Hussain Qurashi Islamic principles were not in conflict with the fundamental rights laid by United Nations Charter (Shamsi, 2011). The passing of the resolution was designated by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan as the greatest affair in the history of the newly found state after the independence (Mahmood, 1988). Sir Zafarullah Khan tempted the non-Muslim member most candidly to give watchful consideration to this aspect of the matter. He spoke in provision of the declaration, because he had previously passed through agony of being a non-Muslim (Ali, 2010).

During the month January, there was a meeting of the Ulema under the chairmanship of Maulana Syed Suleman Nadvi, held in Karachi. They were settled on definite points involving the privileges of minorities. Which comprised of, to carry out the substantial requirements of the community without difference of race or belief, guarantee that all citizens benefit from the rights approved for them by the Islamic Shariah , exaltaing the treaties made with the non-Muslims within the confines of Shariah, liberty to follow their religion, religious education, worship, and culture according to their own traditions, religious law and customs (Ali, 2010).

Approximately three electoral systems came to power all through the first two eras. The first Constituent Assembly, 1947-1954, suggested for separate electorate for each religious faction/community. The issue was left for an electoral National Assembly by the 2nd Constitutional Assembly, 1956-58. While material law put the entire matter on the shelf for some time, the constitutional stopped from involving itself with the problem. Into the military rule of

Ayub Khan which lasted from, 1958-1962, the presidential form of government not only suppressed the subject of collective representation but altered the very electoral structure beyond acknowledgement. Ayub Khan developed the method of fundamental democracies through regional distribution. Reservation of seats for Christians, Achhuts and Buddhists was favored by the Hindu element. The bulk of the depressed classes encouraged this bargain as well. One should also bear in mind that in 1909, Muslims demanded for separate electorates to be familiarized in India. Nevertheless after the partition of India, the Hindus are a minority in Pakistan and ask for joint electorates. Hence all the parts of the depressed classes resisted the separate electorates (Chauhdary, 1999).

2.21. Empowerment Opportunities for Minorities in Pakistan

2.21.1. Minority Empowerment Package

According to Daoudi, (2020) Pakistan is a minority-friendly state. 70 years old demand of the minorities has been fulfilled, with the introduction of Minority Empowerment Package. In an interview, Punjab Minister for Human Rights and Minority Affairs, Ijaz Alam Augustine, announced that the minority empowerment package will ensure the implementation of job and education quotas, remission of sentence, skill development training, and quota in the Naya Pakistan housing scheme and religious education in government schools for students of different faiths. Earlier in 2019, the release of Asia Bibi and the opening of the Kartarpur corridor proves that Pakistan is a minority friendly state and takes steps for the empowerment of its Minorities.

2.21.2. Job Quota system

According to Kalra & Butt (2019) the Government of Pakistan, held in reserve a 5% job quota for religious minorities. This step was trailed by the provision of similar quota in the provinces

as well. Butt further believes that empirically the quota has not been met and the seats reserved for minorities remain unoccupied. One of the major factors responsible for this quota being unmet is the lack of academic and professional education among minorities. Guriro (2018) believes that the quota system was introduced to make sure that the minorities get a chance to employment like other citizens and do not remain a marginalized class of the society. Guriro (2018) furthers quotes and example of Sindh Assembly Secretariat, where 1000 people are employed at different positions, but none belongs to religious minorities. Application against the unmet reserved quota was submitted by the Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarian, Surendar Valasi.

2.21.3. Implementation of quota system

A report prepared by The Peace and Development Foundation (TPDF) discovered that the 5% job quota for minorities and 15% job quota for women was not being completely implemented. According to the organization's study, a considerable majority of 121 provincial departments and institutions said that the job quota was being neglected while a majority of 327 government departments gave no response at all. TPDF's study also revealed that 26% of the provincial departments gave a response and acted in accordance with with the job quota requirements for women only. A total of 258 district offices were approached and only 186 responded. Out of the 186 district offices, only 59 met the job quota requirements for women but not minorities.

2.22. Political Empowerment of Christians

Political empowerment of Christians has always been questionable. It is evident from the political history of Pakistan that minorities in Pakistan are not politically empowered, as their continuous struggle made them earn only 6 seats in the National Assembly and a few seats in

Provincial assemblies (Shamsi, 2011). In the constitution of 1973, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto set aside seats for the minorities only on the provincial stage through the selective power of the ruling political party. As a result the scheme of the selection of the members of minorities was given to party in power (Shamsi, 2011). And later after the protest of Christian leader and the 5th amendment, in 1976, only 6 places were allocated to minorities in the Lower House (Riaz & Wakil, 2015). Furthermore, the regime of Zia-ul-Haq, enhanced social exclusion of minorities with the introduction of separate electorate (Ibidem, 2006). According to Aamir (2018) the main problem that confronts minority members is that in Pakistani politics, politicians from religious minority backgrounds have no choice but to depend on the party leaders for their nomination on reserved seats.

Mansbridge (2009) believes that political empowerment brings "communicative advantages" and their representation can break such barriers. Thus, there has always been a gap between the government and the Christian community, which proves that they are politically disempowered. Besides the political hurdles, Christians face social and educational challenges, which hinder their political empowerment as well. As very less number of Christian students are enrolled in schools and a large number of them live under the line of poverty (Alston & Harley, 2006), which makes it difficult to contest in the field of politics. According to the standard socioeconomic model of participation (Janda, 2012; Wong, 2006; Kim, 2008) people with higher education and higher incomes participate more in politics because they are more conscious of the impact of politics on their lives and aware of the legitimate ways to influence government actions. Other than this, Bird (2005) in his structure of political opportunity states that financial stability is of great importance for the participants to contest elections.

2.23. Representation of Christians in Ayub Khan's Democratic structure

The Chief of Army Staff, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, publicized Military Rule, on October 27, 1958 and hurled over the regime of Sikander Mirza. The political activities were completely forbidden in the country during this period. Putting to the side the summary of 1962 constitution, he established the B. D System (Basic Democracies System). Under the authority of this system an associate from every street was to be simply elected by the voters. After the election of wards those associates were made the electorate of the "electoral college" to ultimately vote for the constituents of the provincial and national assemblies. In this method the Christian B. D. members who were elected from isolated areas holding no importance in the massive public extending at length (Shamsi, 2011).

Additionally, Christian candidates for the provincial and national assemblies were not voted for by the Muslim BD members. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din, a Christian leader, risked to take part in the elections only managed to get two ballots in total. General Ayub Khan also dismissed 5 percent proportion of the minorities prearranged by the Quaid-e-Azam in public services, educational organizations. As a result, minorities were dispossessed off of all the allowances, the Quaid-e-Azam had awarded them, for their active role in the Pakistan Movement. Hence the feeling of dispossession increased amongst the Christians. Regardless of General Ayub Khan being a very close companion of Bishop Hetinga, the Bishop of Rawalpindi district (Zafar, 2007).

Amongst these political wonders, a number of Christians, roused people politically and organized a meeting at Mission Compound Khokharke, Gujranwala in order to create a political platform. And consistently outlined the Pakistan Masihi League. The Ex Deputy Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, Ch. Chandu Lal, was chosen, the first head of the Pakistan Misihi League.

Charges of Espionage were pressed against the Christian community, during the war of 1965, which offer a drive to the Christian population to form accord in them and preferably to shape out a political podium. Though, the Christian soldiers in the Armed Forces (Air, Naval and Infantry) fought graciously and achieved the historical invasion against the aggression of Indian Army (Zafar, 2007).

On the other hand, in order to break the unity of Pakistani nation a movement of accusations of spying was launched against the Christians by unknown hands. Many Christians were kept in jails without trials. A protest march was arranged at Lahore, to end an anti-state situation created because of a sense of uncertainty as whole among the Christian community. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din, Ex Deputy Minister for parliamentary Affairs West Pakistan, and Allama Allah-ud-Din Siddiqui, Vice Chancellor Punjab University, jointly addressed this public gathering.

In 1968, a protest movement was commenced against Ayub's dictatorship by the then Foreign Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto when he resigned from General Ayub Khan's cabinet. At the same time the renowned Christian political and social workers like Gulzar Chohan, Stephen Siraj-ud-Din, Isaac Sosheel, Yousif Pervez and Umar Hayat Umar joined Misihi Majlis-e-Amal (Christian Action Committee) under the leadership Emmanuel Zafar (Shamsi, 2011).

The effort for refurbishment of equal social, religious, and political constitutional rights for the religious minorities was initiated by the Christian Action Committee. At this point under the headship of Emmanuel Zafar, protest public meetings and gathering for the political rights of Christians were initiated for the first time in the history of Pakistan. Soon Emmanuel Zafar started leading the demonstrations all the way through Punjab as the movement of the Christian Action Committee expanded its activities in different cities of Punjab. Even though Pakistan Misihi League was created in 1964, as well as further Christian parties like Christian Democratic

Party was shaped by the likes of Isaac Jimmy Dean and Elvin Fiaz Gill, but before these a party, Convention Christian League, was formed by Tajamal Hussain in Karachi during the peak of Ayub Khan's government and he allied it with the Convention Muslim League of General Ayub Khan, sadly this party also ended with the collapse of Ayub's regime (Ahmad, 2006).

2.24. Christians under the Joint Electorate System and the Elections of 1970

General elections, 1970, for the Assemblies (National and Provincial) were to be held on 7th December 1970 under General Yahya Khan's much publicized "Legal Framework Order (LFO)" of 1970. This framework publicized the right of adult consent based on the principles of "one man one vote" in the joint system of electorate. However, Pakistan Masihi League being the representative party of the Christians, at that time was in favor of separate electorate to get a genuine representation of minorities. The slogan of separate electorates to be established for the legitimate representation of the minority communities was raised by the Pakistan Masihi League, they also encouraged the public opinion for this passionately and narrated another slogan that in case, if separate electorates were not set up then PML would have no other choice then to reject the general elections (Malik, 2002).

Because of this matter, two groupings emerged in the Supreme Council of Pakistan Masihi League (PML) that was at odds. One faction as protest, wanted to participate in joint elections. The other grouping lead by Emmanuel Zafar, as their protest, conflicted on the submission to play a part in the elections. So owing to this unconstitutional approach of some Christian leaders, the Masihi League came apart into three splintered groups, PML - Hayat Group, PML - Col. (R) J. Abel Group and PML-Francis X-Lobo Group. After this division of the Pakistan Masihi League, 33 Christian candidates were put forward by the Pakistan Masihi League (Hayat) for

both the provincial assemblies and national assembly, all over the country, under the electoral symbol of "spectacle" through the platform of PML in the joint system of electorate. Francis, X. Lobo contracted a secret exchange agreement with the Awami League led by Shiekh Mujibur Rehman, and contested election for a seat of national assembly from a district of Karachi (Riaz & Khan, 2016).

Within one constituency of Lahore a major contest was took place between Justice (R) Javed Iqbal against C. Ayub against Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (PPP) for the seat of the National Assembly. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was challenged by Alfred Peter in one constituency of NA in Peshawar. As a result, each and every one of the 33 candidates of Pakistan Misihi League had to surrender their securities because they were desolately crushed. Alternatively, the grouping led by Emmanuel Zafar, Iqbal Chauri and Gulzar refused the joint electorate system and formed Azad Masihi League. Soon after, Azad Masihi League was joined by Joshua Fazalud- Din, who subsequently was elected as its president, rejected the elections by launching a collective movement with the Christian community. General Muhammad Yahya Khan surrendered the authoritative control to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on December, 20th 1971, who proclaimed himself as the first Civil Chief Martial Law Administrator of the country. So, the nationalization of private and Christian educational institutions was as approved by him as acting CMLA under the Education Policy of 1972 and with the Martial Law Regulation 118. Peaceful campaigning was started by the Christians under the support and backing of Pakistan Masihi League to save their institutions. Subsequently, the United Christian Alliance came into shape (Shamsi, 2011).

2.25. Political Hardships and Efforts of Minorities under the Rule of Zia

On April 4, 1979, the endeavor at the back of the Martial Law imposed by Gen. Zia, of not merely sacking an elected prime minister from his office but also depriving him of his life, was accomplished by him. In the intervening time, many essential amends had been carried out in the environment and atmosphere of control of the State. At this time the minorities; by and large the Christian leadership started sensing the magnitude of the state of affairs. Reluctantly, General Zia had to formulate and deliver an apology by the means of radio and television, after objection from the Christian society (Nadeem, 2017).

Since February 1979, laws were being sketched out incessantly, so that an Islamic legal system could be brought about with its associated punishments. To make it more powerful and effective the Council of Islamic ideology was re-formed. After assuming power, General Zia appointed the founder of Jamia Arabiya Islamiya and the Banuri Mosque Complex, Maulana Yusaf Banuri from Karachi, a fellow of the Council of Islamic ideology. A set laws, generally known in the Islamic axiom as the "Hadud Laws" were placed in the law of book on the suggestion of Council of Islamic Ideology. These were related to prohibition of alcohol and other exhilarating drugs, punishments of robbery, illegal sex and rape, qazaf, i.e. presenting false confirmation about sexual relationship (Chauhdary, 1999).

Subsequently, a special Shariat bench was established in every high court and appellate bench in the Supreme Court after the declaration of the Hadud laws. It came obligatory for government to revere and honor the verdict of these courts (Ibidem, 2006). Zia ul Haq went on giving confidence that general elections would be held alongside getting in such severe legislations. Elections were announced for Oct 1979 but only after the execution of Bhutto. For Gen. Zia it

was necessarily important to further delay the polls indefinitely, as at that time People's Party would come into influence with other civilian forces, thus the stage was set for the local body elections, which were held rather than general elections, on the alleged reason that the laws of the country were being Islamized. Gen. Zia decided to cause a rift between the religious majority and the minorities by resorting to separate electorates in contrast to the instructions of the Constitution of 1973, which approved, for this purpose, the system of joint electorates. No restriction was set out in the districts of minorities (Shamsi, 2011).

The process of social segregation was enhanced during the dictatorship of General Zia, by introducing the system of separate elections. The narrative of separate electorate provided foundation to the problem of space of minorities in politics but this was opposed by the minority leaders as they knew that the system of separate electorate will keep them away from the mainstream politics (Ibidem, 2006). The system of separate electorates was yet again imposed on the nation when, in execution of his political program, Zia took steps in the direction of elections in 1985. Gen. Zia would not have received scores of votes through separates electorates in 1984, so then he had relied upon the joint electorates system. Local government elections in held September 1983, by Gen. Zia were over separate electorates and on non-party basis which resulted in 3472 minorities' members getting elected. Whereas it was worth mentioning that Joshua Fazal ud Din and several other eminent minority leaders were at all times in favor of separate electorates however it was widely speculated, that minorities did not like the system of separate electorates (Faruqi, 2011).

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah held meetings with minority parties in Lahore to get the support of the minority communities for Pakistan, in the very last days of the Pakistan Movement. After a meeting of Sikh leader Gianni Kirtar Singh and Christian leader Chaudhry

Chandu Lal with the Quaid-e-Azam, unconditional Christian support in favor of Pakistan was avowed by Chaudhry Chandu Lal. in addition, Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha completely assured Quaid-e-Azam the vote and support of Christian members of the assembly on the issue of inclusion of the intact Punjab, in Pakistan or India, was to be decided in the Punjab Assembly on 23 June 1947, as the Muslim League needed the vote of the minority communities because the Unionist Party had statistical majority in the house (Shamsi, 2011).

2.26. Representation of Christian in Pervez Musharraf's government

General Pervez Musharaf toppled the rightly elected government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1999 and stated himself as the Chief Executive. Wthin his temporary cabinet, some ministers were employed for management the civil administration. As the Federal Minister for Minorities Affairs, Tourism and Sports he chose Derrick Cyprian, an old student of F.C. College, Lahore, who was absolutely unacquainted and unheard of to Christian Community. Owing to his unpopularity among the Christians was in a little while, dismissed from the headquarters. He was substituted by Col. (R) S. K. Tressler as Federal Minister of the Sports, Tourism and Minorities. The protestant churches especially, Church of Pakistan supported Col. (R) Tressler. He persisted as the Federal Minister until the elections held in 2002 (Shamsi, 2011). The most debated referendum of 2000 saw General Pervez Musharaf as the president. After taking the office of the president the General Elections of 2002 were announced by him. He totally overlooked his first speech about advocating a new electorate system for minorities when he publicized his Legal Framework Order in 2002. A system of balanced representation was launched in the Legal Framework Order of 2002, which left the representation of minorities entirely on the mercy of the mainstream parties. this 'in proportion representation' modus

operandi gave Muslim popular parties the intrinsic autonomous right to select any favorable person from amongst the minorities. This way the minorities were dejected of the right of voting for their own legitimate representatives (Faruqi, 2011).

After the Election of 2002 nearly five Muslim parties came forward as bigger parties, these popular parties were at liberty to select the names of the representatives of minorities exclusively on their own determination and desire, under the principle of proportionate representation, excluding the apprehensions and concern of the voters of the minorities in general (Shamsi, 2011).

The national assembly of Pakistan has a total of 342 members, comprising of 60 seats for women and 10 for non-Muslims. The seats in the National Assembly are allotted to each Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Federal Capital on the basis of population, as officially published in the last census. The present allocation of seats is as under:

Table 5

The allocation of seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan. (Source: National Assembly website).

	Punjab	Sindh	KPK	Balochistan	FATA	Federal Capital	Total
General	148	61	35	14	12	2	272
Women	35	14	8	3	0	0	60
Non-Muslims	--	--	--	----	--	----	10
Total	183	75	43	17	12	2	342

The number of seats in Provincial Assemblies is as per the table given below:

Table 6

Allocation of reserved seats for women and religious minorities in Provincial Assemblies of Pakistan (Source: National Assembly website).

Province/Area	General Seats	Reserved for women	Reserved for Non-Muslims	Total
Punjab	297	66	8	371
Sindh	130	29	9	168
KPK	99	22	3	124
Balochistan	51	11	3	65
Total	557	128	23	728

2.27. Christian representatives in Elections of 1988

In 1988 Christians had representation in all provincial assemblies and national assembly as well.

Table 7

Christian representatives in National and Provincial Assemblies in 1988 (Source: Shamsi, 2011).

National Assembly	Punjab Assembly	Sindh Assembly	Balochistan Assembly	NWFP Assembly
Rufin Julius	Raj Hamid Gill	Saleem Khushed Khokhar	Master Johnson Ashraf	Faqir-ud-Din
George Clement	Adil Shrif Gill	Javed Micheal		
Peter John Sahotra	Peter Gill			

2.28. Christian Representatives in Election of 1990

In 1990 Christians had representatives in all provincial assemblies, having a prominent number in the Punjab assembly and national assembly as well.

Table 8

Christian representatives in National and Provincial Assemblies in 1990 (Source: Faruqi, 2011)

National Assembly	Punjab Assembly	Sindh Assembly	Balochistan Assembly	NWFP Assembly
J. Salik	Raj Hamid Gill	Javed Michael	Bashir Masih	Faqir-ud-Din
Rufin Julius	Michael Johnson	Saleem Khursheed Khokhar		
Peter John Sahotra	Qaisar Ifraeem Sorroiya			
Tariq. C. Qaisar	Peter Gill			
	Adil Sharif Gill			

2.29. Christian Representatives in Election of 1993

Christian continued to have their representatives in national and provincial assemblies in 1993.

Table 9

Christian representatives in National and Provincial Assembly in 1993 (Source: Faruqi, 2011).

National Assembly	Punjab Assembly	Sindh Assembly	Balochistan Assembly	NWFP Assembly
J. Salik	Raj Hamid Gill	Javed Michael	Shaukat Bashir Masih	Pervaiz Kevel
Rufin Julius	Michael Johnson	Saleem Khursheed Khokhar		
George Clement	Sheila B. Charles			
Tariq. C. Qaisar	Peter Gill			
	Adil Sharif Gill			

2. 30. Christian Representatives in Election of 1997

Christian representatives continued to participate in politics over the years and had prominent representation in the Punjab and the national assembly.

Table 10

Christian representatives in National and Provincial Assemblies in 1997(Source: Shamsi, 2011)

National Assembly	Punjab Assembly	Sindh Assembly	Balochistan Assembly	NWFP Assembly
J. Salik	Begum Raj Hamid Gill	Javed Michael	Shaukat Bashir Masih	Walter Siraj
Rufin Julius	Michael Johnson	Saleem Khursheed Khokhar		
Simon Jacob Gill	Rustum C. Qaisar			
Tariq. C. Qaisar	Peter Gill			
	Adil Sharif Gill			

2. 31. Christian Representatives in Election of 2002

In 2002 Christians had relatively strong representation in the Punjab and the National assembly.

Table 11

Christian representatives in National and Provincial assemblies 2002 (Source: Malik, 2006)

National Assembly	Punjab Assembly	Sindh Assembly	Balochistan Assembly	NWFP Assembly
Mushtaq Victor	Ms. Joyce Julius	Illyas Masih	Mroze Francis	Innocent Flex
Akram Gill	Amar Joel Sahetora			
Haroon C. Qaisar	Ms. Najmee Saleem			
Asia Nasir	Kamran Micheal			
	Pervez Rafique			
	Naveed Amar			
	Patrick Jacob			

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1. Nature of study

This is a qualitative study and is exploratory in nature. This research is a case study of Christian community in Pakistan, in relevance to their political empowerment. This is a Case study to get an in-depth, knowledge of issues of individuals belonging to Christian community.

3.2. Approach selected

The approached used for this study is Phenomenological approach, as this study is examining the issues faced by members of minority communities in political field through their experiences.

3.3. Conceptual Framework

The study in hand aspires to investigate the issues hindering political empowerment of the members of Christian community. The investigation will be based on following conceptual framework. This conceptual framework has been derived from Bird's Political Opportunity Structure proposed in 2005. Bird (2005) introduced a concept of political opportunities structure to assess minority representation. According to Kitzinger (1994) this structure was initially designed to study matters of social movements. He described political opportunities structure as institutional arrangement and historical example for social mobilization.

This research is sketched on the Political Opportunity Structure, as this model gives us an insight to multiple factors which are thought to determine the participation of minority groups in the political system. Moreover, this model also highlights the role of collective identity and the capacity of political mobilization in a minority group. Some new factors can turn in which will be considered responsible for political participation of minorities. But the outline is taken from Bird's model.

Fig: 2

Conceptual framework of study
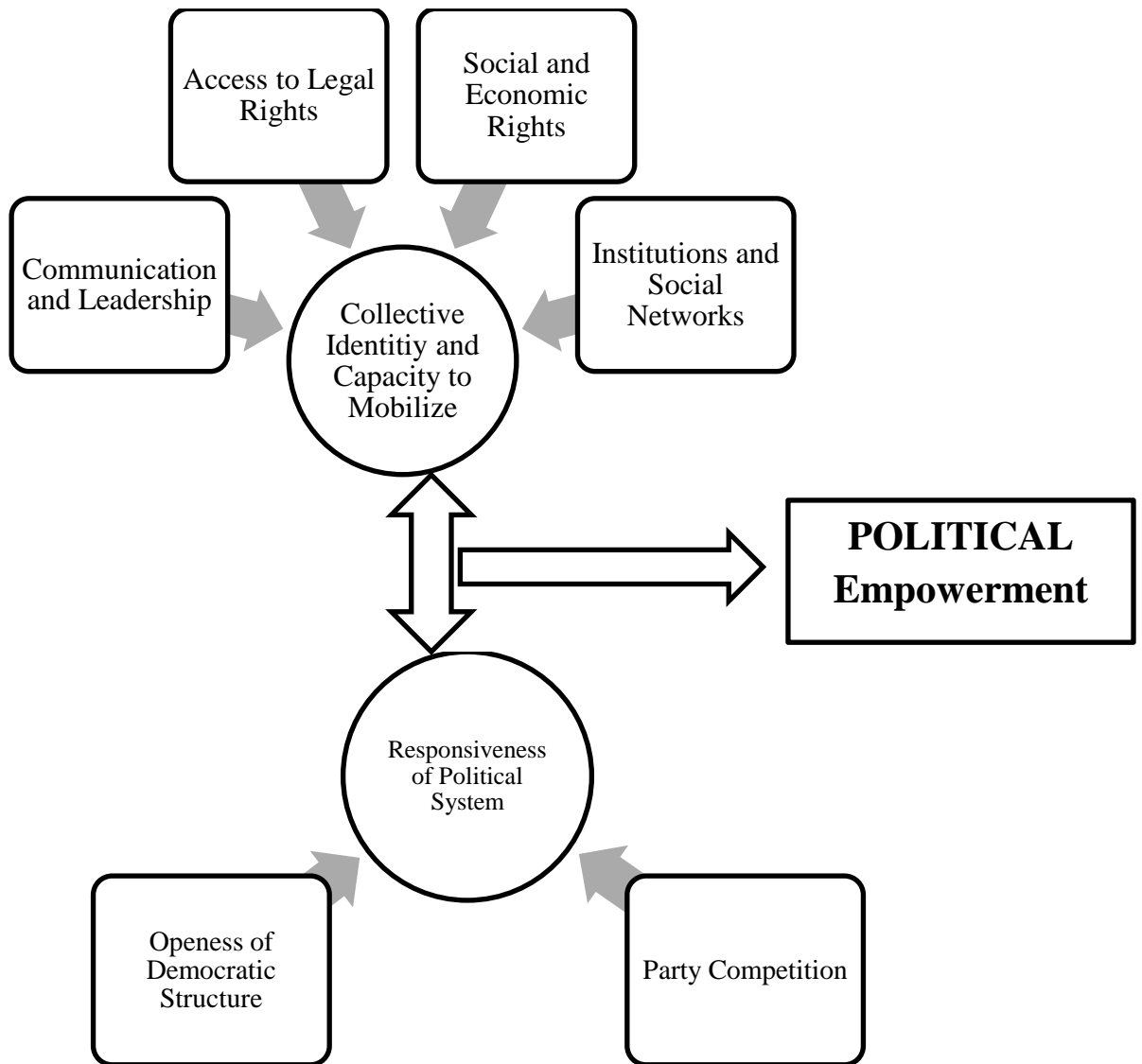
3.4. Research design

3.4.1. Step i: Selection of Variables

As discussed earlier, the variables under study have been studied independently or with other variables by many researchers. There are very few studies in my knowledge where both these variables are have been studies together. Researches about minority mostly highlight their problems, or discuss about their rights. This research addresses empowerment issues of Christian minority of Pakistan, with applicability to politics.

3.4.2. Step ii. Identifying unit of analysis

The unit of analysis for this research is "individual". As Cole (2018) made it evidently clear that information collected from individuals about their experiences can reveal patterns and trends that are common to a society or particular groups within it, and can offer insight into social problems and their solutions.

3.4.2. Step ii: Criteria of sample selection

This project addresses challenges and issues in political empowerment of minorities, specifically Christians. So, the participants selected for data collection were mostly Christians having some connection with politics or political parties. A few participants from other minorities groups were also a part of sample to have a generalized idea about problems of these communities as well. Respondents from Muslim community were also selected to ensure that the data collected for this study was not biased.

3.4.3. Step iii: Sampling Technique

Sampling technique used for this project was snowball sampling, also referred to as "chain-referral" sampling. Furthermore, Exponential non-discriminative type of snowball sampling was used, where the first subject was engaged to the sample group provided more referrals. Each new

referral recommended more referrals until primary data from sufficient amount of respondents was collected. Ghaljie, Naderifar & Goli (2017) stated snowball sampling as purposeful technique of data collection in qualitative research. They further explained that snowball sampling can be efficiently used to examine vulnerable groups or individuals under special care. Indeed, it helps researchers to contact susceptible populations.

I have used this sampling technique for data collection as I knew only a few people who were part of active politics or related to political parties. These people helped to get in contact with more people who belonged to minority groups and majority community having political affiliations.

3.4.4. Step iv: Determining sample size

15 members of the religious minorities were interviewed, belonging to Islamabad, Rawalpindi and Faisalabad and keeping in account their direct or indirect political affiliation. 5 participants from Muslim community highlighting the issues faced by minority members to enter the mainstream politics, it helped to understand the problem in a better way and highlight the grey areas of misunderstanding existing in society related to politics. 10 participants from minority communities (minimum 5 Christians) were selected for interviews focusing on investigating the challenges hindering the political empowerment of these communities. When saturation point was observed, interviews were discontinued.

Additionally, 4 focus group discussions were conducted; keeping in view that the participants belonged to Christian community and have some political association.

3.4.5. Step v: Data Collection

For this research both primary and secondary data was collected. Primary data was collected by interviewing participants and having focus-group discussions. Whereas, secondary data was collected by reviewing research paper, reports and articles. While conducting the interviews and focus group discussions it was kept under consideration that this research is a case study of the Christian community, the participants were selected from the Christian community keeping in mind the that they have a political affiliation or are the political leaders. Secodary data was collected by reviewing articles and researchers, providing informiation about minotrites and empowerment.

Fig: 3

Steps of data collection

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │   Qualitative Approach   │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                       ↙                    ↘
      ┌──────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────────┐
      │     Primary Data     │      │      Secondary Data       │
      │                      │      │                           │
      │  Semi-Structures     │      │  Review of research       │
      │  Interviews          │      │  articles, papers and     │
      │                      │      │  reports                  │
      │  Focus-group         │      └──────────────────────────┘
      │  discussions         │
      └──────────────────────┘
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                 ↓
      ┌──────────────────────┐
      │     Case Study       │
      │                      │
      │  Christian Community  │
      └──────────────────────┘
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      ┌──────────────────────┐
      │ Face to Face Interview│
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│ Members of         │   │  Members of Muslim    │
│ Christian          │   │  community            │
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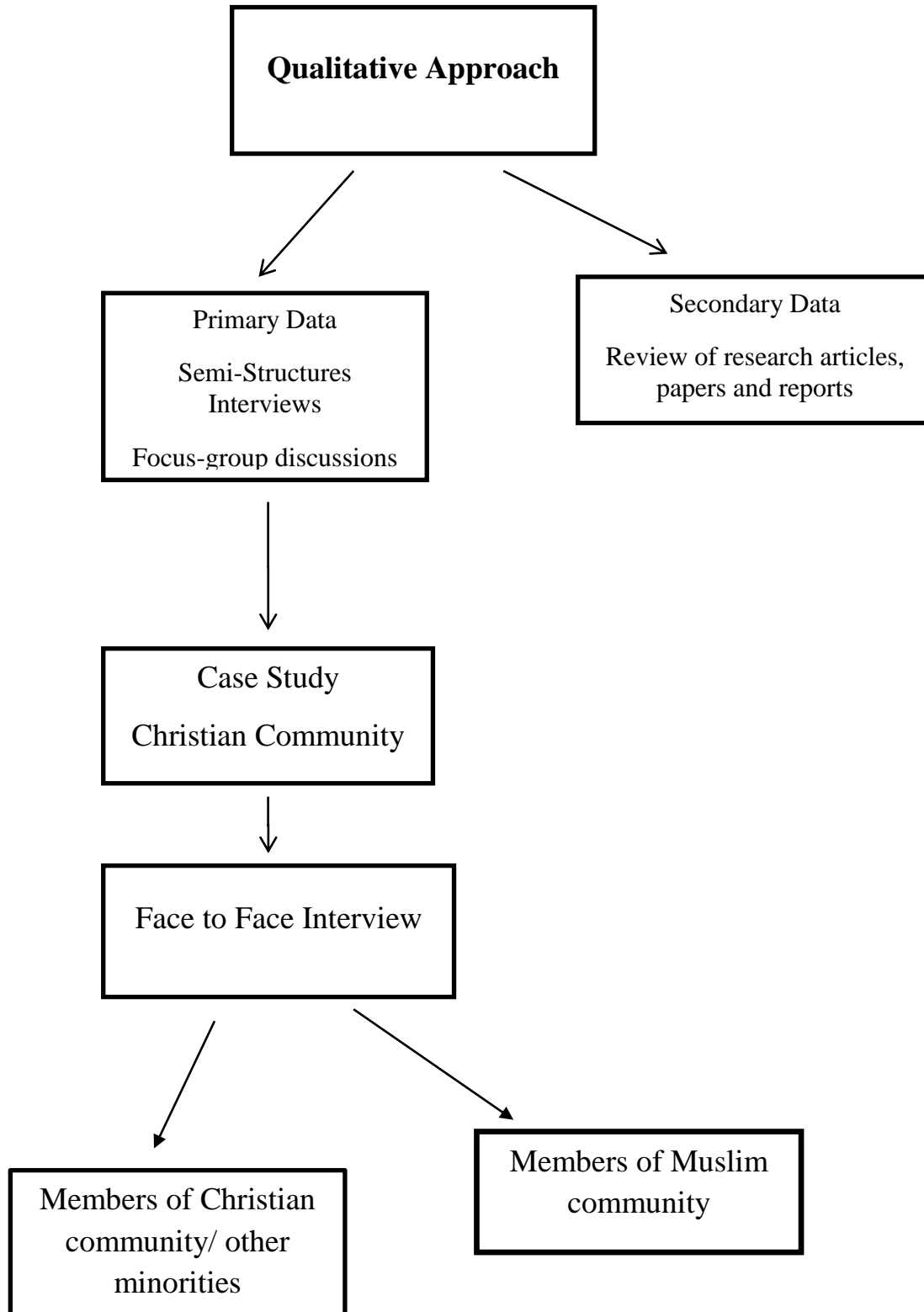
3.4.6. Step vi. Data Collection Strategies

Two types of instruments will be used in this research:

3.4.6.1. Semi-Structures Interviews

Primary Data was collected through semi-structured interviews. Ayres (2008) described that the semi-structured interview is a type of qualitative interviewing standing mid-way between structured forms (questionnaires) and entirely conversational forms (unstructured interviews). Wengraf (2004) explains that a Semi-structured interview is centered on an interview guide including open-ended questions prepared in advance by the researcher, yet prone to be shaped in interaction with the participants while the interview is being conducted. The response of the participants was recorded in written or audio form, which was further used to extract the codes and analyze the data.

3.4.6.2. Focus Group Discussions

Focus groups were used in this research as an attempt to surface the challenges and issues significant for the study. Focus groups are one of the most rewarding and easy to integrate data collection techniques. The defining characteristic of focus groups as a qualitative research technique stands in the use of group interaction and discussion as a foundation for data generation (Litosseliti, 2014; Kitzinger, 1994; Morgan, 1996; 2008). Focus groups are particularly adequate techniques for research including illiterate communities (Litosseliti, 2014) or members of marginalized groups and minority cultures, due to the natural flow of conversation motivated when people with parallel background are brought together (Morgan, 2008).

3.4.7. Step vii. Arrangements of Data Collection

Data was collected in audio recordings and taking notes side by side. Moreover, data collection was being done during the period of lockdown during Covid-19, some interviews were conduction online using zoom app and was recorded then.

3.4.8. Ethical Considerations

- The dignity and opinion of participants was prioritized.

- The privacy of respondents has been ensured.

- Full consent of participants was taken before including them in the process of data collection.

- Highest Levels of objectivity in discussion and analysis throughout the research has been maintained.

3.5. Data Analysis

This is a qualitative research. Participants will be interviewed to collect data. Data was analyzed by using thematic analysis. Themes and codes were deduced from the interviews and focus groups. And were categorized with reference to research questions following steps given by Braun & Clarke (2006).

Step i: Developing familiarity with data

Step ii: Generating initial codes

Step iii. Searching for themes

Step iv: Reviewing Themes

Step v: Defining themes

Step vi: Write Up (discussion)

Fig: 4

Steps of Data Analysis
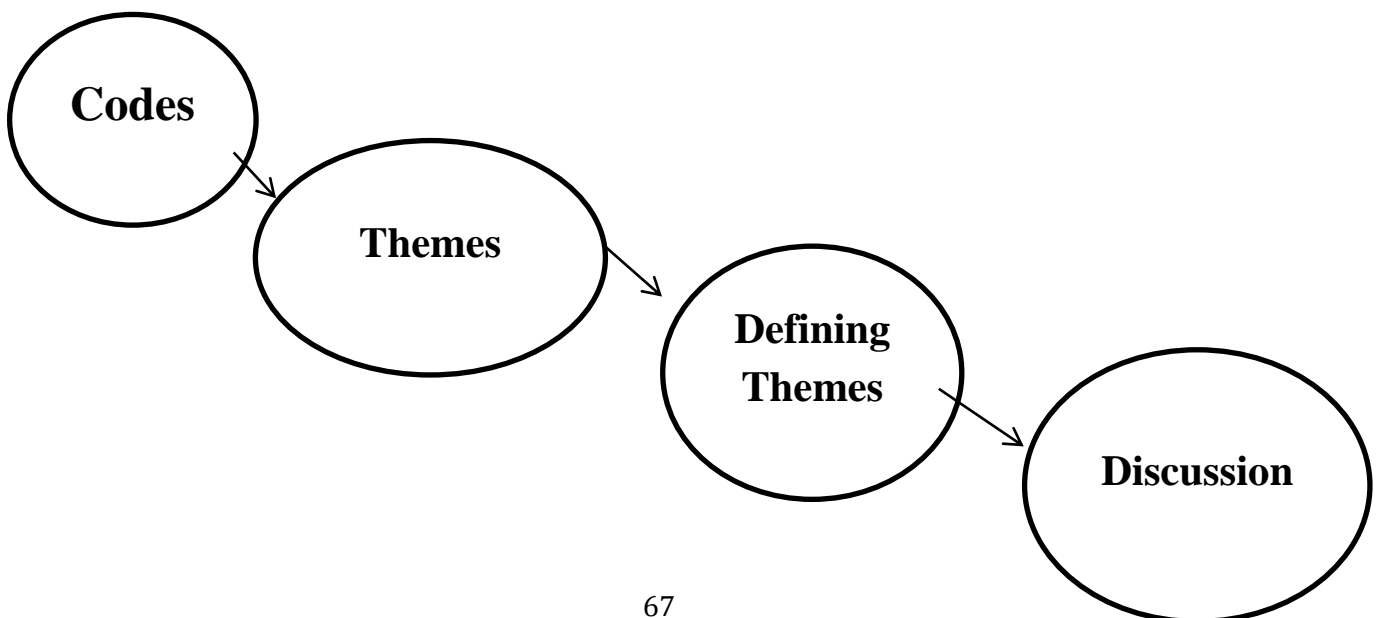
Chapter 4: Data Analysis

4.1. Data Collection

This is a qualitative research focusing on political empowerment of Christians in Pakistan. In order to collect data interviews were conducted and focus group discussions were held. Data was collected by conducting 15 semi-structured interviews from 10 Non-Muslim and 5 Muslim political workers of Rawalpindi District. Among 10 Non-Muslim participants 1 was Parsi and 1 Hindu, other than this the respondents included both male and female workers. All respondents were between the age group of 35-50 and were active political workers of different parties.

Table 12

Number of respondents participating in research.

Respondents	Number
Non-Muslims	10
Muslims	05

Other than interviews 5 focus discussions were held, 2 with Muslim political workers and 3 with Non-Muslims, mostly Christian.

Table 13

Number of participants in focus group discussions and interviews

Focus group discussions	Number
Muslims	02
Non-Muslims	03

4.2. Qualitative Data

This research deals in three research questions. To address these questions these questions interviews and focus group discussions were conducted. Data analysis is done on the basis of answers from the participants. Three modules were created for interviews addressing three research questions. Module named Political leadership / party policies for members of religious minorities, addresses RQ2. Module named, Problems within community faced by religious minorities to become a part of active political system, addresses RQ1. Module namely, Issues/Challenges posing hindrance in the active participation of Christians in mainstream politics, addresses RQ3. For data analysis thematic analysis technique is used, following the process suggested by Braun & Clarke (2006). The focus of this project is to get an insight of issues and challenges that hinder political empowerment of minorities, specifically Christians in Pakistan.

Table 14

Modules addressing research questions

Modules	Research Questions
Problems within community	Are the Christians reluctant to take part in active politics of Pakistan themselves?
Political leadership / party policies for members of religious minorities.	Are the members of Christian community ignored by the party members during the selection of candidates' and decision making?
Issues/Challenges posing hindrance in the active participation of Christians in mainstream politics.	What are the factors responsible for under-representation of the Christians in politics?

4.2.1. Thematic Analysis

The method chosen for data analysis is thematic analysis, as it helps to find and develop patterns and themes from qualitative data. It is debated that thematic analysis technique can be used across several epistemologies and aims to address research questions (Nowell, Noris, Moules & White, 2017). This method of data analysis is very flexible and assists to identify patterns, codes and ultimately themes from collected data. Braun & Clarke (2006) explained this technique in detail, and divided it into six steps:

i. Developing familiarity with the data

ii. Generating initial codes

iii. Searching for themes

iv. Reviewing themes

v. Defining themes

vi. Write up (Discussion)

Step 1: Developing familiarity with data

This is the initial step of data analysis, where one has to get engaged with the collected data. It is important to study the data deeply and arrange it in order and extracts codes out of it. This extraction of codes helps to reduce large data into meaningful data. It brings forward components of data which are interesting for analysis and can be assessed. This in depth study of data helps to stain meaningless data, thus excluding it from codes process and further analysis.

Step 2: Generating Initial Codes (Coding Process)

There are two methods of coding data, dependent on theme generation, either data-driven or theory driven. Data driven coding process does not have any pre-set codes in mind and themes depends on data making it more inductive whereas the second one has some pre-defined questions and codes are generated around research questions. This study is more theory-driven.

Primarily, the collected data is arranged according to their relevance with modules, in the interview and focus group guidelines. The responses are then read and re-read to find their relevance with the modules and research questions. The data is then set down in the form of codes. After this, the codes are analyzed and modified to create more relevance with research questions. The whole process was done manually and then typed.

Initial codes for modules are given below:

Table 15

Codes extracted from data for Module 1, addressing research question 1.

Module 1: Problems within community
Codes:
Most Christian people are not quite well-educated. This lack of education leads to lack of awareness about importance of political involvement and its influence on community's empowerment.
Lack of interest of people in political empowerment, and community development. Even the educated people who are well aware of advantages of empowerment avoid joining politics.
They prioritize to care for the family needs other that wasting time in raising slogans for parties. They feel going after parties a wastage of time and consider making their both ends meet more important.
Church has always been an effective institution, helping people financially, for education and getting jobs but as far as politics is related people get very less or no encouragement from Church or their families to become politically active.
Incidents of violence have created an internalized fear of isolation and a feeling of insecurity within the Christian community that they will not be welcomed in politics after incidents.
Christians like other minorities are not politically empowered; still they have better political representation than other minority communities.
Another factor is the concept of socioeconomic status. Many people are reluctant to participate in politics thinking politics as a game of the rich. And money is important to be successful in this field.

Table: 16

Codes extracted from data for Module 2, addressing research question 2.

Module 2: Party policies for members of religious minorities
Codes:
There are no specific policies defined by political parties for minority members. Every party likes having more people to chant their slogans and raise their vote bank.
Everyone is welcome to join political parties, regardless their religion, filling in form worth 10 rupees.
Political parties give fancy titles (president minority youth wing, president minority women wing etc.) to their active workers. But they are merely titles with no actual authority.
The only party policy is that major party decisions are taken by party bosses only. No one from grass root level workers is consulted about their problem.
Even in decisions related to common man and party workers. The people with titles are not consulted at all. This does not base on religion. Party workers are only workers to gather people for meetings and increase vote bank.
No empowerment issues are addressed at community level, other than this personal favors are given to active workers as they bring more party member attract voters.
Not enough chances are provided to minority members to excel in politics. They are dependent of party bosses to give them designations and authorities or involve them in decision making process.

Table 17

Codes extracted from data for Module 3, addressing research question 3.

Module 3: Issues/Challenges posing hindrance in the active participation of Christians in mainstream politics.
Codes:
Politics is considered as a game of rich people as bribery has caught most of the leadership. "Monkey dances on money". Every person who can offer undue favors excels much faster than the strugglers.
There is a false perception about socioeconomic status that only rich people can excel in politics. Many examples like Asia Nasir, have been successful politicians even though they do not belong to quite stable families.
Workers going for political campaigns, feel political participation does not bring instant rewards for the. They have to gather people for meetings and raising slogans but they get nothing in return. Even if the party promises them something, they have to look up to their local level leaders for it.
The fear of social rejection makes them stay away from politics. Some people from within the community want to keep authority in their hands, and do not want people to excel discourage them from political participation which can make them aware of their many rights.

Step 3: Searching for Themes

Once the data is arranged in the form of codes. Useful data is strained out of the bigger pool. In this step, codes will be studied again and again to search for themes. The aim is to find overlapping themes by combination of themes. Data will be arranged for identification of themes by using mind maps and tables.

Blare & Clarke (2006) define themes as an outline with some appealing uniqueness is the set of information and address the research questions. There are no specific system to spot themes and creating blueprints of codes. The importance of codes aid in classifying themes. Primary themes which were identified from codes re given in the table given below:

 Table 18

 Initial Themes extracted from data according to modules.

Module 1: Problems within community
Most Christian people are not quite well-educated. This lack of education leads to lack of awareness about importance of political involvement and its influence on community's empowerment. Lack of interest of people in political empowerment, and community development. Even the educated people who are well aware of advantages of empowerment avoid joining politics.   They prioritize to care for the family needs other that wasting time in raising slogans for parties. They feel going after parties a wastage of time and consider making their both ends meet more important. Church has always been an effective institution, helping people financially, for education and getting jobs but as far as politics is related people get very less or no encouragement from Church or their families to become politically active.

Incidents of violence have created an internalized fear of isolation and a feeling of insecurity within the Christian community.

Christians like other minorities are not politically empowered; still they have better political representation than other minority communities.

Another factor is the concept of socioeconomic status. Many people are reluctant to participate in politics thinking politics as a game of the rich. And money is important to be successful in this field.

Module 2: Party policies for members of religious minorities

There are no specific policies defined by political parties for minority members. Every party likes having more people to chant their slogans and raise their vote bank.

Everyone is welcome to join political parties, regardless their religion, filling in form worth 10 rupees.

Political parties give fancy titles (president minority youth wing, president minority women wing etc.) to their active workers. But they are merely titles with no actual authority.

The only party policy is that major party decisions are taken by party bosses only. No one from grass root level workers is consulted about their problem.

Even in decisions related to common man and party workers. The people with titles are not consulted at all. This does not base on religion. Party workers are only workers to gather people for meetings and increase vote bank.

No empowerment issues are addressed at community level, other than this personal favors are given to active workers as they bring more party member attract voters.

Not enough chances are provided to minority members to excel in politics. They are dependent of party bosses to give them designations and authorities or involve them in decision making

process.

Module 3: Issues/Challenges posing hindrance in the active participation of Christians in mainstream politics.

Politics is considered as a game of rich people as bribery has caught most of the leadership. "Monkey dances on money". Every person who can offer undue favors excels much faster than the strugglers.

There is a false perception about socioeconomic status that only rich people can excel in politics. Many examples like Asia Nasir, have been successful politicians even though they do not belong to quite stable families.

Workers going for political campaigns, feel political participation does not bring instant rewards for the. They have to gather people for meetings and raising slogans but they get nothing in return. Even if the party promises them something, they have to look up to their local level leaders for it.

The fear of social rejection makes them stay away from politics. Some people from within the community want to keep authority in their hands, and do not want people to excel discourage them from political participation which can make them aware of their many rights.

Step 4: Reviewing Themes

In his phase relevant data to each theme is gathered together. To do this, we go through the data again modify and develop themes identified in Step 3. At this point, all the data it is important to gather data that is related to each theme. Here, we read relevant data and study whether the data really supports the themes or not. Additionally, it is considered whether the themes work in the context of the data. When data was studied again themes were re-arranged according to modules and research questions. As Braun & Clarke (2006) suggest that themes can be studied in accordance to research questions.

After the completion of this step themes were arranged according to their relevance to the research questions which is shown in tables given below.

RQ1: Are the Christians reluctant to take part in active politics of Pakistan themselves?

This question investigates, about the issues found within community which keep the Christians away from political participation which can ultimately lead to their political empowerment, resulting in empowerment of community as a whole. Main themes identified related to this question are: *LACK OF INTEREST, INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE,* and *EDUCATION.* Subthemes are discussed under main themes, which are shown in the table below.

Table 19

Themes extracted from codes for research question 1

Theme 1: Lack of Interest	Theme 2: Incidents of Violence	Theme 3: Education
Subtheme 1: No encouragement from family and institutions	*Subtheme 1:* Internalized fear	*Subtheme 1:* Lack of Education
Subtheme 2: No instant reward	*Subtheme 2:* Isolation	*Subtheme 2:* Lack of Awareness
Subtheme 3: wastage of time	*Subtheme 3:* Insecurity	

RQ2: Are the members of Christian community ignored by the party members during the selection of candidates' and decision making?

This question investigates whether members of minority communities are ignored by political parties during selection of candidates or not. And whether these candidates are consulted during decision making process or not. Main themes identified related to this question are: *Decision Making, Participation* and *Party Policies,* Subthemes are discussed under main themes, which are shown in the table below

Table 20

Themes extracted from codes for research question 2

Theme 1: Decision Making	Theme 2: Participation	Theme 3: Party policies
Subtheme 1: No workers involved	*Subtheme 1:* Less Participation	*Subthemes 1:* everyone is welcome.
Subtheme 2: Party bosses make decisions	*Subtheme 2:* False Perception	
Subtheme 3: No empowerment issues addressed.	*Subtheme 3:* Given merely titles.	

RQ3: What are the factors responsible for under-representation of the Christians in politics?

This question investigates about some more reasons responsible for under-representation of Christians in politics. Main themes identified related to this question are: *Socio-economic Status* and *Not Enough Chances*. Subthemes are discussed under core themes, which are shown in the table below.

Table 21

Themes extracted from codes for research question 2

Theme 1: Socio-economic Status	Theme 2: Not Enough Chances
Subtheme 1: Bribery	*Subtheme 1:* Dependent on party heads
Subtheme 2: False Perception	*Subtheme 2:* To increase vote bank
Subtheme 3: Favors	

Step 5: Defining Themes

This step is the final refinement step of the themes, as Braun & Clarke (2006) suggest, the aim of this step is to "identify the essence of what each themes is about". This step helps us to define themes by explaining in detail, main themes, and relationship of subthemes with main themes. Furthermore, it also helps to relate themes and subthemes to research questions, which is helpful to understand data in accordance with relevant questions. For each research question, Maps are developed to highlight main themes and sub themes related to those questions. The following section shows thematic maps for three research questions.

Issues and Challenges in political empowerment of Christians

This research focuses on highlighting the issues and challenges in political empowerment of Minorities, specifically Christian in Pakistan. These issues and challenges are highlighted as themes and sub themes derived from the data acquired by the participants. These issues include some challenges that they have to face in political process, at social level and some issues exist within the community which keeps them away from the process of empowerment. These challenges are presented under themes: *Participation, Decision Making, Not Enough Chances, and Party Policies, Incidents of Violence, Socioeconomic Status, Education and Lack of Interest.* The following figure shows these themes and their sub themes.

Fig: 5

Themes and subthemes highlighting issues that hinder political empowerment.
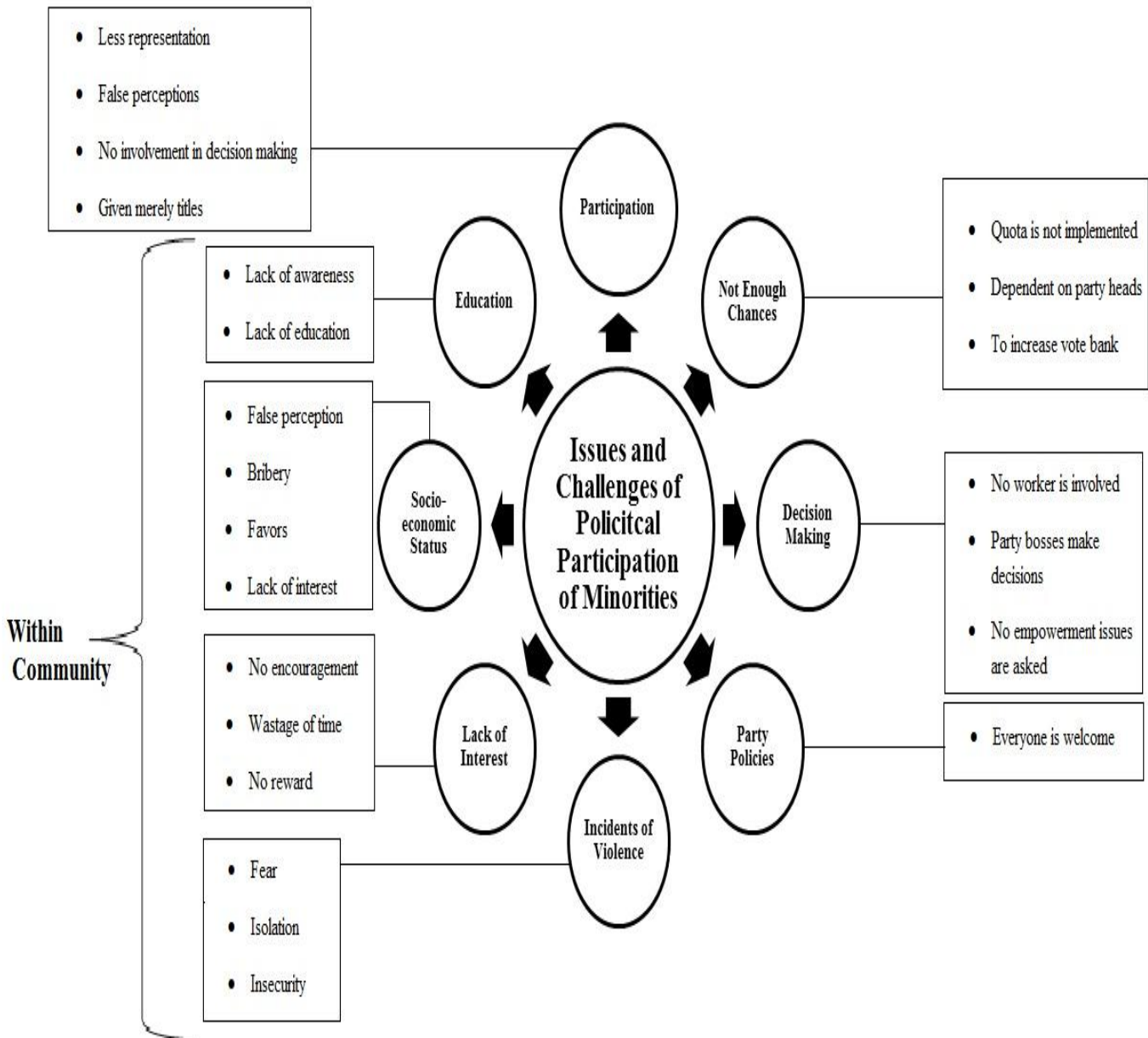
RQ1: Are Christians reluctant to participate in active politics of Pakistan themselves?

RQ1 is about investigating the issues which make Christians stay away from political process. Themes identified related to this RQ highlighted the issues which are internalized by the community members. It explains in detail the problems existing within community that makes the community lack behind in their political empowerment. The following figure shows themes and subthemes that highlight the problems occurring within community.

Fig: 6

Themes and subthemes related to research question1.
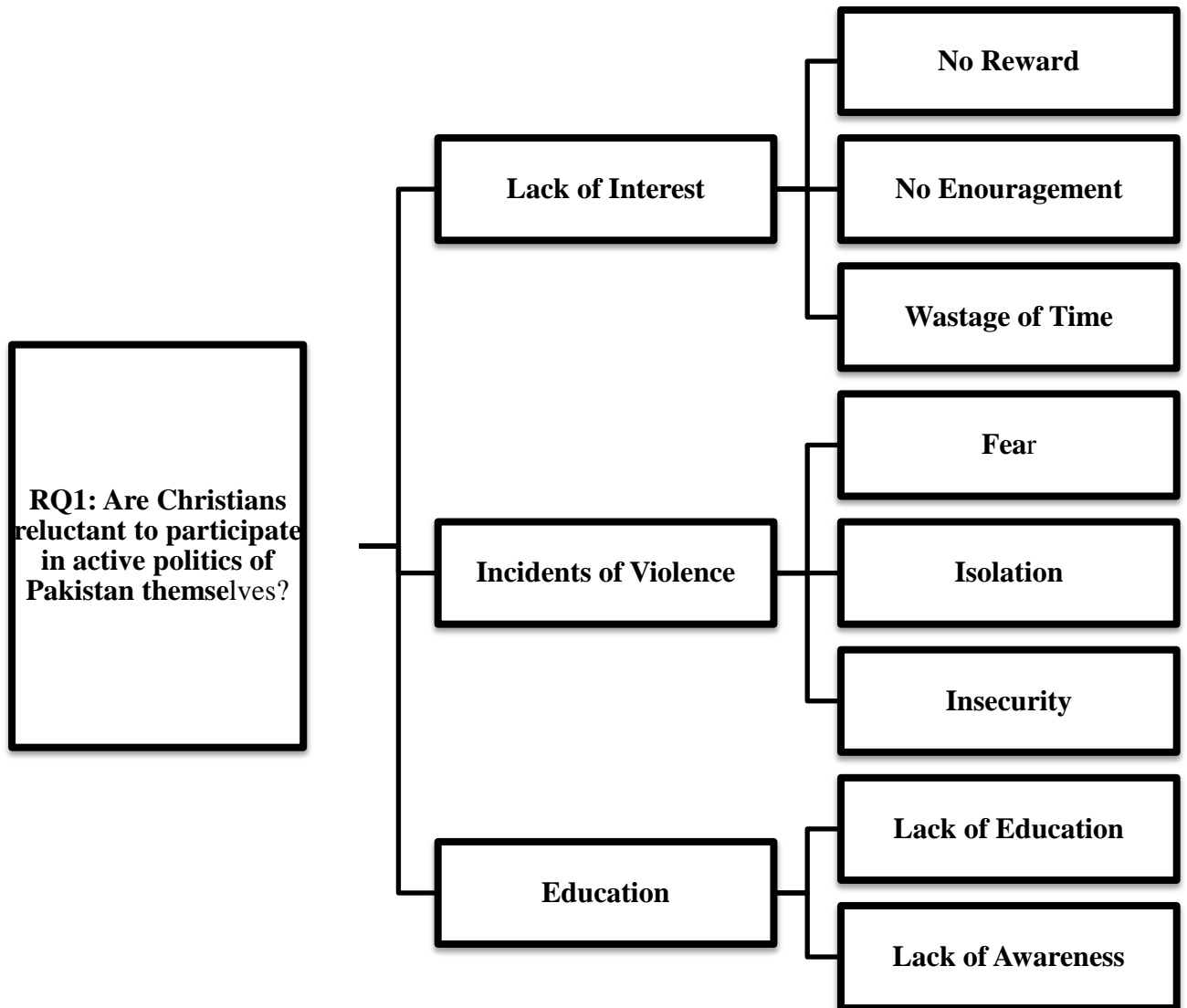
RQ2: Are the members of Christian community ignored by the party members during the selection of candidates' and decision making?

This question addressed challenges face by minority members in active political process, in political parties. This RQ outlines the problems faced by minority communities at political party levels, where they definitely are the members, but their involvement and role was also being assessed in this research. Themes and subthemes identified related to this question are discussed in detail in Step 4. The following figure shows these themes and subthemes and their relation to the RQ2.

Fig: 7

Themes and subthemes related to research question 2.
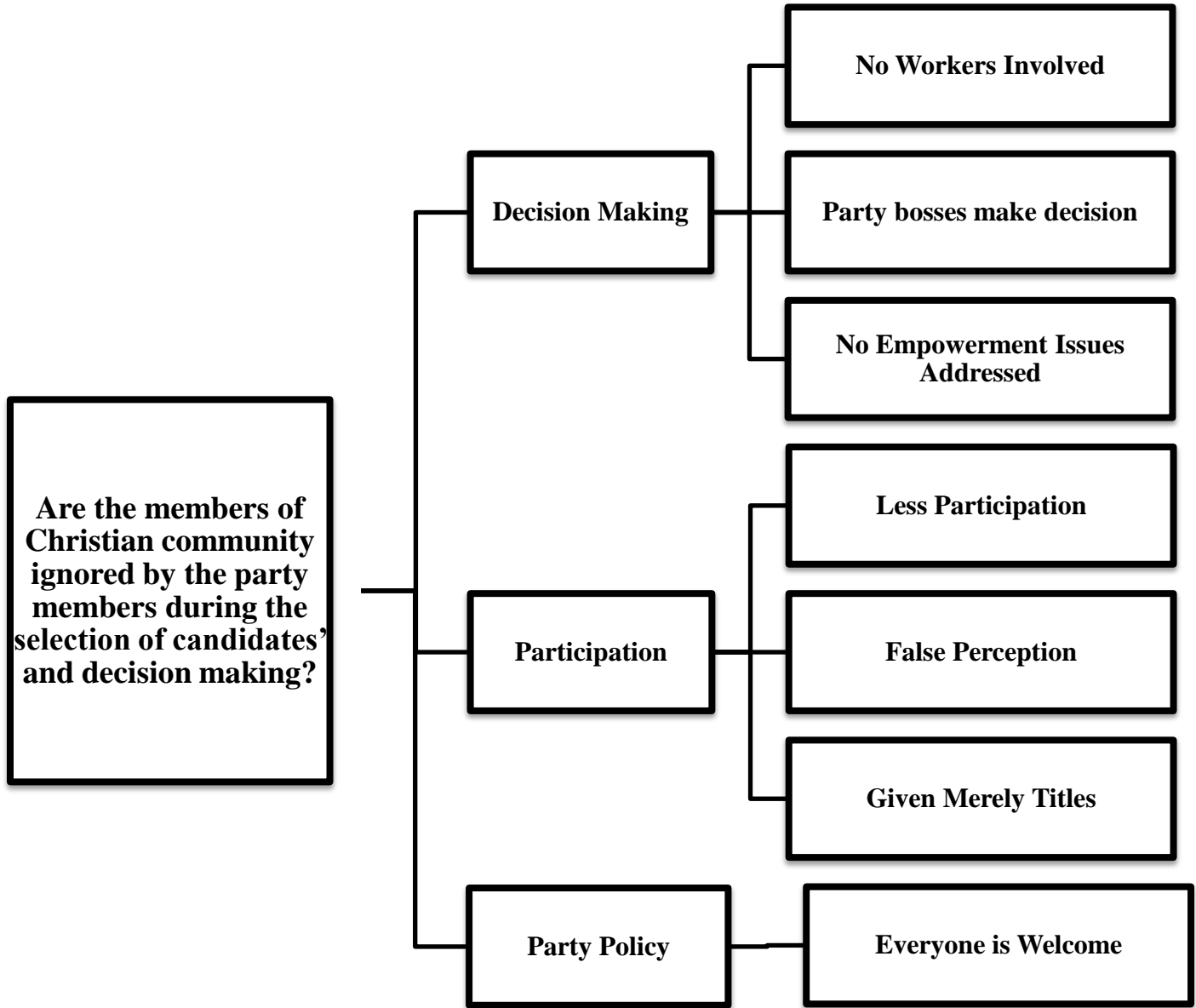
RQ3: What are the factors responsible for under-representation of the Christians in politics?

This question intends to explore some more reasons which are responsible for making Christians stay back from stepping into active political system. This RQ was based to explore any other factor which might have not being discussed by the participants previously. Themes and subthemes related to this question is shown below in the form of a figure.

Fig: 8

Themes and subthemes related to research question 3
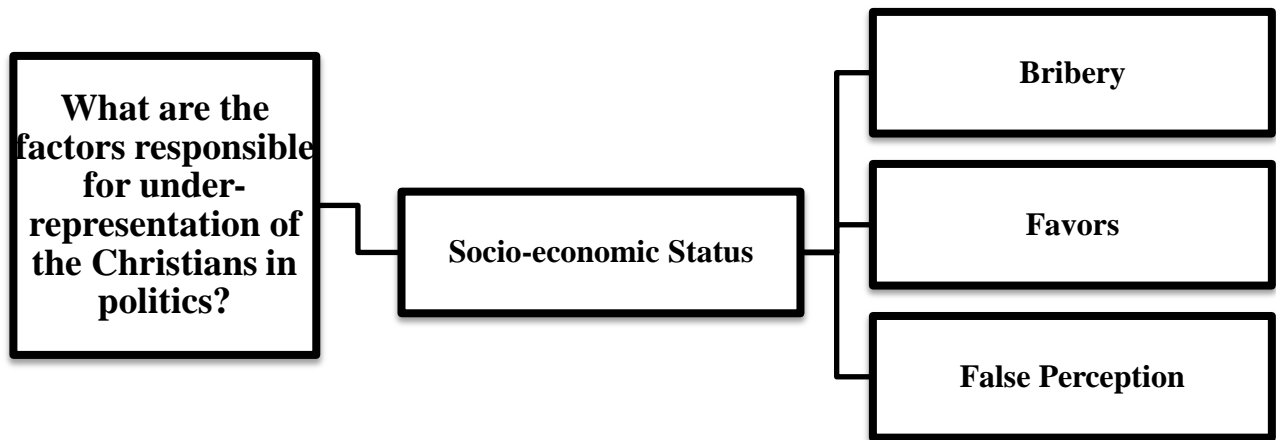
Step 6: DISCUSSION

This is the concluding step where themes extracted from content analysis are explained in detail.

Theme 1: Lack of Interest

This theme is named so because it brings forward an important issue that exists within the community itself. It was highlighted by the participants that most members of Christian community are not interested to participate in politics. They avoid taking part in politics as they believe it is just a wastage of time and with no encouragement and very little or no reward. It was brought to light that this lack of interest also depends upon ignorance and narrow-mindedness of majority members. It is observed that contributions of minority members have been ignored or not appreciated accordingly. Faruqi (20111) highlights that members of the Christian community have laid down their services for the development of the country but only few names can be seen, who served on prominent positions that include: former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, AR. Cornelius, Col. S. K. Tressler & Mr. Shahbaz Bhatti. Riaz & Khan (2015) stated that the Christians often hit the glass ceilings and fail to reach the higher levels of ranks, they highlight one such example, that Cecil Chaudhary was otherwise Pakistan's national hero along with M.M. Alam but he had been kept out of the national discourse.

Subtheme 1: No Reward

Most members of Christian community lack interest in politics and political activities as the workers get no instant reward. Most of them complained that they spend time raising slogans and gathering people for meetings but when it comes to giving rewards, party authorities pay a little or no money to them. Even if they do, the workers have to ask for it again and again. Isphanyar Bahndara (participant) emphasized on the point that when it comes to reward, minorities are mostly ignored or purposely shelved to the corners. The participants highlighted that other than

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financial rewards, the government has failed to applaud the sacrifices and services rendered by the minorities, to say so, one seldom finds a memorial erected in memory of a minority war hero or a minority political getting a road named in their remembrance. It was suggested to name a road after the war hero and political leaders from Christian community but the cases are still in limbo. Another case of the ignorance and sidelining of the minorities shared by one of the respondents is the about famous chowk in Karachi, the Teen Talwar, this monumental chowk was designed by a parsi; and the idea of putting a description about the monument's draftsman was not approved by the government. Only a few names of Christian members are prominent in active politics of Pakistan (Faruqi, 2011).

Moreover, the participants highlighted that historical contribution of people like S.P Singha and Jogindarnath Mandal are always overshadowed by the glorious accounts of patriotism of Muslim leaders. Some local Christians also sustained Jinnah's vision, playing a major role in his effort. Sir Victor Turner and Alvin Robert Cornelius Turner were prominent Christians predisposed for the economic and financial planning of the country after freedom. Turner was one of the founding fathers of Pakistan. (Chaudary, 1999). Members of the Christian community have laid down their services for the development of the country but only few names can be seen, who served on prominent positions that include: former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, AR. Cornelius, Col. S. K. Tressler & Mr. Shahbaz Bhatti (Faruqi, 2011). The Christians often hit the glass ceilings and fail to reach the higher levels of ranks (Riaz & Khan, 2015).

Subtheme 2: Wastage of Time

The participants highlighted that they work dedicatedly for the political parties they support an spend their entire day in handling the party affairs on the level they work. The parties only use them to gather more and more people for the crowd in meetings. Many dedicated workers

complained that most of them have to ignore their house shores and responsibility just to make sure they show their dedication and interest towards the political party they work for but at the end it turns out in total disappointment, both at home and from these parties. Most of the workers claimed that they have realized giving more time to politics is wastage of time, and even disturbs their routine and time spent at home. The respondents further elaborated that because most Christians are less educated, they do not take interest in development of the community as a whole, they only think about their daily expenses to be run smoothly.

Subtheme 3: No Encouragement

Most importantly, it was brought forward that Church as an institution works for development of the community. It not only keeps its members informed about job opportunities, both private and government but also arranges workshops and seminars to help people polish their talents and excel in their professions. There are a number of NGOs run by the Church to help the minorities and also the majority in different fields of humanity. Examples of the institutions out there working over sighted by the Church are the number of missionary schools being run by different religious congregations of Catholic nuns, the Caritas Pakistan, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, Pontifical Mission Society, and other various missionary societies like the Sisters of Charity who were originated in India by the famous Mother Teresa, now they are work for the poor in Pakistan, irrespective of their religious affiliations. As far as politics is concerned, it does not encourage its members to participate in politics. The Church in Pakistan, does mobilize its members to gain higher education and even emphasizes people to apply for the civil services of Pakistan, but it does not encourage its members to join politics. It is high time now that the Church has to be realized that political empowerment can easily empower the

community and they have to be encouraged to participate in politics to mobilize their community on the path of empowerment.

Theme 2: Incidents of Violence

The incidents of violence and discrimination in the past have created a sense of fear, feeling of rejection and insecurity among minority communities, which has resulted in their isolation from political participation, which in a broader spectrum hinders their political empowerment. It came to light during the research as the respondents conveyed their opinions that members of Christian community have internalized this fear for rejection, they feel that they are second degree citizens. There exists a sense of inferiority that has led to a lack of interest in political activities and as a result they have barricaded themselves from their empowerment as a community. But this typecasting of minorities is not all base-less and do hold some flame to it

Subtheme 1: Fear

It was highlighted that mostly people belonging to Christian community have an internalized fear. The fear of being rejected and facing violet reactions. It is very correct that Christians have been persecuted in different incidents for being a sympathizer of minorities (Faruqi, 2011). Moreover, it was highlighted that this fear starts developing in schools, when students are taught biased curriculum it inculcates hatred in people, later after gaining authority; these individuals express this hatred discrimination and biasness through their behaviours. Moreover, this fear creates a feeling of lack of acceptance in the society. They create a misconception among themselves of having little acceptability in society. which keeps them away from many opportunities including politics.

Subtheme 2: Insecurity

Gregory and Valentine (2009) reported the situation of religious minorities in Pakistan in which they defined stereotypes of inferiority of non-Muslims. Christians in Pakistan are labeled as stigmatized and marginalized citizens (Beall, 2002). Incidents of violence have developed a feeling of insecurity within the community. This insecurity led people stay away from politics and the ones who try to step out in political activities are mostly not supported. According to an interviewee: *"there are people like street pastors, who try to keep people under their influence, just to gain financial favors. They paint a negative image of the political system and refer to incidents of rejection and violence again and again, to keep people away from politics and be under their own influence".* This incident further inflamed their feeling of insecurity. This in returned was cashed by misleading street pastors who still use such examples to keep common man out of light and awareness of importance of political empowerment thus leaving the problems of common man un addressed.

Subtheme 3: Isolation

Additionally, members of Christian community have isolated themselves from mainstream politics. This self-isolation is dependent on past experiences. These experiences have left a prominent mark on their perception of society. A respondent highlighted "*our community has issues, to cope up with the challenges they have inflicted self-isolation on themselves, unaware of importance of political participation and empowerment. They have a strong feeling that they are deprived of their rights and consider themselves as second grade citizens."* The participants also discussed this feeling of isolation starts building up in our youngsters at school level. As the curriculum being taught in our schools is rather biased. The youth of Pakistan has not been given much knowledge about the role of Christians in development and defiance of the country.

However, a few references which are found in the textbook paint a negative image of the Christians. These textbooks mostly neglect the sacrifices of adorned war heroes such as Air Vice Marshalls Eric Gordon Hall and Michael John O'Brian (wars of 1947, 1965, 1971). (Lt. Col.) Mervyn Leslie Middlecoat, Squadron Leader (Major) Peter Christy, and Air Commodore (Brigadier-General) Nazir Latif (wars of 1965 and 1971). Also gone astray from the textbooks is the career of Chief Justice Alvin Robert Cornelius of the Pakistani Supreme Court (1960-1968) (Hussain, Salim & Naveed, 2011). This internalized fear of rejection and denial grows stronger with time and most of them have shelved themselves from claiming their basic rights.

Theme 3: Education

Education is the basic necessity and the most effective mechanism of empowerment (Thomas, 2011). Education meant empowerment for the Christian minorities throughout the Ottoman Empire (Mayeur-Jaouen, 1995). Unfortunately, in Pakistan most members of Christian community lack behind in education and have very little awareness about political participation and empowerment which can further lead towards solving their problems. Most participants highlighted that most members of minorities are kept unaware of advantages of political empowerment and advantages of empowerment because of their lacking behind in education.

Subtheme 1: Lack of Education

Christian missionaries have worked a lot in the field of education, by establishing schools around the country and imparting quality education. Unfortunately, most Christians living in the country are not quite well-educated. This lack of education leads to deprivation of basic rights and importance of being politically active. According to Mandal (2006) Participation in political field is the most important tool towards empowerment. A respondent claimed "*most Christians are not quite educated to realize the importance of political participation and trying to achieve*

political empowerment. they mostly stay under influence of under qualified local leaders and street pastors, who keep them under negative impression of politics, keeping them away from knowledge of their rights and using them for their own monetary gain."

Subtheme 2: Lack of Awareness.

It was highlighted by the participants that many people lack awareness about politics and importance of the concept of empowerment. Mansbridge (1999) explains political empowerment brings "communicative advantages" and their representation can break such barriers. They are mostly busy in fulfilling needs of their families, ignoring that if they spend a little time participating and representing their community in political parties, they can overcome most of their problems with the passage of time. This lack of awareness is not only the responsibility of families or political workers but also the Church, which is a strong religious institution and helps its members to get better jobs and offers financial helps as well, but it does not offer awareness about political rights and advantages of political empowerment.

Theme 4: Decision Making

One of the main problems that confront minority members is that in Pakistani politics, politicians from religious minority backgrounds have no choice but to depend on the party leaders for their nomination on reserved seats (Aamir, 2018). They also give certain designations to people like president `minority wing etc. but these is merely titles. Decision making is done by party bosses only, with no consultation from party workers regarding their problems at grass root level or related to their community.

Subtheme 1: No Workers involved

It was brought to light that the party heads do not involve any worker while making decisions. They have their own committees including prominent figures of their parities to make decisions

about important affairs. They do not consult small committees working with common man or the workers, to assess problems of people. This does not happen to workers of minority members only but also with Muslims. NO party worker is consulted before making decisions.

Subtheme 2: Party Bosses make decision

Decision making power in political parties rests with party bosses only. Workers depend on their bosses to make decisions for them. Whether it is major party decision or it is related to contestants contesting elections, authority belongs to party heads only. They do not welcome any advises or recommendation from workers of the heads of different committees.

Subthemes 3: No Empowerment issues addressed

The workers claim that their issues are not addressed by political parties. The people with influence are given personal favors or prominent positions in the party. Even these representatives do not care about their community's development. A respondent claimed "*the representatives from our communities when offered personal favors, forget their promises made before elections and prefer their own profits over community development.*"

Theme 5: Participation

It was highlighted by the participants; although minorities have very little representation in politics but as far as Christians are concerned they have a better representation in politics than other minority communities. As political empowerment breaks communication barriers and provides chances to connect to authorities. This can prove to be productive for other religious minorities as well as Donovan, and Karp (2004) described in a study of descriptive representation for minorities, minorities are empowered by seeing other minorities in power.

Subtheme 1: Less Participation

Minorities in Pakistan have very little representation in politic. Due to issues within community and challenges from political parties, they do not participate quite actively in politics.

Subtheme 2: False Perception

This is an important factor discussed by the participants, in their view it is a false perception that Christians have no significant representation or participation in politics. Whereas, Christians have better representation in politics, than other minorities. They have a better political influence then other minorities. It was stressed if Christians continue to take interest in politics and participate actively they can proceed towards empowerment of the community on the whole.

Subtheme 3: Given Merely Titles

Therefore, most participants having affiliation with political parties complained, they are merely given titles and not at all involved in decision making process. They are not at all consulted while taking important decisions. They even highlighted that this is not only the case with minorities but is same for Muslim workers of party as well. Even they are not consulted for their views about any problem. People are given merely titles to improve vote bank.

Theme 6: Party Policies

There are no specific policies of political parties for minority members. Political parties welcome everyone to join their party. It is not difficult to become a party member. A participant highlighted "*political parties welcome everyone to be a part. Every party likes to hav more supporters and voters.*"

Subtheme 1: Everyone is Welcome

During data collection it was highlighted by the participants that political parties have no specific policies for minority members. Political parties welcome everyone to join the party. A

participant Isphanyar Bhndra highlighted that political parties welcome everyone to join by filling in the form worth 10 rupees. Every party likes to have more workers to chant their slogans and increase vote bank as well.

Theme 7: Socioeconomic status

One of the factors which are related to political participation is socio-economic status. According to the standard socio-economic model of participation socioeconomic status is strongly related to political participation. People with higher incomes tend to participate more because they are more conscious of the impact of politics on their lives and aware of the legitimate ways to influence government actions (Janda, et al., 2012; Wong, 2006; Kim, 2008). But here in the scenario of Pakistan, most of the Christian minority members work as labor force or domestic help and live below the poverty line (Alter, 2003). This makes it difficult for them to excel in politics. Pakistani Christians do participate in politics in ways like becoming low level members or workers for political parties but they seldom go farther than this stage. They prefer earning for their families rather that spending time in rallies and political meetings.

Subtheme 1: Favors

It is noted by the views of the respondents that most of the Christians just made political affiliations so they had some support from the party they belonged to in case of any communal disputes arise or they wanted to have someone, any politically influential person on their back to show political power if they get entangle in the "Thana Culture". Otherwise being affiliated with a political party comes in handy to get government employment despite of the ban on governmental hiring.

Subtheme 2: Bribery

Isphanyar Bhandara, one of the respondents, who is also a major minority leader highlighted that "*monkey dances on money*", bribery and undue favors have made politics a "*dirty game*". This is also one of the reasons that a common man belonging Christian or any other minority community perceives that politics is a dirty game and their personal lives may get interwoven in this mess, some are afraid that they may have to grant undue favors in return if they themselves facilitate from politics or political parties, so they prefer to stay away from politics.

Subtheme 3: False Perception

Isphanyar Bhandara (respondent) highlighted that it is a false perception that only people with high income can participate in politics. But the very second thing to come up was to excel in politics, which the respondents were at polarizing views, which makes it a different matter altogether. Although as in any case, there are always exceptions, as that of Miss Asia Nasir, a woman belonging to working class is now a member of the National Assembly.

4.3. Findings

A detailed explanation on themes and their sub themes is already done and is supported by literature. All the research questions were addressed. RQ1 helped to identify issues within community. The issues within community are: Lack of education, Lack of interest, and feelings of fear, isolation and rejection due to incidents of violence and intolerance in past. These issues prevail within Christian community, which makes them hesitant to participate in mainstream politics. The problems that occur due to these issues are one of the basic hindrances which make them feel insecure and cautious about stepping forward into political system. And the ones who show some interest in politics are not supported by their families or the Church as itself. All these obstacles are self-invented by community members, which keep them distracted from the

path of empowerment. Similarly, there were several challenges identified with help of RQ2, which minority members have to face when they join political parties, they came out to be: decision making, participation and party policies. Political parties welcome everyone to join them as they want more supporters for their parties which helps them to increase their vote bank. It is evident from data that party bosses keep the decision making power solely to them and do not give enough chances to others to pool in their ideas. This does not only happen to minority members but also Muslim members who do not hold prominent position in the party. While making decisions empowerment issues are not discussed. It is noticeable that although minorities in Pakistan are not politically empowered and have low representation in politics but among them Christians have better representation than other minorities. It was brought to light that most minority members, when they join political parties they are simply given titles with no authority, as these people are not even consulted before taking any decision or are not asked for their opinion. RQ3, helped to highlight more issues which obstruct political empowerment, they were identified as: Socio-economic status and not enough chances. It was recognized that most people think that only rich people can join politics which is totally a false perception. There are many examples of minority members who have succeeded in politics and have earned prominent positions. It is only that people with money have made it fowl, as they bribe people and give them undue favors just to gain noticeable position in the party. Moreover, it is a known secret that minority members do not get enough chances to progress in politics because they depend on party heads for their positions and the chance to contest election. And are mostly used to increase vote bank of their party.

4.4. Discussions on Political Empowerment of Christians

Political empowerment is the activity which aims at bringing government to move in a particular direction, to secure particular results (Carolyn, 2008). It is believed that without voices being heard from inside the government area and halls of public policy people are without the right of accountability (Brill, 2000). It is evident from the political history of Pakistan that minorities in Pakistan are not politically empowered, as their continuous struggle made them earn only 6 seats in the National Assembly and a few seats in Provincial assemblies (Shamsi, 2011). There are many factors which determine empowerment of a community. This study explored these factors that obstruct political empowerment of Christians in Pakistan. To do this interviews and focus group discussions were conducted. The data collected was arranged into codes and themes. These themes were discussed in detail, along with their subthemes.

These themes and codes brought many factors to light, responsible to obstruct political empowerment of Christians. Bird (2005) stated in his political opportunity structure that the factors affecting political participation exist at various levels. Similarly, various factors are identified which impact achievement of empowerment at different levels. Studying the data in detail revealed several factors that can be categorized as:

- Issues within community
- Challenges in political parties.

Empowerment of minorities is important in all spheres; especially in the political sphere it is very crucial, for their development and to set the basis of an equal society (Rajput, 2001). It was highlighted that Christians in Pakistan have certain issues within community that keep them away from participating in politics. These people have an internalized fear of rejection and violent reaction from the society, because of their past experiences. Advani (2016) explained the

cause of this fear as being a victim of mob violence like in 2009, a Christian village in Gojra, Punjab, was demolished to the ground and eight Christians were burnt alive, Kasur (2009), Umerkot (2010) and many more.

Bieber (2008) believes that political participation of minorities is crucially important for the implementation of minority rights. Most people are unaware of advantages of political empowerment and how it can lead to development of the whole community. there exist certain barriers in communication of the problems of minority group, on the contrary, their representation can break such barriers (Mansbridge, 1999). Many people lack interest in politics as they get a negative image from the ones who have already been part of political parties. It is evident from the data that youngsters who want to participate in politics are not encouraged by their families and not at all supported by the Church, an important institution which helps people financially and to get better jobs.

Political parties welcome everyone to join them. Although Banducci, Donovan & Karp (2004) state that very little is known about the effect minority representation has on the attitudes and behavior of minority voters. But these parties are happy to have more supporters to raise slogans and attract more voters. The workers working for political parties claim that they do not have enough chances to progress in the party. According to Aamir (2018) the main problem that confronts minority members is that, politicians from religious minority backgrounds have no choice but to depend on the party leaders for their nomination on reserved seats. This turned out to be true as the respondents clarified it that they depend upon party bosses for their selection for contesting elections and decision making process. Mostly workers belonging to minorities are just given fancy titles with no authority. These people are not even consulted before making decision, to know about problems of their community at grass root level. Party bosses are hardly

interested to address empowerment issues. Whereas, it is clear that as compared to other minority groups, Christians have better representation in politics.

According to the standard socioeconomic model of participation (Janda, et al., 2012; Wong, 2006; Kim, 2008) people with higher education and higher incomes participate more in politics because they are more conscious of the impact of politics on their lives and aware of the legitimate ways to influence government actions. Alter (2003) states in a research that very less number of Christian students are enrolled in schools and a large number of them live under the line of poverty. Contrary to this the participants highlighted that there are many examples where individuals belonging to minorities have gained prominent positions e.g. Miss Asia Nasir, who belongs to a middle class family and is Member of Parliament.

Bird (2005) in his structure of political opportunity states that financial stability is of great importance for the participants to contest elections. Unfortunately, the majority of Christians are uneducated, and even trained and competent people are unable to find work. To support a family about 75 percent of Christians living in rural areas works in farms from morning till night. Their relatives work alongside them; others serve as domestic helpers in lords' homes. A large number of young Christians work as skilled employees in industries such as sportswear, medical equipment, and leather clothing. Their work is physically demanding, but the factory owner compensates them based on the amount of work they complete or the number of hours they spend in the plant, so they are still living in bad conditions (Shamsi, 2011). The respondents clarified that unfortunately; the people who have enough money bribe party members and give them favors to gain quick success in politics. They portray a negative image of politics itself and politicians as well. Therefore, most political workers think they are used to increase vote bank of

the party other than being concerned about their representation and empowerment issues. and try to keep people away from the system.

The respondents highlighted another important factor hindering political empowerment, was lack of education. Pakistan falls 200 years far behind in literacy, according to a 1993 UNESCO report, with a literacy rate of 27 percent. (Malik, 2002). Past researches state it clear that education plays a significant role in empowering a community. The participants highlighted that most members of Christian community are not much educated, yet are unaware of importance of political empowerment as an important tool for progress of community as a whole. According to Thomas (2011) education is the basic necessity and the most effective mechanism of empowerment. It is evident from the history that education has helped many minority groups to empower themselves by getting educated. In the time of Ottoman Empire, the minority groups— the Christians, Americans, Greeks, Copts, opened their own schools (Mayeur-Jaouen, 1995). The respondents made it clear that the Christian community lacks behinds in the political empowerment due to their higher rates of illiteracy. The Christians' most heinous flaw is that they are seriously behind the times in terms of education. This keeps them unaware of the fact that political empowerment can address their community issues and the community can progress. It was made marked by the respondents that minority students do not have the facility to have religious education of their own religion. The students belonging to minority groups in Pakistan are facing problems because of unavailability of respective religious education. They are forced to study from textbooks and curricula that are prejudiced against them and routinely face discrimination from Muslim students and teachers (Hussain, Salim & Naveed, 2011). It was notified by a respondent that Government schools must have the facility of religious education for minority members as well. Malik (2002) believes that a serious improvement want has never

been shown by the government regarding the school curricula. Traditionally in Pakistan education has always been used as an instrument in the perusing of political ends at a narrow. A claim has always been done by the Christian minority for changing, modification of approach that allows the Christians along with other minorities to improve their quality of life as well as their education (Tahir & Tahira, 2016).

This facility is also available in for Muslim students in Christian schools, so the Government must focus on this aspect of education too. Approximately 85 percent of total of the children have not been going to school, and no Bible school has been set up for them. As a result, certain kids are excluded from religious services. A lot of schools are run by churches with the assistance of international donor entities in the name of Christians, but their doors are closed to Christians. Thousands of students attend such colleges, but Christians make up less than two percent of those enrolled because they cannot afford the fees and requirements of these institutions (Tahir & Tahira, 2016).

Overall, it was noteworthy that there are multiple factors obstructing the political empowerment of Christian community but the most importantly the participants believed that the community has to prioritize overcoming internalized issues, as only that can help the community to come forward as one unit and face the challenges posed by the society. there is a dire need of education, overcoming self –created misconceptions and encouragement of political participant within the community, which can result in community's progress.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

Democratic Pakistan was established upon philosophies of equal nationality and civil liberties regardless of status and belief. A motherland where citizenship pedestal on equal constitutional rights could lead to progressive betterment. Cross Community associations were rendered deteriorated by the non-representation of minorities in the government. It is claimed that the constitution of Pakistan promises provision of equal rights to all the citizens but unfortunately, these provisions have never been fully applied in practice, and are contradicted by other provisions of the Constitution. There are several hindrances in the provision of equal rights to the minorities; in addition to other rights minorities also have a low representation and low participation in the political sphere of the country. The youth of Pakistan has not been given much knowledge about the role of Christians in development and defiance of the country. The country was developed as a homeland for all regardless of the creed, caste and religion of the people and served to provide equal rights to all citizens. But currently the state that has to protect rights of every group has failed miserably to serve the purpose of honoring the basic principle upon which the foundation of Pakistan was laid.

Political empowerment of Christians in Pakistan has been studied in this project. This is a qualitative study. Data was collected by conducting interviews and focus group discussions. Themes and codes were deduced from data. It was revealed that there are multiple factors which obstruct political empowerment of Christians in Pakistan. Among these factors some are internalized by the community, based on past experiences. These experiences have generated feelings of fear, rejection and insecurity among members of minorities due to which they have isolated themselves from politics. These factors prevail within community and hinder political empowerment. On the other hand, factors such as ignorance at hands of authorities, no provision

of enough chances, exclusion from decision making are factors from the society, which obstruct political empowerment of minorities. On the whole, minorities in Pakistan are not much politically empowered but Christians stand in a better position than other minorities. Christians have little but better political representation than other minorities that can gradually lead to empowerment of the community. Party bosses are hardly interested to address empowerment issues. Whereas, it is clear that as compared to other minority groups, Christians have better representation in politics.

5.1. Relevance of study to Public Policy

The present study finds its relevance to public policy as researches prove that political empowerment is central to achieve the goals of equality and development. Mansbridge (1999) stated that political empowerment brings communicative advantages to minority groups. It is obvious from the data that Christians and minority groups do not have enough political representation to make them empowered and give them opportunity to get their issues addressed and make sure the policies are framed into their interest. Furthermore, we come to know that there are a lot of misconceptions which lead to under-representation of minorities in politics leading to their absence in democratic decision making process and public policy halls. This lack of political empowerment also fails them to mobilize the government into specific direction to achieve their desire goals.

5.2. Limitations

- This study was conducted in Rawalpindi District only.

- Only a few members of other minority communities were included.

- Some participants were hesitant to discuss issues related to minorities.

5.3. Recommendations

- Government can increase the number of reserved seats for minorities in National and Provincial Assemblies

- Political parties should provide more opportunities to members of religious minority groups to contest election on general seats as well.

- Christians as a community have to overcome their internalized fears to face challenges and gain empowerment.

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Annex A

Interview guideline for data collection about the issues and challenges in Political Empowerment of Christian community of Pakistan.

<u>CONSENT FORM</u>

I, the signatory, declare that I am willing to participate in this research project entitled **"Issues and Challenges in Political Empowerment of Minorities: A Case Study of Christian Community in Pakistan"**.

• I declare that I have been fully briefed on the nature of this study and my role in it and have been given the opportunity to ask questions before approving to participate.

• The nature of my participation has been explained to me and I have full knowledge of how the information collected will be used.

• I am also aware that my participation in this study may be recorded (audio) and I agree to this. However, I can request that the recording equipment be switched off at any time I feel uncomfortable. I am entitled to copies of all recordings made and I am fully informed as to what will happen to these recordings once the study is completed.

• I fully understand that there is no compulsion on me to participate in this study.

• I fully understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time without having to explain or give a reason.

• I am willing/not willing to be identified as a participant in this study.

--   ------------------------------------

Signature of Participant   **Date**

Age: _____   Education: _____

Religion: _____   Occupation: _____

City: _____

Introductory Statement

I would like to thank you for your willingness to participate in this research and sparing some time for this interview. I am Sharon Elijah Raja, M.Phil, student at NUML, Islamabad. I am working on a research project highlighting the issues and challenges in Political Empowerment of Christians in Pakistan. I am not a part of any political or religious organization. The present research aims to study:

1. What are the fissures between constitutional provisions of citizens' political rights and actual practices?

2. How can the gap between constitutional rights and actual practices be filled?

3. What is the level of participation of Christians in mainstream politics?

4. How much importance is given to the opinion of Christians members of the political party before taking a decision?

5. Are Christian members merely used to increase the vote bank of the Party?

The main aim of this study is to identify the issues and challenges faced by the Christians of Pakistan to be able to become important members of the political system. For this purpose I am

carrying out interview of political leaders, political workers and people having affiliation with political parties. The participants are chosen from different cities of Pakistan.

Hence, I will ask open-ended questions about the topic of research, in order to have a better insight of the problems. Feel free to skip any question if you are not comfortable discussion that topic. The interview is not to be carried in a hurry, you have as much time as you can spare from your schedule.

Before starting the interview: Do you mind if I switch on the recording device and record your interview?

Bridging Cards		
Could you please give a few reasons which hinder the political empowerment of religious minorities in Pakistan, especially the Christians?		
Priority	**Module**	**Entry Questions**
3	**1. Political leadership/ party policies for members of religious minorities**.	What is your opinion about the political leadership providing chances of participation for religious minorities?
2	**2. Problems faced by religious minorities to become a part of active political system**	What are the problems faced by the members of religious minorities in becoming a part of the political system?
1	**3. Issues/Challenges posing hindrance in the active participation of Christians in mainstream politics.**	What are the challenges in the mainstream politics which hinder the participation of Christian members in mainstream politics?

Opening		
0.1. Could you please give a few reasons which hinder the political empowerment of religious minorities in Pakistan, especially the Christians?		
Indicator	**Specifying Questions**	**Neutral Questions**
	0.2. Are you a part of any political party? 0.3. Are there anymore members belonging to minority communities working with you as political workers? 0.4. What position is generally allocated to the members of minorities in political parties?	- What do you mean when you are saying…….? - What else? - Why do you think…….?

Module 1: Political leadership/ party policies for members of religious minorities.		
1.1. What is your opinion about the political involvement of members of religious minorities?		
Indicator	**Follow-up Questions**	**Specifying Questions**
Interviewee's experience of being a part of a political party	1.2. Do you think political parties have defined policies for the members of religious minorities? 1.3. In your opinion the members belonging to minority communities given importance? 1.4. Do the members of minority communities have the right of freedom of speech in party's decision making process? 1.5. Are the members of religious minorities merely thought of as a source of increasing the vote bank?	‑ Do you encourage members of religious minorities to participate in politics? ‑ How beneficial do you think political involvement can be?

Module 2: Problems faced by religious minorities to become a part of active political system		
2.1. In your opinion what are the problems faced by members of religious minorities in becoming a part of mainstream politics?		
Indicator	**Follow-up Questions**	**Specifying Questions**
Interviewee's perception about the attitude of people towards members of religious minorities	2.2. Is it easy for the members of minority communities to become part of political parties? 2.3. Are the members of minority communities given equal chances of contesting the elections? 2.4. Are the members of religious minorities' dependent of selection of political leadership to contest the elections? 2.5. Do the members of minority communities mostly work as party workers?	- The constitution of Pakistan ensures equal rights to its citizens; do you think it is being practiced in politics? - How freely do you think the participation of religious minorities is being encouraged?

Module 3: Issues/Challenges posing hindrance in the active participation of Christians in mainstream politics.		
3.1. Can you give some reasons which hinder the empowerment of Christians in active political system?		
Indicator	**Follow-up Questions**	**Specifying Questions**
Interviewee's experience	3.2. In your opinion, are there enough Christian members in political parties? 3.3. Are the Christian involved in decisions making process for the party? 3.4. Is the opinion of Christian members given importance?	- What issues do Christians face in order to become a part of the political party? - What other factors can you think of?

Annex B

Guide for Focus Group Discussions

This study will organize four focus group discussions with members of political parties, belonging to minority communities, specifically Christians to cover a number of salient topics as indicated below:

Note:

This is only an indicative guideline since plenty of opportunities will be given to participants who want to discuss an issue in more depth.

The discussion will begin with:

Introduction of the facilitator/researcher.

Explanation of the purpose of the meeting.

Agreeing on procedure of the meeting.

Open discussion on topics relating to Political Empowerment of Christians in Pakistan.

Questions	Prompts
In your opinion approximately how many members of religious communities are participating in politics	People's perception/experience about religious minorities in politics.
Are members of religious minorities given equal opportunities of participation? Are the opinions of minority members given importance?	Interviewee's perception about the chances of participation for available for religious minorities. Interviewee's knowledge bout constitution and political system.
What are the issues faced by Christians to become a part of mainstream politics?	Challenges posing hindrance in political empowerment of Christians.
How can the participation of Christians be improved in mainstream politics?	