

**NORMALIZATION OF STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY: THE
CASE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN MINORITY IN PAKISTAN**



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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

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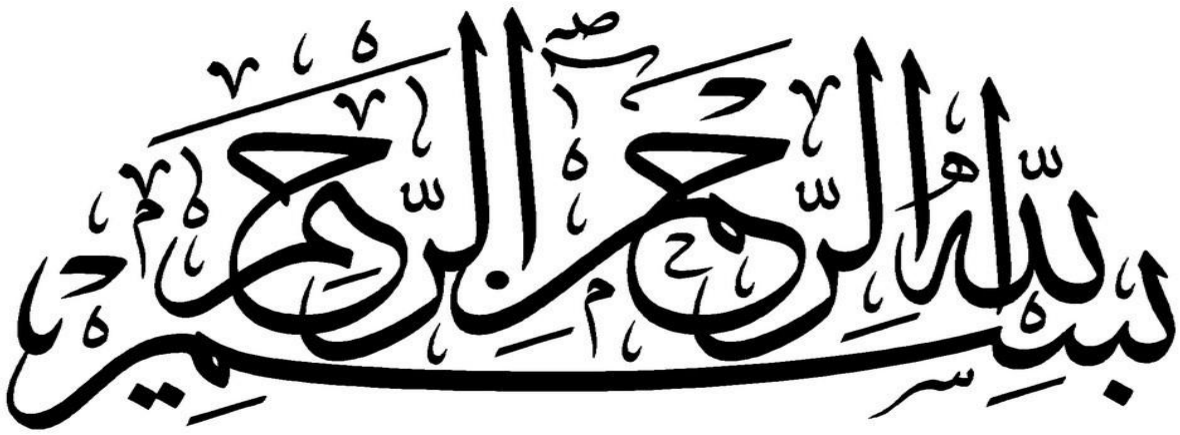
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**IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST BENEFICENT THE
MOST MERCIFUL**

*Read! And thy lord is Most Honorable and most Benevolent, who taught
(to write) by pen, He taught men that which he knows not.*

(Surah Al-Alaq30: 3-5)

Al-Quran

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I, **Marruum Tahir Ch** declare that this research work entitled “**Normalization of Structural Inequality: The Case Study of Christian Minority in Pakistan**” is my own work. The work here in was carried out while I was a post-graduate student at **Center for Peace and Stability (CIPS), NUST** under the supervision of **Dr. Bakare Najimdeen**. The work has not been presented elsewhere for assessment. The material that has been used from other sources has been properly acknowledged/ referred.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate my thesis to my parents and my husband. Without their constant support and never-ending motivation this thesis would not have been possible.

Abstract

The segregation in Pakistani society have marginalized the Christian community. The social stratification has led power and wealth in few groups. Christian being a religious minority had to live their life in constant fear. They are socio-politically, economically and constitutionally discriminated. The inequality in structures are so deeply rooted that they have become normalized. The normalization of inequalities is due to structure of society and how it is being designed historically. The Muslim scholars and extremist with the help of governments have radicalized the society through the influence of Sharia. The discriminated laws and weak governing system have further drive Christians in isolations. The theory of protracted social conflict is a theory introduced by Edward Azar to track the protracted conflict in third world. The theory was specifically designed to assess the conflict within groups on the basis of identity, race, religion etc. this theory is used as a framework to analyze the emergence and progression of the conflict. The theory is used to test its variables and find its application in the conflict. The purpose is to identify the underlying reason of the issue and to identify to what extent the theory remains a useful framework to analyze the conflict.

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1.INTRODUCTION

1.1Problem statement

Structural inequality is a condition in which one group of people are more privileged and given unequal status in relation to another group. Certain people are given more opportunities, rights and power by institutions and structures, predominately dominated by the group enjoying certain privilege. Hence in such socio-political and economic climate, the chance of systematic inequality, marginalization, and deprivation are not unlikely. With the support of the system, such inequality becomes a routine and ritualized by the` society. The marginalized people are often times deprived of equal opportunities due to their status, race, gender etc. ¹

Such inequality and miscarriage of justice which sometime engenders violence, is something which is hidden and not visible, and which thus makes it more dangerous. It's something which is there for so long and been done on daily basis. The characteristics of structural inequality is that it is hidden, normalized and faceless. It leads to the extreme poverty, uneven distribution of wealth, resources, limited access to education, health and other basic needs. (Liao, 2009) structural inequality become incorporated in society through different structures which could be socio-political, economy etc. these structures are construct in a hierarchal manner that they provide opportunities for one group and constrain the other groups from having any equal opportunity. Uneven distribution of wealth, resources, information will make one group more dominate and rest of the groups will have to bear the impact of structural inequality (stolte, 1977).Different

¹ Tim F Liao, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Structural Inequality," no. November (2009), https://www.academia.edu/911616/Conceptualizing_and_measuring_structural_inequality.

minorities have been marginalized due to structural inequality, but there is nothing done to address those inequalities.² The impact has been huge but it has become normalized because it is something which gradually get incorporated in society and victimize specific group of people. People who are being impacted by this inequality have no idea who to blame. Minorities all over the world have been affected by it. For instance, black in America has been facing structural inequality for so long. They have been deprived of their right for so long. Still they have equal opportunities like the whites.

The social stratification of society has led wealth and power in few hands. The groups who are privileged and have control over power and resources, use their position to marginalize the ones who are at the bottom of hierarchical order. Christian in Pakistan have restricted choices. They feel insecure due to the discrimination they had to suffer in everyday lives. The Muslim community makes sure that Christian remains in subordinate positions by emphasizing their low status origin. They are usually called churas and considered untouchables. The radicalization in society through Islamization has affect the Christian community very much. They are not treated equally. They have to fought for their rights. They are socially, politically and economically discriminated. the weak governmental system and discriminatory policies have made their life miserable.³ According to blasphemy law has created a fear among Christians. They are being targeted by these laws, which constrain them from getting better opportunities in society. Other factors like unequal citizenship and the ascription of impurity to Christians that has been institutionalized through the job market, enable the agency of perpetrators of structural inequality and constrain the agency of

² J. F. Stolte and R. M. Emerson, "Structural Inequality: Position and Power in Network Structures," in *Behaviour Theory in Sociology*, 1976, 131–49, https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/Structural_inequality_position_and_power.html?id=B8TbvQEACAAJ&redir_esc=y.

³ Shaun Gregory, "Under the Shadow of Islam: The Plight of the Christian Minority in Pakistan," *Contemporary South Asia* 20, no. 2 (June 2012): 195–212, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2012.670201>.

Christians. the blasphemy laws were changed in Zia regime in order to get support of religious parties. These laws were used as a tool to gain their self-interests by degrading religious minorities. Inequalities in structural whether it is social, political or economic, is so deep rooted that they have become normalized. The problems lie in weak government policies and governance system.⁴

1.2 Research questions

How system of social stratification in a society led to marginalization of the Christian community?

What are the factors which lead to normalization of structural inequality against Christian Minority?

How well do Edward azar theory of protracted social conflict genesis variable correlate and analyze the situation of Christian minority in Pakistan?

1.3 Research objective

To explain the factors which lead to normalization of structural inequality in society.

The study will also try to analyze the origin and progression of the conflict through protracted social theory.

⁴ Qaiser Julius, "The Experience of Minorities Under Pakistan's Blasphemy Laws," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 27, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 95–115, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2015.1108639>.

1.4 Research significance

The significance of research is as following:

1. Most of the research which has been done on structural inequality focuses how it constrain opportunity of certain group of people in context of mental health, homelessness, and income factor. This research is significant because it will highlight how structural inequality have become normalized and acceptable in society and how it had affected religious minority (Christian community). the research will highlight the issues of Christians and how they are impacted by the weak policies and discriminatory laws.

2. Edward Azar theory of Protracted social conflict will be applied as a framework to analyze the underlying reasons of the conflict. The variables of theory will be tested to see how much they will correlate to the conflict. Theory will help in in-depth understanding of the under studied problem.

1.5 Methodology

The research method provides an opportunity for researcher to test the availability and limitation of different approaches available. There are two type of approaches deductive and inductive. Deductive approach test theories while through inductive approach theories are formulated (Brymon,2001). In this research deductive approach is used as, protracted social theory of Edward Azar is applied. The theory will help in unfolding different factors which had given rise to the conflict and deductive approach will help in testing whether theory applied was able to explain all the conflict through its variables.

There are two method used in a research for data analysis- Qualitative and Quantitative. The quantitative research is used to explain a certain phenomenon using numerical data. the research is based on data analysis which could be transformed into statistic. While Qualitative research is

used to get better understanding of a particular phenomenon and to get in-depth information about human behavior. This research will be qualitative in nature as this will allow to explore and help in better understanding of underdiscussed phenomena. It also helps in uncovering and highlighting different trends and themes found in the literature. This research will be using the qualitative method to understand and analyzed the primary reason of a situation and its impact on a particular marginalized group. Additionally, it will try to seek answers of research question from understanding the human behavior, and underlying reason of the conflict and its impact on the particular minority. Secondary source such as, books, journals and articles etc. will be used to get the required information. The information will be utilized to investigate the present phenomena by interpretation of the themes and underlying meanings.

2. Literature Review

Conflict cannot be excluded from the social relation. When people in a society has incompatible goals with limited coordination and there is no mechanism of mediation process, conflict rises. Community includes different groups having different identity, religion, ethnic or cultural identity. Most of the communities in the world are multicommunal, which means that the chances of protracted conflict increase. The protracted conflicts are the prolonged struggle and give result to continued structural violence in underdeveloped countries. These conflicts are result of colonial legacies of “divide and rule”, limited resources, deprivation of basic needs and distributive justice. The characteristic of a protracted social conflict includes: hostility and insecurity which is characterized by prolonged period of crisis.⁵The progression of this conflict is usually complex as its genesis, maturity and reduction is un clear. Second the fluctuation in the intensity of the conflict changes with time. the conflict may spill over and blur the external and internal boundaries. The outcome of this conflict is negative sum. The reason is that there is no winner or loser, as everyone is a victim.

The protracted conflict has devastating effects as it carries political, economic, social cost with it. PCS is a result of a vicious cycle of underdevelopment and poverty and deformation of institution led to hardening of communal cleavages which leads to nation building impossible. The psychological disorientation of the groups which are involve in the PCS leads to frustration and depression. the communal groups which have fear of marginalization leads to alliance with external actors. The external actor which gets involved increase dependency of the communal

⁵ John L. Davies and Edward Kaufman, *Second Track/Citizens' Diplomacy: Concepts and Techniques for Conflict Transformation*, 2003, https://books.google.com.pk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=DACRP80razgC&oi=fnd&pg=PA15&dq=protracted+social+conflict&ots=-OtAgfAHpY&sig=NTWcCh3AB5EzPf4H9qBXaO9pXAg&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=protracted social conflict&f=false.

group on them, and led to their loss of decision making. It deprives the communal group from their basic needs.

Protracted social conflict is a prolonged struggle for the communal group because of economic and political underdevelopment. there is need of distributive injustice which only happen if the political and economic disparities are eliminated. When there is imbalance in power and leadership then conflict erupts. The protracted social conflict is deeply rooted into the lives of the people. The real source of this conflict lies in the denial of the basic human needs which are given to all. PCS are not short lived; they rise due to denial of a separate identity in a society and absence of security of culture. The most important unit in protracted social conflict is identity group based on racial, religion, ethnic, cultural etc. the identity groups in a protracted social conflict seek alliance with other actors to satisfy their basic needs. Further, the centralized political system in a society in a protracted social conflict reduce the opportunity for the communal groups to have a sense of community among them.⁶ The societies which are gone into decade of violence, will transform a centralized political system into decentralized. This system will then lead to freedom of participation of everyone and satisfy the political and societal needs. Conflict resolution in a protracted social conflict promote open, participatory and decentralize structures.

The terms like “inclusive states” which focus and address the issue of the citizens and providing them equal opportunities.⁷ The other term is “Social policy” through which these states make sure that its people get equality. These social policies should focus on equality and should promote it

⁶ Edward E. Azar, “Protracted International Conflicts: Ten Propositions,” *International Interactions* 12, no. 1 (1985): 59–70, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050628508434647>.

⁷ Anis A. Dani and Arjan de. Haan, *Inclusive States : Social Policy and Structural Inequalities* (World Bank, 2008).

through its policy reforms. These social developments include social contact, door to door policy, providing opportunities for the betterment of the citizens. In south these social policy are being affected due to cultural and colonial traditions. Another factor is influence of international organization on social policy due to poor institutions. The social policy needs to be more innovative and transformative. “Structural inequality” is defined as a condition in which one group of people is inferior in contrary to rest of the group. these unequal status is given due to limited roles in decision making, functions and opportunities which is bound in a web of interdependency. These inequalities are result of culture, political and economic regime which assign unequal status to different structural status. The structural inequality which are tribal, ethnic and racial is most dangerous and widespread. These inequalities remain in society when not recognized and not addressed properly. The denial of these inequalities led to the absence of institutions and laws which are needed to combat these inequalities. Even though, these inequalities do not change that easily but change does occur. This transformation can occur due to a regime change, external political factor, or collapse of a regime. It could be any reason. Internal reason could also be the reason like internal social involvement by certain groups. It could also be removed by through fundamental changes in socio-economic process which transform a society through completely removing culturally imposed inequalities. For instance, migration process under which millions of people from Pakistan and Indian migrated to middle east which remove the inequalities these people were facing at their home land by working under different regime and culture. But on the other hand, structural inequality could also diversify by the process of regime change, political shock, population displacement. For instance, rise of young Taliban, which forcefully took position of traditional tribal leaders and implement their believes and ideologies in the space created by soviet withdrawal of Afghanistan. This led to the formation of Al-Qaeda to take its

position in Afghanistan. The structural realities which lies in tribal system needs to understand to take effective measure to counter terrorism. (Haan ,2008)

The structural changes in society which do give rise to group grievances. Then this group grievances lead to collective action which become some form of organization with same agenda. The article describe how structural differentiation could lead to discontentment in society and also provide some very effective solution to the problem. Author suggested a theory of “structured Ignorance” of (Michael Schwartz), which explain the structural conditions in which racist organization develop in united states and promote their agenda.⁸ Structured ignorance explains how an individual can have different perspective about something depending on their position in world. For instance, a particular interpretation of a problem could be bizarre for some person but could be acceptable to another depending on their positions. White separatist will remain with racists organization if the organization ideology is reasonable according to them. the author by using Blau Macrostructural theory of social relation try to identify structural condition which promote racist movements and see them as a plausible solution to their grievances. According Blee(2002), the racist groups drew together from the political sphere. By targeting afro-Africans, they get a platform to construct and introduce their ideologies. According to McVeigh, educational inequality does inhibit racist organizing by increasing contacts between indivial who have little education with those who have acquire higher education. The education can be used to in various form to legitimate income inequality by showing disparity in credentials. So according to author, if more people in community will be educated, and have higher education then most of the population will have access to resources and many will reject whitist supremacy and racist

⁸ R. McVeigh, “Structured Ignorance and Organized Racism in the United States,” *Social Forces* 82, no. 3 (March 1, 2004): 895–936, <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2004.0047>.

organization. The higher education will have negative impact on racist organization and white supremacy, when the information will be given equally in social structure.

Ann Taket (2009) shed light on the privileged group of members who fell sense of entitlement about their status. When this acknowledgement, respect, right to protect is no longer then they feel angered and are shocked. According to the author, who believes that the privilege and respect is given to certain group members is socially constructed.⁹ For instance, for a long time in history men have this privilege of getting the respect from women. Punishment were given to women if they failed to give men their desire respect. This happened because through a discourse of natural entitlement which make them believe that they are dominant of women. Every group in a historically created system have different degree of respect and privilege. Some people face oppression in a society but also are privileged in some other way. These people when get some rights can oppress other people right. A concept of Internalized Domination is also mentioned which means a practice which create and allow a trait of dominance and superior identity in a society by certain people. People with upper status defend their status in society they will even oppress people to protect themselves. The hierarchically structured relation among people is socially constructed. People become dominant in society through power and on the basis of their peer and group. the oppression of the people by these power holding groups is a matter which is addressed by government through intervention, but nothing is changed so far.

The black youth in America has been marginalized because of “disadvantaged” status they have been given for so long. The explanation which is been given is quite devastating as all the blame has been put on the bad genes. Another liberal explanation which is given as justification is that

⁹ Ann Taket et al., *Theorising Social Exclusion, Theorising Social Exclusion* (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203874646>.

it's the cultural factor which makes them inferior and serve inequalities. The article has also put light on the American capitalism, and how under this system the rich got richer and poor less privileged. Such a system creates inequality among groups and segregation occur. Mostly the blame is shifted within group. According to the writer, black youth has been chosen to bear all the unfair burden in the structurally corrupted system. The system is construct in that manner that it provides opportunities for whites and maintain black at lower slots. The structure of social system is hierarchal in nature and according to racial and biological factors.¹⁰ Additional factors which are responsible for inequality are, educational system, as it provides unequal skills and grading to students. Another factor is stable home and parenthood. It's been observed that black youth is four times more likely to grow up in poor household. Indicators show that black youth is more likely to fall victims of drugs, crime etc. the reason is that they are not grown in privileged household and did not have successful role models. Then the school comes which plays a crucial role in promoting this inequality. The schools allocate these black youth to different positions through the process of grading. The allocation of Afro-American to underprivileged position has been justified by the process of grading and routing. This system has become so normalized and unconscious belief which has the capacity to become self-fulfilling prophecies. The inequality in system gives less hopes for any progress of radical change. Reforms can only happen if power disparity in structures is addressed and black youth is not further victimized of class plus in racial class system.

Different themes of structural inequality, which are Hierarchies, Invisibility and human rights. She has ties structural inequality with structural hierarchical. according to her, hierarchy is responsible for unequal power distribution in structures which led to violence. These structures are inherently

¹⁰ Bruce R. Hare, "Structural Inequality and the Endangered Status of Black Youth," *The Journal of Negro Education* 56, no. 1 (1987): 100–110, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2295387>.

violent. ¹¹The second theme is invisibility. This is important to understand that one of the characteristics of structural violence is invisibility. Structural inequality unlike, direct violence is not transparent. It is not clearly evident and is hidden. The problem with structural violence is that there is no one to blame, so no one knows who to blame to. This invisibility is the reason why these systematic oppressions still exists. Another important aspect author highlight is context, she talks about how it is important to know how historical process help in establishment of these structures. Then there is process of globalization and geography, which help to understand the mechanism of structural inequality. The author also highlights how these structures or social arrangement constrain human agency which make human right unattainable. Susannah Taylor has also described conflict theory and linked it with structural inequality. It describes how societal problem are being structural rather being direct. It results societal stratification and competition for power and resources. This ultimate cause inequality or in some cases death. She has used term “structural social work as a framework for describing hardships and inequality caused by structural inequality. (Taylor, 2013)

According to world system theory and dependency theory, structure of the world creates the international inequality. (Mahutga, 2006), has explained Immanuel Wallerstein world system theory to show difference between core a periphery states and level of inequality periphery states had to face. ¹²According to Wallerstein, core countries dominant resulted from their exploitation on peripheral region. The production of core countries has high skilled and high wage labor and is capital insensitive while peripheral production is relatively very cheap and is labor insensitive.

¹¹ Susannah Taylor, “Structural Violence, Oppression, and the Place-Based Marginality of Homelessness,” *Canadian Social Work Review* 30, no. 2 (2013): 255, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43486773?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

¹² M. C. Mahutga, “The Persistence of Structural Inequality? A Network Analysis of International Trade, 1965-2000,” *Social Forces* 84, no. 4 (2006): 1863–89, <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2006.0098>.

Prior to 1960, core countries were good at manufacturing while periphery countries were expert at raw material, countries which were good at manufacturing were more advanced at technology and gathering wealth while countries which were specialized in raw material were unable to collect wealth and develop modern technology. This showed how division of labor demonstrate structural inequality. The division of labor internationally has a political consequence for nation individually. Peripheral countries are dependent on core countries for their trade. They are more sensitive to economic and political decisions of the core countries. Structural advantage is enjoyed by core countries through making trade relation in their favor. It has been analyzed that major source of structure inequality in world trade is structured access to the good which are important for development.

Globalization, which doubled after cold war. China moving towards capitalist market and India entering into global trading system shifted the balance of power towards capital and away from labor. The pressure on less skilled workers created. The difference between developed country and underdeveloped increased. Countries like U.S invested more in science and technology and attracted scientists and engineers from all over the world. To get more scientists from its own society America had to provide funds an opportunity to less privileged and less skilled workers through social services like health insurance. Despite some progress, 13% of Americans still are deprived of health insurance. Globalization hit hard to those who are at the bottom. System like Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) have facilitated those who are already privileged. The people of higher income are taking advantage of these channels and increasing inequality. Other factor is Skill- Biased technological change and other employment and societal factor, increase in productivity increase in consumer surplus and good quality goods in market. But its negative

impact is that less-skilled workers are less in demand.¹³ There is a polarization in labor market. There is a “superstar” in every field which is best in respective to rest. There is need to create better job opportunities by creating new firms, investing in science and technology, business start-ups etc. then the third factor is Changing in household structure. Many writers have identified that single headed householder chose its partner with same earning bracket. This process increase inequality as the it reduces the benefit from the household costs. The increase in these kinds of marriages is that ratio of women in education has increased. But at the same time education policy should focus on improving the access of low-income groups. Skills should be given to low skilled groups. Another structural factor which is been described as “Winner take all”. Robert Frank and Philip Cook in their book describe that even though market manipulation and rent seeking and whole process of globalization process is responsible towards inequality and especially income inequality. They argue that the main reason of this inequality is the market where reward is in small hands. Escalating earning of the people like sales people, administrators, accountants, physicians dominate the small markets.

The unequal distribution of power is the main reason of then poverty in United States is not the divergence of the poor but increase in inequality of power. The problem is structural in nature and this is something which is outside the human control.¹⁴ Structural problem has been given name of cooperate profit making strategy which only caters need of wealthy and marginalize the poor. A governing system which always benefit the upper class and provide no opportunities for lower class. Media effectiveness in treating poor as object of charity and making them invisible. The transformation of the structures like economy, politics since 1970s, has resulted in persistent

¹³ Roger Brown, *The Inequality Crisis : The Facts and What We Can Do about It*, 2017.

¹⁴ Edward Cary. Royce, *Poverty and Power : The Problem of Structural Inequality* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

poverty in America. The imbalance power in businesses and labor have given the employees the upper hand which in result have put pressure on wages. Cooperate industry is ruling in political arena and made government policy conservative. This has resulted in class divide, which have pushed the poor to boundaries. They are struck at the end and have nowhere to go. They have jobs with less than a living wage. The working Americans have no right to enjoy. They have no influence in politics and have no connection in system where money counts more. All systems work on money and connection which poor don't have so they are unable to benefit from the existing system. He has looked the issue of poverty through lens of structural inequality, he believed when power, inequality, politics, class come into equation then then it became easier to understand how and why poverty is still there in such a developed nation like America and also this poverty is product of power distribution, transformation of structures and organization of society.¹⁵

One consequence of focusing primarily on changes in the level of employment and in the payment structure to bring down inequality as opposed to via channels such as direct redistribution of assets, primarily to raise the shares on the success of employment creation along with the reduction in wage gaps amongst the employed. If employment creation is not materialized on a larger scale this will be the failure on its own but also for the Government goal of reducing inequality. Addition to above, the probable exposure of the inequality-reduction measures of the NGP links to the enforceability of the capping of salary increases at the top level and introduction of proposed minimum threshold would imply sacrifice from sections of working class in a context of very high wage gaps and a phenomenon of the working poor. It would also undermine the bargaining power

¹⁵ Fiona Tregenna, "A New Growth Path for South Africa?," *Review of African Political Economy* 38, no. 130 (December 2011): 627–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2011.633830>.

and organizational strength of trade unions. However, the policy is design to reduce inequality in the industry where labor have rights and have less pay gap.

Structural inequality aligns with gender culture which is quite repressive both at societal and institutional level. The subordination and marginalization of the women in higher education institutions can be seen clearly.¹⁶ In Ethiopia, gender culture has not changed much. Women don't have access to opportunities in political and economic sphere. Men are the one who are in power and have all the privileges. The women remain in subordinate status. Patriarchal system is also termed a structural inequality through which women become vulnerable and marginalized from political, economic and culture sphere. These subordinations of women are also seen in institutions like schools and universities. It was observed that in 2013-14 only 10.6 women were enrolled in the academic staff. Male have to face no problem in widening their profession as they are exempted from household chores while women had to face many hurdles in publishing their work. Promotions require a lot of extended study but due to parental leave and other issues it becomes difficult for women to get doctoral degrees. Inequality is not only seen in excess of opportunity but also in opportunities itself. Most of the women in the country enrolled in humanities or social sciences. So, the opportunities itself is limited. Another important characteristic which is being discussed is that structural inequality is usually ignored or overlooked. The dominant group usually creates an illusion of rationality in context of inequality and subordinate groups usually have no idea what is the main cause of the inequality which they have been facing for so long time. The case of female students and academic staff is similar, as they are unaware of the structural aspect of their problem. The problem lies the way gender inequality is perceived and incorporated in governmental policies. It is aligning with hegemonic cultural belief and implemented that way.

¹⁶ Tebeje. Molla, *Higher Education in Ethiopia : Structural Inequalities and Policy Responses*, 2018.

The patriarchal society of Ethiopia has been there from start so the government policies are aligning with it. Only women from well off families experience better opportunities and life style. Women from disadvantaged groups are still facing many hurdles in social, cultural and political sphere.

The women's issues and marked an important step for a women's movement in post-Soviet Russia. Even though the scope to which the movement was a success in achieving gender equality in the post-soviet situation remains debatable, it shed the light on how people might move from highlighting actual social transformations that benefit societies at large, rather than limited number of groups or individuals.¹⁷ It does signify something obvious which is to involve different groups effectively in post-conflict rebuilding, give freedom of speech to those within these groups and achieve better representation and inclusion of these groups. The author has described it as difficult task to achieve, as it requires not only highlighting structural inequalities, but also preventing the reinforcement of essentialism. Individuals in the groups must be encouraged to realize their potential, including participation, instead of holding assumptions such as gender and class which forms the grounds for discrimination within a society. Women's voices should not be looked as an act of help or protection, but rather an attempt to realize democratic change to participate in the making and shaping of the society. By shifting unequal power relations that cause gender inequality leads to the violation of human rights in times of conflict.

This article explores the issue of structural inequality in the context of Cambodia. The author used sexual and gender-based inequalities as a lens for reviewing the present situation of gender equality and democracy in Cambodia. Democracy is classified as a social arrangement, which requires

¹⁷ Natalia Szablewska and Olga Jurasz, "Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: The Case for Transformative Justice in Cambodia," *Global Change, Peace and Security* 31, no. 3 (2019): 263–82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2018.1538117>.

reconsidering the power hierarchies and entrenched structural inequality. The equality and non-discrimination in different groups is hard to achieve in steady societies are the indicators of the political changes moving in a democratic direction and social relations. An existing or even growing gender gap suggests that a change is not complete or do not address all underlying social problems. This can be linked to Cambodia as they are going through a process of transformation from their violent past. Gender inequality does not only represent sexual inequalities but also leave a negative effect on the lives of woman in all areas, ranging from political participation to cultural and economic empowerment. To interrupt the patterns of discrimination and structured inequalities and to enable the transformative change to gender equality in Cambodia a practical shift in thinking about gender equality is required. Gender equality and rights of women are important for the quality of democracy in any country particularly for those who are going through the transition period.

The dual system of justice and how constitution of Pakistan transformed from being secular liberal to conservative There were many developments in constitution over the period of time which further marginalized the minorities in Pakistan. The 1973 constitution had given every religious minorities right to practice their religion freely. It had given minorities freedom of practice religion, to have education, equality of citizenship etc. but in late 1970 sharia law was incorporated which introduced hudood law which were introduce to punish those who cross boundaries set by Allah in Quran. For instance, drinking alcohol, taking sexual activities etc. and law of evidence which reduce the value of testimony of Christian minorities in courts. Series of amendments were done in blasphemy laws which allow harsher punishments and even death penalty for minorities. The constitutional barriers for minorities made them more vulnerable and un equal under the law.

They had to face more harsher punishments or than Muslim for equal crimes. The minorities i.e. Christians were to taken into slavery and bonded labor and their properties were to taken from them by the Muslims, if they don't pay minority tax poll. ¹⁸ Christian minorities being the largest minority was affected the most. The external conflict like Afghanistan war and US led war increase radical Islamism and extremism which have affected these minorities badly. Another thing is that the attitude of people towards minorities, the reason has been the historical factors like preconceive notion of caste and considering them untouchables and not treating them equally. The textbooks in school does not represent actual facts about these people. They are not given their proper credit. The syllabus which is very discriminatory towards minority is taught at public schools. In era of Zia, minorities were marginalized as they were not allowed to vote at the same elections. Zia era started the wave of Islamization and extremism which still exists in the society. To gain support of Islamic parties he introduced rigid laws against the religious Minorities. They had to face unequal representation in politics too. The Christian have been targeted to this violence for a long time. Theses systematic oppression has been done by state and Muslim neighbors.

The conflict which rises due to structural inequality are protracted and have the ability to remain unsolved for longest time by the interested actors. The capabilities of the actor reduce to solves such conflicts. Conflict can be of many kinds and types. Protracted social conflicts are aggressive interaction which continue foe longest time and occasionally outbreaks of open warfare. Their intensity fluctuates from time to time. These conflicts include different groups within one nation or different nation-state. the group involve could be ethnic or social groups. These conflict lies deep in ethnic conflicts. Sometime racial, ethnic or religious hatred could lead to hostilities. The

¹⁸ Gregory, "Under the Shadow of Islam: The Plight of the Christian Minority in Pakistan."

role of distribution of power and resources is also very important. PCS has focus on certain focus group. the deformity in system, economically, politically, militarily and socially give rise to protracted social conflict. The resources are limited due to which the issue remain unresolved. The condition of these groups is miserable, lack of access to health, education makes thing more complicated. Protracted social conflict occurs in third world country. They exist when their struggle for identity. The change in political and social structure could affect this conflict deeply. The effective and developmental polices could either solves this conflict or intensify it. ¹⁹

Edward was successful in highlighting the grievances of communal groups in third world country and how they have been marginalized. He has talked about the conflict within and across states, actors and group.²⁰ These conflicts get more intensified when following conditions occur. He has given four preconditions to PCS. First is identity group which is the most useful unit in PCS and their relationship with state. According to the theory, the core problem lies within the relationship between state and these identity group. Azar blames the colonial legacies of European countries which were imposed in these third world countries where idea of territorial statehood was imposed on states with multitude communal group. these group were separated by the principal of divide and rule. This led to dominance of a one prominent group on rest of the society or few leading groups coalition which were not responsive to needs of other groups. According to azar, when one communal group is dominating and is unresponsive to other groups problem then conflict rises. Secondly, when a group is derived of basic human needs like security, freedom, religious and

¹⁹ Edward E. Azar and Nadia Farah, "The Structure of Inequalities and Protracted Social Conflict: A Theoretical Framework," *International Interactions* 7, no. 4 (February 1, 1981): 317–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050628108434558>.

²⁰ Oliver Ramsbotham, "The Analysis of Protracted Social Conflict: A Tribute to Edward Azar," *Review of International Studies* 31, no. 1 (2005): 109–26, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210505006327>.

identity needs and state fails to address them then this led to protected social conflict. Conflict will definitely arise in this condition because needs are ontological in nature so the conflict will be intense and more vicious in nature. Third, Azar has stressed on how important role of state and governance is in making or groups satisfied or frustrated. When state fails to provide basic rights and needs to people then in those countries PCS occurs. This highlight the incompetency and fragility of a authoritarian government which fails to satisfy the communal groups and is unable to provide them with basic human needs. Azar noticed that PCS is in those countries which are developing and have rapid increasing population with limited resources. These countries have limited political capacity which is due to imposed bureaucratic rule by colonial powers. This is the reason why states fail to address the issues of its people, According to Azar, countries having economic and political dependency in international arena. The state with weak economy is more prone to international conditions a force. So, the socio-political institutions are made and driven according to the impact of international system on domestic system. Further Azar has describe the process dynamic in three groups which are , Communal actions and strategies which involve leadership , mobilization of group and nature of external ties etc. the second is “state action and strategies”, which consists of elite an individuals which face different policy at one given point of time and mostly its “ winner take all” which prevails in the society and led to repression mostly. And lastly its built-in mechanism in a conflict which solidify PCS and legitimize atrocities. These include, myths, antagonistic group, discriminatory polices etc. which legitimize fear, killing, and promote PCS. Azar provided a framework for the analysis of pattern of conflict which happens within and across ate and communal groups.

The marginalization of Christian community in Pakistan, are mistreated in an environment of unrelenting Islamization of society and state. During the period of 1986 and 2011, 138 Christians

were charged under the blasphemy law, during the same period eighteen Christians died under custodial killings simply on allegations of blasphemy. Blasphemy in Pakistan is taken very seriously, blasphemy allegation can be applied on the lightest of grounds, even a rumor of blasphemy can lead to a complete destruction of a whole community. In Pakistan, the Christian population percentage is just 1.59% these number of people becomes the target rather than random events of blasphemy. ²¹Majority of the study suggests that because minorities are demographically, socio-economically, and politically depressed, blasphemy is often used by the local power elite to appropriate their labor, land, and women.

It is critical that minority protections be established whether through permanent rights in constitution or a bill of rights or through a variety of structural measures that afford minorities. The representation of Christian in Pakistan's federal parliament is instructive. The political-coherent minority of reasonable size provides insights into the representation process, enabled by the quality of available data on Christians as compared to Hindus the other equal minority. The most important Christian institution in Pakistan is the church. It is a support system for Christians that provide them with identity, security education, employment and ritual support. At the national and provincial levels, the church raises community concerns, seeks redress for wrongs and pursues resources and governments. The church is a mean of communication between the government and Christian community. In Pakistan's political system, the church leaders tend to encourage even unfriendly governments for the survival of their community.

²¹ Ajay K. Raina, "Minorities and Representation in a Plural Society: The Case of the Christians of Pakistan," *South Asia: Journal of South Asia Studies* 37, no. 4 (2014): 684–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2014.966945>.

3. Structure of Pakistan Society

3.1 Introduction

Men are always found living in societies. May they be simpler men of past or modern men of today, they all have and is belong to a specific group or in large societies. There are fewer who have little contact with other fellow beings. But this an exceptional case. The human not only belong and live in a society but also get influenced by it. Humans don't usually realize that their thinking and feeling are subjected to the influence of the society. Every human belongs to certain group, society or religion by virtue of birth not because of rational choice. For instance, An Arab will be Mohammedans, Italian will be Roman Catholics etc. because they were born to specific society and group. this membership to a certain group affects the thinking political, social thinking of a human being. Men have limited choices as compared to what they feel. Their decision is shaped according to the extent of influence society has on them. Every society have social classes and within these social classes there is difference of opinion. This difference of opinion could base on experience, intellectual, culture, which will produce difference of view on many matters. Its clearly evident that what we feel and the decisions we made are social product. No men escape from the influence of social institution of its society. The ideas and thoughts which is molded by society is passed onto next generations. The social institutions like estate or heritage and systems like federal system are once established in a society remain for a long time that people get used to them and don't bother much about their powerful functions. As this is true that society molds men thoughts and ideas, it doesn't mean that men itself have no emotions and opinions. Men react with changing environment (Henry, 2016). They shape the society by their decisions and choose the best options among the offered ones. Society is not without humans and human life is all about the network of relationships, relations with other humans. Society works under these relationships and

is dependent on individuals and how they operate. It's quite clear that societies differ from one another and they are vulnerable to changes. The nature of differences among these different societies included difference in races of people, their genetic, mental makeup is quite different from one another as well as physical features. Then comes, cultures, social institutions and geographical environment which are very different from the ones in other society. According to, Henry A. Mess (1942), "Society means number of people who affect one another fundamentally with their relationships and set of thoughts and behavior".²²

This question often rises why some people are more rich than other? Why "whites" are at top of everything than people of color? Why one class is privileged than other? The reason which is explained through process of social stratification is that there are "Hierarchies" which exists within societies. This process tries to uncover the factors which led to the unequal distribution of societal resources to some particular class and why so. "Social class" is very important variable in understand the concept of social stratification. Karl Marx, tries to explain the social class concept in term of income and purchasing power. He explained the capitalist society and the relation between its three classes. He explains the relationship between capitalist and labor based on exploitation. Capitalist being the owner of production is at top and makes more money, while the wages given to labors are not equal to what they produce, this leads to inequality. This male the relationship between both parties more complicated which further leads to objective conflict between two. According to Weber who witness more complex class structure than many is of view that social stratification originates when there is unequal distribution of power. According to him there are three different sources form where power is derived, which is, class (Economic power),

²² Henry A. Mess, *Social Structure, Social Structure* (Taylor and Francis, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315640334>.

class (Social power), parties (Political power). According to Weber, skills and education play a very important role in constituting a class. Skill and education are sacred and demand high salaries that it form a class. People who belong to this class have similar lifestyle and similar market situations. Group maintain or improve their status by restricting some with lower status, and rewarding others with privileges and opportunities. People are given opportunities based on their races. In some cases, having same economic class does not help, people are excluded due their color and race. It is believed that process of stratification emerges due the ranking of groups or individual because of their life style, religion and economic sphere.²³ Before 1970s the race and gender inequality was taken as a secondary issue, they were not given much attention but after feminist movements this issue were highlighted and they were taken seriously. Races all over the world have different societal status according to their historical setup and how they were perceived and maintained so far. For instance, in U.S people with African descent are considered as “Black”. But in many other societies there are other categories for which the term black is assigned. Irish in early centuries were not considered white until they start supporting slavery. History plays an important role when it comes to race. It’s the beliefs and behavior of institutionalized racism which exclude them from resources and power. As society is socially stratified and have different systems of ranking based on which different ethnic a religious group are ranked. People are given different status depending on the characteristic they acquire.

One of the systems is “Achieved” and “Ascribed” status, former means a non-birth achieved status, which is measured on the basis of education, income, income etc. while latter is by- birth ascription

²³ Rhonda F. Levine, *Social Class and Stratification: Classic Statements and Theoretical Debates*, 1998, https://books.google.com.pk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=U97AAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=karl+marx+and+social+stratification&ots=6FJwngbihO&sig=tE__LxTucuphxnleFmP-5M4fyug&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=karl marx and social stratification&f=false.

which is ethnic stratification, defined by birth attributes and shared ancestor. Individuals who are born to a privileged ethno-religion group will have more access to social resources like education, health etc. while the one who are born to less privilege will face difficulties in their life. The elite groups which are higher in ranks will justify oppression, and enhance their reward by oppressing the inferiors. To protect themselves from challenge to status they will go beyond boundaries by rigidifying status boundaries this inherit inequality which prevails in society is confronted by many especially those in lower status. Even though power is exercised by those who re in more privileged status yet change is inevitable. Challenge to status leads to revolt. Its is mostly seen in history.²⁴ It's been observed that the inequality in modern societies still persists. This is not due to unequal opportunities to less privileged but due to unequal pattern of movement to social positions. People with less advantage, despite getting better opportunities don't get equal share in this opportunity. So, it is seen that the relative inequality is still there in every field i.e. health, education, market opportunities etc. social advantage is given to children through their parents, this advantage gives a head start to those who possess it. They have better economic condition, better life opportunities and have more access to social opportunities.²⁵ These advantaged people when fail at one thing is provided with other resources to make their success possible. Inequality is relative yet overlapping in societies and uneven chances of success, unequal share of opportunities is seen among social groups.

²⁴ Gerald D. Berreman, "Race, Caste, and Other Invidious Distinctions in Social Stratification," *Race & Class* 13, no. 4 (1972): 385–414, <https://doi.org/10.1177/030639687201300401>.

²⁵ Wendy Bottero, *Stratification: Social Division and Inequality*, *Stratification: Social Division and Inequality* (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203339367>.

3.2 Social Stratification of Pakistan Society

The social fabric of every society has mechanism of diversification and stratification. There is no such state in a world which is not multicultural and multi ethnic. Every state is in some extent ethnically plural. the societies of today are structured on the basis of social stratification and are more complex as ever. This division is based on ethnicity, class, race, income, religion etc. In a society, a social group is distinguishing apart from other groups, through its culture, religious beliefs, language etc. and sometimes historical ties and origin of place as well. Looking particular in Pakistan and its society, since independence Pakistan has been dominated by overpowering elicits oligarchy which has affected Pakistan politics and led it to governmental crisis. The absence of census based political structure and strong judiciary system these elite has dominated the decision-making process. this has caused a lot of damage to Pakistan politically and socially. since 1947 the political power has been in hands of bureaucratic-military elite.(Bottero, 2004) This elite was successor of British raj. They had been dominant since the independence. They worked with strong politicians and landlords to make their position strong in politics of Pakistan. there were no general elections before 1970. The country was under military dictatorship since 1958. The groups which benefited most from the independence were military and bureaucracy. Along with them were industrial capitalists, educated people and landlords. Military-Bureaucratic elite it's one of the ruling elites of Pakistan society (Maddison,2013) They had and still have best of educational background, lifestyle etc. their working style has been inspired by British raj and their education used to be western at that time. They got power, prestige and income. They are modernized in some extend but their actions are limited due to religion.²⁶ The civil services is

²⁶ Angus Maddison, *Class Structure and Economic Growth: India and Pakistan since the Moghuls, Class Structure and Economic Growth: India and Pakistan Since the Moghuls*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315889016>.

backbone of country since origin of the country. Every government has been dependent on this institution. The bureaucratic hold has been they're on the state forever and it never diminish. The dependency of political leaders on bureaucracy has made the country over bureaucratized. The religious hierarchy is not that visible as the leadership of Pakistan has been secular but the orthodox Ulama (Theologians) has always been prominent in politics of the country and they have been able to influence their ideas and conservative thinking onto the society. Their influence was seen in Ayub Khan era, where religious laws were implemented. Islam has been always used by Ulama as a tool to fulfil their interests. Due to this orthodox idea the country has not been able to progress like its neighboring country who got independence at the same time. This elite of military had given rise to industrialist class to make Pakistan a capitalist economy. The industrialist class consisted of small group of refugees which were traders in India before independence. They were supported by military. The relationship between industrialist and military has been patron and client. On the other side, the land owners in west Pakistan had exemption of tax. They had large incomes and they pay little or no tax. With new technology and advancement, the farming has also revolutionized and has become modern in their techniques.²⁷

3.3 Religious Elite

The role of ulama and Sufis in subcontinent has been seen for many long times since Mughals. These Muslim elite were from middle east and central Asia who converted south Asian into Muslims. Mughal empire under Akbar solidify these Muslim elite by introducing Din-Illahi. In British India, there were many divisions among Muslim elite. There were Islamic traditionalist which included Deobandis, Brelvis and pirs; Islamic Fundamentalist which include Maudoodi, Islamic Modernists which had personalities like Allama Iqbal and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and lastly

²⁷ Maddison.

Secular and nationalist Muslim like Quaid e Azam. Polarization and fragmentation were seen among there Muslim elite and they were against modernism and nationalistic ideology. These Muslim elite rather being supportive of national policies to carter regional, provincial component of Pakistan, were trying to influence their views and ideology in politic of the state. The relationship between state and Ulama of country has been of hid and seek. Both follows the principal of convince in their relationship. Sometime they are offensive to one another and sometime they retreat from any confrontation. Many of these ulama have question the role of institutions like parliaments, political parties, co-educational system. These Ulama give rise to elitist oligarchies. Many politicians use Islam to legitimize their authority. Many religion- political parties were seen in politics of Pakistan which worked with many non-representative regimes but they were not fully able to control the politics of Pakistan. Jinnah at the time of Independence has clearly stated that Pakistan will never be a theocracy nation and the religion, creed and caste has nothing to do with state policies. The Ulama of the country were also behind creating factions and hatred among societies. The movement like Anti-Ahmadiyya Movement in 1953 and objection to family Law ordinance has cause many conflicts among different factions of society. Another important aspect is that Ulama has created a hierarchical order which has led to intolerance and narrow mindedness in the society. Rather promotion harmony, freedom and tolerance to young generation of country, they have caused a lot of hatred among society. This has led to inequality which further has raise violence. The Ulama of today have no deeper understanding world and science and they just emphasis on self- preservation.²⁸

²⁸ Iftikhar H. Malik and Iftikhar H. Malik, "Elite Formation, Politics of Ideology and Cooption," in *State and Civil Society in Pakistan* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1997), 40–56, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230376298_3.

The religious minorities in Pakistan make 4% of Pakistan total population, this include Christians, Hindu, Ahamdi, Parsis, Sikhs, Shia'a etc. As being the minority in the country they had and still faces many backlashes from the religious elite groups. Having a secular government did help the minorities of Pakistan but Religion being an important factor has caused many problems for these peoples. The Traditionalist Islamists have made many initiatives which have restricted these minorities from enjoying their rights. For Instance, Blasphemy Law which was introduced under Zia regime, was introduced to marginalized Christian community (Rais,2005). Zia to be close to religious parties, accepted and implemented two demands which were voiced by religious parties. First it was, separate electorate, which become part of 1973 constitution, this made nearly impossible for minorities to participate and vote effectively. Only few influential members of the community were able to grab prominent positions. and second was blasphemy laws to marginalize the minorities. This law had not only social but psychological effect on minorities. The violation of these law had long and severe punishments. Anyone can case against minorities under this law which is why this law has been misused so much against religious minorities. This law has increase religious intolerance in society. Many people belonging accused of blasphemy were murdered.²⁹To legitimize his Islamization agenda Zia accepted all the demands of far right. Using this law many Christian have been subjected to violence. This law was introducing to punish those who insult Prophet Muhammad. Many Governments tried to make amendments in this law but they were threatened by religious party. These radical Mullah have created a radicalized society which feel attached to these laws and gets emotional when someone tries to speak up against these laws. Under General Zia rule, religious parties stood together again religious minorities. For instance,

²⁹ Rasul Baksh Rais, "Islamic Radicalism and Minorities in Pakistan," *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia*, 2005, 447–65, <http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited Volumes/ReligiousRadicalism/PagesfromReligiousRadicalismandSecurityinSouthAsiach19.pdf>.

Ahmadiyya who were declared non-muslim by amending constitution. The group of Ahmadiyya were not allowed to call themselves Muslims, they were prohibited from practicing their faith. ³⁰the question which arises is that, in first in 1953, it was declared forcibly by Ulama that Ahmadiyya are non-Muslim community. But government rejected this demand. But later on, in 1974 the government did declare the community non -Muslim. So, What changes? Ahmadi being a non- Muslim has been fact for religious groups. In 1984, under Zia regime they were prohibited from practicing their religion. Because at that time Zia needed support of Ulama to legitimize his actions and positions. These actions were declared democratic and nationalist. ³¹ It was Zia regime in which sectarian violence increased. The gap between Sunni and Shia group increased. Pakistan being a heterogenous in nature and homogenous when it comes to Islam was had to go through wave of sectarian violence. Islam was unable to bind them together. Conflict between both groups escalated in Zia regime as Ulama of both the sectors were affiliated closely with religion and they play important role in propagating this issue (Saeed,2012). Their narrow-mindedness and little knowledge escalate the issue rapidly. Sunni were attacking Imambarghas and Shia were attacking mosques. So, both were settling score by attacking each other religious places. Both the leaders Sunni and Shia were getting funds and zakat from foreign countries, through which they were opening madrassa all over the country. ³²

3.4 Multi-Ethnic Society

Ethnicity has its origin form the Greek word which means, “Ethnikos” meaning ethnicity. Meaning people sharing same group, race, traits, culture etc. history and language is an additional factor

³⁰ Julius, “The Experience of Minorities Under Pakistan’s Blasphemy Laws.”

³¹ Sadia Saeed, “Political Fields and Religious Movements: The Exclusion of the Ahmadiyya Community in Pakistan,” *Political Power and Social Theory* 23 (2012): 189–223, [https://doi.org/10.1108/S0198-8719\(2012\)0000023011](https://doi.org/10.1108/S0198-8719(2012)0000023011).

³² “Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan Gulshan Majeed” 1, no. 2 (n.d.): 51–63.

which tie these groups together. The characteristic of ethnicity is that it's not fluid. For instance, at the time of independence, Bengali Muslim belief were same as of South Asian Muslim at large. But after independence, their Bengali identity overshadow their Pakistani identity, so the Bengali nationalism made them separate from Punjabi-Muhajir Pakistan composite identity. They were seen as separates nation altogether. Punjabis were ruling the politics from the start. They took no step to align Bengali with them. They always marginalize Bengali in political front. They never tried to assimilate Bengali with them. As it is stated that idea of a ruling party is ruling idea of an era. Since the independence, Punjabi collaboration with Muhajirs were strong and this coalition had strategic positions in politics of Pakistan. they made themselves strong through military pacts, western alliance. Due to which most of the developmental projects were done in Punjab and Karachi. Punjab elite had control over allocation of resources which made their position strong. All the major decision was made by the Punjabi elite. The speeches of leader like Bhutto who made Punjabis the brain and soul of the country, made his positions strong in the political ground. The Punjabi elite was so strong that they even tried to manipulate the political, social and economic ideas so that they can influence other ethnicities. They wanted to "Punjabize" other ethnic groups. Punjabi elite constitute majority of population which was more than half of population latter followed by Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis. Minority ethnic groups had this fear that they will not be able to play important role politically. This fear made them struggle for their right so that they can make their relationship strong with center. The politics of Baluchistan had been quite different. The sardar of the tribe is considered the head and he have all control over power. The government tried to made this province economic sphere but the local chiefs were not happy because their permission or advise was not taken on it. The tribes take this step of center constructing schools and roads as invasion to their life style. As they though their family system will be affected by this

process as their younger generation will be exposed to unknown traditions in school. These trust issues and ethnic fragmentation led to ethnic insurgencies in the country.³³

3.5 Lingual Division


Different ethnic groups are also divided on the basis of languages. As Pakistan is multi lingual so languages like Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Mohajir and Saraiki. These ethnic groups take their language quite seriously. As they feel their language is a tool to exercise their power. There have been many movements which were launched many movements to protect their identity. Language could create serious ethnic conflict. For instance, Bengali language issue which was one of the reasons for the formation of Bengal. Because their language was not given significant importance. So, language can be used to unify different groups but also can awake the sense of separate identity which happens in case of Bengali. Bengali were in majority and wanted their language as the national language which was ignored and this ignorance from the country elite give rise to Bengali nationalism. Then there is Sindhi language which is very important for Sindhi people. They consider their language as part of their cultural heritage. There are other groups as well in Sindh, like Muhajir, Punjabi, Pathan, Baloch. There were also riots due to the dominance of Urdu language in the province which was later diffuse. Balochi, Pashto and Brahvi is spoken in Baluchistan. Baloch always felt that they were deprived from their right to protect their identity and culture. They were marginalized and were not given much attention. Baloch wanted their language to be given importance. there was internal issue among Baloch, Pathan and Brahvis. Urdu was declaring official language by governor of Baluchistan which created conflict. So, language become issue in internal Baluchistan. In Kyber Paktun Khawa province, Pashto is the language

³³ Asaf Hussain, "Ethnicity, National Identity and Praetorianism: The Case of Pakistan," *Asian Survey* 16, no. 10 (1976): 918–30, <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.1976.16.10.01p0227p>.

spoken by majority of people. National Awami party which supported Pashto language, when came into power supported Urdu language. This fortunately didn't create any trouble in the province. This made the Pakhtum more integrated and prosperous than other ethnic groups. Lastly there is Southern Punjab where Saraiki is spoken. This area is very underdeveloped region. there is not much done in this region. they less access to health, education goods and services. This lack of access to resources have made the Saraiki people demand to have sperate province and language has been their powerful symbol in this procedure. ³⁴

3.6 Caste system and Hierarchy in society

Local culture of any society is very important, as the social system of a society is based on it. Every society has different culture, beliefs and traditions. In sub-continent, there has been many diversifications of culture. There were many cultures from, Moguls, Arabs, Aryans Turk Muslim etc. but Aryan was the one which dominant the region. the most prominent aspect of sub-continent culture has been Caste System. Its has been part of political culture of Pakistan as well India. The word cast is derived from Portuguese word "Casta" which means lineage, breed or race. This system of caste depicts the class structure of any society. The rigidity of social class ca be seen through this system. Some define caste as system of stratification in which, a person is entitled his caste at this birth. Its his ascribed status. The one aspect of caste system is that it includes degradation of lower caste system by upper caste system. According to Barth (1960) "it is a Hierarchical system in which stable groups will have wealth, power and privileges given by other to them and their status will be measured with relation to other class." Caste in pakistani system is described by Lyon (2004) as "A Hierarchical system in which Zath or Quom with a definite amount of wealth and power ascribed by other will have a higher place than the other strata.". Caste system has many

³⁴ "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan Gulshan Majeed ."

characteristics. The traditional caste is characterized by determination of birth, meaning a man is granted a membership of a particular on his birth. It remains same till his death. Nothing can change it including education, financial status. Secondly, in Pakistan occupation of parent's matter to some caste, while some leave their parentage occupation to explore better employment options. This characteristic is declining by the time. Third, hierarchical order is also observed in rural areas specifically, Zamindar is placed at higher hierarchical order and Kammi at lowest. This is observed that this characteristic is quite commonly seen in villages of Pakistan. Endogamy is also attached to Caste system. Intermarriages is discouraging among different caste members. People prefer marrying same caste member. Even today, this practice seen normally. They don't feel comfortable in marrying in other caste.

Biradarism is an important factor of Caste System in Pakistan, especially in Punjab. Politically, Biradarism play an important role. It determines the voting behavior than party alliance. The local election are held on baradari base. The people with same baradari will vote for the individual who belong to their baradari. Major baradari in Punjab are, Jatts, Rajputs, Arians, Gujjar, Sayads and Balochs. These biradaris are dominant in different areas. In central Punjab, Arian and Jatts are in northern Punjab while Rajput rules while in Southern Punjab, Baloch are in high number. The political leaders gain votes by associating themselves with a particular. The rural areas of Pakistan have this dynamic of endogamy across traditional landowning quom and service providing quom. The villages of Pakistan had a caste system different from urban areas, here hierarchical groups like Quom or zaat represent the division of society. The birth-ascribed status group based on occupation of parents is seen. The land-owning quoms are called Zamindar which own lands. These Zamindar have groups of people providing them services and they are usually called Kammi. In a broader sense, cobblers, weaver, blacksmith, carpenter are collectively called kammi.

They are the people who are serving the villagers as labourers. The zamindars are the ones who have power, wealth and resources. Kammi are subordinate to them and are subjected to their will. The relationship between both the groups is called the *Seyp* system. It has been observed that with time, this relationship is declining. As Kammi have alternative opportunities by migrating to cities and acquiring education. But the decline is not that rapid. There is a lot to be changed and it will take time. Even though Kammi have acquired better positions they are still not considered as equal as Zamindars on the basis of parentage or occupation. Caste-based endogamy is also practiced in villages, meaning inter-marriages among different *zaats* has not been seen. Zamindars won't marry a Kammi and vice versa. Inter-marriages were highly discouraged before but with time evolving different *zaats* marriages are happening. The education and qualification of a Kammi does not increase his status in the hierarchical order.³⁵ As discussed above, the *baradari* and Kammi are not equal, they don't have equal status, they are treated differently. This issue of inequality is ignored by most of the society. It is not noticed by the politicians, or other social workers. The social oppression which is done on these lower caste people is unimaginable. There has been a case where the children of Kammi are beaten poorly and they are even tortured, raped, killed. They are socially so weak that they can not raise their voice or ask for justice. The dominant group believes that these lower castes have no honor, so there is no need to defend them. Same food is not even shared with them. (Amjad, 2013) This marginalization and discrimination on caste-based and ethnic based is observed all over Pakistan. It is highly ignored even today.

³⁵ Ahmed Usman and Aisha Amjad, "Caste Based Endogamy in a Punjabi Village of Pakistan," *South Asian Studies* 28, no. 2 (July 1, 2013): 341, <https://www.questia.com/read/1P3-3250984351/caste-based-endogamy-in-a-punjabi-village-of-pakistan>.

3.7 Patriarchal Society and women of Pakistan

Pakistan society is a patriarchal society, a male dominant society with half of the population of women. Even though women consist of half of the population, they are not given equal opportunities as men. They are considered submissive to men and they are expected to be obedient and happy with whatever society decides for them. They cannot make their life decisions. They can only survive in this society if they are submissive and respectful to the male of the society. The culture of the society makes women feel inferior to men. They are dependent on men for everything. They are subjected to domestic violence, and are not given their due respect. The situation of women is quite similar in every ethnic or religious communities. They had to face similar pattern of kinship, clan and tribal rituals. Urban women have better opportunities and access to resources than rural women. The violence against women is quite common. Men in order to control sexuality of women uses violence as tool. This violence is considered justifiable because men does violence to ensure family honor. An important aspect is that women belonging to higher social classes will have better access to social resources than the women belonging to lower social class. Women in Pakistan have struggled for their rights in Pakistan and over the time with movements like “Women Reform Movement” were able to make some progress. They started to have access to education and jobs. Since independence, women were given right to vote, and equal access to education, health and inherit property. But due to patriarchal society and illiteracy, women were unable to come forward and show their potential. The violence against women increase on daily basis. This include, beating, mutilation, acid throwing and honor killing. These practices are very common mostly in rural and tribal areas. There have been cases where women have been gang raped. According to a study, the majority violence done on women is due to their low socio-economic status. Many laws are there to protect women and but due to large gap between

commitments and actual imposition of law.³⁶ women of every social class have faced some kind gender inequality in their lives. The impact is different but they have felt insecure in their lives due to their gender. The only difference is that women of high social class have to face less gender inequality and violence due to better access to resource than the women who belong to lower social class. (Pulla, 2014)

3.8 Radicalization in Society

The process of radicalization includes extreme ideas and view which can be political, social and religious. These extreme views are adapted by individuals to sabotage freedom of speech, law and order situation, the liberal ideas at societal level. these radical ideas usually come from an extremist group or the group which are been marginalized. These radical ideas could be violent or non-violent. Looking particular in Pakistan society, the process of radicalization has been there since the independence. Religious groups used Islam as a toll to impose radical ideas in society and the process of Islamization started. They wanted to be in politics, so by promoting these extreme ideas they were able to fulfil their agenda. In 1950s the movement against Ahmadi and Bhutto decision to declare them non-Muslim were first of many steps towards the process of radicalization. Then the process of “Islamization” started under Zia regime which led to division of society into different sect.

Radicalization in our society had different reason to emerge. The social injustice, unemployment and most importantly poverty make an individual to opt for radical ideas to lash out his anger.

Poverty is a major cause. Pakistani society not so developed and poverty is seen in every region.

³⁶ Maliha Gull Tarar and Venkat Pulla, “Patriarchy, Gender Violence and Poverty amongst Pakistani Women: A Social Work Inquiry,” *International Journal of Social Work and Human Services Practice Horizon Research* 2, no. 2 (2014): 56–63, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273695367_Patriarchy_Gender_Violence_and_Poverty_amongst_Pakistani_Women_A_Social_Work_Inquiry.

deprivation of basic life necessities leads them to adopt wrong ways of earning and they have so much hatred in them they are ready to hurt their own people. For instance, the region of FATA, which is one of the poorest regions of the country. They have poor infrastructure, Lack of education and medical resources. The people of this region use illegal ways for the earning. The issue of “Unemployment” is also one of the main reasons for the promotion of radical ideas. The youth of our country covers most of our population. These young minds have so much potential but due to lack of education and unemployment, the youth of our country is manipulated by extremist groups which makes them involve in radical activities. This is evident through terrorism in country. Most of the terrorist are of young age. Role of media should also be highlighted. Media of our country is very strong and it has divided the society into many groups. For instance, the coverage of Lal masjid incident divided the society into two groups. Some were supporting government for its actions while others were criticizing it. Media has not played an effective role in creating awareness among the social groups. Media can play an effective role in reducing radical thinking in society by giving awareness to the young public. Another factor is human development index level which is very low as compared the rest of south Asian countries. Bad governess, lack of accountability, income inequality, poverty, these all factors makes Pakistan incapable to invest in human capital. De-radicalization of society is very important to eliminate extremists’ groups and to promote cohesion and harmony in society. First, the effort should be made at individual level, by providing them equal opportunities like equal access to education, health, jobs etc. secondly, issues like poverty, injustice and unemployment should be addressed. Proper policies should be

made by government to reduce radical activities eliminate these threats. Structural reforms should be introduced to bring peace and stability in the society.³⁷

³⁷ Fozia Tanoli, Dr. Qaim Raza Jaffry, and Sardar Ali, "SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS BEHIND RADICALIZATION: EVIDENCE FROM PAKISTAN," *NDU Journal* 32, no. 1 (December 31, 2018), <https://www.prdb.pk/front/socio-economic-factors-behind-radicalization-evidence-from-914>.

4.An Assessment of Structural inequalities towards Christian minorities through Edward Azar theory

The purpose of this chapter is to take Edward Azar “Protracted Social Conflict” as theoretical framework to analyze the structural inequality in Pakistani society. The theory will be used to provide a thorough assessment and better understanding of the PCS conflict which exists among different religious groups and the structural inequalities they are facing in the society. Different socio-political issues will be assessed in context to Christians through the theory.

4.1Protracted Social Conflict Theory by Edward Azar

Conflict are a definite part of a social relation. They cannot be separated. When conflicting goals among communal group exists and there is no problem-solving mechanism like mediation etc., then this give birth to conflicts. The groups mentioned could be political, sharing ethnic, religious, linguistic characteristics. Most countries have multicultural and multicommunal societies, in these societies, the conflict which rises are mostly protracted conflicts. The term “Protracted Social Conflict” (PCS) According to Azar is such conflicts which exists within and across rather than between two states. These conflicts have the tendency to reach its intensity over period of time. It could turn into violence if not addressed properly. In simpler words, PCS occur when communities are deprived of their basic needs due to their identity. Other factors like colonial legacy, historical setting, nature of society, are the conditions which give shape the genesis which are responsible for protracted conflict. The Genesis of the social conflict contain four pre conditions which could lead to protracted social conflict. Following are the preconditions:

4.1.1 Communal Content

First condition is “communal content” which is the most useful unit of this conflict. The identity group which is the most useful unit in PCS and their relationship with state. According to the theory, the core problem lies within the relationship between state and these identity group. Azar blames the colonial legacies of European countries which were imposed in these third world countries where idea of territorial statehood was imposed on states with multitude communal group. these group were separated by the principal of divide and rule. This led to dominance of a one prominent group on rest of the society or few leading groups coalition which were not responsive to needs of other groups. According to azar, when one communal group is dominating and is unresponsive to other groups problem then conflict rises. Due to multi communal societies the chances of PCS have increased.³⁸

The relationship between the governments and Christian community was never strong. The state polices and harsh strategies toward the Christian made the relationship between them week. The vision of Jinnah of a secular society and freedom to all religion remain incomplete due to early death of Jinnah. The wave of Islamization in Zia era to get support of religious parties against Bhutto party who believe themselves the guardian of Jinnah believes of secular state. Then the introduction of Sharia into the governess system led to weakening of relationship between minorities and government. The increase of Islamic extremism and violence against minorities which was result of increased Islamization and sharia influence in constitution and laws has had a very negative impact on religious minorities.³⁹

³⁸ Ramsbotham, “The Analysis of Protracted Social Conflict: A Tribute to Edward Azar.”

³⁹ Gregory, “Under the Shadow of Islam: The Plight of the Christian Minority in Pakistan.”

The role of state had been very crucial in marginalizing the Christian community in the context of education. As Azar has mentioned in his Protracted Social theory, when state is unable to formulate the effective policies for the communal groups the fragmentation and radicalization increases. In this case, the process of Nationalization by Bhutto government had a very negative impact on Christian community. There were so many protests against government. The government failed to address their issue which led to fragmentation of society. The exclusion of minority history and struggle for the country from the textbooks was also very disappointing for the minorities. They were portrayed negatively in books. This was due to the weak governess system of the state and poor formulated policies. the educational policies of 1970s had not included the minorities. Azar believed that if state have weak governing system then religious intolerance in society increase. Another important factor which Azar mention in his theory was the Relationship between communal group and state in this case its relationship of religious minorities with state. Muslims being in majority and dominant in society had made it impossible for Christians and other religious minorities to access their basic needs. The divide and rule legacy had impacted the structure of society, where one group is dominating while other are being not treated same. The polices were only to carter the needs of Muslims citizen. The exclusion of minorities and their misrepresentation from textbooks, the process of nationalization, Muslim elite learning from the church running schools and Christian middle class children going to Urdu medium, were the causes due to weak governing system and ineffective policies.

4.1.2 Deprivation of Basic Needs

The second condition is “Deprivation of basic needs”. Every group for their physical survival needs basic needs. When one groups is enjoying the basic needs while other are struggling to access them, this could lead to Grievances. This grievance is expressed by collective group who

feel neglected and marginalized by the dominant group. these needs are ontological in nature and will intense with over period of time. The government failure to address the needs of minority groups could give rise to Protracted Social Conflict. These needs could be political, cultural or religious in nature. When the minority groups are abandoned from their developmental, security and freedom needs, conflict rises. These conflicts can intensify with period of time as these needs are non- negotiable.

Student of religious minorities face a lot of challenges in accessing education in Pakistan. the constitution of Pakistan gives freedom of education to all religious minorities according to religion. But despite of it, minorities had to face problems. They were discriminated on the basis of their religion. For instance, due to their affiliation to specific religion they were not given admissions and were forced to eat on separate tables in schools. Before Independence, Christians were the one who introduce advance education in sub-continent. They were working along many educational institutions run by churches and missionaries like Forman Christian school, Kinnaird College for Women, etc. after the independence, the Muslim Elite in Pakistan were taking quality education from the Christian run English medium schools. While the Christian were studying in Urdu medium school. There was a clear division of upper and lower class seen in these schools. These Christian schools were only catering the elite, which left the poor middle calls Christian no option but to attend Urdu medium schools. The major development which took place in 1972 was Nationalization of private educational institute by government of Pakistan. it left an impact on Pakistani society. This step affected mostly the Christian community, because the mostly the faculties of this Christian colleges and school were from abroad. So due to the process so nationalization, these faculty members had to leave their jobs. They became government employees and had to dependent on government permission for many things before the

nationalization, Christian run schools and colleges were free of government policies and run without government interference. (Aziz, 2019) But Bhutto policy made them public which affect Christian community. These faculty were well educated and were providing great service to these colleges. Many faculties left the institutions as employer could not hire them anymore. Despite the assurance of government that it will not interfere or change any policies, things did not remain the same. The church-controlled institution who were sign of collection unity for the Christian community were unable to employ Christian teachers. Mrs. Mira Phailbus, who had been the principal of Kinnaird for so long, in an interview told that regardless been the church run Christian college, she was unable to employ the Christian faculty. These policies were quite radicalized and had a huge impact on Christian community.⁴⁰

Many Christian institution protest for the faculty staff, and many Christians felt that their jobs were in threat because of the policy. These missionary schools and colleges had provided many jobs for the Christians, so losing this job to majority community was very disappointing for many Christians. Another step taken by state before the nationalization, was that the church run schools and institution were not allowed to teach bible or any Christian values to non-Muslim and teaching Quran was made obligatory. These institute though that state were taking their advantage as these schools had majority of Muslim. students and Christian were in few numbers.⁴¹ the middle class of Christian community were unable to afford these English medium schools because of high fees, so they were unable to educate these children in these schools which were run by their own fellow community members. These institutions only benefitted the elite of the country which were mostly

⁴⁰ Priscilla Lall and Fakhra Aziz, "Effects of Nationalization on Leadership of Pakistani Christian Institutions Uzma Quraishi," *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)*, vol. 39, 2019.

⁴¹ Charles Amjad-Ali, "From Dislocation to Dislocation: The Experience of the Christian Community in Pakistan," *International Review of Modern Sociology* 41, no. 1 (2015): 1–28.

Muslims. The majority of the Christian community is middle class so majority were sending their children in Urdu medium schools.

4.1.3 Role of State and Governness

Third, “Role of state and governness” is described by Azar as an important condition which could satisfy or frustrate a nation. If a state is weak and is unable to make effective social policy or fails in cohesion of different communal groups conflict occurs. When state fails to provide basic rights and needs to people then in those countries PCS occurs. This highlight the incompetency and fragility of an authoritarian government which fails to satisfy the communal groups and is unable to provide them with basic human needs. Azar noticed that PCS is in those countries which are developing and have rapid increasing population with limited resources. These countries have limited political capacity which is due to imposed bureaucratic rule by colonial powers. Such countries face such conflicts. It’s the responsibility of the state to provide equal access to basic needs to every communal group to avoid protracted conflict. But Azar noticed that developing countries have weak governments and the societies of these countries have issue like overpopulation with limited resources, imposed bureaucratic rule, political repression, fragmented societies which make difficult for the governments to respond to the issue of communal groups.

Jinnah, the Pakistan founding father had a vision of state without division over religion. He wanted Islam as unifying force which will unite all citizen regardless of their religion. He wanted Pakistan to be a country where religious freedom is exercised and right of religious minorities were protected. But this idea of Pakistan being a secular country, where every religion is respected and had equal freedom was not uphold by government and people of Pakistan. the four military dictatorship and several civilian rules crushed this dream of Jinnah. Religious extremism increased in the country due to weak ineffective civilian and military institutions. Most damaged was done

in 1980 by Zia through his campaign of Islamize the country. He did a lot damage by strengthening Blasphemy laws, by interpretation of militant Islam in school's curriculum. The first major obstacle in the way of developing religious tolerant society was objective resolution. These were the guising principal for developing constitution. The OR stated the sovereignty belongs to Allah and supported the idea of freedom, democracy, equality, tolerance taught by Islam. Minorities were given little bit of attention. As Islam was the guiding force for making of constitution (Curtis, 2016) But over the period of time, Islam was used as tool to marginalize religious minorities legal discrimination towards religious minorities became easier.⁴² in Bhutto regime, the constitution formed had its impact on minorities. For instance, Pakistan being an Islamic country can only have Muslim president and prime minister. The oath taken by all the ministers would be in name of Allah which will be mandatory for them to take and they will promise to protect Islamic ideology. Another clause stated that every law has to be in accordance to Islamic ideology. It should align with Quran and Sunnah. The norms of Quran and sunnah cannot be violated by fundamental laws. The religious offense like, disturbing any religious assembly, defiling places of worship or burial or using any derogatory languages etc. has a very reasonable term for prison. The problem lies in weak institutions and policies which allow these laws to be used for wrong purpose. Many times, minorities being convicted wrongfully.⁴³ This is the manifestation of Azar believe that weak governing system give rise to conflicts. Radicalization has increased so much that a rumor of Quran burning can get a whole village to burn down. There have been many examples where a person belonging to minority has been convicted just on rumors. The Blasphemy laws are one example

⁴² Lisa Curtis, "Religious Freedom in Pakistan: Glimmers of Light on a Darkening Horizon," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 14, no. 2 (2016): 23–30, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2016.1184439>.

⁴³ Ajay Raina, "Democrats and Minority Marginalization: The Case of Pakistan," *Asian Journal of Political Science* 22, no. 2 (May 4, 2014): 206–26, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2013.879069>.

under which many people were killed or blamed just because they belong to a certain minority.
(Raina,2014)

The minorities had to face discrimination in political ground too. In 1983 general Zia formulated a separate “electorate for minorities” under the Islamization program. This restricted minorities from standing for National Assembly seats or for voting for one. They were given ten seats which were allocated by religious communities. Among them four seats were for Christian minorities. At first Christian were happy that they will be able to get their right for self-determination but they get to know the negative aspect of these separate electorate which were that this process lowered their status from a full citizenship. It had also impacted the Christian which were living in rural areas. the Christian village were unable to vote for the representative of parliament, due to which the member of parliament was given no incentive to spend on their areas which resulted in lack of resources. In 2002 Gen. Musharraf ended this segregation by normalizing the process of voting for minorities. They were allowed to vote for regular seats. The seats for Christian were filled through a proportional representation system. They were chosen by political parties’ representative from a close list, so these minorities representative remain dependent on party leadership.⁴⁴

According to Azar, it’s the state weak governess structure which escalate the conflict. The harsh responses and hardline strategies in response can cause increase in conflict. The state should address and mediate the grievances of the communal group. The blasphemy laws are found in Pakistan penal code. These were first formulated by Britishers in 1860. The reason to formulate these laws were to promote religious tolerance and harmony among pluralistic society. The laws were amended and many clauses were added in Zia regime. He made lot of changes to keep

⁴⁴ Amjad-Ali, “From Dislocation to Dislocation: The Experience of the Christian Community in Pakistan.”

mullahs happy, which had negative impact on the religious minority. Many human right activists raise their voice against these laws but they were not listened. The supporters of these laws believed that there was no sign of discrimination in these laws. They believed that most people targeted through these laws were Muslims. This is true that Muslim could be more statistically as Muslims are in majority but the discrimination is been there. The structure of Blasphemy laws clearly was protecting only one religion and was discriminatory towards other. For instance, the clauses which Zia added clearly were to protect Islam if someone insulted the religion, but religion minorities had no law to protect their religion. The clauses like 295-B and 298-A, B, C were introduced in the blasphemy law to target Ahmadis. This clause prevents the minorities for using certain titles and description for Muslim holy places. According to a report published by Dawn Newspaper, there been 1274 cases reported between 1986 and 2010. The data collected from various surveys and researches has shown that in context to population, Ahmadis and Christians has been targeted most. They are the most targeted community. These laws have been used largely against these group by Muslim extremists. the clauses added by Zia regime were harsher and stricter than before. Before Zia changed the structure of these laws, only eight cases were reported in 33 years. This figure shows that how radicalized and extremism increase after Zia regime. The blasphemy laws became prominent and increased in Zia era. The misuse of these laws by Mullah were routine. they used these laws to take revenge, to create fear, for applying pressure in land disputes. These all things were unrelatable to Blasphemy laws. The misuse of these laws was evident that the appeals against decisions made by lower courts were handed to supreme court by lower courts. The supreme court overturned the decisions because of fabrication and unresponsive of evidence. There have been many cases like Salamat Shah vs State, Salamat was accused with Rehmat and Manzoor Masih, they were accused of writing offensive words on mosque wall.

Salamat and his uncle were given sentence on baseless accusations by session court and Manzoor was killed by militants. Later it was proved that the case was unsupported by evidence. (Julius,2016) Later investigatory team and public prosecutor was criticized for not performing their duties properly. Another case was of Rimsha Masih, she was a mentally challenged girl who was accused of burning pages of Quran in 2012. Later it was disclosed by the two assistants of Cleric Chishti, that he himself added Quran pages in her bag to build a case against her. He wanted to flee Christians from the neighboring slum and have previously threatened openly of burning Christians. There are numerous cases like these which highlight the fragmentation and radicalization among our society. The supporters of these laws believe that these laws are important because without them everyone will take law into their hands. The extra judiciary killing started in 1991 and in this year death penalty was made mandatory. This extra judiciary killing was supported even by some member of judiciary itself. They believed whoever is accused of Blasphemy should be killed on spot. The ulema and cleric started publicly announcing rewards for killing person who have done blasphemy. Many political leaders had supported these killing which further promoted this culture. Many cases of extra judiciary were reported like, two Christian were killed on spot in Faisalabad. Many human activists raise their voices against these brutal killing. It was believed this law has given many extremist licenses to kill people and easily get away with it.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Julius, "The Experience of Minorities Under Pakistan's Blasphemy Laws."

4.1.4 International Linkages

Azar in this variable highlight the international aspects that when a country is dependent on developed country for its economy or have military or political relation it sometimes does affect the protracted conflict. In this case, the Christians were affected by the soviet invasion in USSR due to which Islamic militancy increased in Pakistan. Pakistan had to support United states because of its dependency on it. The support for mujahideen in Afghanistan through training them and providing them with weapons. This support increased the terrorism and Islamist extremism in Pakistan. this spillover effect of the war in Afghanistan had a lot of negative effects on religious minorities. They were on constant target of militancy. At that time many churches were attacked. The Islamic militancy in FATA forced Christians to leave their homes and accept Islam. They were extra judiciary killing and reward was given who will kill the Christians. these active became so normal in that era. the war on terror by U.S and Pakistan support for it made things more complicated. As militancy started killing and bombing especially the religious minority. They wanted to destroy government image and their hatred for west was coming out in form of terrorism. Christians had to flee their country to protect their families. Many Christians had taken refuge in western countries.

4.1.5 Built in Mechanism

Azar point out that the motivation of state and actors are usually conditioned by historical experiences and belief system which if not addressed could lead to falsification. This solidify the protracted social conflict. These are the built-in mechanism which further escalate the issue. The false beliefs against each other further increase the division among the groups. Azar also highlight the outcome analysis which include, deterioration of physical security, which involve the economic and political deterioration which made the group realize its basic needs and led to

conflictual situation. Second, it's the institutional deformity, where the institutions fail to provide cohesion among society. They operate ineffectively, which further causes continuation of a conflict. Third, the psychological impact on the communal group which is discussed before, the build-in mechanism can reinforce the continuation process.

The early death of Jinnah led the relation between state and Islam unsolved. If looking into historical currents, and why these minorities are treated a specific manner, there are two reasons. One is the perception of Minorities in Islam, the way they are perceived by Islamic scholars and second the constant preconceived notion of caste in Pakistan. The first reason of abject condition of minorities lies how the Islamic scholar use Islam as a tool to humiliate and discriminate Minorities. For instance, the reason lies in the structural framework which was structured by Islamist scholar a jurist by giving legal and religious structure to jihad. The concept of Dhimmi which means those infidels who have surrendered to Islamic domination by giving their piece of land for protection. This treaty provided protection to these minorities from Jihad. These people are considered second class citizen which have restricted freedom of speech. There were many features of Dhimmi which were observed, like inequalities regarding to taxes and laws, refusal of testimony by Muslim court, restriction over practicing their religion etc. In respect to Christian there has been many practices which were seen in Pakistan which highlight the dhimmi status. The terrorism and extremist have also made the situation for minorities unbearable. These Islamist extremists have introduced Dhimmi practice in areas like FATA (Gregory, 2012). The Christian were forced to accept Islam or they were forced to leave their house. Secondly, Christian are believed to be descendants of "Untouchables". They are believed to be converted to Christian to protect themselves from colonial rulers. They are stigmatized by lowest caste inferiority. They have separate identity, for instance, titles like Masih or Maseeh make them distinguish. Sometime

due to fear of their identity being used against them, many Christian hide their identity. The Christian community was misrepresented in textbooks. For instance, sentence like All Pakistani are Muslims were constantly seen in textbooks.⁴⁶ In some context like, “Pakistan belong to Muslim”, were seen. these statements had a negative impact on students. This does not take account the struggle of religious minorities and does not highlight multi-cultural society of Pakistan. this process was also result of nationalization of education and educational institutions in 1972. Rich culture of the society was crushed by this policy. The 2017 education policy highlighted the exclusion of minorities from the course, which had increase gap between different minorities group. the textbooks had excluded the minorities struggle in making Pakistan, due to which Pakistani masses are unaware of the struggle and hard work of minorities.

The radicalization of society in Zia regime through the blasphemy law and false images was clearly visible through extra judiciary killings and Mullah announcing rewards for those who will kill anyone who have done blasphemy. the relationship between Zia government and religious minorities was not strong. Zia regime had made policies which were not acceptable for the minorities. They were targeted and were marginalized. They were not given their right to vote. Politically, they were dependent on political leadership were not provided proper representation. Azar believe when state and communal group have weak relationship them chances of a conflict increase. This was the case with Christian minorities. They protested for their right for many years. The sentiments were hurt with the policy formulated by Zia regime. Another factor which need to be highlighted is the false image of Christian created in society. The falsification of Christian minority also fuels the conflict.⁴⁷ The majority Muslims have a wrong image about the Christians.

⁴⁶ Gregory, “Under the Shadow of Islam: The Plight of the Christian Minority in Pakistan.”

⁴⁷ Raina, “Democrats and Minority Marginalization: The Case of Pakistan.”

This is also linked to historical experience and belief system which azar believe is a built-in mechanism which become one of the reasons for PCS. the process of Islamization and extremist Mullah have made false images for religious minorities. The weak governing system and socio-political Institutions had done nothing to reduce the radicalization of society. They have failed to provide justice to Christian. In dozens of blasphemy cases, the judiciary failed to protect these minorities. despite having unsupportive and insufficient evidence, many Christians were wrongfully convicted and were given death penalty. The failure of the judiciary and courts to provide justice to the minorities had also contributed in rising protracted social conflict. The international linkage is only prominent in cases where many Christian due to charges of blasphemy has to leave the country and take refuge in other countries. Due to extremist and militant attacking these Christian minorities, they had no option but to leave the country. The attack on their residents, worship areas has made their living very difficult (Raina.2014).

5. Discussion and Analysis

In this section of research, the analysis of research question is done by analyzing the data collected through secondary sources. The discussion is based on different patterns and themes which were observed by going through the data. The identification of themes has helped in assessing the answers collected through different journals and books. The discussion will be based on three parts, each part will focus on each research question. The first section will be analyzing the process of social stratification of Pakistani society and how it has marginalized the Christian community. The second part will focus on the factors which led to normalization of structural inequality in the society and lastly, the Azar theory will be analyzed and tested. The themes which have been observed and can be seen repeatedly in the whole research are “Marginalization”, “Social stratification”, “Radicalization”. All these words are negative in their terminology and truly depict the whole situation of Christian community and how they are impacted. The themes are repeatedly used as they clearly interpret the crux of the situation. The Christian community is being marginalized due to the social stratification process and radicalization in society due to weak governance system and ineffective policies.

Pakistani society is very diversifying and fragmented in terms of its cultures and ethnicities. The division of society is based on the race, religion, caste, income etc. Pakistan history has shown how the society has been dominated by the elite oligarchy which has most of the resources and has a strong presence in politics of Pakistan. The ruling elite which contains bureaucracy and military personals have played their role in radicalizing society. The Theologians which are Ulama in this case has played a prominent role in promoting Islamization and extremism. These religious leaders had used Islam as a tool to fulfil their interest and to promote their agendas. The Ulama have created faction and hatred among the nation by supporting the movements like anti-Ahmadiyya movement

in 1953 and rigid punishments introduced for Blasphemy in Zia regime had marginalized the religious communities particularly Ahmadi and Christians. They were subjected to violence through the policies formulate by Zia and religious leader. The society of Pakistan is structured in a way that the communities which belong to certain ethnicity, religion and speak certain language will have higher rank in hierarchy than others. The economic conditions also matter. As mentioned in chapter 2, the military and bureaucracy, ulama and landowners are certain groups which are dominant in society. The people belonging to these groups are privileged. Christian particularly lies at bottom of this hierarchical order. Christian in Pakistan society are less privileges socially and politically. they are less privileged in every sense. They are considered untouchables; as most of them are converted from lower caste Hindu to Christianity. They are considered churas. High caste Muslim have done a lot of discriminations towards Christians. They don't even sit beside them. The Christian in Pakistan are not high caste Christian or white Christians. They are mostly dark, and belong to lower caste communities. Most of them have degrading job like sweepers etc. most of them belong to lower middle class, and are not educated much. Despite having well known Christian school and colleges, they have no resources to attend these schools. These schools only have majority of elite Muslim as Christian cannot afford to send their children to these schools. They have no other option but to send their children to Urdu medium schools. Politically, they have been marginalized for a very long time. In Zia era, separate electorate were formulated for religious minorities. they were under represented in reserved seats as well general seats. Even though in Musharraf era, the process of separate electorate was ended but still they were depended on representative of their political parties for their allocation of the representative seats. The constitution of Pakistan also limits their political rights. For instance, conditions like only Muslim

can become president and prime minister etc. it does make them not eligible to apply for highest political offices.

The inequality in a society is generated through different structural relations. The position of a group in a society really matters a lot. The advantages and disadvantages of that position does make a lot of difference. The religious minorities being at bottom had to face many backlashes. The structure of society plays an important role in normalizing the inequality in society. The social stratification of society, where a specific group is privileged while others are not, give rise to inequality. The social structure of society incorporates diverse relationships of people in a society. This give rise to different status among people according to their position in the society. The prestige and power of a particular group make them superior to the rest. This power and prestige are given by the social structures which in a very systematic way stabilize inequality. The unprivileged group having no means and resources feel helpless and accept its position in society. The After the inception of Pakistan, Jinnah wanted a secular country, where every religion should be given freedom but due to his early death his wish of a secular nation remained unfulfilled. After his death the process of inequality towards minorities was seen in form of different movements and policies. The Muslim ulama being in majority started the process of Islamization. Hudood ordinance and blasphemy laws are some manifestations through which these groups were isolated. The changes in blasphemy laws in Zia regime was highly opposed, after some time people get used to these changes. Many Christians were targeted wrongfully through these laws, but nothing was done. The ill performance of institutions like judiciary was clearly visible in the blasphemy cases. Christian minority protest against the laws, went to courts for justice but the Judicial courts on many cases had given wrong verdicts and no inquiry was done against them. they had to accept their faith. This acceptance lead to the normalization of structural inequality.

The inequality In Zia regime was seen as a normal procedure. Even after Zia regime, the structure remained the same. When the structure remains same for so long and no change occurs then society get use to inequalities. The case of Christian is also of this kind. The situation of Christian even today is not much changed because the socio-political structures have not changed. The discrimination in this structure are so deeply rooted that it will need an effective systematic polices by the government to eradicate this discrimination and radicalization. The society still is engulfed by the wave of Islamization. The extremist Mullah still uses Islam as a tool against the minorities. the political system is still flawed. Until all the structure is not incorporated with a system of just and unbiased, conditions for the minorities will remain same. Another important factor which is being in third chapter is built in mechanism. The history, the belief system of people towards the Christian also do normalize inequality.

I have applied the protracted social conflict theory in order to understand the situation of Christian and the structural inequality they face in their daily lives. Azar has used different variables to describe the conflict. The protracted social conflict exists within different group with a nation or across the natation. The intensity of this conflict fluctuates over the period of time. This conflict could rise from time to time. the conflict remains unsolved for a long time due to limited resources. These conflicts arise in third world countries where the governing system is weak, the society is deeply divided. by applying the variables which azar has mentioned, I have described the situation of Christian community, their relation with government, the weak governing structure and the built-in mechanism. The impact they had by the inequality is also being mentioned. The weak relation of religious minorities with their government in Pakistan is quite visible. Since the era of Zia, the governments have done not so much for the Christian minorities. they weak governing

system fails to address the issue of minorities. This weak relationship of minorities with government have increased radicalization in the society. The ineffective policies of government for instance the rigid punishments, separate electorate, privatization of schools etc. had very negative impact on the Christian community. Their basic needs were not fulfilled. Their right for self-determination was affected. Their identity was challenged. They hide their identity so that they can protect themselves. Their homes were burned and they had to leave their country to save their lives. They had to take refuge in other countries. This conflict between government and Christian community rises over period of time. in Zia era there were a lot of protests by the community. Many Christian were killed in cases of blasphemy. in late 70s and 80s, the invasion of USSR in Afghanistan had increased the terrorism and extremism in Pakistan and then U.S war on terror had impacted Christian a lot. As the militant used Christian as scapegoat to exert their frustration against United States. The cases like Asia Bibi in 2010 and Ramasha Masih again highlighted the systematic discrimination and radicalization in the society. Through Azar theory, different dynamic of conflict has been highlighted and how this conflict is still ongoing and can only be resolved with systematic changes.

6. Conclusion

The Christian community in Pakistan are living a life of uncertainty, isolation and constant fear. They are being marginalized politically, socially and economically and constitutionally. They are discriminated and persecuted due to the negative attitude of majority of Muslims, government, the systematic discriminated rooted in systems, weak governess system and absence of ineffective polices. The weak institutions like judiciary fail to provide justice to Christian due to discriminatory laws. Christians had to hide their identity to protect themselves. The false belief system in the society against these minorities have led their life into danger. They are considered the descent of “Untouchables” and most of them were Hindu. They mostly belong to lower castes. Most of them are doing degradable jobs. The segregated society of Pakistan and the deeply rooted discrimination makes sure that wealth and resources remain in hands of few people. The situation of Christian in Pakistan is quite the opposite to the secular vision of Jinnah. They are abandoned socially and politically. Christian are underrepresented in politics. They have underrepresentation on general seats as well reserve seats. The radicalization in society since Zia regime has increased. The influence of sharia also become stronger. This has strongly impacted the minorities in Pakistan.

The azar theory of social protracted theory is an accurate description of the Christian conflict as the majority of the variables used in the theory are reflecting in the development of this particular conflict. The theory highlights the weak governing system, rigid policies, built in mechanism are some of the factors which could cause conflict. These factors could be seen in this conflict as they are the reason of Christian frustration and their marginalization. The theory does give an analytical assessment of the conflict and provide better understanding. The only thing which need to highlight is that there has been hostile interaction from Muslim militant but Christians being the minority

and having limited resources were unable to fight back that strongly. The issue was more highlighted in Zia regime as extra judiciary killing was common in that era. the society become so radicalized in Zia regime that it affects are still present. Without enforcing proper systematic policies and non- discriminatory laws, Christians will remain unsafe in the country. The political and social institution had to developed a more coherent polices to facilitate the Christians.

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