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# Contextualizing Economic Challenges and Opportunities of Minorities in Pakistan; A Case Study of Christian Community in Lahore

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*The prosperity and development of any community in a nation gauges the available economic and social developmental opportunities, which are considered as a backbone of national progress. Having about seven lac Christian population,<sup>1</sup> Lahore city has the largest Christian population of Pakistan. This study has attempted to answer the questions relevant to state's economic policies and the available economic opportunities for the Christians of Lahore. The getting of education by the Christians have offered them menial jobs as sweepers and labourers in the governmental sector of Pakistan particularly in Lahore job market, for which an attempt has been made to trace the answers of questions in this paper.*

**Key Words:** Minorities, Oppression, Christians, Jobs, Opportunities, Employment, Sanitation, Work, Economic

## **Introduction:**

Lahore, historically, has been the cultural capital of Punjab province though Delhi was the capital during the Mogul and the British eras. The 1891 census data shows that Lahore was the most populous city of Punjab after Delhi.<sup>2</sup> In Lahore, the available economic opportunities for Christians are the same as it was before the 1947 with slight changes. "Most Pakistani Christians today still do the same work as their untouchable ancestors: sweeping the streets and doing other menial jobs deemed ritually or unclean by higher-caste Hindus."<sup>3</sup> But many Christians have opinion that Lahore being the largest city of Christian population has miserably failed to protect them from social oppression and marginalization in the order and patterns

set by the state of Pakistan. Being religiously diverse from the majority religion of the state, the minorities in Pakistan face threats, oppressions and violence from the few people belonging to majority population, which gives them a feeling of majority's attempt of minorities exclusion from social fabric of the society. Being unacceptable socially, the Christians also face favouritism, marginalization and neglect in the available government employment opportunities.

#### **A. Christian Community and Structure and Nature of Jobs in Lahore**

In Pakistan, Christians possess a very low significant position socially, educationally and economically as compared to other minorities of the South Asian region. As the most of the Christians in Pakistan have deprived and neglected family orientation since 1947. The arrival of British in 1849 opened new avenues of employment opportunities to Indian population of Subcontinent. "After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, the British gave large estates to their important allies and supporters including Muslims in Sindh, Punjab, and various regions of North-Western India.... The British began paying the fixed amount of cash per month so that their loyalties might be purchased. This proved a success for the British administration. On the other hand, the British rulers had not either granted a tract of land or paid anything in cash to Christian people. *Bishop Malik*<sup>4</sup> has a strong belief that the income inequality gap between Muslims and Christian community was created before the making of Pakistan. During British rule, those untouchables of detested community commenced converting into Christianity, having great hopes to improve their lives and get benefits from Christian British rulers. The post-partition changes in Pakistan did not alter lives of untouchables Christians and continued their pre-independence dominant profession as sweepers. Changes in Pakistan after 1947 like an assimilation of Pakistani economy with state narration of Islamic identity directed towards non-Muslim sentiments and became a major factor behind the devoid of Christians contributions by majority population of Pakistan. After a result of migration to Pakistan, Christians were deprived from their lands and state did not award them lands in return, therefore, no option was left for them except to hold the available opportunities of sweeping jobs, which was resulted in further stigmatization of Christian community in Pakistan. The socio-economic mobility<sup>5</sup> of Pakistani minorities particularly Christians has become screwed with the passage of time. *I.A. Rehman*<sup>6</sup> describes phenomenon of Christian social mobility in Lahore with these words, "Marginalization and

oppression of Christians are not limited to blasphemy laws. Rather blasphemy law is the result of a general wave of state discrimination towards minorities, but there are other ways of discrimination.”<sup>7</sup> In 1947, Christians of Lahore were happy for the idea of Pakistan, though the role of Christians played dominantly before Boundary commission. During the early two years, Christians were happy in a newborn state after making of Pakistan. But later they started feeling that their future would not be safe in Pakistan, therefore, Christian migration commenced during next decade towards European states. This Christian migration was consisted of Anglo, Goans and rich Christians, who started leaving Pakistan and moved abroad for their better economic perspectives. This migration was rapidly enhanced after passing of Objective Resolution (1949). The remaining feudal<sup>8</sup> and middle-class Christians of Lahore tried to move upward at available opportunities in Pakistan which was resulted in “conflict between Muslims (majority) and Christians (minority).”<sup>9</sup>

Though the Christians have significantly contributed for social uplift of majority population of Pakistan by establishing a number of well-known educational institutions, schools, colleges, universities, hospitals and healthcare units, which shows active participation and contribution of Christians to progress and development of the country. On the other hand, Christian educational indicators are very miserable in learning basic and higher education in city of Lahore. For Christian population, Lahore has assumed the most significant position having state’s largest Christians community. An updated appraisal of Christian demography of Pakistan showed that Lahore accounts for highest percentage of Christian population, in comparison to any other district of Pakistan. Having a sizeable population of Lahore, the figure of national literacy rate shows that it is forty-three percent in Pakistan, but only twenty-two percent classified Christians may be able to write and read. Similarly, attendance percentage of children in Pakistani schools is nearly 54.9%. On the other hand, Christian children percentage is only half that of national percentage in school, and merely 0.4% of Christian younger generation reach to corridor of higher education. In any state, “Income and education do not have an individual identity but they are correlated with each other as higher income leads to better education and living standard, whereas better education gives you high education and living standards. Many minorities adult work, they have disproportionately low incomes compared with working-class whites.”<sup>10</sup> Even it is described that student ratio of Christians in Lahore educational institutes is considerably very low than the Muslim students. The FC College Lahore, Kinnaird College and other Christian missionary

educational schools are the best instances of such disproportional ratio of non-Christian majority.<sup>11</sup> Presently eight percent of men and four percent of women from Christian community are literate, while the remaining 92% of men and 96% of women are facing poverty and illiteracy. In this regard, the ratio of enrolled Christian students is very low in FC College (Christian Chartered University) Lahore. As *Professor Saleem* of FCCU Lahore roughly quotes, "In FC College (Chartered University) Lahore, there are about 700-800 Christian enrolled students out of 7000-8000 Muslim students"<sup>12</sup> showing a very low Christian enrollment than Muslims of Pakistan and their educational role in their own Christian institution is very negligible.

The religious minorities in Pakistan work in four major professions like Brick Kiln, factories sanitation, labourers and domestic services. In Pakistan, waste management and Sanitation are considered two major sectors in which mostly female and male workers are non-Muslims, belonging to particularly Christian religion. "Having a very low salary package of grade 4-5, mostly Christians are working as Sanitary Workers in government sector. The highest labour force is working in factories of Lahore in form of supervisors, administrators, skilled labour and unskilled workforce, most of labour force belongs to Christian community of *Youhanabad*, Lahore. In proportion to their population in Lahore, share of Christian community as a labour force is greater than other communities of Lahore."<sup>13</sup> In order to determine structure and nature of jobs, Christians are comprised of seventy-one percent in labor force of Lahore. In order to determine the rate of unemployment for Christian youth in Lahore, a survey was done by Pakistan Christian Post, which divided this survey into three categories; unemployed people, employed people and students. They compiled their data which gives an analysis that about thirty eight percent students live in city, while employed people in Lahore are thirty-three percent. On the other hand, there is about twenty nine percent of Lahore's Christians, who find seldom job opportunities for them, but mostly are unemployed. Possessing the higher labour value by Christians community in Lahore, there is only thirty seven percent employment opportunities for Lahore's Christians. The Pakistan Christian Post (PCP)'s survey also reveals that ratio of Christian jobs in government sector is limited at six percent out of total employed people and about ninety-four percent of total Christians' Employments is working in private sector. Only in city of Lahore, a legalized social system of slavery also exists in case of Christian women working about twenty-three thousand in Muslim homes of Lahore.

These unavoidable circumstances lead them for cleaning roads, street lanes, houses and toilets.

At the time of independence (1947), teaching as a profession was providing employment opportunities to graduates of Christian schools/college of Lahore. Particularly, the Kinnaird College, Lahore was giving preference to its graduate students for jobs in the missionary school network. The Pakistan Christian Post (PCP) Survey also reveals that in private sectors mostly Christians are doing teaching jobs other than sanitation work. Even in private teaching, the share of Christians has limited to thirty-one percent. The graduate Christian students from Kinnaird College were adjusted as teachers in education department of government as well. Meanwhile “a large number of Christian teachers were working in public municipality schools rather than serving in missionaries’ schools in Lahore. After making of Pakistan, state-adopted discriminatory attitude towards minorities and this religious fanaticism against Christian teachers began to be victimized. Even senior Christian teachers, entitled to be headmasters, were transferred in any one of the schools for second shift in decade of 1980.”<sup>14</sup>The social and economic competition leads both communities towards process of segregation because of emerging religious fanaticism through implementation of state segregated constitutional acts. Gradually deep-rooted influence of religious extremism broke forces of cohesiveness among children of Pakistan. This segregation was further reached to height, when gradual cramming of economic and social marginalization was begun. Due to effects of foreign handwork, Christians belonging to slums, have started to be settled in better living places with Muslim community in Lahore, then a resistance was started socially from narrow-minded Muslims. This competition continued at all levels irrespective of their social status and richness. Once there was a trend that anglicized Muslim elite families always used to keep a male Christian servant in their household matters, who used to perform multiple roles like cooking, ironing and driving in house. But this trend began to be changed as a result of emerging economic competition. Now in new circumstances, new type of tussle was commenced. The emerging competition between Muslim and Christian teaching staff was because of grasping employment opportunities in Pakistan. The picture becomes gloomier to observe that Christian teachers school associations always supported struggle of majority’s (Muslim) rights, but majority Muslim groups always avoided participation for Christian cause for their basic rights. At time of nationalization, many Christians were working as employees in these

schools. These institutions not only provided employment opportunities rather providing leadership at all levels of Pakistani society, but “employment at these institutions also raised social status of Christians.”<sup>15</sup>

But nationalization by Bhutto government in October 1972 provided a great economic loss to Christian employees and Christian educational networks. Mostly schools and colleges were kept under nationalization without providing any compensation to them. “Some urban English medium schools of high standards were at least temporarily exempted from nationalization, as were some small Christian schools maintained entirely by community and for Christian community without receiving aid from any public funds.”<sup>16</sup> The nationalization of Christian educational institutions had serious consequences like leaving of European teachers of these institutions, emergence of Muslim and medical staff. *Qamar-uz-Zaman* describes that management and board of directors’ missionaries’ institutes “hired Muslims on merit in Christian educational institutes and United Christian Hospital Lahore,”<sup>17</sup> A strong protest was erupted after nationalization of missionaries’ school throughout the country and took nationalization as an emerging threat to their jobs in their own schools. The government initially kept almost whole Christian staff and faculty in their previous jobs in schools, even their salaries and pay allowances was enhanced due to having highest salaries in governmental educational institutions. But later developments showed that majority Christian staff began decreasing, which was having a fear originally by Christian community. Though missionary educational institutions had given job opportunities and social position for Christian community, but nationalization provided them a great loss and a blow to their morale and pride to Christian community. As far as job opportunities of these institutions are concerned, if a comparison is drawn between Muslim and non-Muslims, ratio of Christian is very low as compared to Muslims working in educational institutions. For example, the roughly unofficial figures show that “there is a number of seventy to eighty out of 275 in teaching faculty in FC College at present.”<sup>18</sup> These figures show that ratio of employment to Christians community is very negligible than Muslim teaching staff in college.

On the other hand, there is about twenty-four percent (24%) Christian jobs share in sanitation department. The episode of partition of subcontinent also had a serious impact upon demographic of city and all minorities except Christians migrated to India. According to 1998 Census, Lahore has a population of nearly 6.8 million, having 96% Muslim population. The remaining four percent were *Ahmedis*, Sikhs, Hindus and Christians and Christians were the major minority of Lahore district. In

City District Government, Lahore, social plight of Christian community may be witnessed in society. The creation of Lahore Municipality Corporation (LWC) in 1867<sup>19</sup> created new job opportunities for citizens of Lahore. The making of Lahore Development Authority<sup>20</sup> in 1975 from Lahore Improvement Trust (1936) created the jobs of sanitation, solid waste collection and disposal of waste. The city has been divided into 150 union councils and 9 towns<sup>21</sup>. At present, “population of Lahore has grown to 11,126,285. The largest concentration of Pakistani Christians lives in Lahore who account for about 5 percent of total population of Lahore City. A majority of sanitation workers in Lahore are Christians<sup>22</sup> labeled as “sweepers”<sup>23</sup> because many of them come from a downtrodden Dalit caste. I.A. Rehman describes social behaviour of employers towards Christians community with these words, “Christian wages of daily life are different than a Muslim, which makes him a westernized look. Muslims, therefore, look down upon Christians, because of their hatred towards western world.”<sup>24</sup>In public sanitation department, Christians’ share is about thirty-eight percent, with highest percentage than other job opportunities of district.

WASA<sup>25</sup> deals with multiple problems and issues which urban centers of cities face at adverse times of weather particularly during rainy and monsoon season. Out of 7178 employees, there is about 2,240 sanitation workers, having 1,609 are non-Muslim. Drain maintenance cleaners<sup>26</sup> and sewer maintenance workers are major functions performed by Sanitation workers. Professor *Ahmad Salim* describes conditions of WASA Christian sewer-men with these words that per day 100 Rupees is given to employees as their wages. Even treatment of WASA’s admin and officials towards sanitation workers is quite inhuman<sup>27</sup>. If an emergency occurs and death takes place, just one lac and fifty thousand is paid as compensation money,<sup>28</sup> which is a cost of losing life of a Christian sanitation worker. The Lahore Development Authority (LDA) created Lahore Waste Management Company (LWMC) in March 2010,<sup>29</sup> which deals exclusively with issues of Metropolitan Corporations Lahore (MCL) of solid waste. Currently, as a sole agency of providing sanitation services in Lahore, there are about 9,000 sanitation workers out of total staff 15,598 of Lahore Waste Management Company and all of them are Christians. Two contractors (*Ozpak and Albayrak*) are operated through LWMC Company, which also take help of sanitation workers on 89 days contract, which shows the irresponsibility attitude of state towards sanitation workers of Lahore Waste Management Company. Those workers are entitled Daily wagers, who cannot be considered as government employees and cannot be

regularized, though they are working for Pakistani government for many decades.”<sup>30</sup>In Lahore, mostly sanitary workers belong to Christianity, having some of them as *dindars*.<sup>31</sup>Sewer-men possess are considered inferior and inhumanly treated. In 2012, *Asif Aqeel* declares caste more relevant in Islamic Pakistan, therefore, “Muslims avoid proximity with Christians due to latter’s origins—unknown even to most Pakistani Christians—in low caste.”<sup>32</sup> These practices of *na-pak* and *pak* are common in lower-income localities of Pakistan. “The bottom stratum within society is never including as a group of individuals to be taken seriously by policy makers.”<sup>33</sup>

The Third Party provides workers for the purpose of sanitation for Lahore Waste Management Company. About 2000 sanitation workers are working to clean the city drainage system but also suffering many diseases with abject poverty.<sup>34</sup>At the solid waste department level, Within the Lahore city, the duty of collecting, carrying and removing the solid waste has been assigned by the solid waste department. As the Lahore city has been divided into many towns and the task of sanitation has been given to the union council *Nazim*, which supervises all the cleanliness within her/his constituency. For a population of 500 people in the city of Lahore, requirement of one sweeper should be provided for the five hundred people of any area. As the population of the city is expanding rapidly, which needs to increase the number of sanitation workers. In the Lahore city, there is a number of ten thousand workers working as sweepers at present. Most of the workers have the issue of breathing problems. The sweepers have also a duty to clean the roads of the city manually making their duty difficult because of having poor-quality designed tools. About seventy-five percent of the sanitation staff workers, belonging to Christianity, in Solid Waste Management, Lahore (SWML) mentioned by The Minority Rights Commission (MRC) in 2007. This Company also hires the Muslim staff for the purpose of sweeping, but they are not assigned to the road cleaning of the city but do the domestic work at the senior official houses of the SWML. While going down into the city channels/gutters, about seventy sweepers have died due to the lack of protective tools from 1988 to 2007 and all the sweepers were non-Muslims but “no legal action has ever been taken against any official.”<sup>35</sup>

For Christian community, the news of privatize the waste-management department has created great concerns among the Christians’ sanitation workers because it will result into loss of their jobs as sweepers in the government department. This privatization will seriously damage the Christian jobs as sweepers and enhance their economic severity towards the

state. As this privatization will give the governmental power of hiring and firing to the privatized firms which will hire them on contract basis and remove their economic job benefits. *Aslam Pervaiz Sahotra*<sup>36</sup> mentions a great difference in the wages of private and governmental sanitation workers. The sweepers in private sector receive half of the salaries as compared to those working in governmental sector. As the sanitation staff do not receive any regular job assurances, health and monthly leaves, general provident funds etc. In WASA, a gloomy picture for the Christian community is that the political leaders have hired Muslim staff between 1800-2000 as sweepers, who neither wear sweeper uniforms nor act as sweepers. Rather their work is performed by the non-Muslims in the department and there are employed as performers of household activities at homes of WASA officials. *Charles Amjid Alihas* described about all phone operators and watchmen, belonging to Islamic religion.<sup>37</sup> In Lahore's city, mostly Christians and Hindus work as sweepers having more than seventy Muslim out of 1500 regular and 400 workers. The Christian people have scared to this level that, "nobody is ready to avail employment offers as sewer-man in WASA. In mostly cases, bereaved family members refused to accept the job offer of sewer-man."<sup>38</sup> In Pakistani society, a prevailing trend exists that society itself has excluded sweepers and sanitary staff from its fold as they have no voice in the Pakistan's trade unions.

*I.A. Rehman* also mentions that in matter of choosing between a Muslim and a Christian household worker and employee in factories, "Muslim elites started using continuous activity of working labour. In a working environment, Muslim industrialists and elites avoid conflicting environment between Christians and Muslims, therefore, they began starting preferring Muslims rather than Christian workers."<sup>39</sup> "A considerable number of residents in *Youhanabad* are employed in government sector mostly as labourers. Besides, number of women working as domestic help is also quite large."<sup>40</sup> "Only in city of Lahore, there are about 23000 Christian women,"<sup>41</sup> who perform household activities of the city.

As far as the business options are concerned, there are a very few and restricted options available for the Christians in Lahore city, which has seriously damaged their income share in Lahore city. In a survey conducted by Pakistan Christian Post (PCP) determines average monthly income share by Christian in Lahore city is about 12,333 rupees (\$138), having a family of five members, which is considered a lowest below the poverty lines defined by the World Bank. Many Christians leaders and representatives have a serious concern about the available few business choices for

Christians in the city of Lahore. As the Christians do not possess any capital then how they may perform any business activity. But some of the Christians have gained recognition in the Real State business. Facing a societal hatred and *Chuhra*<sup>42</sup> pronunciation, they cannot do some of the businesses like the sale out of the prepared foods. As a community share of Christians in Lahore is very minimal in the whole business activities of the city. With the passage of time, the *Youhanabad* as a Christian settlement has expanded from two square to its present one square miles, which also shows a development in the economic activities in this settlement mostly controlled by the Muslims. Muslims have now possessed a great number of shops around the settlement of *Youhanabad* in place of the Christian shopkeepers which shows the trend of Muslim purchasing and hold over the commercial activities of the vicinity. Even in *Youhanabad* of Lahore, “today Muslim community owns more land and shops in locality.”<sup>43</sup>

The Pakistan Christian Post has conducted a survey in which it has described an appalling picture of the Christian contribution in the available business activities in Lahore. This survey has also questioned the state business policies towards the minorities of Pakistan because the Christian share is only 1.15% in the total business network of Lahore which shows a very dismal conditions of the Christians as a major community of the city having a minimal share in the economic decision making of Lahore. Out of total 1.15% share of Christian share in the Lahore district, there is about thirty percent share in real estate business, which determines the nature of Christians business. Similarly, we find few Christian businessmen in the field of real estate of Lahore. “The most prominent Christian real estate of Lahore are the Deans Real Estate, Defence Chowk Lahore and Yousaf Real Estate are the persons, who are running their businesses in expanding field of construction of housing schemes of Lahore.”<sup>44</sup>The Christians also have some other business options like opening of beauty salons and departmental stores, vegetables/fruits shops and textile other than the real estate. Most of the Christians have a desire for establishing their own business in the city of Lahore but lack of capital, resources and social hatred are the major reasons, which stops them to do businesses in Lahore.

### **Conclusion:**

The phenomenon of Christian social mobility and competition with the majority Muslim population in Lahore has created many problems for Christian community. In 1947, the Christians of Lahore possess a significant and sizeable population of Lahore and gave a great jubilation to the making of Pakistan and had a hope for living without any financial loss

and coercion. But later circumstances show about the migration of a large number of Christians like Anglo, Goans Christians towards European states for better economic perspectives. For grasping the economic opportunities in Pakistan, the remaining middle/poor class Christian began settling in big cities like Lahore and Karachi, which later resulted into economic conflicts between Christians (minority) and Muslims (majority). Though in the job market, Christians have a very few opportunities in profession of health and education sectors, which have been screwed due to social abhorrence and state policies. The Christian schools, colleges, universities, hospitals have significantly impacted upon the social fabric of Lahore's society but later they are feted with violence, bomb blasts and discrimination. The Christian educational institutions like FC College Lahore, Kinnaird College Lahore and schools have given employment opportunities to educated Christian people in their own institutions but ratio of employed Muslims in those institutions is greater than Christians in their owned institutions. The sanitation department of Lahore remains the most employed department of the Christians working as sanitary workers and sweepers in Lahore City District Government. Now another issue has arisen after decision of Government of Punjab to privatize the waste-management department in Lahore, which was acting as a major job contributor to Christians in the public sector. The Christian women are also working as a major labour force in the household activities of Lahore city. On the other hand, available business opportunities for Christian population are very limited in city of Lahore. Having not enough money is one of the major reasons, but some of the Christians have struggled to involve in real estate business though having a meager share in Lahore district. Other than real estate business, other businesses and services like Beauty salon, opening of smaller departmental stores, textile, businesses of fruits/vegetable, etc. have attracted Christian people towards it. But some businesses like selling of prepared food items etc. are strictly prohibited due to their social abhorrence and pronunciation of *Chuhra* cult. The Muslims own properties and shops around *Youhanabad*, largest Christian settlements of Lahore city, which shows Muslim monopoly and Christian inability for doing business in their own area. The social discrimination, human capital, non-availability of financial resources are the basic hurdles in beginning of Christian business activities in Lahore which needs serious government involvement for resolving those issues.

## Notes and References

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<sup>1</sup> Punjab Development Statistics 2011, Bureau of Statistics, Government of Punjab, Lahore

<sup>2</sup> *Syed Muhammad Latif, Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiques* (Lahore: New Imperial Press, 1892), p. 254

<sup>3</sup> Ethan Casey, *The Untouchables' Church*, Christianity Today (Dated: 26 April, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> He has served the Christian community of Lahore for over 40 years.

<sup>5</sup> “Socio-Economic Mobility” can be defined as movement of individuals from one social or economic class to another with vertical and horizontal mobility. *Anousha Athar, Access to Higher Education and Socio-Economic Mobility of Christians; A Case Study of Lahore*, (Unpublished thesis, M. Phil Economics, GCU Lahore, 2018)

<sup>6</sup> He was a famous journalist and civil rights activist in Pakistan.

<sup>7</sup> Interview from *I.A. Rehman* dated: 30 August 2019.

<sup>8</sup> Feudal Christians used to live at Raiwind, Lahore and possessed of fertile land Church property.

<sup>9</sup> Interview from *I.A. Rehman* dated: 30 August 2019.

<sup>10</sup> *Anousha Athar, Access to Higher Education and Socio-Economic Mobility of Christians;*

<sup>11</sup> Charles Amjad Ali, From dislocation to dislocation: The Experience of the Christian Community in Pakistan, *International Review of Modern Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Spring 2015), p. 24. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43496499>.

<sup>12</sup> Interview Professor Saleem, Head of Department, FC College, Lahore, Dated: 2 Nov. 2018. 1.30 PM.

<sup>13</sup> Interview from *Faraz Malik* dated: 24 August 2019

<sup>14</sup> Interview from *I.A. Rehman* dated: 30 August 2019.

<sup>15</sup> *Charles Amjad Ali, From dislocation to dislocation:* p.17

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

<sup>17</sup> *Qamar-uz-Zaman*, telephonically interview dated 16 august 2019, 7.33 PM.

<sup>18</sup> Interview Prof. Saleem, Head of Department, FC College, Lahore. Dated: 2 November 2018, 1.30 PM.

<sup>19</sup> Great Britain India Office, *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Punjab: The Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan Divisions and Native States*, vol. 2.

<sup>20</sup> LMC took responsibility for Solid waste collection and disposal meanwhile Water and Sanitation Agency was created under LDA.

<sup>21</sup>The following names are given to towns of Lahore; *Iqbal, Shalimar, Ravi, Data Gunj Bakhsh, Gulberg, Nishtar, Aziz Bhatti, Wagah and Samanabad.*

<sup>22</sup> Asif Aqeel, “*Untouchable Caste Identity Haunts Pakistani Christians like Asia Bibi,*” World Watch Monitor, Nov.1,2018, accessed Oct.23,2019,<https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/2018/11/untouchable-caste-identity-haunts-pakistani-christians-like-asia-bibi/>.

<sup>23</sup> Sabrina Rose Bhatti, “Pakistan Army Removes Christians-Only Condition for Sanitation Jobs,” Samaa TV, last modified June 28, 2019, accessed Oct.23, 2019 <https://www.samaa.tv/news/government/2019/06/pakistan-army-removes-christians-only-condition-for-sanitation-jobs/>.

<sup>24</sup> Interview from I.A. Rehman dated: 30 August 2019

<sup>25</sup> WASA has cleared the rainwater drainage and unblocking city sewerage, with responsibility to provide drinking water to people and desilting sewage channels in Lahore.

<sup>26</sup> Those workers have to lean channels connected with sewage called as *nullahas*. In city, there are 4041.2 km long sewerage lines, having 355195 manholes, pipeline width from 9-18 inches with a distance of 400-500 meters b/w two manholes.

<sup>27</sup> Without providing safety equipment like gas detectors, masks, rope, torch & safety belt to sanitation workers, they are persuaded to enter into deadly sewers.

<sup>28</sup> *Ahmed Saleem, Pakistan Main Sanitary Workers*” (Urdu) (SDPI, Islamabad, 2005), 19-22

<sup>29</sup> Local Government & Community Development, Govt. of the Punjab, “Lahore Waste Management Company,” on Oct. 16, 2019, <https://lgcd.punjab.gov.pk/Lahore%20Waste%20Management%20Company>.

<sup>30</sup> Governor of West Pakistan, The Industrial and Commercial Employment (Standing Orders) Ordinance, 1968, 1968, accessed October 16, 2019, <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/222.html>. Occupational safety is an important part of general policy of LWMC, which further stresses to follow the ILO standards.

<sup>31</sup> Dindars are those people who recently converted into Muslims and adopted Islam as their new religion.

<sup>32</sup> Under the Companies Ordinance of 1984, the Lahore Waste Management Company was established. Asif Aqeel, “Oppressive Powers in Pakistan Threaten Christian Lives,” in *Morningstar News*, Dec. 5, 2012.

Accessible: <http://morningstarnews.org/2012/12/oppresive-powers-in-pakistan-threaten-christian-lives/>.

<sup>33</sup> Pieter H. Streefland, "The sweepers of slaughter house" Karachi, (Van-Gorcum Assen, The Netherland 1979), p. 79-80.

<sup>34</sup> *Talib Afzal*, Daily Express Urdu (Lahore, Sep. 26, 2019) Karachi edition, sec. Back p. 8, accessed Sept 29, 2019. [https://www.express.com.pk/epaper/PoPupwindow.aspx?newsID=1106784042&Issue=NP\\_KHI&Date=20190926](https://www.express.com.pk/epaper/PoPupwindow.aspx?newsID=1106784042&Issue=NP_KHI&Date=20190926).

<sup>35</sup> *Working Conditions of Sanitary Workers/Sewer Men* in Lahore, Minority Rights Commission (MRC), 2007.

<sup>36</sup> He is a Christian human rights activist.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Amjid Ali, *Changing Realities in Pakistan and the Church's Response* (Rawalpindi, Pakistan Christian Study Centre, 1991), 29-49.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> *Kashif Nawab*, They christened it Youhanabad, Phase II, <http://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/writer/kashif-Nawab> October 13, 2019.

<sup>41</sup> Akhlaq Hussain Shamsi, *Social Status and Political Participation of Christian Minority in Pakistan* (Lahore, University of the Punjab, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Centre for South Asian Studies, 2011)

<sup>42</sup> Interview from Master Hamid dated: 21 August 2019

<sup>43</sup> *Kashif Nawab*, They christened it *Youhanabad*, Phase II. Mostly Pathan Pakhtoons use to live at *Youhanabad* and possessed most of the houses and shops in this vicinity of *Youhanabad*. The weight of Muslim population is consisted of about between 1.5-- 2% out of the total population living in *Youhanabad*.

<sup>44</sup> Interview from *Kashif Nawab* dated: 24 August 2019.