"Christians by Faith, Pakistani by Citizenship"
Negotiating Christian Identity in Pakistan

Kor Grit

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"Christenen in Geloof, Pakistani in Burgerschap"

Delibereren over Christelijke Identiteit in Pakistan

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Acknowledgements

"[T]he author failed to understand the sensitivity of the Christian community to the use of the term 'sweeper' in relationship to the Christian community. (…) [He] has failed to note how various Christians have in fact radically altered their social status and have achieved places of great responsibility and leadership (…) there is nothing new in the book (…) is the author himself planning to come to Pakistan and help in this situation? Or is he getting a degree at the expense of the feelings and sensitivity of a minority group, all in the name of the 'science of sociology?'" (CSC 1974: 43).

Seated at a desk in the library of the Christian Study Centre in Rawalpindi I was reading this quote in a review of Pieter Streefland's book *The Sweepers of the Slaughterhouse*, in an *Al-Mushir* from 1974. I consider Streefland's study one of the most detailed ethnographies of a Pakistani Christian community. At a table across some Pakistani students were discussing what seemed to be a commentary to the Bible. I feel a sense of anxiety creeping up. If Streefland's ethnography of a community of "Christian Punjabi Sweepers" in Karachi was received this way, how will people read my study about Pakistani Christians? What sensitivities will I fail to understand? Will my research actually aid Pakistani Christian reflection or am I merely "utilizing" this "minority group" to get a degree? To be honest, before a month of living and working in Pakistan had passed I already came to understand how little I could do to "help in this situation" of Pakistani Christians. While I may at times have felt an insider to the Christian Study Centre, I have always been and will always be an outsider to Pakistani Christianity. As such, simply arriving at some understanding of a fraction of the "Christian community" of Pakistan already posed enough of a challenge. Looking back, I have to acknowledge that it was rather the reverse process: Pakistani Christians helping me. Helping me to understand their sense of being a "minority group." Helping me to see the sensitivities they

experience in everyday life. And most of all, helping me to appreciate the creative and strategic efforts they employ as Christians in an Islamic Republic.

Therefore, it should not surprise anyone that I owe much credit to others for much of what is written in this dissertation. While writing this dissertation may have felt solitary or even lonely at times, the end result can only be described as a collaborative effort. The research project that led to this dissertation was a collaboration between Kerk in Actie, a Dutch non-profit organization affiliated to the Protestant Church of the Netherlands, Martha Frederiks, professor of the Study of World Christianity and the first supervisor of this PhD position, and the aforementioned Christian Study Centre (CSC). I am not only grateful to this collaboration for giving me the opportunity and confidence to take up this position, but also for the orientation and continuous guidance this collaboration has offered me. The research focus on Pakistani Christian identity was largely developed in this collaboration and many people involved in it have directed my attention to Pakistani Christian agency.

I am fully aware however, that the institutional ties that have enabled this research go back many decades and are often older than myself. The trust and kindness with which I was welcomed at CSC can only be perceived against the background of other Dutch women and men who were employed by Kerk in Actie, or its predecessors, to work with CSC before me. As a result, I am grateful to Dick Kleinhesselink, Gryt Bouma, Harry Mintjes, Jaap Kraan, Jan Slomp and Willem Jansen for sharing their expertise on Pakistani Christianity and Islam with me, but also for their part in establishing convivial relations between Dutch and Pakistani churches.

It should be obvious that the contribution of Kerk in Actie's current staff to the development of this dissertation also deserves a mention. From the very beginning I have experienced immense support and confidence from Rommie Nauta and Feije Duim. I remember well how Feije Duim introduced me to various Christians and Christian organizations during my fist visit of Pakistan. With every introduction he seemed to inject trust and kindness into the relationship. The many

enlightening conversations about Christian-Muslim relations and Christianity in Pakistan with the staff of the mission department of Kerk in Actie during the last years have undoubtedly left a mark on this dissertation.

Through Kerk in Actie I was also provided many opportunities to share about my findings, Pakistani Christianity and Christian-Muslim relations with religious practitioners, religious organizations and congregations. The engagement and interest I experienced during many of these meetings truly encouraged me and helped me see the social relevance of this research and dissertation. I can only be grateful to the many practitioners, diaconal committees and congregations that welcomed and supported me along the way: ZWO Barendrecht and Reverend Henk-Jan Ketelaar, ZWO Nieuwedammerkerk and Reverend Véronique Lindenburg, ZWO Elst and Paul Peters, CZWO Zierikzee and Reverend Bertie Boersma, CZWO Walcheren and Reverend Flip Beukenhorst, CZWO Goes and Reverend Arie Spaans, CZWO Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, ZWO Ommen, ZWO Heiloo, ZWO Lexmond, ZWO Wijk bij Duurstede, ZWO Leersum, ZWO Schoorl, and ZWO Oost-Groningen.

The support I have experienced from CSC can hardly be exaggerated. The efforts of Christine Amjad-Ali and Jennifer Jag Jivan, its former and current directors respectively, to make me feel welcomed and to facilitate my research efforts were more than effective. Without CSC's extensive network and continuous willingness to introduce me to key actors and organizations in Christian-Muslim relations this research would not have been possible. The organization's continuous care and concern for my safety and well-being in Pakistan, often embodied by the senior project officer and security manager, Christopher Sharaf, enabled me to conduct the fieldwork in an ethical and responsible manner. In my experience, this goes beyond a formal working relationship. Over the years I have come to regard many colleagues at CSC as my friends. While addressing my colleagues as "*bhai-*

sahib" was generally intended and received as a joke, the term most adequately captures the admiration and fondness I hold for them.[1]

The same credit is due to many other organizations and interlocutors who took part in this research. It goes without saying that this applies to the National Commission for Justice and Peace and the missionary schools, as well as actors and organizations in CSC's network. The warmth and openness with which I was welcomed at these organizations most certainly allowed me to develop and enhance my view and understanding of Pakistani Christians. Being aware of the challenges for Pakistan's civil society only increases my gratitude for their willingness to interact with me.

I specifically want to mention emeritus Bishop Samuel Azariah, Raheel and Mehwish Sharoon, Eugene Gabriel and Noman Sajjad, from Raiwind diocese of the Church of Pakistan for their support; I am most grateful to them. They have welcomed and hosted me numerous times and provided me a home away from home. I am also grateful for the wisdom and experiences they have shared with me in the conversations about Pakistani Christianity and Christian-Muslim relations we enjoyed.

In all the solitude, insecurity and anxiety I have experienced throughout the process of fieldwork and writing, the support and stability provided by my supervisors, the aforementioned Martha Frederiks and Lucien van Liere, associate professor of religious studies, were indispensable. Their involvement and guidance have unquestionably been an inspiration and anchor in my research and writing. They have spared no effort to provide me with opportunities to learn, to develop academic and teaching skills and to be a part of an academic community, even during the periods of fieldwork in Pakistan. The fact that during my stay in Pakistan Martha Frederiks and I would call each other with the same frequency as I would talk with my parents is emblematic for her exceptional contribution to this dissertation. Through Martha Frederiks I have had the pleasure of being part of a group of researchers in the field of Religious Studies and Theology, consisting of

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[1] *Bhai* is Urdu for brother. *Sahib* is an Urdu term to express respect to someone.

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CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

Introduction

One thing I have learned over the past four years is that a mention of Pakistani Christians usually elicits one of two responses. First there are people who ask if there are any Christians in Pakistan and if so, how many exactly. Usually it does not come to their surprise that according to government statistics only a mere 1.6 percent of the population is considered Christian. Although a seemingly insignificant share of the total population, this amounts to more than three million people, almost as many as the number of church members in the Netherlands, according to certain statistics (Bernts & Berghuijs 2016: 21). Second, there are people who have encountered information about religious freedom and intolerance in Pakistan, from one of the many international advocacy organizations concerned with these issues, who would say that Pakistan is one of the worst countries for Christians to live in. This response claims that Pakistani Christians are a persecuted minority, often with references to high profile cases of religious freedom, like Asia Bibi's blasphemy case. Generally it surprises people who give this second response that many Pakistani Christians and Muslims engage in interreligious dialogue as well as in advocacy and lobbying for various issues, including human and minority rights.

While these perceptions of Pakistani Christianity are understandable, what both responses have in common is a neglect of Pakistani Christian agency. This understanding of Pakistani Christians as a forgotten minority or as victims of persecution also regularly surfaces in popular media, with news articles highlighting Christians' poor legal position or vulnerability to violence and sense of insecurity (Mohsin 2016; BBC 2016). Similarly, academic publications that speak of "the growing marginalization and oppression of the Christian community in Pakistan"

(Sookhdeo 2002: 394), and of "Pakistan's persecuted Christian minority" (Pio & Syed 2016: 204), often portray Pakistani Christians as subject to legal injustice and aggression from their Islamic fellow countrymen or the state. Chapter two will discuss how this understanding of the social position of Pakistani Christians as a legal problem emerged in the late 20th century.

Notwithstanding the many legal and social challenges for Pakistani Christians, one of the main assumptions of the research for this dissertation is that of Pakistani Christian agency. Through various encounters with Christians in Pakistan, I have certainly become familiar with the challenges they experience in different spheres of life. At the same time, however, much of the findings of this study will illustrate that Pakistani Christians also conceive of themselves as active participants and as agents of and even contributors to the social configurations within Pakistan. This assumption of agency is reflected in my emphasis on negotiations of Pakistani Christian identity. In previous studies identity and identity negotiation has also been conceptualized as processes and motives of agency (Swann & Bosson 2008: 452; Slater 2005: 179; Guest 2009: 656). This study focuses on how engagement in social action, advocacy, lobbying and dialogical initiatives in various semipublic settings, enables Pakistani Christians to construct, contest, redefine, interpret and present Pakistani Christian identity in encounters with others.

In this introductory chapter I will primarily explain my approach to many of the terms and concepts used above. In the first part I will briefly discuss the background of this research project and how, in the first stages of this study, I have moved towards a focus on negotiation. The second part of this chapter discusses the methodology employed in this dissertation. In this part I will define the concepts of identity and negotiation, and link these to the analytical tools of identity talk and framing. In addition I will discuss the dissertation's research design, the various challenges and considerations with regard to fieldwork in Pakistan, and how I have handled and analyzed the data generated through this fieldwork. The last part of this chapter consists of a brief outline of the various chapters following the current one.

Approaching Pakistani Christian identity

During a conversation with Asmi, staff member of the Christian Study Centre (CSC) in Rawalpindi in 2015, I mentioned the term "identity performance" in relation to Pakistani Christians; I was met with surprise and suspicion.[1] Identity performance, although not meant in such a way, came across as fake or disingenuous, as if the religious identity of Pakistani Christians is not intrinsic and sincere, but a matter of pretense. To think of identity in terms of performance does not seem to attribute appropriate importance to religious identity and does not understand it as a natural attitude.[2] Conceptualizations of identity as fluid seem more popular among "postmodern theorizers in Western academia" than among the agents that claim these identities, as Andreas Nehring has suggested (2011: 387). The importance of religious identity in Pakistan is also illustrated by another conversation with a Pakistani Christian friend, who worked as a staff member of a diocese of the Church of Pakistan in Lahore. He argued that I should ask Pakistanis what they consider to be their foremost identity. His expectation was that most respondents would definitely self-identify on the basis of religion if they had to choose one. This was indeed the result generated by PEW research, which investigated whether people consider themselves first either a religious person, or a citizen of their country. With 87 percent identifying primarily as Muslim, Pakistan topped the list of the ten countries surveyed (PEW 2006: 3). One could argue, based on understandings of a coalescence of national and Muslim identity in Pakistan, which will be further elaborated in chapter two, that the PEW study presents a false binary in the context of Pakistan. Nonetheless, considering this paramount importance of religious identity in Pakistan, the question remains, how did I conclude that the notion of "identity performance" could be useful in my research?

The previous year was the first time I had visited Pakistan for an extended period, from February to June 2014. The purpose of this visit had been to identify

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[1] For privacy reasons names of interlocutors are anonymized.
[2] Fieldwork report FWR_05.

the focus of this research of Pakistani Christianity. As part of this study of Pakistani Christian identity negotiation, I lived and worked in Pakistan, at CSC in Rawalpindi. My position at CSC was as part of a research project, and I was generally referred to as "research student" by the organization. This project was developed in collaboration between CSC, Utrecht University and Kerk in Actie, a Dutch organization affiliated with the Protestant Church of the Netherlands. The cooperation between Kerk in Actie (and its predecessors) and CSC has a long history, with the latter receiving various "fraternal co-workers" from the Netherlands, who contributed to CSC's aim to research Islam, Christianity and Christian-Muslim relations. However, the last time a co-worker had worked at CSC was in 1999. Moreover, my position as a "research student," or PhD student, differed from earlier personnel exchanges between Kerk in Actie and CSC. First of all, I visited Pakistan for limited periods of time, generally no longer than six months. Second, as the primary aim of my time in Pakistan was to collect data for my dissertation, my supervisors from Utrecht University mainly supervised the progress of my research. While I did, generally, consider the staff at CSC to be my colleagues, I was also aware of my position as an outsider and my particular role as a researcher. I will return to this position and role later in this chapter.

In this collaboration between Kerk in Actie, CSC and Utrecht University, this research project was envisioned as an investigation of how Pakistani Christians "conceive and shape their relations with the Muslim majority as well as the way in which they conceive and shape their Christian identity" (Kerk in Actie 2013). During my initial visit I soon became aware of two aspects of Pakistani Christianity. First, conceptions and constructions of relations with Muslims and Islam and of Christian identity are inseparable in Pakistan. In other words, relations with Pakistani Muslims, and with Pakistan as an Islamic Republic, are an intrinsic component of Christian identity construction in the country. As anthropologist Linda Walbridge observed, the primary audience and conversation partners of Pakistani Christians are Muslims, and much of what constitutes Pakistani Christianity is developed in relation to elements of Islam (Walbridge 2003: 190). Second,

"Christian identity" was not simply a concept of academic analysis, but also a part of the discourse used by Pakistani Christians, maybe even in everyday life, but certainly in organized encounters with co-religionists or Muslims. In 2013, for example, the annual School of Theology at CSC was themed "Exploring Christian Identity in Pakistan" (Jag Jivan 2014: 2). Similarly, in various publications in CSC's journal, called *Al-Mushir*, as well as in brochures about its interfaith activities, "Christian identity" is employed and conceptualized.

As the third chapter of this dissertation regarding the history of CSC will illustrate, these debates and conversations among Pakistani Christians about what constitutes their religious identity have been ongoing for at least two decades. More importantly, Christian identity is generally approached substantively in these conversations, in the sense that definitions of the content and characteristics of this identity are developed and contested. The people involved in these conversations are generally theologians, church officials, and Pakistanis involved in church-affiliated organizations. As opposed to becoming engaged in these debates about the substance of Christian identity in Pakistan, my aim, however, was to analyze how various conceptions of Christian identity and religious diversity, as developed by Pakistani Christians, function in their interactions with Muslims. In order to distinguish this research from the ongoing debate among Pakistani Christians about what constitutes their religious identity, I thus adopted the notion of identity performance, only to discover that a focus on performance in a study of Pakistani Christians would not be contextually suitable.

This contextual inadequacy of "performance," together with both the abovementioned aspects of the notion of "Christian identity" in the context of Pakistan, are well illustrated in an *Al-Mushir* article by Alexander John Malik, emeritus bishop of Lahore.

"The struggle between the Islamists and the Pluralists in defining Pakistani national identity continues. Christians cannot be silent spectators to the outcome of this struggle, as the outcome will have an effect on Christian

identity in Pakistan. They need to be active participants in the debate of Pakistani national identity. Christians in Pakistan are Christians by faith, Pakistani by citizenship, culturally part of Pakistani culture; socially, politically and economically discriminated against and disadvantaged" (Malik 2014: 1).

As this quote shows, Pakistani Christians often understand their religious identity as interconnected with that of Pakistani Muslims, and with (debates about) Pakistani national identity, or are at least encouraged to conceive it as such. Moreover, the quote also demonstrates that Pakistani Christian identity is perceived to be a contested matter, as something that is subject to considerable pressure from outside the community. Various studies, especially in the field of sociology and social psychology, have demonstrated that individuals may employ identity management strategies when they experience discrepancies between their own understanding of their identity and other's perceptions thereof (Goffman 1963; Burke 1991; Stryker & Burke 2000; Link & Phelan 2001). In line with these findings, the quote shows that Pakistani Christians are envisioned as actively involved in and contributing to the construction of Pakistani Christian identity, especially in relation to national identity and citizenship. In public settings, or in relation to Pakistani Muslims in general, Pakistani Christian identity can thus be adequately perceived as something that is continuously being negotiated. These negotiations of Christian identity are the main focus of this dissertation. The primary research question under investigation is therefore: how do Pakistani Christians negotiate their religious identity in relation to others in semipublic settings?

A focus on Pakistani Christian identity as negotiated in semipublic settings, however, does not necessarily divorce this dissertation from sociological approaches commonly associated with performance, such as interactionism and dramaturgical sociology. In fact, Jenny McGill, who, albeit on a more personal and micro level, also applies identity negotiation to religious identity, argues that mid 20th century, "sociologists increasingly discussed the negotiation of identity based on the work of

Erving Goffman, among others" (McGill 2016: 18). McGill's contribution is especially interesting for this current study because it relates missiology with interactionist sociology, two fields that are also relevant when looking at Pakistani Christian identity negotiation. I will further elaborate on this interactionist approach to identity negotiation and its impact on the fieldwork of this dissertation and the current investigation in general, in the section on methodology later in this chapter.

While the main question under investigation in this dissertation thus pertains to how Pakistani Christians negotiate their religious identity in semipublic settings, it is important to mention how I have brought further focus to this study. The notion of identity negotiation in this dissertation cannot be confused with Christian theological efforts of theorizing religious difference and sameness. In many studies of interreligious relations and dialogue, the tripartite distinction between the theological positions of exclusivism, inclusivism and pluralism is assumed to be a relevant indicator of how people of different religions relate to one another. While identity negotiation can certainly have bearing on the (theological) shape of Christianities in a particular context, as the first two chapters will also indicate, this dissertation is not about Pakistani Christianity, but about specific Pakistani Christian organizations. Pakistani Christian identity negotiation is thus approached in this study on a meso-level, in particular comprised of organizations, schools and (informal) networks.

The first organization that was studied, including the network it is embedded into, is the aforementioned Christian Study Centre. This organization is semipublic in the sense that it employs various activities in which a wide variety of actors from Pakistani society participate. In chapter three of this dissertation I will explore how this organization has negotiated Christian identity as a part of Pakistani identity through interfaith dialogue and social action, between 1970 and 2001.[3] This organization is also the subject of the fourth chapter, which focuses on its functioning in today's Pakistan. The specific question discussed in that chapter is

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[3] The decision to study this particular period of CSC's history is based on the availability of its journal, *Al-Mushir*, from 1970, and on the organization's perception of a turning point in 2001, after 9/11, with the emerging "war in terror."

how CSC navigates its religious identity and religious diversity in its interfaith dialogue activities, in light of widely diverging expectations from various participants. The second organization studied for this dissertation is the National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP), a human rights organization affiliated with the Catholic Church. NCJP voices its concerns and views on various human rights questions in Pakistan, including minority rights and education, both publically and semi-publicly. Their advocacy on education is the subject of the fifth chapter, in which I will look at NCJP's attempts to contest and transform representations of Christian identity and religious diversity in textbooks used in Pakistan's elementary schools. The sixth chapter will discuss the same issues of textbook content and religion in Pakistan, but in a different type of organization. This chapter will focus on various church-affiliated schools, commonly called "missionary schools" in Pakistan, and explore how the Christian teachers at these schools navigate Christian identity and religious difference in relation to a religiously diverse student population.

Methodology

While this study is primarily rooted in religious studies and "interreligious studies" (Hedges 2013: 1076), I will also rely on approaches and conceptualizations from sociology due to the focus on negotiations of identity and intergroup relations. Many concepts and perspectives which will prove relevant for my understanding of identity and of processes of negotiation, such as "identity negotiation theory," "identity talk" and "frame analysis," seem to have emerged from interpretive sociology, and specifically symbolic interactionism.

It is not uncommon for studies in religious studies or interreligious relations to approach identity from the field of sociology or social sciences in general (Hedges 2014; Hedges & Coco 2014). Below I will first give an account of relevant conceptualizations of religious identity that largely correspond to how identity is approached in this current study. This will be followed by a brief discussion of some

underlying assumptions about identity, from a sociological interactionist perspective, which serves to show that in this understanding identity is inherently negotiated. Still, in the second part of this subchapter I will explore the concept of negotiation further, looking at identity negotiation theory and some examples of how this concept is applied to religion. After this discussion I will introduce the two main analytical concepts used to study identity negotiation in this dissertation: identity talk and framing. Both will be explained, with concrete examples from previous studies, which are related to the chapters in the body of this dissertation. The last section consists of an account of the methods used in fieldwork, my role as a researcher and the considerations employed in dealing with and analyzing the data.

Pakistani Christian identity as social identity

In his chapter on Christian-Muslim dialogue, Paul Hedges (2015) postulates that identity theory holds a social conceptualization of identity, i.e., as something that is constructed between different people. As such, Hedges and Coco argue that identity is a matter of both similarity and difference, of constant distinguishing and signification in social relations (2014: 168), echoing Richard Jenkins. This understanding of identity is also one of the main assumptions of this current study, meaning that Pakistani Christians conceive of and present their identity in relation to others, whose otherness is often religious. For Pakistani Christians these religious others are generally Muslims, affiliated to various Islamic schools and groups. As Hedges points out, however, "identity is not just constructed in relation to *the* Other but *an* Other in relation to *other* Others" (Hedges 2015: 27). This indicates the plurality of others at play in the formation of identity. Moreover, the significance and meaning of the various others that are relevant to one's identity is continually changing. Hedges calls this process the "Shifting Third," and refers specifically to Judaism and secularism as a Shifting Third in Christian-Muslim dialogue. In my experience with Christian-Muslim encounters in Pakistan, Judaism or secularism did not appear as a significant "Shifting Third." In fact, in contexts where a notion of

secularism did emerge at the missionary schools discussed in chapter six, it was perceived as a controversial term whose use required legitimization. What could be perceived as an important "other" for Christian-Muslim encounters in Pakistan and for Pakistani Christian identity is "the West." Understandings of the West and of "Western Christianity" are often introduced into the interreligious encounter as a reference point for Pakistani Christianity. Moreover, Pakistani Christians are often perceived to be influenced by, or loyal to the West or Western Christianity. In chapter three this perceived connection between Pakistani Christians and the West will be further explored, at least in the context of CSC. The discussion in that chapter of CSC's responses to Western Christianity, and Pakistani perceptions thereof, will demonstrate that Pakistani Christian identity is constructed in relation to proximate others, as well as conceptual others.

It is by no means the intention of this approach to Pakistani Christian identity to employ a one-dimensional understanding of identity. As Peter Gottschalk, and later Karenjot Randhawa, argued about the Indian subcontinent, one should be cautious to "essentialize identities" and to consider "any one aspect of identity in isolation" (Randhawa 2012: 6). A unidimensional approach to religious identity might "erase common identities through the exclusive emphasis on religious community and, thus, religious division" (Gottschalk 2000: 39). Certainly, people assume multiple identities, cannot be reduced to one identity and their different identities should not be studied in isolation. Nevertheless, in the particular organizations and settings investigated in this study, people generally self-identify through religious categories. At the same time, as the above, including the quote from bishop Malik shows, Christian identity is considered in relation to national identity and citizenship. Moreover, my discussion of this identity also incorporates labels of caste, ethnicity and class, which chapter two will demonstrate. As such, Christian identity will not be approached in isolation.

Apart from being social in the way it is constructed, religion can also be conceptualized as a certain type of identity, often termed "social." As Steph Lawler (2014) has argued in her work on the concept of identity within sociology, in order

to prevent confusion about this concept, sociologists have differentiated between various forms or types of identity. Social identity, or "categorical identity," as one of these types is "an identity that persons have by virtue of their membership of social categories" (Lawler 2014: 4). From this perspective, being a Pakistani Christian involves at least two social identities, religion and nationality. Chapter two will show, however, that various other social categories pertaining to caste, occupation and citizenship status are also relevant to this religious identity. Based on a typology by Timothy Owens, McGill differentiates social identity from another type, called collective identity. "Collective identities involve how collectives forge a broader group identity," she argues (McGill 2016: 17). Especially in the context of organizations, the level of analysis of this study, this collective element of identity also relates to Pakistani Christians. In the case studies about CSC for example, especially in chapter four, the organizational identity was to some extent negotiated in relation to other Pakistani Christian identities, or aspects thereof. The main focus of this dissertation is thus identity negotiation in interreligious settings, but one of the others, from which the identities of the organizations involved in this study are differentiated, may also be co-religionist Pakistanis.

While the above conceptualizations of identity are certainly helpful in highlighting the relational nature of identity, and the importance of social categories and collectivities in the formation of Pakistani Christian identity, it does not explain the relationship between identity and negotiation. Below I will therefore turn to an interactionist approach to identity, which is in agreement with the above social conceptualization of identity, but also understands the concept as inherently negotiated. This approach relies on sociological studies of "impression management" through which the focus shifts from the construction or formation of identity to the presentation and communication of identity in interaction.

Identity in interaction

In her recent contribution on negotiations of identity, Susie Scott (2015) provides an interpretation in which processes of negotiation are an integral part of identity. Referring to notions from symbolic interactionist sociology, like Cooley's "looking-glass self," Mead's process of taking the role of the "generalized other," and Blumer's concept of making "indications to oneself," Scott reaches a processual, fluid and mutable understanding of identity (2015: 13). In this line of thinking, identity is not just social, in the sense that it emerges in relation to, or through interaction with, others, but identity itself is also interactional. This means that "the others" (their perspectives, roles, or actions) are absorbed into and have a bearing on the ways in which identity is presented and expressed.

It would go too far to discuss Scott's understanding and analysis of identity in detail, but in order to provide some clarity as to how identity and negotiations thereof are understood in this study, I will briefly explore her definition of identity below. Based on the abovementioned interactionist conceptions of identity, Scott distills three features that together constitute identity. First, identity as a process is "mediated by social interaction, as actors perceive and respond to the symbolic meaning of each other's actions, and so identity is negotiated through interaction" (Scott 2015: 25). Because of the importance of social relations and interaction for how identities take shape, it is thus inherently a matter of negotiation. This connection will be further elaborated on below. The second aspect is that identity is enacted. According to Scott, it is actively worked at, constructed, displayed and managed in the course of interaction. Third is the pragmatic nature of identity, this means that identity "is tangibly expressed through concrete lines of action, which can be observed and analysed" (Scott 2015: 25).

These three features of identity can be argued to also constitute a suitable approach to Pakistani Christian identity, especially considering the importance of interreligious relations for this identity. Scott's emphasis on identity as negotiated, enacted and tangible corresponds well to my focus on Pakistani Christian identity

negotiation in relation to religious others. Moreover, Scott's emphasis on identity as enacted, together with interactionist notions of impression management, substantiates this study's focus on communication of Pakistani Christian identity. Similarly, Hedges and Coco point to the importance of narrative and sociolinguistic approaches in the study of identity. Stories about identity, groups and relations, as well as labels, language and meanings are all argued to function in the formation of identity (Hedges & Coco 2014: 170).

In agreement with these approaches, and echoing sociologist Paul Lichterman, I would argue that this focus on identity communication acknowledges the setting-specific mutability of religious identity more than the "unitary actor model" (Lichterman 2012: 18). Lichterman, in line with Nancy Ammerman, suggests that approaches to religion as an "unchanging core identity," or a "singular guiding core" of identity does not do justice to the dynamic and setting-specific expression of this identity (Lichterman 2007: 140; Ammerman 2003: 209). This means that the current study does not attempt to make ontological claims about identity or "the self." This may oppose Scott or other symbolic interactionists (Scott 2015: 17), as well as Hedges and Coco, who seem to assume "the self" to be "the core of an identity" (Hedges & Coco 2014: 164). Again, in this study I do not intend to argue that no such "self" or "core-identity" exists, but rather focus on how communication and talk about identity takes shape and functions in encounters between Pakistani Christians and Muslims in different settings (Eliasoph & Lichterman 2003: 738). Below I will further explore identity communication, but first I will relate the concept of identity to negotiation.

Negotiating identity

Identity, in Scott's understanding, is inherently negotiated, as the above has shown. The first feature of her definition of identity, which highlights the interactional nature of identity as a process of perception and response to (actions and signification of) others, illustrates this element of negotiation. The importance of

others for the presentation of identities, already mentioned by Hedges in the beginning of this subchapter, also pertains to the way we should understand the process of negotiation. It is in this regard especially interesting that Scott refers to the symbolic meanings of other's actions, because that indicates the central place of perception and interpretation in the negotiations of identity.

A similar approach to negotiation is offered in Ethan Christofferson's study of Christian Hakka in Taiwan. Coming from a missiological perspective, Christofferson argues there are "tensions between being Hakka and being Christian in northwestern Taiwan" (2012: xiii), and focuses on what Christians are saying and doing with regard to identity in that context. Christofferson (2012: 6) understands identity negotiation as "the ongoing interactive process of identification that takes place between an individual or collection of individuals concerning their own identity and the identity of these others in regard to one or more symbols (e.g., ethnic labels, social roles, ideas, habits, values, religious practices, truth statements, etc.)." This focus on the identity of others and on "symbols" is relevant for this current study, because it indicates that religious identity is often negotiated in relation to something else. In this sense it is important to mention that Christofferson identifies Hakka attempts to minimize perceived foreignness of Christianity, emphasizing their Hakka identity and redefining foreignness (Christofferson 2012: 240). This is also the case for Pakistani Christians. As mentioned above, and illustrated by the quote from bishop Malik, Pakistani Christian identity is often negotiated in relation to Pakistani national identity or to Muslim identities. Chapter three will show that at CSC this identity is also negotiated in relation to its missionary heritage and Western Christianity. Chapters five and six, moreover, will demonstrate how Christian identity is reinterpreted in relation to Pakistan's history and society. Much like the Hakka Christians in Christofferson's study, Pakistani Christians thus employ similar responses, embracing various symbols of nationhood and rejecting foreignness as an identity feature.

Christofferson's approach to identity negotiation, like many others, is derived from Stella Ting-Toomey's identity negotiation theory. In this theory,

negotiation is situated in communication and defined as "the exchange of verbal and nonverbal messages between the two or more communicators in maintaining, threatening, or uplifting the various socio-cultural group-based or unique personal-based identity images of the other *in situ*" (Ting-Toomey 2015: 418). Among the various assumptions that constitute this identity negotiation theory, is an emphasis on symbolic interaction in the formation of identity, human social desire for identity security, and processes of negotiation based on the context and setting of interaction (Ting-Toomey 2015: 421). Ting-Toomey's focus on the interpersonal level, on identity validation and on intercultural competence is fundamentally different from this current study's meso-level analyses of Pakistani Christian identity. Nevertheless, the abovementioned assumptions and definition are certainly relevant for this study, in the sense that they link a reflective identity-concept to processes of negotiation, and situate identity negotiation in communication and interaction.

In this study, both identity and its concomitant processes of negotiation are thus primarily considered to assume shape through communication, specifically in interaction. This is reflected in the cases selected for the current study. A primary means of expression at CSC as a place for dialogue is (verbal) communication. Moreover the lobbying efforts regarding education of NCJP, the Catholic human rights organization, to a large extent consist of written reports and discussions with other actors involved in education policies. Schools, lastly, are also sites where identities are primarily presented and negotiated through communication and interaction.

In order to adequately study this communication of Christian identity, I have adopted two interrelated conceptual tools: first, identity talk, and second, framing. Identity talk is to capture self-identification through communication. As such it consists of various accounts and interpretations of Pakistani Christian identity as expressed to various others, usually in organized encounters. In this study, framing, mentioned as a means of negotiation by Scott, concerns the interpretations of aspects of society, especially in relation to one's own identity. As mentioned in the discussion on Christofferson's definition of religious identity

negotiation in relation to symbols, identity negotiation also pertains to existing perceptions and representations in society. The construction of perceptions, representations and interpretations of identity, and the dissemination thereof, are part of processes of framing. Below I will further explore and specify both analytical tools.

Identity talk

Identity talk initially emerged from the broader concept of identity work (Snow & Anderson 1987: 1336), which is argued to be a more recent conceptualization of Goffman's understanding of impressions management (Sandstrom, Martin & Fine 2001: 221). As such, identity talk can be defined as self-identifications and accounts of identity, which are built on perceptions of the social situation and other identities therein. [4] The definition by Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe, for example, stresses the importance of self-identifications, their features and their function, for the concept of identity talk (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998: 2). Scott Hunt and Robert Benford, in their study of the peace and justice movement, emphasize that discourse about identity "reflects actors' perceptions of a social order and is based on its interpretations of current situations, themselves and others" (Hunt & Benford 1994: 492). According to them, specific illustrations of identity talk are "disidentification and identification and disassociative and associative claims," through which an organization positions itself (Hunt & Benford 1994: 500). This bears resemblance to some of the types of identity talk identified by David Snow and Leon Anderson, especially the "patterns" of "distancing" and "embracing" identities, which are expressed in homeless peoples' accounts of their identities (Snow & Anderson 1987: 1348). Similarly, applying this approach to a religious social movement in South America, Jean-Pierre Reed and Sarah Pitcher understand "identity assertion" to be an important strategy of identity talk. Such identity assertion, when people "nurture

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[4] Some studies, like Snow & Anderson (1987: 1348), understand identity talk as verbal communication or exchange. In this study, however, because of the type of data available, identity talk also includes written texts about identity.

and advance identity claims based on their evaluations of the reality affecting them," enables them to counter negative representations of their identity in society (Reed & Pitcher 2015: 480). For Lichterman, identity talk consists primarily of "interactional routines of solidarity and social identity." Through these routines people define their social or group responsibilities and their social identities "in relation to an array of institutional or cultural reference points" (Lichterman 1999: 105).

The following supports the argument for the use of "identity talk" as an adequate analytical concept in this dissertation. First, as I posit identity to emerge from interaction, a focus on identity talk is particularly suitable for the current study. Moreover, much of the cases and organizations discussed in this dissertation employ verbal and written expressions as their main medium of engagement with Christian identity, expressions which can be adequately captured by the concept "identity talk."

Second, as mentioned and illustrated in the above, since the term "identity" is part of formal as well as colloquial language among Pakistani Christians, we cannot assume it to be an analytical tool alone. As Antaki and Widdicombe have argued, identity "ought not be treated as an explanatory 'recourse' that we as analysts haul with us to the scene where people are interacting, but as a 'topic' that requires investigation and sweat once we get there" (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998: 2). A focus on identity talk enables me to investigate how Pakistani Christians shape and employ their religious identifications in concrete settings. In fact, the study of the history of the Christian Study Centre in chapter three will demonstrate how the term "identity" or "Christian identity" has been adopted and appropriated by Pakistani Christians during particular socio-political configurations in Pakistan.

Third, the concept "identity talk" emerged through studies on stigmatized groups and identities. In their publication on homeless people, for example, Snow and Anderson argue that various strategies of identity talk constitute a means to shape and present this identity in response to stigmatization (Snow & Anderson 1987: 1348). Identity talk can thus be understood as an illustration of impression management, and is, as such, often linked to symbolic interactionism. This also

indicates that the concept is closely affiliated with my understanding of negotiation in the context of Pakistani Christians. As the following chapters will demonstrate, much of the identity talk employed by Pakistani Christians emerges in response to experiences of stigmatization, or at least an experienced discrepancy between public perceptions and desired perceptions of Pakistani Christian identity.

Fourth, on several occasions, identity talk has been conceptualized in social movement studies. Many of these studies, like the abovementioned regarding homelessness, understand identity talk to be a productive process through which perceptions, behavior and group formation are shaped (Hunt & Benford 1994: 491; Reed & Pitcher 2015: 478). Since various examples of public action, like lobbying and interfaith dialogue, are also part of this dissertation, this conceptualization of the productive function of identity is particularly suitable for the current study.

Many of the abovementioned illustrations, types, patterns and routines of identity talk will resurface in later chapters. Chapter three, for example, discusses various Pakistani Christian strategies of disassociating with "the West" and "Western Christianity" while actively associating with perceived Asian and Pakistani cultural heritage. Another example is chapter four, in which I discuss how the Christian Study Centre navigates diverging expectations of Christian solidarity and interfaith solidarity in Christian-Muslim encounters.

Framing

Much like identity talk, the concept of framing has also been conceptualized within social movement studies. In many of these studies the concept is perceived to have emerged from symbolic interactionist sociology, especially Goffman's *Frame Analysis*. In this section, I will briefly explore Goffman's approach to frames and discuss some interpretations of this approach. Next I will briefly mention more recent appropriations of the concept in social movement scholarship, as employed in later chapters of this dissertation.

While many scholars refer to Goffman in their discussion on frames, he himself adopted the term "frame" from Gregory Bateson, also echoing aspects from Alfred Schutz' understanding of multiple realities and "provinces of meaning," alongside Anselm Strauss and his work on interaction based on "definitions of the situation" (Goffman 1974: 8). From this angle he came to hypothesize "that definitions of the situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman 1974: 11). According to Goffman, we can distinguish between primary frameworks and fabrications, keyings, frame disputes and other types of frame transformations. While I do not employ the term "primary framework," some types of frame transformation will be further discussed in chapters five and six.

Interestingly, in his discussion of primary frameworks, Goffman explains the function of frames in perception and interaction and argues that humans employ "frameworks or schemata of interpretation" in their response to events. This, together with Goffman's emphasis on "the definition of the situation" has led various scholars to emphasize the interpretative dimension of frames, understanding it as modes of interpretation or schemata of interpretation. This bears resemblance to Thomas Scheff's commentary on Goffman's publications, in which he suggests that, with the concept of "frames," Goffman explored the possibility of an "intersubjective context" (Scheff 2006: 73). In *Frame Analysis*, he argues, Goffman addresses the question of how "conduct and subjective experience both reflect and generate the society in which they are embedded" (2006: 74). While Scheff, as many others, acknowledges that Goffman's concept of frames is defined rather ambiguously, the concept still clearly pertains to the relationship between context and meaning, as some of Goffman's later publications illustrate (2006: 77). In light of this focus, for the purpose of this dissertation, I will follow Scheff's approach of frames as intersubjective context. This simply means that in this dissertation, frames will refer to the patterns and principles that guide Pakistani Christians' interpretations of (aspects of) the context, as well as perceptions of their own

position therein. The concept of framing is thus to illuminate how Pakistani Christians develop perspectives on certain aspects of society and their own identity.

While intersubjectivity and interpretation is thus certainly relevant for the concept of framing, it is also important to recognize that frames are actively communicated and presented. This is something often emphasized in research of social movements. Especially studies by David Snow and Robert Benford, which sometimes refer to these frames as "collective action frames," are relevant for this dissertation (Snow 2004: 384). These frames, they argue, contain diagnostic as well as prognostic elements, meaning that they advance alternative interpretations and visions for the context alongside a problematization of certain aspects from the context. As chapter five and six primarily focus on Pakistani Christians' framing efforts, I will further explore this approach to framing in chapter five.

Research design

As briefly mentioned earlier, this dissertation is composed of a multiple case study design of four case studies of self-identified Christian or church-affiliated organizations.[5] Each case study comprises a chapter in the main body of this work, chapters three to six. The case study approach is informed by practical as well as theoretical reasons.

On a practical level the case study approach enabled relatively short periods of data collection at the sites of the organizations as well as the country in general. This was desirable in the context of Pakistan because of the unpredictability of access. Since 2014 the space for civil society actors in Pakistan seems to have been reconfigured.[6] As I was affiliated with CSC, which is registered as an NGO, it was often uncertain whether I would receive the correct permit to conduct my research.

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[5] Both these adjectives, "Christian" and "church-affiliated," are employed within the organizations investigated, sometimes interchangeably. In the following chapters I will further explore their respective meanings.
[6] Increasingly, political and civil society actors decry a "shrinking space" for civil society in Pakistan (Jalil 2017; Dawn 2018).

Moreover, access to the organizations themselves could also pose challenges. In what could be considered a type of snowball sampling, CSC would generally mediate my introduction to the different organizations studied. Snowball sampling is known to be vulnerable to selection bias and gatekeeper bias (Cohen & Arieli 2011: 428), the organizations and interlocutors in this dissertation are thus not a representative sample. One example is the socio-economic and educational background of the interlocutors. Due to the organizational focus of this study, the majority of interlocutors come from a middle class background and are educated professionals (i.e., teachers, managers, directors, administration officers, principals, clergy). At the same time, however, this sampling technique is particularly suitable for the case study approach and the type of cases studied in this dissertation, which will be discussed below. Moreover, snowball sampling mitigates some of the challenges around security, trust and privacy (Cohen & Arieli 2011: 433), which are also relevant for fieldwork in Pakistan and will be discussed later in the subchapter.

Theoretical considerations for this case study approach consist of its suitability to produce "context-dependent knowledge" (Flyvbjerg 2006: 221). Moreover, depending on the selection of the case, it is capable of contributing to existing theories and concepts, as Bent Flyvbjerg explained in his argument for case study research in social sciences (Flyvbjerg 2006: 223). The case study design is often considered a more detailed, or in-depth analysis of a single location, organization, event, or even, person (Bryman 2012: 67). Gary Thomas (2011), in his efforts to propose a typology for case studies, emphasizes the importance of a subject-object distinction within this approach. The subject is a "practical, historical unit," in the case of this dissertation: the various Pakistani Christian organizations. The object of a case study is the "analytical or theoretical frame" (2011: 515). Again, in the case of this research the object is the process of identity negotiation, as defined above. When the subject of the case is inherently suited to illustrate and examine the analytical object, Thomas (2011: 514) argues it can be considered a "key case." Since, as indicated in the above and further explained throughout this study, Pakistani Christian identity is inherently contested, especially in the

organizations under investigation here, the cases in this dissertation exhibit such "key-ness."

The theoretical suitability of a case study approach is further constituted by the purpose of research and the accompanying type of questions of this current dissertation. The main purpose of this study is intrinsic and heuristic, in the sense that it explores the various social processes, dynamics and concepts that are relevant to Pakistani Christian identity negotiation. As Thomas already demonstrated, this aim does not divorce the study from pre-existing theories and concepts (2011: 518). Rather, in this dissertation, theoretical claims about identity negotiation, identity talk and framing are explored and applied to the context of Pakistani Christian identity.

This purpose, moreover, also explains the type of question in this dissertation. According to Robert Yin, explorative case studies usually ask "how" and "why" questions (Yin 2009: 27). This is obviously reflected in the main research question as to how Pakistani Christian identity is negotiated in semipublic settings, but each subsidiary question, for the different cases, also investigates the "how" of identity negotiation processes. For example, in the first case study of the Christian Study Centre discussed in chapter three, I explore the question of how CSC has negotiated Pakistani Christian identity in the context of its missionary heritage and its experiences of Islamization between 1970 and 2001. In chapter four, I focus on CSC today and ask the question how the organization navigates Pakistani Christian identity in relation to the diverging expectations about this identity among participants in its interfaith dialogue activities. The case study in chapter five examines a Pakistani Catholic organizations' lobbying efforts for textbook reforms in the country. This case study addresses the question of how this church-affiliated organization can contest textbook representations of Christianity and religious diversity in Pakistan. In chapter six a similar question is discussed in the setting of so-called "missionary schools." This last case study explores how teachers in these schools reinterpret and communicate Christian identity in the context of the aforementioned textbooks and in religiously diverse classrooms. With these subsidiary questions, the main question as to the how of Pakistani Christian identity

negotiation is thus given focus in particular church-affiliated interreligious, human rights, and educational organizations. The rationale for the selection of cases from these particular fields and settings will be explained in chapter two, in which I will present a review of previous studies of Pakistani Christians.

While case study research can include qualitative as well as quantitative methods, the current study's focus on identity negotiation, approached from an interactionist perspective, requires qualitative methods only (Prus 1996: 103). Methods commonly associated with this approach include observation, participant-observation, and in-depth interviews. Below I will discuss how these methods were employed during the different case studies in Pakistan.

Fieldwork in Pakistan

Between 2014 and 2017 I lived and worked in Pakistan for a total of almost one and a half years, divided primarily over two main periods. One period was approximately four months in 2014, and the second period was a little over a year in 2015 and 2016. The main purposes of my presence in Pakistan were fieldwork for this dissertation and, related to that, participation in programs at CSC.

Decisions about methods and procedures in the real-life fieldwork setting were largely informed by some of the abovementioned considerations. In the selection of case studies and methods of data collection, I was primarily guided by the object of research and by my methodology. At the same time, however, various contingencies in the Pakistani context also emerged as important factors in these decisions. I have not approached Pakistani society as a (post-)conflict setting, nevertheless matters of security, for myself as well as the organizations involved, were certainly relevant during fieldwork. Security concerns, for example, severely restricted my access to sites and sources. These restrictions were often exacerbated by my status as a visible foreigner in Pakistan and my role as a "research student." Therefore, I will first discuss the technical methods and procedures employed. Next,

I will address some of the practical issues involved in the fieldwork, and lastly, I will reflect on my own position in various settings in the field.

Methods

The vast majority of data for this dissertation was generated through participant observations and open-ended and semi-structured interviews with 47 different interlocutors. The participant observations were recorded in fieldwork notes, which were developed into fieldwork reports after the event. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. A list of all the interviews and fieldwork report can be found in Appendix I: Primary data. The language used at the events observed was usually English or Urdu, or a combination of the two. The majority of the interviews were conducted in English, some in Urdu. While I would always tell interlocutors that interviews could be held in Urdu, many of them argued that their English is better than my Urdu, which, considering their educational and professional background was generally not surprising.

Because of my formal affiliation with CSC, as explained above, this organization was the vantage point for my understanding of Christians in Pakistan. As a result, the fieldwork conducted for the case studies about CSC followed a different procedure than the fieldwork for the other case studies. First, since I occupied an office at CSC and participated in the work of the organization on a daily basis, this was the most suitable setting for participant observations. While I did spend time at the Catholic human rights organization (NCJP) and at the missionary schools, and consequently made occasional fieldwork notes, my presence there was of a vastly different nature. As I was a guest, even if I had visited before, my presence constituted a disruption of regular proceedings.[7] Second, relations with colleagues at CSC initially may have been built on inherited trust, through my affiliation with Kerk in Actie. After some months this trust seemed to be tied to my

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[7] As will be shown in chapter six, this was one of the reasons why I was not allowed to observe the classroom settings at the missionary schools.

person, more than any organizational affiliation. As mentioned before, at CSC I was walking the line between being and insider and an outsider. Certainly, in relation to Pakistani Christianity, I have always been and remained an outsider. At CSC however, at times, I considered myself an insider and participated in formal and informal settings accordingly. For the case studies conducted at NCJP and at the missionary schools, as well as for the interviews with CSC's partner organizations for the chapter four case study, this was very different. I heavily relied on inherited trust, transferred either through my affiliation to CSC or individual colleagues within the organization.

Besides this relative measure of trust, I required the support of various gatekeepers to obtain access to individuals within the organizations. At the missionary schools, this meant that I would first meet and discuss my research with the principal of the school. The principal would subsequently introduce me to various teachers who I could interview. For the case study at NCJP, access was mediated through a Catholic bishop who oversees the organization. At each organization, and even each interview, I would introduce myself as a "research student" at CSC and explain the aim of my research. Next, I would request permission to audio record and transcribe the interview, while simultaneously offering a written guarantee of anonymity. All but one interlocutor had no objections to audio recording and transcription. Several of them, however, asked me to briefly turn off the audio recording at some point during the interview. This indicates the significance of privacy in the fieldwork performed for the case studies in this dissertation, which ties in with practical issues related to fieldwork in Pakistan.

Case selection

While the case selection, as mentioned, followed a "snowball sampling" technique through CSC's connections, the selection of each organization was still guided by certain criteria. On the level of the nature of the organization, these criteria included organizational involvement in Christian-Muslim encounters, operating in a

semipublic setting, and self-identification as "Christian" or "church-affiliated." In addition, on a practical level, issues of safety and security also played an important role, for myself, but also for the organizations involved. Measures to guarantee my own security were always decided by my security advisor at CSC and mostly pertained to my mobility. Whenever there was a sizeable public demonstration or a security incident in Rawalpindi or Islamabad, my mobility would be restricted and some days I was advised not to travel at all. Moreover, my mobility was also restricted spatially, in the sense that many areas of the cities were inaccessible for me. Organizations that were located or worked in those areas could not serve as case studies. Another criterion for selection based on security was comprised of the nature of the organization.

Even if the organization would meet the aforementioned formal criteria, I could still be advised against research or even a visit there. This is what happened when I wanted to study an evangelical organization that entertained a different approach to Christian-Muslim relations than CSC. My security advisor advised against the involvement of this organization on the basis that it might jeopardize my research activities in the long term, as well as the organization in question. For the organizations themselves, however, my involvement could also constitute a threat. The presence of a foreigner at any organization in Pakistan can elicit unwanted attention; this is especially true for civil society and religious organizations. The chapters to come will demonstrate, on several occasions, that Pakistani Christians are often alleged to be "allies of the West." By allowing a person who is visibly from "the West" to visit the organization regularly, and even participate in various activities, one could thus draw attention and even suspicion upon the organization. Suspicions like this were held throughout Pakistani society and could thus be leveled against the organizations by partner organizations, state actors, or even beneficiaries of its activities.

Being a Dutch "research student"

It should not come as a surprise that, in this context, I was well aware of my foreignness and whiteness. Even while I did consider the staff of CSC to be my colleagues, I was affiliated with at least two Christian organizations and regular assumptions were made that I was Christian or I was directly asked about my personal religiosity, I still considered myself an outsider in relation to Pakistani Christianity. As mentioned, I would generally introduce myself as a "research student" at CSC, however, in some settings I would also emphasize other affiliations. In interactions with church officials, for example, I would stress Kerk in Actie's link to the Protestant Church in the Netherlands, while in relation to CSC's academic partner organizations I would present myself as a PhD student at Utrecht University. Through these context-dependent introductions, I attempted to minimize my role as a researcher and bridge any perceived distance between the organization involved and myself. Emphasizing commonalities may have helped to generate trust and encouraged an open attitude among my interlocutors.

Indeed, one could assume my interlocutors employed similar strategic decisions. Scheff understands this to be a "negotiation of reality" in survey research, to complicate the concept of negotiation even further (Scheff 1968: 16). I have tried to minimize such negotiations as much as possible by employing unstructured or semi-structured, non-directive and open-ended interviewing techniques, assuming a learning attitude and emphasizing the interlocutors' expertise, and communicating expectations. Still, at several occasions during the interviews, I would get indications of how my own role influenced the exchange through the stories or narratives that were presented.

Much of the above, issues of access, trust and safety are not just relevant to my status as an outsider or foreigner, but also pertain to my positioning as a researcher. Interlocutors regularly questioned my interest in the topic of Pakistani Christian identity, in what seemed to me as attempts to determine my position on issues of Christian-Muslim relations and of Pakistani Christianity. In some

interactions, for example, my interest was perceived in alignment with early missionary activities in Pakistan and, as such seen as foreign or Western involvement. In other interviews, I would experience interlocutors' assumptions of being on the same side. Due to my affiliation to CSC, at times people would assume my position to be in support of Christian-Muslim dialogue, or even of Pakistani Christians in general. Certainly, my institutional embedding within Kerk in Actie and CSC offered various avenues for engagement with Pakistani Christianity that would go beyond my original aim of fieldwork. Publications in CSC's journal *Al-Mushir*, as well as communicating about Pakistan in relation to Kerk in Actie's constituency, are the most obvious examples thereof. At the same time, I have generally been apprehensive to become too engaged as it might obstruct my role as a researcher. During CSC's programs and in other Christian-Muslim encounters I tried to keep a low profile as much as possible. Approaching my position as a researcher as being "a fly on the wall" meant that I would seldom take the stage. Moreover, as mentioned, I would present myself as a "research student" in interactions with the various organizations. Alongside this term, I tried to convey my limited and still developing perspective on Christian identity and Christian-Muslim relations, as well as a learning attitude and openness to input, all in an attempt to draw out interlocutors' perceptions and experiences.

Dealing with data

For privacy reasons I have anonymized all the personal names of interlocutors in interviews. While I did not discourage people from using names, including their own, in the interviews, the transcribed documents of these recordings are all anonymized. Furthermore, before publishing any data, I would consult with the organizations involved in the case study as well as with staff from CSC, in order to prevent any publication of private information.

After transcription, the interviews were coded in R-Studio, more specifically in RQDA, which is a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis

software (CAQDAS) tool. Each case study was organized as a separate and independent project within RQDA, meaning that each case study has its own independent dataset. Still there was interaction between data between the different case studies. Some data from interviews CSC staff, for example, also proved relevant for the case study about CSC's history. Similarly, some data from interviews about textbook reform, initially intended for the case study about NCJP, also contained information pertaining to the missionary schools discussed in chapter six. Through in-vivo coding in RQDA, parts of the data were coded, with "codes" or "terms" that were close to the discourse and terminology used by the interlocutors. Next, these codes were combined in "code-categories," which were more generic and aimed to indicate the relation between various codes. If required I would create a visual image of the different codes and code categories and their linkages, called a "graph plot" in RQDA, in order to further explore the various relationships between codes and code-categories.

Through this combination of in-vivo coding and axial coding, various recurring themes, strategies or patterns, selected on the basis of their relevance for the research question, were derived from the data. Many of these aspects were in turn presented in the respective chapters as building blocks for a response to the problem posed by the research question. In order to illustrate these building blocks, and to verify consistency between the data and my analysis, I would refer to and explain excerpts from the interviews.

Structure of the dissertation

As mentioned above, this dissertation consists of four case studies, each discussed in a separate chapter. Apart from this current chapter, the second chapter and the conclusion, each chapter has been published in, accepted by or submitted to a peer-reviewed journal. As a result I have opted to provide a bibliography at the end of each chapter, rather than at the end of the dissertation.

The case study chapters are preceded by chapter two, which offers a review of the relevant literature on Pakistani Christians. In this chapter I outline the different perspectives on Pakistani Christians in studies of Pakistani Christianity. While Christians were often perceived through the lens of caste affiliation in the late 19th century and the early 20th century, as well as in historical studies, later in the 20th century a focus on ethnicity, especially Punjabi identity, emerged. Moreover, in the course of the formation of Pakistan as a nation state after partition, the position of Pakistani Christians as a religious minority was emphasized and gained a central place. The last part of this chapter discusses contemporary studies that have focused on Pakistani Christians as active agents in relation to their social and political context. This serves to situate the current contribution, which also stresses Pakistani Christian agency, in the larger body of literature.

The third chapter is a historical study of the Christian Study Centre. This chapter argues that the context of the organization consists of both global missionary and ecumenical movements, with which it has historical links, as well as processes of Islamization on a national level. In response to both this international and this national context, CSC advances definitions of Pakistani Christian identity. Through an analysis of these expressions in CSC's journal *Al-Mushir*, especially in the context of interreligious dialogue, this study shows that the organization attempts to disassociate this identity from foreignness and associate it with the local context. At the same time, however, this communication of identity also constitutes efforts to redefine both Christian and Pakistani identity.

The fourth chapter investigates the same organization, but, as opposed to the previous chapter, focuses on its current vocation and activities. In this chapter I explore the various strategies that the organization employs to advance "interfaith harmony" in a context that is perceived as "Islamized" and as marked by precarious interreligious relations. In this context, CSC attempts to navigate the communication of Christianity and Islam that enters into dialogue between Christians and Muslims. The organization filters out, disavows and reforms what it considers inappropriate views that might jeopardize "interfaith harmony," and at the same time legitimizes

certain verbal expressions of Christian and Islamic faith. This enables the organizations to facilitate experiences of interfaith harmony and promote peaceful co-existence.

In the fifth chapter I turn to Pakistani Christian involvement in education. In this chapter I will demonstrate how the frames to reform textbook context, as promoted through the lobbying efforts of the National Commission for Justice and Peace, are embedded in an existing discursive field. As such, the chapter examines the relations between NCJP's interpretation of the textbooks used in Pakistan and the interpretations developed by other actors in the field of textbook reform. Based on its perceptions of its position within this field, NCJP frames textbook content and reform thereof as matters of national security, educational quality, and legality. On the one hand, NCJP's embedding in this field of textbook reform enables the organization to adopt and appropriate an existing discourse in its own frames. On the other hand, NCJP's perception of its own Catholic identity and in relation to the other organizations restricts its interpretive space and its participation in public debates about textbooks.

The sixth chapter still focuses on the perceptions of textbooks among Pakistani Christians and investigates how teachers in Christian schools employ and appropriate them in religiously diverse classroom settings. The teachers at these schools, commonly called missionary schools, are obligated to teach from government-sanctioned textbooks, which, much like NCJP, the teachers argue contain objectionable content about religion and Islam in Pakistan. In this chapter I identify the following five responses of the Christian teachers to this content: avoidance, foregrounding, critique, invocation and copying. The first two responses enable the teachers to reconfigure the relations and the dominant identities in the classroom in order to harmonize a perceived tension between different religious identities. The last three responses enable the teachers to redefine the textbook content and thereby construct a more pluralist narrative of Pakistan and create space for communication of Christian identity and religious difference in the country's history and society.

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CHAPTER TWO

Understanding Pakistani Christians

Introduction

It is not uncommon for studies about religious minorities in Pakistan to outline the religious demographic developments of the population of the country from independence to present-day Pakistan. Such outlines commonly serve to show that minorities' relative share of the population has decreased since independence. Farahnaz Ispahani's (2015: 6) recent contribution on religious minorities in Pakistan offers one example of this narrative:

> "At the time of partition in 1947, almost 23 per cent of Pakistan's population (which then included Bangladesh) comprised non-Muslim citizens. The proportion of non-Muslims has since fallen to approximately 3 per cent."

To be fair, as the quote already alludes to, this decline of non-Muslims is largely due to the independence of Bangladesh, with a sizeable Hindu population, in 1971. This narrative of religious minority demographics, however, serves to indicate the decline of religious diversity and the expansion of a mono-religious culture in Pakistan. As such, it is part of an understanding of these minorities as "beleaguered" and "persecuted" (Ispahani 2015: 93, 203). This use of statistics in the context of minorities in Pakistan indicates that religious demographics are a matter of contestation in the country. This was already the case in the mid 19th century. John O'Brien (2013: 176), Spiritan priest and student of religion in Pakistan, for example, argues that the growth of Pakistani Christianity in the 1950s needed to be explained by the Pakistani government as resulting from high birth rates in order to "calm Islamist fears." At the same time, Pakistani Christians have consistently claimed that the government underestimates their number.

Even today, the exact percentage of Christians in the country is a matter of debate, with claims ranging from 1.5 to up to 10 percent (Raina 2014: 693; Pio & Syed 2016: 188). These demographics are relevant to Pakistani Christians, and minorities in general, because they are supposed to determine the number of reserved seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies and thus guarantee political representation. The wide range of claims can thus be perceived as an appeal for increased representation, but they also show the lack in credibility of official government statistics. Sara Singha, for example claims, "census data is often inaccurate because people lie about religious membership" (Singha 2018: 231). Moreover, as she also points out, censuses in Pakistan are conducted infrequently, with the most recently published census dating from 1998.[1] This census projects a Christian share of about 1.6 percent of the Pakistani population and 2.3 percent of the Punjabi population (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 1998).

Besides demonstrating the contested nature of religious demographics in Pakistan, the abovementioned narrative of religious minority decline also illustrates one particular lens or understanding of Christians in Pakistan. This understanding of Pakistani Christians as a religious minority is actually a relatively recent conceptualization and, while it may be a dominant perspective today, it certainly was not in the early 20th century. In this chapter I will outline the different perspectives on Pakistani Christians that have emerged in studies of Pakistani Christianity. This discussion will demonstrate that in the late 19th century and the early 20th century, as well as in historical studies, Christians are often perceived through the lens of caste affiliation. While caste categories are still relevant for Pakistani Christians, later in the 20th century this perspective was accompanied by a focus on ethnicity, especially Punjabi identity. After partition, in the course of the formation of Pakistan as a nation state, an understanding of Pakistani Christians as a religious minority emerged and gained a prominent place.

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[1] While there was a census in 2017, much of the results, including religious demographics, had not yet been published at the time of writing.

In the following pages I will further discuss these different understandings and explore how they relate to this current dissertation's approach to Pakistani Christianity. In the first section of this chapter I will explore the literature that has approached Pakistani Christians through the lens of caste and ethnicity. This discussion will demonstrate an emphasis on a low-caste background and on a missionary heritage of Pakistani Christianity. The second section of this chapter turns to understandings of Pakistani Christians as a religious minority in independent Pakistan. Here the effect of Islamization and Islamic nationhood will arise as relevant factors for the social and political position of Pakistani Christians. As explained in the first chapter, my focus on identity negotiation serves to approach Pakistani Christians as active agents in relation to their social and political context. In the last section of this chapter I will therefore also discuss some studies that have analyzed Christian responses and agency in the context of Pakistan. The conclusion of this chapter will situate this current study in relation to some of the previous studies regarding Pakistani Christians and explain in what ways this dissertation contributes to this field of research.

Pakistani Christians' missionary origins

While this current study, in line with most contemporary literature on Pakistan, employs the term "Pakistani Christians" or "Christians in Pakistan" to refer to the subject of investigation, in historical studies a different terminology is more common. In historical literature, terms such as "Punjabi Christians" and "Chuhra Christians," or a combination of both, are more common.[2] The former generally refers to either the Punjab province of British India or independent Pakistan, or to the impact of Punjabi culture among Christians. The latter indicates the caste background that is considered most prevalent among Pakistani Christians. Before I discuss how these two terms have emerged in studies of Pakistani Christians, it is important to make two remarks on Pakistani Christian historiography.

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[2] Chuhra is sometimes spelled as "Chura."

First, the term "Chuhra," while widely employed in historical studies, is actually considered extremely denigrating and offensive and therefore, as John O'Brien (2008: 78) has shown, often rejected by Pakistani Christians (Neil 1970: 104; Webster 1976: 18; Forrester 1980: 87). Christian rejection of the term is not surprising considering that Chuhra are perceived and treated as untouchables in the Hindu caste system. In his book on castes in Punjab, published in 1916, Denzil Ibbetson, Lieutenant General of the British Indian Punjab Province, argued that the Chuhra is "the sweeper and scavenger, *par excellence*" and as such responsible for various menial jobs, including the collection of manure (1916: 293). Even among the low-caste Hindus, Chuhra is thus one of the least desirable designations, which, nevertheless, became associated with Christianity on the Indian subcontinent. Below I will explore how this came to be.

Second, it is important to note that the historiography of Pakistani Christians is often complicated by the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the consequent emerging nation states of India and Pakistan. This is illustrated by a common tendency of historical studies to Christianity on the subcontinent to follow the nation state paradigm and thus the history of partition. While the discussion generally starts with European Christian missions to a unified Punjab under British rule, after independence and partition, only the developments of Christianity in either Pakistan or India are explored. One could argue that, formally, with partition, the churches of the two countries became independent of each other. Yet at the same time, todays' Christian communities in different countries on the subcontinent do not only share their missionary heritage, but also exhibit commonalities on theological themes like caste, religious diversity, poverty and inequality. However, since a cross-country study of Christians in the Punjab provinces would be too comprehensive, this current study also traces the origin of Pakistani Christians back to a unified Punjab, while the discussion of Christianity after partition is limited to the Pakistani Punjab only.

The Christian Chuhra

It is often assumed that there was already a Christian community in the Punjab during the 16th century.[3] Mughal emperor Akbar invited Jesuit priests to his courts three times, in 1578, 1590 and 1594. While the missionaries failed at their aim to convert the emperor himself, they did establish a Christian community in Lahore (Kuczkiewicz-Fraś 2011: 79). In 1579 the Jesuits built a church and in 1595 the first baptisms among the local population were recorded. However, when relations between the Portuguese and Mughals deteriorated under the rule of Akbar's successors, the tide turned for the missionaries. According to John Webster (2009: 37), the Jesuits lost many of their privileges, and, while "[r]eferences to Christians in Lahore after 1614 do exist (…) it is unclear whether or not there were any Punjabis among them."

The next indication of Christians among the local Punjabi population emerges in the second half of the 19th century. The promulgation of the Charter Act 1813 for British India was followed by increased missionary activity in the Punjab, primarily by various European and North American Protestant denominations. Later,

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[3] In this current study, I thus assume 16th century European missionary activities to be the inception of contemporary Pakistani Christianity; other studies have claimed a much longer history for Pakistani Christianity. Among Pakistani Christians it is often argued that Christianity was first introduced in the geographical area of today's Pakistan in the first century C.E. by the apostle Thomas. One example of this position is offered by the Pakistan Christian History Project, in which CSC participated. In the first monograph of this project Father John Rooney argues that the claim of first century Christians in Pakistan is valid, because of "the evidence of the *Acts of Thomas* that tells us of St. Thomas' visit to the court of Gondulphares that the king and Gad, his brother, were converted to Christianity" (Rooney 1984: 103). I will not follow this interpretation of Pakistani Christian history because of three reasons. First, the *Acts of Thomas* does not seem historically reliable and may not have been intended as such. Second, there is insufficient archeological evidence to support the claims in this interpretation. Both these objections were also outlined in a later publication on the question of St. Thomas in Pakistan, which were also supported by CSC (Amjad-Ali 1988: 38). Third and most important, even if there were Christians in Pakistan before the 16th century, it can be argued with certainty that there is no historical continuity with today's churches and the Christian community of contemporary Pakistan (Julius 2017: 159). As such, the interpretation of first century Christians in Pakistan mostly seems to serve for Pakistani Christians to "know that their faith was present in the country before the advent of Islam" (Sookhdeo 2002: 71).

from the 1870s onward, large numbers of Chuhra from the Punjab were baptized.[4] Historian Jeffrey Cox (2002: 117), for example, records a 1008 percent increase "for native Christians in the Punjab and Delhi," among various mission organizations from 1871 to 1890. Webster, similarly, registers an increase of Christians in the Punjab from less than 4000 in 1880 to 38,513 in 1901 (2009: 41). According to Frederick and Margaret Stock (1974: 68), the United Presbyterian Church even grew from 660 in 1881 to 10,165 in 1891, almost exclusively attributed to the conversion of Chuhras from the Punjab.

This association of Pakistani Christians with the Chuhra has persisted into subsequent centuries, as is illustrated by the common perception of this religious community as predominantly emerging from this caste. An example was offered during an interview with Abbas, a Pakistani Christian, about Christian mission in Pakistan. Abbas, who himself works for an NGO that cooperates with CSC, explained how he sometimes jokes with friends that Pakistani Christians do not need to actively make themselves known to other religious groups, because "with a broom in our hand, with a CDA shirt [Capital Development Authority, ed.], we don't need to tell them that we are Christian."[5] In the experience of this Christian, the image of sweeper and menial worker associated with Chuhra is still part of common perceptions of Christians.[6] Another example of this association is offered in a recent contribution on Pakistani Christians, in which it is argued that 90 to 95 percent of Pakistani Christians originally come from the Chuhra caste (Koepping 2011: 25). The origin of these figures, however, remains unclear.

What is clear is that the missionary records and contemporary perceptions do indeed emphasize the Chuhra background of Pakistani Christians; still it is legitimate to echo Linda Walbridge's query of "whether the missionaries also

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[4] For increased missionary activity in the Punjab see: Webster (1976: 14) and Cox (2002: 23). The latter offers a detailed discussion of the connections between imperial power and missionary activity in the Punjab during the 19th century.
[5] Interview INT_CSC21.
[6] It must be noted here that newspapers and NGOs have documented several occasions where public or private sector actors affirmed this image by targeting Christians only for menial and cleaning vacancies (Aqeel 2015).

included other poor Indians in this category, ones who were not untouchables" (Walbridge 2005: 113). Walbridge further problematizes the issues of caste among Pakistani Christians by pointing to the, often missionary-initiated, Christian canal colonies in the Punjab, which required agricultural labor that people from the occupational Chuhra caste might not have been allowed to conduct. Moreover, she argues, occupational caste was not necessarily static in 19th century Punjab. This means that people could lose caste, but also that people could acquire caste, for example, through self-proclaimed status after obtaining agricultural land through missionary intervention (2005: 114). O'Brien disputes Walbridge's suggestion that Chuhra could not have been agricultural laborers or even landowners (2012: 229). Like Webster (1976: 48), he argues Chuhra were involved in menial work as well as agricultural labor. At the same time, O'Brien seems to agree with her on the Christian canal colonies' function for Chuhra social mobility, which, in fact, was linked to these occupational opportunities (2012: 229). [7] I would argue that O'Brien's position is a result of his understanding of the *Jajmani* system, which he seems to interpret as a patronage system of "customary rights and privileges based on and enforced by the hereditary caste division of labour" (2012: 230). In this system, Chuhras could hold various occupational responsibilities. *Jajmani*, however, O'Brien argues, disintegrated under Western influence, enabling social mobility among people of low caste (O'Brien 2012: 223; Streefland 1979: 7).

To this element of social mobility will be expanded on below, as it seems to be an important aspect of the emerging understanding of Chuhra conversion as a "mass movement" among missionaries in the late 19th century. As the above already indicates, the missionary heritage and Chuhra caste background are tied together in

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[7] Felix Wilfred had argued that these Christian canal colonies, which he calls "Christian villages," might have contributed to the alienation and exclusion of Pakistani Christians. Christian converts' separation from their family and living in segregation from Pakistani Muslims forms the background of perceptions of Christians as "foreign," Wilfred suggests (2014: 46). Moghal employed a similar argument, claiming that the self-segregation might have led to increasing marginalization (Moghal 1995: 40). Julius, in line with O'Brien, argues that segregation in the urban context (*bastis*) may indeed have had a detrimental effect on Pakistani Christians' social standing, but the rural canal colonies actually facilitated social mobility (Julius 2017: 165).

the history of Pakistani Christians, in the sense that missionaries and mission organizations came to understand conversion in the Punjab as a collective process along kinship and caste lines (Cox 2002: 118; O'Brien 2012: 261).

A mass movement of religious and social mobility

The conversion of large numbers of Chuhra has become a part of the narrative of a "mass movement" or "mass movements" of religious mobility in late 19th and early 20th century Punjab. The aforementioned work by Frederick and Margaret Stock (1974) on church growth in the Punjab constitutes an important contribution to the central place of this narrative in the history of Pakistani Christianity.

Interestingly, a common feature in this explanation of the conversion of large numbers of people in the Punjab is the, often somewhat dramatized, story of Ditt (O'Brien 2012: 259). As Cox (2002: 118) explains: "Ditt's conversion (…) has been repeated in almost every study of Christianity in the Punjab." As such, the story seems to function as an origin narrative of Pakistani Christianity, especially in church-growth oriented mission studies. According to these studies, the process of Christian conversion of large numbers of Chuhra from the Punjab started with the conversion of Ditt, a Chuhra from Shahabdike, in 1873. In short, the story goes that after his baptism in Sialkot, Ditt returned to his hometown and, contrary to the missionaries' expectations, returned after a few months to have his converted wife, daughters and some neighbors baptized. The story continues with more neighbors converting and getting baptized within a few months and 11 years later a community of at least five hundred Chuhra Christians had developed (McGavran 1979: 101; Olson 1998: 162; Fernando & Gispert-Sauch 2004: 180; Bishop 2008: 163). As mentioned above, from here, the United Presbyterian Church added almost 9,000 to their number in the following decade and, according to the mass movement narrative, with church growth accelerating into the next century, constituted a denomination of 45,000 communicant members by 1930 (Stock & Stock 1974: 111).

Two observations about this narrative of a "mass movement" of religious conversions in the Punjab need to be stressed in light of this current study. First, this phenomenon of growing numbers of Christians in the Punjab, besides being perceived as divine intervention by many missionaries, also made missionaries receptive of the idea "that caste structure can be an effective channel for the gospel" (Stock & Stock 1974: 72). O'Brien (2012: 261) argues that, while an individualistic understanding was prevalent among the early Protestant missionaries, the emerging narrative of a "mass movement" demonstrates that missionaries later came to understand the role of caste or *biradari*.[8] Others have also acknowledged how many of these conversions actually preceded and instigated a changing, more collectivist, understanding of salvation and baptism among missionaries in the Punjab at that time (Cox 2002: 119; Walbridge 2005: 113; O'Brien 2008: 85).

Second, the "mass movement" of low-caste Punjabi's into Christianity, but also into Islam and Sikhism, is often argued as having been generated by a desire for social change among these groups. In the "mass movement" narrative, social mobility proceeds from religious mobility, and the former may have been a motive for the latter, so the argument goes (Webster 1976: 62, 270; O'Brien 2012: 262). Interestingly, minister and missionary Jarred Waskom Pickett already presented this explanation of conversions in the Punjab in the 1930s. He argued that some of the motives for "mass movements" of conversion were "secular," and included "help from the missionaries (…) education for the children" and "medical service" (Waskom Pickett 1933: 161). These motives are especially interesting because they also provide information about the institutional missionary presence in the Punjab at that time.

According to Cox this institutional presence, of hospitals and schools, was actually an integral part of the missionaries' approach to mission on the subcontinent. "Alongside the gospel of the spoken word, and the gospel of the printed word, was the gospel of institutional presence," he argues, of which the latter

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[8] *Biradari*, often translated as "brotherhood" (Streefland 1979: 46), is social entity based on locality, not kinship, at least for Christians, not for Muslims (O'Brien 2012: 261).

was actually dominant among Christian missions in the late 19th century (Cox 2002: 52). For this dissertation it is interesting to mention that, like Waskom Pickett above, Cox specifically mentions the importance of education for this institutional missionary presence. The school, he argues, became a "witness in itself," an alternative to spoken and printed word, in the missionaries' understanding of mission. Moreover, while schools did not necessarily generate much result, in terms of conversions to Christianity, the institutions were perceived to justify and legitimize the missionary presence in some parts of what is now Pakistan (Cox 2002: 68).

Chapters five and six of this dissertation will deal with Christian involvement in education in Pakistan and among others, discuss how Christian identity is negotiated in some of these Christian schools. In my experience, these schools are commonly referred to as "missionary schools" by Christians in today's Pakistan, indicating their origin in mission activity. Moreover, at times these schools still function to legitimize Christian presence in Pakistan, or at least to illustrate national belonging through engagement. Before I turn to contemporary Pakistan, however, I will first discuss understandings of Pakistani Christians through the lens of ethnicity.

Punjabi Christians: from caste to ethnicity

Some have argued, including some Pakistani Christian historians, that many Christians on the Indian subcontinent supported the creation of an independent Pakistan. With references to prominent "Christian leaders," often political actors such as Cecil Edward Gibbon and S.P. Singha, the case is argued that Christians supported and voted for an independent Pakistan (Anjum & Tariq 2012: 438; Julius 2017: 162). Paradoxically, while the socio-economic prospects of low-caste Christians in the Punjab before partition were, at least in rural areas, improving, the partition of the Indian subcontinent strongly impacted this promise. Scholars of the history of partition agree that the migration flows of millions of Muslims, Sikhs and

Hindus between the two newly established nation states India and Pakistan, meant a decrease in employment opportunities for low-caste Christians in rural Western Punjab (Streefland 1979: 9; Cox 2002: 124; Walbridge 2005: 117; O'Brien 2012: 274; Chattha 2016: 18). The land in Pakistan's Punjab that was vacated by Sikhs and Hindus was allotted to *Muhajirs* (Muslim immigrants from India). The argument goes that, since their number was greater than the Hindus and Sikhs that emigrated, the land was divided among the immigrants and they therefore required less agricultural laborers. Because of the consequent increasing unemployment among low-caste Christians, they "headed for the cities where they did their best to support themselves with despised sweeper's work" (Streefland 1979: 10).

Befitting their socio-economic position, many of them ended up living in informal settlements (generally called *basti* or *katchi abadi*), segregated from other socio-economic and religious groups. In present-day Pakistan one can still find such settlements inhabited by Christians who do menial work in cities like Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. The studies by Laurits Vemmelund (1973) and Pieter Streefland (1979) are particularly instructive for the understanding of Pakistani Christians as low-caste Punjabis in urban contexts and will therefore be briefly discussed in this section. This will be followed by a brief discussion of accounts of the effects of Punjabi culture on Pakistani Christians and Christianity.

In his ethnographic study of a neighborhood in Karachi, Streefland (1979: 8) forwards a conceptualization of the status of "Christian Punjabi Sweepers" as a stigma compounded by perceived dietary habits, skin complexion, occupation, untouchability, and most importantly, ritual impurity. [9] This understanding of

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[9] In the context of this current dissertation's methodology it is interesting to note that Streefland refers to Goffman's approach to stigma, and defines it as any characteristic on the basis of which a person is treated unequally (Streefland 1979: 8 ftn.6). Goffman understands stigma as "spoiled identity," in response to which stigmatized individuals can employ various strategies of "information management" or "impression management," such as "covering" and "passing" (Goffman 1963: 73). While some of these strategies resemble processes of Pakistani Christian identity negotiation, they are, in general, not specific to the Pakistani context. Moreover, although this current study did not investigate the link between skin color and Christian identity in perceptions of Pakistani Christians, since Streefland mentioned "skin complexion" I do want to offer an interesting anecdote about this connection. A Pakistani

Christian Punjabi Sweeper status as stigma is based on his assertion that "despite the Islamic doctrine of equality," and I may add despite the fact that the state of Pakistan does not employ caste distinctions, the "Hindu influence" is still felt in Pakistan in the form of such distinctions in social and cultural life. Christian Punjabi Sweepers thus rank at the bottom of social categorization in Pakistan, and "Moslems look down on them as inferior on the basis of their origins and their work," as do fellow non-sweepers, or non-Punjabi Christians, Streefland argues (Streefland 1979: 13).

In his quantitative work on Christians in the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Vemmelund seems to focus on similar Christian communities. While he does not stress ethnicity as much as Streefland, he does acknowledge that "just about all the Christian families living in N.W.F.P [North-West Frontier Province, ed.] are Punjabis" and at times refers to them as "Punjabi Christians" (Vemmelund 1973: 99). Of these Christians, 96 percent are officially considered employed and of these employed Christians, 72 percent work as sweepers (Vemmelund 1973: 130). According to Vemmelund (1973: 118), due to their "low social status as sweepers" and their religious and ethnic distinctiveness as Punjabi Christians, they live a life largely segregated from Muslims in the same locality.

Although one could argue that the emphasis on ethnicity or provincial identity in both studies is understandable, considering the settings in which they took place (Karachi and Peshawar), it still seems that the initial focus on caste is replaced by ethnicity in relation to Pakistani Christians. The converted Chuhras are now designated as Christian Punjabis, as Streefland explains (1979: 126). Because these studies focus on one particular segment of Pakistani Christians, urban sweepers, their relevance for this current study is limited. Nevertheless, considering the continuing urbanization and growth of urban areas in Pakistan, this segment may constitute a portion of the country's Christians (Mahmood 2009). More importantly,

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Christian friend and I once took a taxi in Lahore. After some introductory small talk, the taxi driver asked my friend is he is a Muslim, to which he answered that he is a Christian. Upon learning this, the taxi driver responded with surprise: "But you are not black?" The friend explained that he is from a Pashtun background and as such not typically Punjabi.

as Streefland (1979: 16) already indicated, Christians are sometimes identified as Punjabi sweepers even when they are otherwise employed. Indeed, some perceptions of Christians as impure and low-caste also emerged in my interactions with Pakistani Christians. The stigma of ritual impurity was illustrated by many Christians' experiences of being excluded from sharing a cup of water, when this was required in primary school, for example, because of fellow students' perceptions of Christians as "unclean." All this suggests that the collective understanding of the term "Christian" connotes many of the above-mentioned aspects of low-caste, impurity and menial occupation.

In the above the most prominent ethnic designation attributed to Christians was thus "Punjabi." This understanding of Pakistani Christians, to some extent, integrates socio-economic and ethnic categories. Still, it should be mentioned that other social-ethnic categories were also employed to describe Pakistani Christians in the 20th century.

Categorizing Pakistani Christians

Various studies have discussed the internal diversity of Pakistani Christians and proposed, often similar, categorizations. The majority of these categorizations are constructed through a socio-economic and ethnic lens.

The aforementioned McClintock (1992: 346), for example, argues that while the majority of Christians are low-caste Punjabis, there are also other "ethnic groups within the Christian minority." He goes on to identify four other categories: 1) Wealthy, formerly high-caste Hindus from North and South India; 2) Anglo-Indians; 3) Immigrated Goans; 4) "Tribal Christians of the Sindh and Punjab" (McClintock 1992: 347). A similar categorization can be found in Karl Heinz Pfeffer's article about Christians in West Pakistan. Already in 1962 he observed that Pakistani Christians often complain that foreign sociologists emphasize their socio-economic background. Like McClintock, Pfeffer also seems to employ an ethnic categorization, complemented with socio-economic characteristics. He identifies

first, the "Anglo-Pakistanis," among which the Goans in Karachi, second, the migrants from South India, who are less anglicized than the first group, and third, the majority Christians are "Angehörige derjenige Kaste, die eigentlich keine Kaste ist," the casteless (Pfeffer 1962: 122). Streefland mostly follows this categorization but, considering his focus on Christian sweepers, understandably adds the "Christian Punjabi Non-sweepers" (1979: 21).

Many scholars have thus employed an ethno-socio-economic categorization of Pakistani Christians, with Goans and Anglo-Indians as the more privileged and Punjabis and low-caste Christians as the more deprived (Zaidi 1988: 451). Because of their privileged position, Goan Christians are often believed to constitute a big part of the emigration of Christians from Pakistan to the West. These migration flows are often presented against the background of limited economic opportunities for Christians after partition as well as increasing "persecution" of minorities in independent Pakistan (Gabriel 2007: 21; Misra 2015: 179; Julius 2017: 221). Moreover, Walbridge (2003: 67, 179) explained how socio-economic and ethnic differences have produced resentment and disputes within the church.

In contrast, John O'Brien, due to his focus on only low-caste Christians, provides another categorization. He argues that this group's hierarchy resembles, ironically, "the ancient five-fold class structure of classical Hinduism" (O'Brien 2012: 297). The Christians among these low-caste Punjabis are divided between four strata: church officials, the "propertied and moneyed," the "urban and rural workers and trades-persons" (possibly belonging to the Pakistani middleclass), and, the vast majority of these Christians, who are still involved in sweeping and menial work (O'Brien 2012: 298).

The above discussion is relevant for the current study because it indicates the scope of the research. First, the locus of research for this dissertation is the urban Northern Punjab, primarily the cities Faisalabad, Lahore and the twin cities, Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The vast majority of Pakistanis in this area are Punjabis, in the sense that their ancestors are from Punjab and they speak Punjabi. As many of the interlocutors explained, Punjabi is the language of their heart, and sometimes

spoken in the household, while Urdu is a more formal language to them. Second, most of the fieldwork research was conducted in the setting of Christian organizations. Because of this organizational focus, the vast majority of interlocutors were middle class professionals (i.e., teachers, managers, directors, administration officers, principals, clergy), which implies that they enjoyed considerable education. As a result, it seems unlikely that their ancestors, or at least the previous generation, were employed as sweepers or in menial work. However, this is not to say that they were not confronted with perceptions of Christian impurity from their surroundings. [10] Thus, as opposed to Streefland and Vemmelund's studies, this dissertation does not focus on Punjabi Christian sweepers or even low-caste background Punjabi Christians, but rather on Pakistani Christians who are urban, educated professionals.

Another illustration of the shift from caste to ethnicity in relation to Christianity in Pakistan is offered by studies that extend the demographic weight of Punjabi heritage among Pakistani Christians to its cultural influence on Christianity. McClintock (1992: 347), for example, argued that Pakistani Christianity is "strongly influenced by the worldview, beliefs, values, social institutions, and patterns of behavior of Punjabi society." According to McClintock, this influence is illustrative of "the problem of syncretism within the Christian community" (1992: 349), something that is also voiced by O'Brien, although the latter focuses more on the impact of Islam. O'Brien (2012: 178) argues that the cultural influence of Islam is so "all-pervasive" that it generates processes of "cultural osmosis" and mimicry among Christians, for example, with regards to understandings of revelation, perceptions of Jesus, the Bible, marriage and worship practices. Interestingly, however, according to O'Brien, alongside this cultural impact, Pakistani Christians are also subject to the social and political influence of Islam. Discriminatory citizenship for non-Muslims

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[10] Considering the negative associations of Pakistani Christians with menial jobs, many of my interlocutors might not have disclosed their ancestors occupation if they had been employed as sweepers. In fact, only one Pakistani friend, not an interlocutor, told me his father worked as a sweeper, only to add that his father valued education so much that he encouraged and enabled him to study English.

and insecurity of violence marks the Pakistani Christian experience, he argues (O'Brien 2012: 180). This narrative demonstrates a new discourse of Pakistani Christians emerging in the late 20th century, in which a predominantly legal and citizenship framework is employed.

Christians in an Islamic Republic

While the above shows that the position of Pakistani Christians was predominantly perceived as determined by caste, socio-economic class and ethnicity in the 19th and early 20th century, in the course of the 20th century and early 21st century this position is increasingly perceived through a legal and political lens. This emerging perspective has been accompanied by a discourse that relates Pakistani Christians to terms such as "non-Muslim minority," "discrimination," "religious freedom," "human rights," "citizenship," and other legal terms.[11] The use of this terminology indicates that this perspective has developed in connection with the formation of Pakistan as an Islamic republic. The designation "Islamic" officially became part of Pakistan's name in the constitution of 1956.[12] The caste or ethnic understandings of Pakistani Christians, discussed above, approached Christians through categories specific to the Indian subcontinent; the political and legal perspective seems to understand the position of Pakistani Christians more in relation to other minorities in "Muslim majority countries," Islamic countries, or even the Middle East (Gabriel 2007: 49; Gunner 2009). Many of these studies thus problematize the position of Pakistani Christians in relation to Pakistani Muslims and to the Islamic character of the country. Below I will therefore first briefly address the (problem of)

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[11] The term "non-Muslim" as an identity by negation, hardly seems a suitable concept for the purpose of academic analysis. Moreover, in Pakistan the term seems rarely preferred by Christians to refer to themselves. Rather, it seems this label is imposed on Pakistani Bahai, Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis and even Ahmadis by Pakistani politicians and legislators (Lau 2006: 114).

[12] Julius explained that of the Urdu name "*Islami Jamhūria Pakistan* (Islamic Republic of Pakistan," the term "*jamhūr*," meaning "people," refers to the democratic nature of Pakistan (Julius 2017: 296).

"Islamization" of Pakistan.[13] This will be followed by a discussion of a selection of studies about the consequences of this Islamization for Pakistani Christians.

Two narratives of Pakistan's Islamization

Since this dissertation is not intended to contribute to the social and political history of Pakistan as an area of study, the discussion below will most likely not do much justice to the nuances of each individual study within that field. In light of this, I would like to propose that these studies could be roughly divided into two categories.

One cluster of historical studies of Pakistan supports a late process of Islamization. According to this perspective on Pakistan's history, Islamization started after independence and seriously intensified in the 1970s and 1980s. The narrative emphasizes the original secular nature of Pakistan, the role of subsequent constitutional amendments, such as the integration of the Objectives Resolution into the Constitution between 1949 and 1973, and emphasizes the role of political actors on a national level, such as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (Bouma 1988: 36; Zaidi 1988: 447; Rehman 2001: 418; Sookhdeo 2002: 85; Gregory 2012: 199; Talbot 2012: 120; Jalal 2014). This cluster of literature presents a history of Pakistan as initially envisioned as a secular state for Indian Muslims by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the All-India Muslim League, which was only later pushed towards more Islamic policies, by what Zahid Hussain (2007: 12) has called an "unholy alliance" between various Islamist and Deobandi parties and some of the country's opportunist military and political leaders. Certainly, in this reading of history, the introduction of separate electorates for non-Muslims, the amendments to the blasphemy laws, the implementation of the Hudood Ordinance, and the establishment of the Federal Shariat Court, all under Zia's rule, were preceded by

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[13] "Islamization" is a term employed by the Pakistani Government and by many interlocutors, as chapter three will demonstrate. The term has different meanings in different contexts, in this chapter it denotes efforts to introduce or preserve "Islamic legislation" in the context of Pakistan.

other, less overt, Islamization policies. Still this perspective often claims that Zia's era is an aberration of the country's original purpose and course, or at least of the secular bent of its founders.

The second cluster of studies of Pakistan's history understands the Islamization of the country as a process that already commenced pre-partition. Venkat Dhulipala, for example, argues that in some parts of British India, Pakistan was already envisioned as an Islamic state. "[A] sovereign Islamic State, a New Medina, as it was called by some of its proponents," Dhulipala argues (2015: 4). This state was to come about gradually, through negotiations between *ulama* and politicians from the Muslim League (Dhulipala 2015: 21). Moreover, many of these studies, instead of equating Jinnah's secular disposition with the original purpose of Pakistan, actually understand Jinnah's voice as one among many diverging and opposing Muslim voices, which also included more Islam-based positions of Ghulam Ahmed Perwez and Sayed Abul A'la Maududi (Ahmad & Von Grunebaum 2004: 167). From a legal perspective, furthermore, Martin Lau explored the influence of Islam on Indian legislation before partition. According to Lau (2010: 378), the colonial legal system that Pakistan inherited, had itself already "emerged in a process of interaction with indigenous laws and cultures," of which the indigenous aspects also included principles from Islamic law. The first phase of Islamization of Pakistan's legal system thus already commenced before the country's inception. Lau claims that this phase produced a body of "Anglo-Mohammadan law," which came into being through an increasingly orthodox and text-based interpretation of Islamic law and the involvement of religious experts at the East Indian Company courts, as well as a purification of Islamic family law (removing local cultural elements) in order to differentiate the Muslim community from the Hindu majority (Lau 2010: 380).

Pakistani Christians and Christian organizations usual adhere to the post-partition Islamization process interpretation of Pakistan's history. Jinnah's first Presidential address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, in which he postulated Pakistan to be a place where one "may belong to any religion, caste or creed - that

has nothing to do with the business of the state," is often quoted by Christians to legitimize their presence in the Islamic Republic that Pakistan currently is (Rais 2007: 115). To emphasize the role of Jinnah as Pakistan's founder (its *Baba I Quam*, often translated as "father of the nation") in this narrative is thus not only a matter of historicity for Pakistani Christians, but also a means to perform and legitimize national belonging. It may therefore not come as a surprise that this narrative and the central role of Jinnah therein resurfaces in several chapters of this dissertation.

Christians under Islamic law

Although various studies of the history of Pakistan may thus attribute different dates to the process of the Islamization of the country, they do by and large seem to agree on the focus of Islamization in politics and the legal system. As stated, this perspective of Pakistan's legal and political Islamization generated an understanding of the place of Christians in Pakistan under Islamic law, and thus as a legal problem. This understanding of their position is part of a broader perception of the restricted freedom of religion and expression of religious otherness among religious minorities in Pakistan (Lau 2010: 422). In this legal approach to Pakistani Christians the term "minority" and related discourse is a common classification for non-Muslims in Pakistan. It is important to note here, however, that "minority" is far from a neutral term. In fact, as Tahir Kamran and Navtej Purewal (2016: 187) have argued, in Pakistan, minority status is employed by the state "to both legitimise its arbitration of religious identity as well as to stigmatise deviant *otherness*." It comes therefore as no surprise that the discourse of Pakistani Christians, as well as other non-Muslims and even Ahmadis, as a religious minority is actually promoted and imposed by the state. The third chapter of this dissertation will further explore how Islamization and "minoritization" of Pakistani Christians are related and among others show that, in response to the process of Islamization, Pakistani Christians have also adopted this classification. Today, the term seems to be central to discourses about Pakistani Christian identity.

In order to further explore existing conceptions of Pakistani Christians I will discuss three aspects that often surface in studies that approach the position of Pakistani Christians as a legal problem below. First, their status as second-class citizens, second, religious discrimination based on the blasphemy laws, and, third, religious intolerance, insecurity and violence against Christians.

Christians as second-class citizens

The literature often cites the implementation of separate electorates for minorities in the 1980s as one of the prime examples of how Pakistani Christians are relegated to a second-class status. Many have argued this system is an expression of a conception of Pakistani Christians as *dhimmis*, in Urdu, *zimmis*; this qualification is widely rejected by Christians (Gabriel 2007: 36; Sada 2009: 96; Gregory 2012: 201). In this system of separate electorates, a certain number of seats in parliament were reserved for minorities, and non-Muslims could only vote for co-religionists. Various scholars of politics in Pakistan suggested that this system has marginalized Christians from the mainstream national and political life of the country (Zaidi 1988: 455; Salim 2009: 146). Moreover, it implied that Christians did not enjoy a representative democracy, since the elected minority members did not represent a territorial constituency and politicians from the majority "have never felt the need to understand the plight of religious minorities" (Rais 2007: 120; Raina 2014: 695). While the joint electorate was restored under the rule of General Musharraf in 2002, Chief Executive after the coup in 1999, religious identity remains relevant in Pakistani politics because of the reserved seats for minorities (Salim 2009: 141).

Another example of Christians' second-class citizenship is found in labor market and educational discrimination. Although the former takes different shapes, the text above already illustrated the bias towards Christians and other non-Muslims as candidates for vacancies in menial work. Educational discrimination, many argue, consists primarily of various forms of preferential treatment of Muslim students as well as positive bias towards Islamic content in the curriculum (Rehman 2001: 346;

Gabriel 2007: 48). In line with observations made by Akbar Zaidi, this dissertation will demonstrate, especially in chapters five and six, that many Christians find it problematic that non-Islamic culture is either not acknowledged or Christians and Hindus are misrepresented in textbook content (Zaidi 1988: 455; Pio & Syed 2016: 193). Based on a study by Abdul Nayyar and Ahmad Salim (2003), revisited in chapter five, Shaun Gregory argues that attitudes of prejudice and intolerance are taught in "government public schools" (2012: 201). It is worth mentioning that Gregory does acknowledge the existence of "Christian schools" in Pakistan, in my experience generally called "missionary schools," but fails to mention that many of these schools are actually required to use that very same curriculum in their education. Chapter six of this dissertation will explore the dilemmas that schools face with regard to this curriculum and the strategies they have developed to affect change.[14]

Christians and the blasphemy laws

Islamization of politics and the legal system and Pakistani Christians' status as second-class citizens are recurring topics in the academic literature; also, the blasphemy laws and their effect on Christians are usually specially mentioned in studies that emphasize the legal problems for Pakistani Christians. To discuss the many publications on Pakistan's blasphemy laws in relation to its minorities would take too long for the purpose of this study. Still, below I will give some background as to why these laws signify religious discrimination. I will also discuss the common narrative about the misuse of these laws and briefly comment on how the laws contribute to the general insecurity and restricted freedom of Pakistani Christians.

While many discussions of the blasphemy laws start with the amendments made by Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s, the laws themselves were actually inherited from the 1860 Indian Penal Code in British India (Julius 2016: 95; Walbridge 2003: 87).

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[14] For some of his claims about Christian schools, Gregory refers to a publication from 2011, entitled "Christian schools in Pakistan." The current author was unfortunately unable to ascertain any additional details on this publication.

These laws aimed to protect religious sensibilities by prohibiting defilement of places of worship and religious rites (John 2000: 20; Gabriel 2007: 7; Walbridge 2003: 97). The purpose of the amendments by Zia-ul-Haq, however, "was to protect only one religion, that is, Islam," as evidenced by "the fact that the clauses (295-B, C; 298-A, B, C) only pertain to offences against Islam" (Julius 2016: 72). The discriminatory nature of the laws, however, is also evidenced by the overrepresentation of minorities among the accused in blasphemy cases. While Ahmadis only constitute 0.25 percent of the population, they are accused in 39 percent of the cases. Christians, 1.6 percent of the population, are accused in 12 percent of the blasphemy cases. Moreover, since Zia's amendments, there has been a huge increase in blasphemy cases (from 8 between 1947 and 1980 to 1,246 between 1981 and 2012), bringing Qaiser Julius to ask the question: "why have so many non-Muslims started committing blasphemy" (2016: 102). His answer is that the amendments have enabled and facilitated "misuse" of the laws.

The argument that the blasphemy laws are misused to "settle personal grudges," out of interpersonal conflict, or in order to acquire someone's property is fairly common among human and minority rights advocates as well as among scholars of Pakistani Christianity (Rehman 2001: 434; Walbridge 2003: 94; Gabriel 2007: 65; Rais 2007: 212; Uddin 2011: 48; Misra 2015: 163). Julius even refers to a claim that up to 95 percent of the cases are based on personal enmity, sectarian prejudice, religious intolerance and family disputes (2016: 103). An accusation of blasphemy often seems to affect someone's life to such an extent that relocation or even emigration becomes necessary to end personal disputes. Nevertheless this "misuse" narrative and the emphasis on Zia's role as an unelected military dictator could also be seen as a means to delegitimize the laws. In contrast with this focus on misuse, I should therefore also point to a study on blasphemy laws by Riaz Hassan. He argues that support for the blasphemy laws in Pakistan is strong and relates this to a high level of religiosity in the country. High religiosity, in terms of ideology and orthodoxy, together with low development, he argues, is positively related with support for blasphemy laws (Hassan 2007: 120).

Whether blasphemy accusations are informed by religion, as Hassan argues, or by other factors, is beyond the scope of this current dissertation. Hassan's findings of high support for the laws in Pakistan, however, do perhaps provide an explanation of why those accused of blasphemy in Pakistan often fear violence from vigilante justice. Various scholars have mentioned examples of attacks and killings of those accused of blasphemy or of their family, or even co-religionist neighbors (Rehman 2001: 435; Pio & Syed 2016: 197). Thus blasphemy accusations, or even rumors, can give rise to violence against Christians, especially at the hands of large numbers of people from one locality, often referred to as "mob violence," as Julius' incomplete list of "incidents" of communal punishment for blasphemy charges against individuals demonstrates (2016: 87). Moreover, Julius argues that Christians have developed "a keen sense of fear and insecurity" in response to these experiences with the blasphemy laws and the violence it can instigate (Julius 2017: 216). I will return to this Christian response to the blasphemy laws in context of interfaith dialogue, in chapter three and four of this dissertation. Due to these experiences the blasphemy laws relate to another aspect of the perspective on Pakistani Christians as a legal problem, that of intolerance and violence.

Intolerance and violence against Christians

Understanding Pakistani Christian identity as marked by insecurity and even violence seems to be a more recent development in studies of religion in Pakistan. Certainly, instability and conflict in South Asia, including the "war on terror," have severely affected Pakistani society in general, and especially the relation between the state and religious actors. As one Pakistani Christian expressed during a conference in 2017: "Fifty years ago we could still enjoy a beer after dialogue with Muslims, now we have military and police with guns standing right outside our door during interreligious dialogue."[15]

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[15] Fieldwork report FWR_12.

While most scholars of religion in Pakistan may thus agree that the country has become more volatile and unsafe in the last two decades, they understand this insecurity in relation to Christian identity differently. One of the main distinctions in this regard, seems to be between conceptualizations of violence against Christians that emphasize the religious identity of the "perpetrator" and those who also focus on the identity of the "victim." In the former, the intolerance and hostility is considered to be a product of certain theological positions or the "radicalization" of such positions. An example of this approach is the recent publication edited by Jawad Syed, Edwina Pio, Tahir Kamran and Abbas Zaidi, which claims that generic terms, such as "terrorist," "deflect attention from the specific Deobandi (South Asian) and Salafi/Wahabi (transnational) identity of the vast majority of the militants" (Syed 2016: 4). The book suggests that some sub-sects of Islam are more susceptible to violence than others, which ties in with the general perception of the significance of (Deobandi) madrasas for religious intolerance and hostility in Pakistan (Murphy 2013: 25; Kamran 2016: 65). In this understanding, the problem of violence thus primarily emerges from the religious community, sect or even ideology of the perpetrator.

Studies that also include a focus on the identity of the victim in their analysis often attribute the violence to different factors. It goes without saying that they acknowledge the particularities of the perpetrators, including religious characteristics, but these studies also argue that "the very *identity* of religious minorities in Pakistan has become a source of their insecurity" (Ali 2015: 116). According to this approach, Christian identity can be a target of intolerance and violence in Pakistan, either due to systematic "othering" efforts, in order to take "revenge" for events abroad or somewhere else within Pakistan, or as a combination of both these factors (Zaidi 1988: 455; Kamran & Purewal 2016: 188).

Pakistani Christians are indeed often perceived as affiliated or loyal to other countries, particularly "the West," as this dissertation will also illustrate on several occasions. According to Julius, allegations of Christians as "[a]llies of the US and the West" are commonly employed in interactions about the "war on terror" and in

the context of violence against Christians (Julius 2017: 170). Amalendu Misra, however, argues that this alienation alone is not a sufficient explanation for Pakistani Christian insecurity. The long list of examples of "systematic unprovoked assault" that Christians are subjected to on a regular basis are, according to Misra, a form of symbolic violence, as well as attempts to protect the purity of the communal national-religious identity (Misra 2015: 164). The violent targeting of Pakistani Christians, he argues, is thus often symbolic in the sense that to the perpetrators, the Christians represent "the West," which they resent (2015: 180). Moreover, Misra (2015: 168) claims that the violence is defensive, at least in the eyes of the perpetrators, because the religious otherness of Christians jeopardizes the imagined purity of a Pakistani-Islamic identity.

Two aspects of Misra's analysis of violence against Pakistani Christians are interesting with regard to this current study. First, although Misra does not highlight it as such, perceptions of Christians as entertaining Western loyalties possibly emerge from Pakistani Christianity's missionary heritage, at least partially. Considering that Masooda Bano already observed that "the West" and "Western values" were often equated with "a Christian missionary agenda," in the perception of Pakistani "*maulavis*," it seems likely that this same perception is projected onto Pakistani Christians (Bano 2012: 129). Furthermore, Misra emphasizes the perceived impurity of Pakistani Christians to be generated by the popular imagination of the country as "the land of the pure." Based on the above, I would add that the assumed low-caste background of Pakistani Christians, and its implications for untouchability, probably also contributes to this perception. Second, Misra's analysis of Pakistan as a "religio-political entity," with Islam as its *raison d'être*, corresponds to Theodore Gabriel's claim of a coalescence between religious and national identity in Pakistan, to which I will return below (Misra 2015: 167; Gabriel 2007: 107). More importantly, as almost every chapter in this dissertation will illustrate, Pakistani Christians employ various strategies to respond to and reinterpret the relationship between religious and national identity in Pakistan.

Pakistani Christians and Islamic nationhood

Besides the historical and legal studies that focus on caste and on citizenship respectively, there have also been some qualitative studies from the field of religious studies, anthropology and sociology, which emphasize Pakistani Christian subjectivities and agency. Much like the above-mentioned Misra, many of these qualitative studies acknowledge or even connect the role of caste and the legal position of Pakistani Christians. As Sookhdeo argued, "[d]iscrimination against Christians in Pakistan is a complex phenomenon, in which Islamic tradition, Pakistani law, a prevailing culture of corruption, and a deep-rooted caste system originating from Hinduism are all contributing factors" (Sookhdeo 2002: 234). In addition, however, these studies attempt to explain the situation of Pakistani Christians as part of a larger process of the formation of Islamic nationhood in Pakistan. Below I will discuss this Islamic nationhood in Pakistan and how this relates to Pakistani Christians. After that I will discuss some studies of Pakistani Christian agency and responses in this context.

Caste and Christian citizenship in the context of Islamic nationhood

To understand the significance of Islamic nationhood for Christians in Pakistan I turn back to Misra's observation of the imagined purity of the communal national-religious identity in Pakistan. According to Misra, a turn to "thin commitment to religion" in Pakistan (primarily during Zia's time) has, as mentioned above, forged a confluence of Muslim and Pakistani identity. The national-religious community that was formed through this process was imagined as marked by its purity, which was defined by its Islamic nature, thus excluding Pakistani's who do not share this religious identity.

It is important to mention that other scholars share this understanding of the dynamics between national and religious identity and its effects on the relations between religious communities in Pakistan, albeit often phrased somewhat

differently. Gabriel, for example, writes about the exclusion, discrimination and second-class status of Pakistani Christians as "the result of national identity coalescing with an Islamic identity" (2007: 107). This coalescence of identities, he argues, is developed from the assumption that Pakistan is an Islamic state in which Islam defines national identity and citizenship. This process, however, produced perceptions of Pakistani Christians as aliens and dhimmis (Gabriel 2007: 32).

David Pinault (2008: 12), similarly, argues that the replacement of the statue of Queen Victoria at Charing Cross in Lahore, which is now officially named Faisal Chowk, with "an oversized Quran, adorned with gold-leaf lettering, housed in a glass case," symbolizes Pakistan's Islamic national solidity. It communicates that "to be Pakistani is to be Muslim," he argues, only to ask what this implies for the national identity of Christians and Hindus (Pinault 2008: 12). Moreover, much like Misra and Gabriel, he also understands this imagination of a religious-national community to be the main driver behind Pakistan's Islamist policies and its intolerance to religious diversity (Pinault 2008: 51).

Interestingly, Misra, Gabriel and Pinault all seem to suggest a late Islamization process, starting with Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq, as discussed above, and to some extent equate the Islamization of Pakistan with the formation of a religious-national identity in the country. Conversely, in their chapter on Christians in the Punjab, Tahir Kamran and Navtej Purewal argue that the formation of the state of Pakistan was already "an expression of the aspirations of Muslim nationhood" (2016: 183). From Pakistan's inception, the distinction between non-Muslim minorities and the Muslim majority has been instrumental in the formation of Muslim nationhood. The fact that Pakistan is now an Islamic Republic built on an Islamic national identity, but still without fully implemented Islamic legislation, they argue, illustrates the usefulness of a discourse of religious minorities as the deviant other for state constructions of "Muslim majoritarianism" (Kamran & Purewal 2016: 186).

This last understanding of Muslim nationhood actually closely resembles Oskar Verkaaik's approach to religious nationalism in Pakistan. Verkaaik follows

Peter van der Veer's study of the same process on the eastern side of Pakistan's border, as discussed in *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Verkaaik thus argues religious nationalism is "a discourse on both the religious community and the nation (…) the nation is imagined on the basis of notions of the religious community rethought and reinvented in reaction to global processes such as colonialism and Orientalism" (Verkaaik 2004: 21).

This approach to Pakistan's dynamics of religion and nationhood is important for the current study, because it understands the formation of Pakistani national identity based on Islam as a process that already began before independence, and allows for a conceptualization of the continuity of pre-partition aspects, such as caste and colonialism, in this process. The current dynamics of Christian exclusion from Pakistani-Islamic nationhood are informed by Pakistani Christians' perceived low-caste background, especially since both Walbridge and O'Brien argue that caste, and its accompanying stigma of ritual impurity is still relevant in Pakistan (Walbridge 2003: 12; O'Brien 2012: 297). Moreover, Pakistani Christianity's missionary heritage seems to be incorporated into current perceptions of Christians as alien elements, and as such also contributes to their exclusion from the countries' Islamic nationhood.

The position of Pakistani Christians is thus informed by the remnants of caste and colonial perceptions mediated through the formation of Islamic nationhood, which is expressed through legal, social and cultural discourses about Christians. This understanding of Islamic nationhood as an intersection of various categories of otherness also explains the many studies that argue the Pakistani Christian situation to be a legal as well as caste issue (Walbridge 2003: 208; Pinault 2008: 41; Gregory 2012: 207; O'Brien 2013: 176; Julius 2016: 112n6; Pio & Syed 2016: 192). Moreover, it also explains the many experiences of legal and social exclusion with which Pakistani Christians are confronted and to which they respond. Since this interaction of Pakistani Christians with perceptions of Christianity and of religious diversity is the main focus of this dissertation, I will briefly outline how

some scholars of Pakistani Christianity have presented these responses and interactions previously.

Pakistani Christian responses

As the above discussion of the various ways in which the situation of Pakistani Christians is analyzed already demonstrates, Christians in the country are often approached as being subjected to Islamization and as such are considered to have little agency. Some scholars, however, have studied how Pakistani Christians respond to their circumstances. One of these responses is to try and escape the situation. While most scholars refer to the emigration of Pakistani Christians to the West, and more recently to other Asian countries (Sookhdeo 2002: 342), Misra also mentions a religious form of "migration," arguing that some Christians have converted to Islam in the hope of improved social status (Misra 2015: 179). Besides emigration and conversion, Pakistani Christians also often opt for self-segregation as a means to escape the religious other. Escape or avoidance as a type of Christian agency, however common, is not the main focus of this dissertation.

In the context of this discussion of Christian agency Julius' observations of obstructions to Pakistani Christian responses also deserves a mention. Besides the aforementioned fear and insecurity among Pakistani Christians, as a result of the blasphemy laws, Julius also argued a "lack of unity" among Christians, particularly in responses to these laws (Julius 2017: 236). According to Julius Pakistani Christians are fractionalized, missing a "sense of community" and centralized leadership. These factors contribute to the lack of a unified Christian response to discrimination, he argues (Julius 2017: 245). I have certainly encountered diversity among and divisions between Christians and have become familiar with so-called "*parti-bazi*" among Pakistani Christians, as the discussion of different Christian attitudes towards the religious other and interfaith dialogue in chapter four will

demonstrate.[16] Since this study has focused on particular Christian organizations, the degree of unity in Christian agency or responses has not been the focus of this dissertation. As such, it is not my intention to make claims about Pakistani Christian agency in general. Moreover, as many of the following chapters will demonstrate, the differences between the identity negotiations of the organizations involved in this study do not seem to be simply informed by factionalism or a lack of leadership, but rather by various historical and contextual factors.

One example of Pakistani Christian responses to experiences of marginalization can be found in the public display and assertion of their religious identity. Travelling through Pakistani majority-Christian villages and neighborhoods, I have on several occasions come across large Christian symbols, usually also visible outside the locality. One example is the 42-meter tall and 12-meter wide cross that was erected at a Christian cemetery in Karachi in 2017. The cross, standing amidst the "often vandalized tombstones," is intended by its private Christian funder "to convince the members of Pakistan's persecuted Christian minority that someday their lives will get better" (Pio & Syed 2016: 204).

The responses and agency encountered by the current author is generally far less conspicuous. This can consist of self-identifications, already mentioned as a means of identity negotiation in the first chapter. Gabriel also discusses Pakistani Christian self-identification and focuses on the differences between identifications as *ahl al Kitab* (people of the book) or *ahl al Ahd* (people of truce), as opposed to *dhimmis* (Gabriel 2007: 11). Similarly, Julius narrates Pakistani Christian efforts to be referred to by the terms they prefer. Terms, such as *Chuhra* and *Isai*, according to Julius meaning "followers of Isa," are rejected and Christians have petitioned the court to be called "*masihi*," which is also a common family name among Pakistani Christians (Julius 2017: 164). At the organizations studied for this dissertation *masihi* was definitely the preferred term and most commonly employed by Christians as well as Muslims. Besides these labels however, there are more nuanced

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[16] In my experience, the term "*parti-bazi*" is commonly employed to indicate favoritism, partisanship or nepotism among Pakistani Christians.

ways in which the organizations self-identify. In chapters three and four I will explore how the Christian Study Centre has self-identified, and still does, in relation to its missionary heritage and to other Pakistani Christians, showing the heterogeneity of Pakistani Christianity, and how the organization self-identifies in relation to Pakistani Muslims.

To self-identify as Pakistanis would have even bigger implications, especially considering the above-mentioned religious-national imagination. Still, Pinault argues that to compensate for popular perceptions of Christian alienness, "Christian leaders (…) take advantage of every chance they get to emphasize that, like other Pakistanis, Christians, too, are good citizens" (2008: 43). It is interesting to see that Pinault mentions these Christian leaders' proclaimed solidarity with Palestinians and the people of Kashmir as a means for Christians to illustrate Pakistani citizenship. Much like the chapters five and six of this dissertation, this demonstrates that Christian expression of Pakistani citizenship or patriotism is still bound to the criteria of national identity as defined through Islam. At the same time however, these chapters dealing with Christian agency in education will also show that Christian self-identification as Pakistani has implications for the aforementioned religious-national imagination, and is a careful attempt to reinterpret this identity.

Education in Pakistan forms another field in which both Walbridge and Gabriel have observed Christian responses to their circumstances. According to Walbridge, Christian leaders in Pakistan see education provided as a service to Muslims as a means to improve interreligious relations. While she acknowledges that Muslim alumni of Christian schools express gratitude, she doubts that Christian education has produced attitudinal changes that are more favorably predisposed to Christians in general (Walbridge 2003: 120). In contrast, Gabriel argues that Christian schools are sites where amicable relationships between Christians and Muslims develop, where joint religious celebrations take place, and where Pakistanis can be confronted with "Islamic ideals of tolerance to other faiths" (2007: 96). While I have observed the latter two aspects listed (i.e., amicable relationships and joint celebrations), in this study Christian schools primarily proved to be sites where

Christians could challenge Pakistani-Islamic nationalism and reinterpret Pakistani nationhood as religiously diverse.

Another response mentioned by Gabriel, especially interesting in light of the colonial heritage of Pakistani Christianity, is the desire "to indigenise" (Gabriel 2007: 12, 105). While Pakistani Christians are obviously "indigenous" to the country, they often perceive their Christianity as strongly fashioned by Western forms of the religion. Walbridge, on the contrary, draws various parallels between how Islam and Christianity are practiced in Pakistan. She, much like O'Brien, argues that aspects like the public display of devotion among Christians, the strict fasting during Lent, and a strong reverence for the Bible are, at least in part, a result of the Islamic impact on Pakistani Christianity (Walbridge 2003: 187). "Muslims serve as a reference point," and because of that similarities are emphasized or Islamic religious attitudes are copied in order to gain equality and respect, Walbridge explains (2003: 190). In the next chapter I will explore how similar attempts to develop a local Pakistani theology or Pakistani Christian faith were employed at the Christian Study Centre between the 1970s and the early 2000s. Resembling Walbridge's claim about Islam as a reference point, this chapter will demonstrate that CSC strove to relieve Pakistani Christianity from its Western heritage and encourage a Christian faith based on a particular Pakistani experience of religious pluralism.

According to Gabriel, Christian-Muslim dialogue is one of the main responses of Pakistani Christians to their circumstances. Misunderstanding, intolerance and exclusion can be countered "by a growing understanding of other faiths, ethnicities, and classes through ongoing interfaith dialogue" (Gabriel 2007: 108). Gabriel specifically mentions CSC as a "highly dialogue-oriented" institution in this regard (2007: 92). Furthermore, he lists several aspects of interfaith dialogue at CSC, which I also encountered during my fieldwork. Dialogue in Pakistan, for example, is often misperceived as a form of syncretism, or conversely, as a concealed form of evangelism (Gabriel 2007: 93). As chapter four will demonstrate, both aspects constitute important perceptions from both Pakistani Christians and

Muslims, in light of which CSC has to negotiate its interfaith activities. Moreover, in this same chapter I will discuss the conciliatory and harmonious direction of dialogue at CSC, also observed by Gabriel and Pinault. In this respect Gabriel encountered experiences of dialogue that would emphasize interfaith commonalities at the expense of their differences (2007: 92). Pinault, similarly, argues that "most Pakistani Christians who attempt interfaith dialogue favor a low-profile approach that is as conciliatory and non-confrontational as possible" (2008: 48). He explains that these types of dialogue are often characterized by a strong emphasis on common "humanity" and "universal values" (Pinault 2008: 49). In his chapter on Christian responses, Sookhdeo similarly argued that interfaith dialogue increasingly focuses on "good relations" and "cooperation" between Muslims, as opposed to religious issues (Sookhdeo 2002: 338). Others, including a former director of CSC, Mehboob Sada, have also mentioned the importance of cooperation and "humanity" for interreligious dialogue in Pakistan (Sada 2009: 106; Salim 2009: 152). When discussing these harmonizing tendencies of Christian-Muslim dialogue in chapter four, I will further explain how they are informed by Pakistani Christians' perception of their context and their position therein.

Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, over the last three hundred years a variety of understandings and categorizations have been employed to study and describe Pakistani Christians. Caste and ethnical designations, such as Chuhra and Punjabi, are common in pre-partition studies and historical studies, but more recently understandings of Pakistani Christians as a religious minority in an Islamic Republic have become prominent. The above has also shown that many of these approaches to Pakistani Christians emphasize their position in society as a legal and socio-economic problem. As Pakistan's politics, legal system and society have increasingly Islamized since partition and Pakistani nationhood is commonly interpreted with reference to Islam, questions about the place of Pakistani Christians

have become more pertinent. While there may be some differing views between the above-mentioned scholars regarding the ways the relationship of caste, ethnicity and religion affect the position of Christians, the problem of Christian identity in the context of Pakistan is acknowledged in virtually all studies.

The social, political and cultural exclusion of Pakistani Christians and the challenge to Christian identity in relation to Pakistani nationhood has thus been studied sufficiently, as outlined above. Christian responses to, or agency in the context of these difficulties has received less attention. Based on Gabriel, Walbridge and Pinaults' contributions it is safe to say that Christian responses include assertion of religious as well as national identity and are commonly employed in fields of humanitarian aid, education and interfaith dialogue. This also explains the current study's selection of Pakistani Christian organizations engaged in education and interfaith dialogue. Moreover, the above illustrations of Christian claims of both Christian and Pakistani identity, referred to in chapter one, constitute the background of this dissertation's focus on Christian identity negotiation. My contribution to the above-mentioned publications is twofold: First, I will attempt to relate Pakistani Christian experiences and perceptions of their context to efforts of identity negotiation. I hope to show that Pakistani Christian identity negotiation is, to some extent, shaped by experiences of legal and political inequality and social exclusion. Second, this dissertation's focus on the question *how* Pakistani Christians negotiate identity will illuminate the processes of Christian communication of religious identity. This implies that I will go beyond above-mentioned studies by exploring the strategies and means that Christians at CSC, NCJP and the missionary schools employ to define, interpret, present and promote Pakistani Christian identity in semi-public settings.

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CHAPTER THREE

Negotiating National Sameness and Religious Difference: Pakistani Christian Identity Between "Western Christianity" and Pakistani Islamization

Introduction

In its early days, the Christian Study Centre (CSC) in Rawalpindi was envisioned as an educational and research institute for the study of Christianity and Islam and Christian-Muslim relations.[1] As CSC explains on its website and in its publications: from 1947 when the border with India took shape, Christians in Pakistan no longer had access to the Henry Martin Institute (HMI), which up to that point had provided them with a place for the study of Islam and Christianity. Therefore, the West Pakistan Christian Council (WPCC) decided to establish CSC on Pakistan's side of the border as an "ecumenical research institute in the area of Christian-Muslim relations" (Amjad-Ali 1996: v).[2]

From its inception in 1967, CSC was thus a place for interreligious relations, especially the study of Christianity and Islam, and for dialogue between representatives of these religions. Initiatives for interreligious relations like CSC were not uncommon for churches at the time. In fact, Dominic Moghal, a former CSC director, argues that the organization can be seen as part of a dialogue movement within the church of the "third world" (Moghal 1998: 13).[3] CSC's connections with HMI, and with the World Council of Churches (WCC), also

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[1] A version of this chapter is accepted for publication in a peer-reviewed journal as: Grit, K, 'Negotiating National Sameness and Religious Difference: Pakistani Christian Identity Between "Western Christianity" and Pakistani Islamization.'

[2] The WPCC was West Pakistan's World Council of Churches counterpart, now called National Council of Churches in Pakistan (NCCP).

[3] Some other examples of this movement are the "Pontifical Council for Dialogue with Non-Believers" in 1965, the WCC sub-unit "Dialogue with people of living faiths and ideologies" in 1971, and the "Islam in Africa Project," now PROCMURA, from 1959.

indicate that the organization did not emerge in isolation. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, M.A.Q. Daskawie, at that time CSC's director, had already attended a number of WCC consultations (Slomp 1976: 4). Moreover, as this study will demonstrate, several memoranda of WCC consultations were published in CSC's journal *Al-Mushir*, sometimes accompanied by a reflection on the consultation by one of its participants. This international connectivity is further evidenced by the considerable involvement of European and American missionary co-workers, especially in the first decades of CSC's existence. According to Moghal, this involvement even reached the point where CSC "was pre-dominantly run by expatriate staff and was known as the American Centre, in spite of the majority of its staff being European, especially from Holland" (Moghal 1998: 16).[4] During this initial period, CSC's international connectivity thus seems to have had a significant impact on the organization's functioning and on the public perceptions in its immediate environment.

At the same time, however, CSC's social and political environment also exerts influence on the organizations. The impact of Pakistani society on CSC's policies is something that current and former staff of the organization recognizes, as the quote below from Pervez, a CSC staff member, demonstrates.[5]

> "Since 1967, in the early years, the dimension and direction was different, because of the context at that time. Back then there was a very different situation from now, so the approach was different. The Centre was mostly focused on intellectual dialogue and research. Then during the 1980s a wave of Islamization occurred and the Centre had to adapt to that. They had to adapt to the context."[6]

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[4] This involvement is best understood against the missionary background of many churches in Pakistan. Because of this background the WPCC churches enjoy international connectivity, especially with their European and North American counterparts.
[5] For privacy reasons names of interlocutors are anonymized.
[6] Interview INT_CSC07.

This indicates interaction, exchange and mutual influence between the organization's activities and its social and political context. In fact, the quote shows that CSC's adaptability to its immediate context is considered to be an asset of the organization because it underscores its relevance. Interestingly, this same quote also demonstrates that this context is perceived as marked by "a wave of Islamization." Pervez is not alone in his observation of the Islamization of Pakistan. Various scholars of the Indian subcontinent have detailed how aspects of Islam increasingly came to determine the character of Pakistan, many of whom have emphasized Zia-ul-Haq's rule in the 1980s as a turning point (Esposito 1982: 197; Haqqani 2005: 133; Lau 2006: 1; Murphy 2013: 84). Especially relevant in this regard, is the study by Tahir Kamran and Navtej Purewal who focus on the position of religious minorities, specifically Christians, in the country's social and political history. They argue that the protective space for minorities has gradually eroded: "Over time, minority discourse on Christians has shifted from being one which acknowledges difference, freedom, and rights to one which, through Islamising forces of constitutional reform, has led to the victimisation of Christians and other minorities" (Kamran & Purewal 2016: 189). In their understanding, the social context of CSC is thus one in which religious otherness is made deviant and stigmatized as an effect of Islamization.

    In this chapter I will investigate these processes of interaction between CSC and its context, for the purpose of this dissertation defined as consisting of CSC's international connectivity as well as with Pakistani society, and the organization's approach to Christian-Muslim dialogue and Christian identity. While the above indicates that this context exercises influence on CSC's image, policies and activities, something that will be further explored below, it also suggests that CSC reacts to this context. I acknowledge the impact of both sides in this interaction, but here I will specifically accentuate the responses of CSC. Hence, I investigate CSC's perceptions of, and responses to, various developments unfolding within its international connectivity and its immediate social and political environment, from

1970 until 2001.[7] To do so, I will focus on how CSC communicates Pakistani Christian identity through interreligious dialogue and social action.

This communication of Pakistani Christian identity will be investigated through the lens of "identity talk." The concept of "identity talk" seems to have emerged through symbolic interactionist and constructionist approaches to identity as "work," as conceptualized primarily in social movement studies (Snow & McAdam 2000: 46). Within this approach to identity, scholars mainly focus on how people manage, define, attribute meaning and present social identities in relation to the other, in order to influence perceptions about these identities (Snow & Anderson 1987: 1348; Smith 2013: 82). As part of this approach, identity talk can be defined as "a discourse that reflects actors' perceptions of a social order and is based on interpretations of current situations, themselves, and others" (Hunt and Benford 1994: 492). Perceptions of the social context, including their own and others' positions therein, are thus inherent to communication of identity in this understanding, making it a suitable tool for the study of CSC's interaction with its context. Moreover, identity talk has been argued to consist of various strategies, such as "distancing" (Snow & Anderson 1987: 1348), "associative and disassociative claims" (Hunt & Benford 1994: 494), "self-identification" (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998: 2), and "identity assertion" (Reed & Pitcher 2015: 480). Many of these strategies will also emerge from research at CSC for this chapter, alongside other strategies, like re-definition of identity and claims of sameness and difference.

To apprehend Pakistani Christian identity talk at CSC I have consulted two sources of data. First, publications of CSC staff in the aforementioned *Al-Mushir* from 1970 until 2001. Second, data collected through fieldwork at CSC of an accumulated period of approximately 15 months in 2014, 2015 and 2016. This primarily consists of current staff's reflections on CSC's history.

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[7] This period of CSC's history was selected for two reasons: First, due to the availability of CSC's journal Al-Mushir, from 1970. Second, because after 2001, specifically 9/11, in the experience of CSC's staff, its situation changed drastically. This change to a large extent consists of an increase in insecurity. Although there were some violent incidents before 2001, mostly revolving around the blasphemy laws, after 2001 violence became a much more pronounced element of Pakistan's reality (Syed 2016: 17; Murphy 2013: 142).

This material will be discussed in the following four sections. In the first section I will further elaborate on both aspects of CSC's context. I will discuss what the Islamization of Pakistan entailed, followed by a discussion of developing understandings of interreligious dialogue at WCC and in Asian theology. This discussion of CSC's context serves to situate the developments at CSC with regard to its communication of Pakistani Christian identity. The second section of this chapter will turn to the case of CSC and traces a shift that took place in the 1970s at the organization, from interreligious encounters marked by apologetics to dialogue for understanding. I will discuss this shift in relation to CSC's connectivity and involvement within the WCC. In the third section I will discuss yet another development, the social turn that occurred at CSC in the 1980s, and explain how this development was related to the increasing Islamization of Pakistan and to an emerging Asian liberation theology. This is followed by a discussion of the 1990s at CSC, a period in which both elements, dialogue for understanding and social engagement, were employed to present and forward a Pakistani Christian identity. The conclusion, finally, attempts to answer the question of how CSC expressed Christian identity in its response to both its international ecumenical connections and to the context of Pakistan's society.

Pakistani Islamization and Asian liberation

As already indicated in the introduction, CSC's context is considered to be a relevant aspect for the organization's activities. This context consists of the process of Islamization in Pakistan's society, and of CSC's international connections, such as those inherited from European missions, the WCC and networks of Asian theologians. Both aspects will be discussed below.

Islamization of the homeland for Indian Muslims

One of the most quoted documents of Pakistan's history, Muhammad Ali Jinnah's first presidential address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (August 11, 1947), is central to discussions of religion and secularism in the country. Many Pakistanis have argued that this speech demonstrates the secular ideal of the *Quaid-i-Azam*, a title often used for Jinnah and translated as "great leader." The content of this speech is often contrasted with later developments of Islamization, and the Islamic Republic that Pakistan has become. Farahnaz Ispahani, for example, first quotes the speech's assertion of religious freedom to subsequently argue, "Pakistan has descended into its current state of religious intolerance through a series of decisions made by Jinnah's successors" (Ispahani 2015: 9).

The phrase "history is written by the victors," however, does not just apply to Jinnah's successors, but equally to "the great leader," Jinnah himself, and his ruling Muslim League. As mentioned in chapter two, in his account of popular support for Pakistani nationalism in what is now Utter Pradesh, Venkat Dhulipala, argues that the historiography of the Indian partition has mostly overlooked the *ulama's* impact on, or featured them in opposition to, the Pakistan movement. An exception to this is David Gilmartin, Dhulipala argues; according to Dhulipala, Gilmartin acknowledges the agency of Indian Muslims alongside the elite politics of politicians such as Jinnah, and thereby points to early popular conceptualizations of Pakistan in terms of Muslim solidarity or nationhood. While Gilmartin considers this idea of Muslim nationhood and the two-nation theory to be non-territorial (Dhulipala 2015: 16), Dhulipala argues, "Pakistan was popularly imagined in U.P [Utter Pradesh, ed.] as a sovereign Islamic State, a New Medina" (Dhulipala 2015: 4). Moreover, Dhulipala continues, these *ulama*, the Muslim modernists, and Islamists agreed that an Islamic Pakistan would develop gradually, through their mutual negotiations. This, according to Dhulipala explains the contention between various Islamic groups and political parties over Pakistan's identity ever since its independence (Dhulipala 2015: 21).

While the Islamization of Pakistan thus should not be seen as a linear process, but rather as a matter of continuous contestation between various parties and groups, the discussion above does show the importance of religion in Pakistani politics. In fact, Oskar Verkaaik has argued that religion and ethnicity "are the most crucial forces of identity politics and political mobilization in the history of Pakistan" (Verkaaik 2004: 3). As such, CSC's Christian identity talk in social and political engagement can be best understood against the background of, or as a response to, other religious and political positions within this contestation. I will discuss this dynamic between CSC's activities and communication and processes of Islamization later in this chapter.

Several moments in Pakistan's history illustrate the struggle over the country's identity in relation to Islam; below I will mention three moments of which the latter two will prove to be relevant to CSC's perception and engagement in society. First, according to Martin Lau, the aforementioned absence of political consensus over Pakistan's identity caused the country to be, de facto, ruled by inherited colonial laws during its first ten years (Lau 2010: 388). Nevertheless, two years after its independence, in 1949, Pakistan's constituent assembly adopted the Objectives Resolution as a framework for a future Pakistani constitution.[8] According to Husain Haqqani, the framework's decree that "democracy, freedom, equality, and social justice, as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed" (Haqqani 2005: 16), met with much resistance from non-Muslims and constitutes the moment after which "there was no turning back from Pakistan's status as an Islamic ideological state" (Haqqani 2005: 17).

The second moment is more than 20 years and two constitutions, those of 1956 and 1958, later when the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution of 1973. According to Lau, this constitution reflected its predecessors with regard to Islam and, with exception of the provisions against Ahmadis, largely consisted of

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[8] Interestingly, Leonard Binder argued that Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, the same Islamic scholar who envisioned Pakistan as an Islamic state before partition according to Dhulipala's account, contributed to the Objectives Resolution (Binder 1961: 141). This demonstrates the continuity of the imagination of Pakistan as an ideological Islamic state before and after independence.

"non-justiciable constitutional provisions urging the state to bring all laws into conformity with Islam and a provision for the setting up of an advisory body on Islamic law was retained" (Lau 2010: 395). [9] While the new constitution thus included Islamic provisions, much of the legislation could not be implemented, Lau argues. Tasneem Kausar, conversely, claims that this constitution, in which socialist and Islamist politics were combined, was actually the most "religiously oriented constitution of the country" (Kauser 2012: 196). Especially its constitutional definition of "Islam" and "Muslims" and its declaration of Islam as Pakistan's state religion illustrate this orientation. [10] Moreover, Kauser explains, the creation of the Council for Islamic Ideology, the advisory body to which Lau also refers, was later used by Zia-ul-Haq, together with the Federal Shariat Court, to enforce the provision that all laws should be made conform to Islam (Kauser 2012: 198).

Zia-ul-Haq's imposition of martial law and his rule as chief martial law administrator (1977), together with his subsequent presidency (1978), constitute the third moment of Pakistan's contentious process of Islamization. Adopting the slogan of the political opposition, "*Nizam-e-Mustafa*" (social order of the prophet), Zia promised the implementation of an Islamic order and law in the country (Kepel 2006: 100). Besides the creation of an Islamic judicial system, with the aforementioned Federal Shariat Court, Zia also effectuated a variety of legislation with regard to religion. In the first year of his presidency, Haq implemented a separate electorate for non-Muslims, which aimed to accommodate Islamist notions of separate minority citizenship in an Islamic state, but also to counter minorities' political leanings to progressive parties that opposed Zia (Yasmeen 1999: 189; Kamran & Purewal 2016: 185). Minority citizenship was further aggravated by the Hudood Ordinances, which introduced Islamic criminal laws in the country, and limited the functioning of non-Muslims in the judicial system (Zia 2010: 155). Both Lau and Yasmeen have also argued that these laws, pertaining to property, *zina*

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[9] By defining a Muslim with reference to the finality of the prophethood of Muhammad, the Constitution 1973 deems Ahmadis as non-Muslims (Lau 2010: 396).
[10] Officially, Pakistan only became an Islamic Republic in 1965, but the designation "Islamic" was briefly contested in 1962 (Haqqani 2005: 43).

(unlawful sexual intercourse) and prohibition disproportionately affected the rights of women (Yasmeen 1999: 188; Lau 2010: 418). Zia's last legislative acts that require mention here are the various amendments to the blasphemy laws. Provisions on the protection of all religions, which were already included in the Pakistan Penal Code inherited from colonial times, were amended in the 1980s to include specific articles protecting "the Holy Quran," "the Holy Prophet" and "holy personages of Islam" (Julius 2016: 96).

With these and other measures, some consider Zia's rule, which lasted until his death in 1988, as the height of Islamization in Pakistan (Zia 2010: 152; Raina 2014: 207). Still, after the 1980s some attempts to further implement Islamic law in Pakistan have occurred, for example the Enforcement of Shari'ah Act 1991. These, however, became inactive when General Musharraf suspended the constitution of 1973 through a *coup d'état* in 1999 (Lau 2010: 402).

Asian interreligious and liberation theology

That the year of inception of CSC was not arbitrary is clear, not only due to the aforementioned national context of the closing border with India and the subsequent inaccessibility of HMI, but also, as argued by Moghal, the growing interest in interreligious dialogue in Asia and globally (Moghal 1998: 13). According to Marianne Moyaert, the 1960s and 1970s saw an increase in interreligious encounters and dialogue efforts within the Catholic Church as well as the World Council of Churches (WCC). For the Catholic Church this development was illustrated in its positive approach to "non-Christian religions" during the Second Vatican Council, while the WCC's involvement in dialogue is reflected in the emergence of the sub-unit called "Dialogue between People of Living Faiths and Ideologies" (Moyaert 2013: 199).

In this context of emerging new attitudes to the religious other in ecumenical circles, Jenny Daggers has argued that, "Asian theologians were instrumental in the development of interfaith dialogue within the Protestant milieu

of the WCC" (Daggers 2013: 147). The fact that the Asian theologians Stanley Samartha and Wesley Ariarajah initially headed the abovementioned sub-unit, "Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies," corroborates this argument. In fact, Samartha, being the first director of the sub-unit, has reflected on emerging new attitudes to the religious other within this context. He narrated the evolution of the sub-unit and explains that it was preceded by "the *study of* 'The Word of God and the Living Faiths of Men', an old ecumenical concern" (Samartha 1996: 29). This shift from study to dialogue, he argues, was generated by various conflicts between and within nation states worldwide in which religious actors were involved, but also by a postcolonial struggle of Asian and African countries to determine their national identities based on local cultural and religious resources. Representatives of some of these countries at the WCC deepened the organization's awareness of the importance of religious diversity for these Asian Christians (Samartha 1996: 30). These developments at the WCC are reflected in CSC's shift from a focus on apologetics to a focus on dialogue for mutual understanding and the emergence of postcolonial theology at the organization in the 1970s and 1980s, which will be discussed below. While the shift at CSC may not be synchronous to the developments at the WCC, the discussion below will demonstrate the importance of CSC's ecumenical international connections for this shift.

This postcolonial experience characterized by this "need felt by churches in Asia for a closer relationship with neighbours of other faiths" (Samartha 1996: 31) is also recognized by Moyaert who argues it is a reckoning of Western Christianity's dominance and privilege in relation to local traditions during colonial times (Moyaert 2013: 197). In this regard it is hardly surprising that interreligious encounters are often perceived as essential to Asian theologies. Several scholars of Christianity in Asia have argued this focus on religious diversity and interreligious relations to be a feature typical of a postcolonial "Asian Christianity" (Phan 2004: 116). Edmund Kee-Fook Chia, for example, explains that while dialogue may be a Western invention, the experience of religious pluralism comes naturally to the Asian subjectivity and only became problematic when Western Christianity tried to

dominate local religions and traditions during colonialism (Chia 2012: 29). In the postcolonial situation, local Christians were left with questions about the relation between their Christian and Asian identity and between Christianity and other religions. These questions marked "the quest for a truly Asian Christianity," which "opened up new horizons for a theology which was not only more respectful of other religions but also enabled them to be perceived in a more positive light" (Chia 2012: 32). Religious diversity and interreligious encounters are thus thought to be inherent to the Asian Christian experience. For Christianity to "become Asian" means to shed Western cultural influences and integrate the experience of religious diversity.

Besides the postcolonial experience of diversity, several theologians, like Aloysius Pieris and Perry Schmidt-Leukel, have argued that Asian Christianity's concern with the religious other and liberation theology are interconnected. Asia, as a context in which the majority of the poor belong to religions other than Christianity evokes the question of how religious diversity can be integrated into a theology of liberation. Some theologians, Schmidt-Leukel argues, "opted for a pluralistic approach suggesting that the poor are God's people regardless of their religious affiliation, so that interreligious alliances can be formed in which the liberating elements of all religions should be employed in the service of a common practice" (Schmidt-Leukel 2008: 91). One of those theologians is Aloysius Pieris, who postulates that any Asian theology should be determined by two poles: "the *Third Worldness*" of the continent and its multifaceted religiousness (Pieris 1988: 69).[11] Liberation theology, as developed in South America, however, is inadequate for this multi-religious context because its Marxist and Barthian understanding of religion as opposing revolution and revelation divorces it from liberation and salvation, respectively (Pieris 1988: 91). At the same time, (Western) theologies of religion did not emerge out of the experience of human suffering and are blind to the liberating capacity of non-Christian traditions in Asia (Pieris 1988: 87). For theology

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[11] It is important to note here that Pieris, as opposed to other Asian theologians, argues against the use of inculturation because it suggests a separation between religion and culture, while these are indivisible in the Asian context (Pieris 1988: 52).

to be Asian it should therefore embrace both the experience of suffering of the poor and the variety of religious resources for liberation.

Many of these postcolonial theological developments also emerge from the *Al-Mushir* articles in the late 1970s, 80s and 90s. CSC's understanding of Christian-Muslim relations and its communication of Pakistani Christian identity, seems to have been shaped, at least in part, by global shifts regarding interreligious dialogue and Asian theology. At the same time, however, CSC's responses to national social and political processes of Islamization also had a bearing on its communication of Pakistani Christian identity. Below I will first briefly explore how CSC's international connectivity and WCC connections relate to its understanding of Christian-Muslim relations and dialogue. This will disclose a shift from apologetics to dialogue for mutual understanding and an emerging approach to religious difference.

From apologetics to understanding

Although CSC has focused on the study of religious traditions as well as on dialogue between representatives of religions from its inception, its understanding of and emphasis on both elements have evolved over the years. Much like the above-mentioned shift from study to dialogue at the WCC, CSC's approach to dialogue and the religious other also gradually changed in the 1970s and early 1980s. This was a shift from an approach of debate and apologetics to an approach of dialogue for understanding. Based on *Al-Mushir* articles, neither apologetics nor dialogue for understanding were entirely absent at any point during the first 15 years of CSC; this period does, however, show a shifting emphasis from apologetics to dialogue. Below I will further discuss this development and address how it came about at CSC.

CSC's early emphasis on apologetics in Muslim-Christian relations is particularly illustrated by its activities and by the *Al-Mushir* publications from the 1970s. Dominic Moghal, CSC's director from 1995 until 2001, for example, narrates that in the monthly lectures at CSC during this first period, "Muslims and Christian

scholars came together and discussed various confronting theological issues (i.e. authenticity of the Scriptures, issues of the Trinity etc.)" (Moghal 1998: 10). This contentious approach, he argues, is reflected in the Urdu section of *Al-Mushir* from that time. Titles such as "The Authenticity of the Bible" (a six-part series from 1973 and 1974) and "The Necessity of the Resurrection of Christ" (1973), as well as articles on theological issues like incarnation and the Trinity, demonstrate an emphasis on the justification of Christianity. Moghal contrasts this with articles from the English section, which contained publications like "Christian and Muslim Understandings of Forgiveness" (1972) and "Christmas in the Quran" (1970), in addition to other articles in which Christian and Islamic sources and traditions are compared through discussion of theological issues such as divine love, sin and fasting. According to Moghal, this shows "a conservative fundamentalist and polemic stance" among the Pakistani staff, while the Western missionary staff "advocated a positive view of Islam and Muslims" (Moghal 1998: 15).

While the Western missionary approach to Christianity and Islam of the late 60s and early 70s at CSC seems comparative rather than "positive," whatever the latter may be, Moghal is correct in stating that many Urdu articles are apologetic or even contentious in nature.[12] This, however, begs the interesting question, how did the shift from apologetics to understanding in dialogue occur at CSC? The above discussion of interreligious dialogue at the WCC gives reason to believe that the more conciliatory approach, in Asia as a whole, was generated by the postcolonial Asian experience of religious diversity. Certainly, this experience may have caused many Asian theologians to contribute to the WCC's approach of interreligious dialogue for mutual understanding. In the context of CSC, however, besides the influence of the experience of diversity, it seems that this conciliatory approach was also introduced through the WCC and Western missionaries. Moghal's claim about the "positive" attitudes towards Islam among Western missionary co-workers at CSC already indicates the influence of the organization's international connectivity.

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[12] It should be noted that some English articles, like the debate between Maududi and Slomp over the Gospel of Barnabas, were equally contentious or "apologetic," as Slomp himself would later argue (Slomp 2012: 50).

This foreign influence is also argued by one of those missionary co-workers. Jan Slomp, who worked at CSC from 1968 until 1977, states that while mission organizations and churches in Pakistan used to focus on "active evangelism" often leading to "Muslim opposition (…) gradually a different attitude started to prevail and new ideas came in from abroad" (Slomp 2012: 48). For Slomp, Kenneth Gragg's *The Call of the Minaret* and the Vatican's *Nostra Aetate* were especially instructive for the advance of this new attitude, which in combination with the above-mentioned emerging focus on dialogue at the WCC, form the background of CSC's move away from apologetics.

Even more convincing as to the impact of CSC's international connectivity with regard to the emergence of dialogue for mutual understanding, is the strand of *Al-Mushir* articles in which this approach to dialogue is discussed. Especially Western missionary co-workers at CSC published various articles that discussed mutual understanding as the aim of interreligious dialogue. In an article from 1974, for example, Matthew Geijbels argues that both polemics and evangelism, and syncretism and compromise constitute the main challenge to dialogue, which he defines as "the encounter of persons of different faiths on the level of conversation, in which the partners while acknowledging their confessional standpoints try to reach a deeper understanding of each other's faith and culture" (Geijbels 1974: 96). It is important to note that, besides taking understanding faith as the objective of dialogue, Geijbels refers to "faith and culture" as its object. This demonstrates that, although he does frequently refer to Islamic and Christian theology to substantiate this approach to dialogue, he also seems to argue that dialogue is not restricted to theology and doctrine or even to participation of religious leaders and scholars only (Geijbels 1974: 103).

Another missionary co-worker at CSC whose writing illustrates this emerging approach to dialogue is Byron Haines. A particularly interesting article in this regard is his "South East Asia Muslims and Christians in Consultation," which reflects on a 1975 WCC consultation called "Muslims and Christians in Society," of which the memorandum is included in the same issue of *Al-Mushir*. Haines, who

attended this consultation as a representative of CSC, contributed a review with personal reflections on the meetings. He perceived the consultation to be an occasion for the participants to explore "practical ways in which Muslims and Christians can cooperate" and was impressed by the participants' focus on "good-will" and "cooperation" (Haines 1975: 62). As such, Haines argues, "[i]t is important for us in Pakistan to note that in other parts of the world some Muslims and Christians are united in their concern for social justice" (Haines 1975: 67). In addition he expresses the hope that one day a consultation like this could take place in Pakistan.

While Haines' article thus constitutes a direct endorsement of dialogue for mutual understanding, and even cooperation, it is noteworthy that this was not the first report of a WCC consultation to appear in *Al-Mushir*. In 1972 the memorandum of the so-called Broumana Consultation was also included in the journal. Interestingly, this memorandum was not accompanied by a reflection from CSC's staff, but did include a disclaimer saying "[i]t is published here, not in order to endorse all the views expressed but as a means of stimulating critical reflection" (CSC 1972: 194).

The publication of these memoranda and Haines' account of a WCC consultation, as well as Geijbels' publications on dialogue, demonstrate that the growth of dialogue for understanding at CSC, at least to some extent, emerged through international and particularly WCC connections. This is an important observation because it indicates that in the 1970s and early 80s the more conciliatory and cooperative approach to the religious other did not only emerge from experiences of religious diversity of the Pakistani context itself, but also through its international connections. Nevertheless, as I will show later, in the late 1980s and 90s CSC does in fact emphasize religious diversity as a characteristic of the Pakistani context to develop its approach to interreligious dialogue.

This conciliatory approach to the religious other also seemed to have been a prelude to a different kind of engagement with society, in which interreligious cooperation and social and political action became much more central to the

organization's vocation. The emergence of this social engagement can be perceived against the background of the above-discussed shift to dialogue, but even more to processes of Islamization in Pakistan and influences of Asian liberation theology in Pakistan.

Social turn explained

While the above shows that CSC was primarily concerned with Christian-Muslim relations in the 1970s, either through apologetics or dialogue, this has changed drastically in the late 1980s and early 90s. The 1991 Annual Report published in *Al-Mushir*, for example, contained the image below to convey the various activities employed at the organization in that year. Besides the familiar activities, such as *Al-Mushir*, the library and research facilities, seminars and lectures, the image also shows socio-political outreach, strategies for alternative development and action, social change and human rights advocacy as part of the organization's focus and mission.

Image 1: Activities and programs at CSC in 1991 (CSC 1992: 19)

This transformation is what I call a "social turn," which took place at CSC in the 1980s. Today's CSC staff also recognizes the change that occurred during that time, as the quote below from an interview with Asmi, a CSC staff member, demonstrates.

> "When Zia's regime was in power lots of NGOs emerged and leftists became active in politics and society. Many of these organizations were actually planned here, at CSC, like SDPI [Social Development Policy Institute, ed.] and Aurat Foundation [women's rights organization, ed.]. They were all linked to Dr. Charles and he helped them to give them a vision."[13]

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[13] Interview INT_CSC06.

Considering the many actors and organizations that Asmi refers to I wish to make two remarks to explain the quote above. First, the mention of "leftists" and organizations like SDPI and the Aurat Foundation indicates that social engagement, social action and identity assertion, is not an exclusively Christian matter in Pakistan. Organizations and groups from a variety of ideological and religious backgrounds are involved and, as the quote shows, sometimes collaborate within civil society. This implies that CSC was not isolated in its social engagement in the context of Islamization. Many other, secular and Islamic, actors and organizations employed similar responses to Zia-ul-Haq's politics.

Second, the reference to "Zia's regime" and to "Dr. Charles [Amjad-Ali, ed.]," CSC director between 1985 and 1995, in the quote above illustrates the background of the organization's social turn. On the one hand, political engagement and social action seems to have taken shape at CSC in response to the process of Islamization under Zia-ul-Haq. On the other hand, CSC's social turn also went alongside an orientation towards aspects of Asian liberation theology within CSC under the directorship of Charles Amjad-Ali. Below I will further elaborate upon the role of Islamization and of Asian liberation theology in CSC's social turn.

Countering Islamization

The first signs of CSC's social turn become evident in articles published in *Al-Mushir* in the late 1970s. During this time an increasing number of publications show engagement with social, political and legal, as opposed to theological issues. The reason for these articles is clear, as CSC itself explains in *Al-Mushir's* "Editorial" of Autumn 1978: "Over a year ago it was announced that the Government would introduce the Shari'a or Islamic Law in Pakistan. Therefore we decided to deal with the Shari'a in the lectures that the Christian Study Centre has been delivering" (CSC 1978: 3). In the previous years, several articles had already been dedicated to Sharia and Islamic Socialism, but the social and political focus of

Al-Mushir publications continued after 1978.[14] In 1979 and 1980, for example, an article by Geijbels consisting of two parts entitled "Pakistan, Islamisation and the Christian Minority" was published. The first part of this article claims that, with Zia-ul-Haq's implementation of martial law in 1977, the second stage of Islamization had commenced. Geijbels argues that the Islamic system introduced in this second stage rests on the claim that "Islam is 'a complete code of life', that it provides man with a blueprint of the entire requirements for all spheres of life" (Geijbels 1979: 43), and explains how this materializes in Pakistan's social, economic, legal and political sphere. In the second part of this article, published in 1980, Geijbels highlights potential challenges of Islamization for freedom of religion in addition to an appeal to the "Christian community" of how to deal with this context. As long as Christians in Pakistan attempt to build relations with Muslims "[t]hey will realize that all citizens of Pakistan, whether Muslim or Christian, are called to fight for elimination of poverty, injustice, ignorance and prejudice" (Geijbels 1980: 116).

Even though Geijbels argues that Islamization in Pakistan already started at independence, with his distinction of two stages of Islamization he suggests a radical change in the process commenced during the second stage when Zia imposed martial law. The difference between the first and the second stage, I would argue, is constituted by the effect of Islamization on the country's non-Muslims, for Geijbels especially the "Christian community." As the discussion of Pakistan's Islamization above has demonstrated, non-Muslims were especially affected by Zia's implementation of a separate electorate, the Hudood Ordinances, and amendments to the blasphemy laws. CSC's emerging focus on social and political issues should thus be understood against the background of this increased effect of Islamization for Christians. That this effect is the organization's main concern is also illustrated by its emphasis on issues like the Hudood Ordinances and the blasphemy laws. Many of these issues are discussed in a new feature of *Al-Mushir* called "News from the Country," in which CSC intended "to review regularly important developments in

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[14] The terms "Islamic socialism" and "Islamization," besides being discussed by authors in *Al-Mushir*, were also employed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq themselves.

the Muslim and Christian community" (Kraan & Mintjes 1980: 36). A "News from the Country" article from 1982 discusses the sanctity of the Quran and the hadith, as a background to the newly adopted ordinances against defilement of either, what is now often called "the blasphemy laws" (Mintjes 1982: 153). In 1985, "News from the Country" addresses the tension between the Hudood Ordinances and The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and specifically mentions a recent case where Pakistan's laws against adultery were applied to a Christian couple (Tebbe 1985: 118).

The above shows that CSC's response to Islamization does not just change its focus from theological to social and political, but also affects its discourse and vocabulary about Pakistani Christians. Primarily the use of the terms "community," "minority" and "citizenship" to refer to Christians in the country become increasingly more common during the 1980s. [15] One "News from the Christian Community" article from 1987, for example, details a seminar held at CSC called "Minorities in Islam and Pakistan" (Amjad-Ali 1987: 31). [16] The article narrates that at this seminar the social contributions and citizenship of Pakistani Christians were emphasized, despite their minority status. In another instance, Christine Amjad-Ali draws a comparison between the church of the book of *Hebrews* and Christians in Pakistan to argue that like the Hebrew church "[t]he Christian community in Pakistan is a vulnerable minority community" (Amjad-Ali 1994: 9). For CSC, minority status is thus conditioned by numerical relations, but also by power relations and oppression. Interestingly, this article also argues that, despite its minority status, the "Christian community" should resist alienation and practice social and political engagement.

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[15] While in the 1970s the term "community" was often equated with "church," the term "Christian community" emerged alongside "church" and adopted a distinct social and political meaning.

[16] "News from the Christian Community" is an adaptation of the aforementioned feature "News from the Country," which was initially divided in a section for the "Christian community" and the "Muslim community."

Liberation theology at CSC

Much like the social turn as a response to Islamization is apparent in *Al-Mushir* articles, the emergence of aspects of Asian liberation theology can also be seen in CSC's publications. Between 1985 and 1990 *Al-Mushir* features the following articles that demonstrate engagement with themes of liberation theology: "Religious Dimension of Social Change" (1986), "Justice and Peace: A Dialectical Necessity for Asia" (1987), "Liberation Theology and Marxism" (1988), "The Option for the Poor in the Old Testament" (1988), "Development Debate: A Prerequisite for Theology in the Third World" (1989), "Religious Demand for Justice" (1990), "Aloysius Pieris and the Asian Style of Doing Theology" (1990).[17]

This last title demonstrates that the staff at CSC was aware of the developments in Asian theology and its increased interest in liberation theology. In this article, Chrys McVey, board member of CSC at the time, discusses Pieris' *An Asian Theology of Liberation*.[18] Besides demonstrating awareness of Pieris' theology, this article also indicates that McVey considers this theology to be relevant and applicable in the Pakistani context, as much of the article explores how this theology should be applied in Pakistan. One of the main challenges of Pieris' theology in the context of Pakistan, McVey argues, is to align "the imagery and the theological language" with Pakistani Christians' experiences of reality (McVey 1990: 104). This means that theologians must discover where poverty and religious

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[17] This is not an exhaustive list, many more titles from *Al-Mushir* in this period indicate acquaintance with, and support of liberation theology.

[18] It must be noted that the influence of liberation theology in Pakistan also manifested outside of CSC. In 1989, for example, Catholic Father Emmanuel Assi founded Maktaba-e-Anaveem, a place "to provide voice to the voiceless laity and dignity to the degraded faithful of the church in Pakistan" (Maktaba-e-Anaveem 2017). Additionally, Fr. Assi published several books demonstrating liberation theological leanings, such as *Gareebon Ka Muqadmma* ('Case of the Poor') and *666 Aur 777 – Mukashfa ka pas Manzar* ('666 and 777 – Background of the Apocalypse'). The latter received a review by Hamid Henry in *Al-Mushir* in 1989, in which he argues that the book "successfully attempted to relate the Jewish-Christian apocalyptic literature with the prevailing dehumanizing socio-political situations and struggles of the poor of the third world" (Henry 1989: 85). Similarly, in her book on the late bishop John Joseph, Linda Walbridge mentions that liberation theology was definitely among this bishop's sources of theological inspiration (Walbridge 2003: 106).

pluralism meet in the context of Pakistan. While McVey does not discuss the low-caste background of (many) Pakistani Christians in this respect, he does argue that the Pakistani churches must be immersed in the poverty of the people (McVey 1990:106). Furthermore, in relation to religious diversity he suggests that the local church becomes the "dialogical church." According to McVey, being dialogical is a matter of identity, because "we discover, by living among Muslims, who we are" (McVey 1990: 107).

This understanding of self-definition in relation to the religious other also surfaces in many of the other *Al-Mushir* articles listed above, many of which were authored by Charles Amjad-Ali. Amjad-Ali, referred to as an influential figure in Asmi's quote above, seems to have played a big part in the introduction of aspects of Asian liberation theology at CSC. A quote from an article from 1986 by Amjad-Ali illustrates this well.

> "Asia's unique multi-religious character, however, along with the common factor of poverty which it shared with all the countries from the South, demands that we seek a network of people who take their religious vocation seriously (…) by transcending these boundaries [confessional, ed.] in the struggle for justice, human self-determination, and liberation. It is the struggle for justice which is the common factor in Christ's preaching and the message which the Prophet brought in Mecca" (Amjad-Ali 1986: 153).

The resemblance between this quote and the characterization of Asian liberation theology as discussed earlier in this chapter, in which religious diversity, poverty and justice takes a central place, is evident. Amjad-Ali's concern for social issues like poverty, inequality and injustice is conjoined with an appreciation of the relevance of religious diversity. In line with, for example, Pieris, Amjad-Ali also argues that the Asian context is marked by experiences of poverty as well as experiences of the religious other, which together shape the framework for Pakistani Christian's social and political engagement. Moreover, both aspects, inequality and

religious diversity, are also believed to determine the nature of Pakistani Christianity, and as such are a means for developing contextual theology.

Naturally, the above discussion does not demonstrate an emerging tradition of Pakistani liberation theology. Yet, the parallels between the theological themes of many *Al-Mushir* publications from the mid 1980s until the 1990s and the important issues within Asian liberation theology are evident. During this period Asian liberation theology seems to have provided a source for theological reflection at CSC and, together with experiences of Islamization, formed the background of increasing political engagement and social action at the organization. Above all, many aspects of Asian liberation theology, such as poverty, inequality and religious diversity seem to have enabled CSC's communication of a Christian identity that is detached from Western Christianity and marked by the context of Pakistan. I will further explore this below.

Christian identity through dialogue and social action

As the above demonstrates, CSC's main focus in the 1970s was interreligious relations, especially between Muslims and Christians, and in the 1980s this focus also started including social and political engagement. It seems that in the course of the 1990s the organization attempted to integrate both issues. Interestingly, however, as the quote from Amjad-Ali as well as the emerging social discourse with terms like "community," "minority" and "citizenship" already indicates, this social and political engagement was employed at CSC as a means of self-definition in relation to Pakistani society and other religious identities. The organization increasingly defined itself, and at times even Pakistani Christianity, in relation to its local context. Below I will further explain these processes of self-definition, first, through a discussion of CSC's approach to interreligious dialogue and Christian theology in the 1990s, and second, through a discussion of the motivation of its social engagement.

Interreligious Pakistani Christianity

The public perception of CSC as a foreign or even Western organization was already commented on by an external observer in the 1980s. In his *Une Expérience de Dialogue: Les Centres d'Etude Chrétiens en Monde Musulman*, Jacques Levrat details several Christian study centers worldwide. He argues that, because NCCP and the churches did not have the material and personal resources to provide for CSC when they initiated it, they were required to request help from outside and turned to churches in the West. The foreign staff and Western connections, however, gave CSC what Levrat called a particularly "bi-national" character (Levrat 1987: 178).[19] Moreover, according to Levrat, these Western influences determined the intellectual direction of the organization and made CSC susceptible to Western, intellectual and orientalist approaches to religion and "the other" (Levrat 1987: 235) and to becoming a place where a select group of elite local Muslims can dialogue with foreign, Western Christians (Levrat 1987: 238). Interestingly, Levrat's study is reviewed in *Al-Mushir* by Jaap Kraan, a CSC staff member at the time of publication. Kraan argues that "CSC has been international from the beginning" and acknowledges that at the time of Levrat's visit there were only Pakistani and Dutch staff members (Kraan 1984: 176n56). At the same time, he objects that CSC no longer has a majority "expatriate staff" and will have a "Pakistani director" in 1986 (Kraan 1984: 176n57). This mention of a "Pakistani director," which seems to refer to the aforementioned Charles Amjad-Ali, indicates the importance of a local and contextual, as opposed to Western, character of CSC.

CSC's quest to develop a contextual Pakistani character and Pakistani theology is also illustrated by several articles in *Al-Mushir* and various activities employed by the organization in the 1990s. This is evident with titles like, "Towards a New Theology of Dialogue" (1993), "Spirituality in the Context of Pakistan" (1996), "The Church in Pakistan: Mission, Ministry and Vocation in the

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[19] Levrat lists a total staff of four Pakistanis, three Anglophones and two Dutch at CSC in 1985.

Context of Pakistan" (1995), "Being Christian among Muslims" (1999), as well as the book *Developing Christian Theology in the Context of Islam* (1996), which consists of the contributions and discussions of CSC's Silver Jubilee Seminar in 1993. While some of these contributions were authored by scholars from abroad, the seminar still mainly focused on the Pakistani experience of Christian-Muslim relations and aimed to "integrate our practice of dialogue into the very heart of our theology" (Amjad-Ali 1996: vi).

At this seminar one of the contributors, Amjad-Ali, argued that two problems constitute the Pakistani Christian struggle to develop a theology in the context of Islam: First is "the political and social legacy of western Christianity and its close association with the colonial and expanding western hegemony" (Amjad-Ali 1996: 5). As a product of the missionary enterprise, Christians in Pakistan have inherited a perception of Islam as a threat and an uncritical approach to Western colonialism. This history has left them "vulnerable to the critique of collusion" and ecclesiastically and theologically dependent, and thus incapable of developing a theology of dialogue (Amjad-Ali 1996: 5). Second, and related, is the "problem of overcoming the theological and epistemological legacy of western Christianity" (Amjad-Ali 1996: 5). Amjad-Ali argues that the epistemology of Western theology is rooted in its debates with Enlightenment and emerged from a homogenous religious environment. In an *Al-Mushir* article from 1991 he had already explained that this Enlightenment legacy implies a transcendent ego that aims to convince "the other to accept their transcendence and give up the 'prejudice' of location and biography" (Amjad-Ali 1991: 59). What is needed in the context of Pakistan is an approach to Christian theology that begins with the religious other and takes their worldview and epistemology as a starting point (Amjad-Ali 1991: 63).[20] Similar to above-discussed Asian liberation theology, Amjad-Ali's position is decidedly postcolonial and makes the experience of religious diversity and the religious other

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[20] Although Amjad-Ali does not explicitly refer to other Asian theologians in these *Al-Mushir* publications, his understanding of contextualization as an interreligious effort resembles Pieris' concept of "enreligionization" as opposed to "inculturation" (Pieris 1988, 52).

an integral part of a Pakistani theology and Christianity. Dialogue with this religious other is a necessary means for Christianity to become Pakistani.

Social engagement as Pakistani

Besides these efforts to construct Pakistani Christianity, CSC's emerging social and political engagement can be seen as another way in which the organization attempts to emphasize its Pakistani identity. Especially its use of the term "identity" in relation to nationhood and "nation building" illustrate this effort well.

In his "A Survey of Theological Developments in Pakistan," aforementioned McVey suggests that Christians in the country are involved in a struggle for identity, which primarily takes place in politics and public life. It is therefore "a struggle for identity, not as a Christian, a member of a minority group, but for identity as a Pakistani citizen" (McVey 1995: 22). Besides the process of Christian self-definition in relation to Islam, as demonstrated by the discussion of McVey and Amjad-Ali above, the term "identity" at CSC in the 1990s was thus simultaneously employed as a means to emphasize Pakistani belonging and sameness. This is even better illustrated by the Final Statement of a seminar, titled "Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Struggle for Identity," held at CSC in 1996. The exclusively "non-Muslim participants" of this seminar came together at CSC "to focus on our identity as Pakistanis and study the role that we can play in Pakistan" (CSC 1996: 103). Interestingly, this Statement acknowledges that their identity in the country is confused, in the sense that it is excluded from the mainstream, but they hold an intention to "play a positive role" (CSC 1996: 104). This "positive role" in nation building is illustrated by CSC's social engagement and employed to demonstrate "Pakistani identity." As the Statement argues: "We will try to prove through words and deeds that we are as loyal to this country as any other Pakistani" (CSC 1996: 106). CSC's definitions of Pakistani Christian identity thus emerge in response to the experiences of exclusion of minority citizenship on the basis of religion, and consist of processes of association with Pakistani nationhood and

Pakistani culture. This is illustrated by the claims of "full citizenship" and of being "sons and daughters of the mountains and rivers of Pakistan," as the seminar's Final Statement reads (CSC 1996: 105).[21]

Conclusion

The Christian Study Centre is an organization that emerged, at least to some extent, from a global ecumenical movement. This international connectivity has been a source for self-reflection among Pakistani Christians in general, and for CSC in particular. At the same time, however, the organization operated in a country that was increasingly Islamized. This local embedment gradually shaped CSC's understanding and implementation of Christian-Muslim relations. As the above has demonstrated, aspects of Islamization in Pakistan contested the social and political position of the religious other, including Christians, in the country. While social exclusion and alienation in relation to Pakistani nationhood form recurring themes in Pakistani Christian experiences, this study demonstrates that CSC gradually came to embrace strategies of identity talk that counter these processes.

During its first 30 years of existence, CSC has seen a number of shifts in focus. The shift from an emphasis on apologetics to dialogue for mutual understanding in the first decennium of CSC was, to a considerable degree, informed by (reflections on) the organization's international connections. The discussion in this chapter has demonstrated that especially activities within the WCC and contributions of CSC's Western missionary co-workers were important for this more conciliatory and cooperative approach to the religious other in the 1970s and 80s. This is all the more interesting, considering the concurrent emergence of critical evaluations of Pakistani Christianity and CSC's missionary origin in Western Christianity. Drawing on sources of Asian liberation theology, Amjad-Ali, among

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[21] These claims about Pakistani nationhood carry a *jus soli* definition of citizenship. While Pakistan may have adhered to such an approach to citizenship initially, by the time of publication of this seminar's Statement, the country had already, in response to post-partition migration, pragmatically adopted other definitions of citizenship (Chatterji 2012: 1055).

others, employs claims about the particularity of the Pakistani context as consisting of poverty and religious diversity. Such claims enabled CSC to disassociate Pakistani Christianity from the West and from European Christianity. This distancing from Western theology can also be read vice versa as an effort to associate Pakistani Christianity with the social, cultural and religious aspects of Pakistani society. The "other," in relation to whom Pakistani Christian identity is to be construed thus moves from Western Christianity and theology to the Pakistani context, highlighting perceived archetypical aspects thereof, such as poverty, religious diversity and Islam. Especially the latter is interesting in this respect, because CSC employs claims of difference as well as sameness in relation to Islam. As Pakistani Christian identity is, in CSC's understanding, to be discovered and defined in relation to Islam, taking the latter's epistemology as a vantage point, commonality will be more pronounced than in the case of European Christianity.

A similar dynamic of identity talk through association as well as disassociation emerges from CSC's response to Islamization. Adopting terms like "Christian community" and "minority" indicate a distinction along religious lines from other groups in society. This is also demonstrated by claims of the particularity of Pakistani Christian experiences, in which "vulnerability" and social and political exclusion are stressed. At the same time, however, this disassociation goes alongside association with Pakistani society as its citizens, or even "sons and daughters." Moreover, according to the argumentation in *Al-Mushir*, the social engagement and efforts of nation building illustrate CSC's and Pakistani Christian's commitment to the country. While these expressions of association certainly constitute claims of national belonging, the talk of Pakistani Christian distinction also illustrates an attempt to create space for difference within this nationhood.

The use of the term "identity" at CSC in the 1990s expresses this duality well. Identity refers to religious difference and to national sameness simultaneously. Both types of claims seem to imply a redefinition of both national identity and religious identity. For CSC, Christian identity seems to require expunging Western and European elements and influence, as well as antagonism towards Islam, while

the organization simultaneously attempts to introduce an element of religious diversity and space for difference into Pakistani nationhood.

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CHAPTER FOUR

"Religion Teaches Peace and Harmony." Navigating Expressions of Religiosity in Interreligious Dialogue in Pakistan

Introduction

During an interview in January 2016 with Rubina, a staff member of the Christian Study Centre (CSC) in Rawalpindi, I was told a story about events that had occurred at CSC in the wake of the so-called "Youhanabad incident."[1] Youhanabad is a neighborhood in Lahore commonly thought to largely, or even exclusively, comprise of Christian residents. In the spring of 2015 two suicide attacks on two churches, one Catholic and one Church of Pakistan, killed at least 15 people. Some hours after these events, a large number of people believed to be Christians from Youhanabad took to the streets in and around the neighborhood, damaging public property and killing two people (Gabol, Haider, Riaz, Akbar & Haider 2015). In the quote below Rubina narrates how these events impacted some of the interfaith dialogue efforts of CSC.[2]

> "When that incident took place they [Muslim participants in the interfaith dialogue program, ed.] called me and they sympathized with me. Which is great, I appreciate that very much. They said, 'It is very bad.' So then when they saw the lynching of two Muslims they became annoyed and angry, and the Christians of those areas [where the program took place, ed.] did not show sympathy with them in return. So the attitude of the local Christians hurt them, they said, 'When we sympathized with them, we sat with them in

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[1] A version of this chapter is currently under review with a peer-reviewed journal as: Grit, K, '"Religion Teaches Peace and Harmony." Navigating Expressions of Religiosity in Interreligious Dialogue in Pakistan.'
[2] For the purpose of privacy, I have anonymized all names of CSC's staff and of participants in CSC's interfaith dialogue activities.

rallies. Why did the Christians not come to us? Why did they not show their affection?' The Father and the Catholic priest of the area were unaware of what was happening; they did not know what was happening in their area. Also, they [Muslim participants, ed.] were annoyed that we did not fully condemn what happened with the lynching. But there is a reason for that, because we did not yet know what was true about the lynching. So to give any statement would be wrong, I couldn't make a statement without complete knowledge.[3] So, why could I not speak? I was in a dilemma."[4]

In response to the "Youhanabad incident," CSC did make a statement "in which we condemned all the violence and killings of that day." [5] This statement was much appreciated by the many partner organizations that are involved in CSC's different interfaith dialogue programs.[6] Still, the above quote serves to illustrate the various aspects at play in CSC's interfaith dialogue programs. It shows that the wider social and political context of interfaith encounters, the position and role of CSC as the initiating and facilitating organization, and the expectations of the different participants in the encounter together constitute the setting in which interfaith dialogue takes place. The aim of this chapter is to understand how CSC perceives the above-mentioned aspects that constitute the conditions for its dialogue programs and how the organization aims to promote "interfaith harmony" within these dynamics. To do so I will explore how CSC navigates various verbal expressions of religion and religious identities, including its own, in light of its aim of interfaith harmony. This will demonstrate how the organization employs various strategies to amplify communication of religion it considers conducive to Christian-Muslim

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[3] It should be noted that these reflections are the personal experience and opinion of the interlocutor and do not, in any way, represent CSC's policy in this particular situation.
[4] Interview INT_CSC03.
[5] Interview INT_CSC03.
[6] In the end, CSC's senior management and external organizations of different religious affiliation thoroughly investigated the program referred to in the above quote. After this investigation and careful consideration it was decided to close this particular project location.

relations, while de-emphasizing or correcting views and communication that may jeopardize interfaith relations.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. First I will further reflect on the quote above, by way of introduction of CSC. This section consists of the various aspects that emerge from the quote: the precariousness of interfaith relations in Pakistan, the diversity of participants in CSC's dialogue programs, CSC's position as a Christian organization, and the organization's approach to interfaith dialogue. In the second section I will highlight CSC's perceptions of the Pakistani context, of its position therein as an organization affiliated with a religious minority, and how these perceptions relate to its approach to interfaith dialogue. In the third section I will map out the diversity of organizations and actors involved in CSC's dialogue programs. Here I will illustrate how this diversity generates many different, sometimes opposing, attitudes, expectations and views on how religious identity can be expressed in interfaith dialogue. In the fourth section I will discuss the strategies employed by CSC to navigate these different attitudes and expectations of communication of religious identities in dialogue. These strategies will demonstrate how the organization balances communication of its Christian identity, as well as monitors other's expressions of religious identity and difference, all in light of interfaith harmony. The fifth and final section of this chapter provides a conclusion and potential avenues for further research.

Aiming for harmony in precarious relations

In order to better understand the context in which CSC operates I will further discuss the various aspects that emerge in the quote above. This discussion serves to better understand how CSC is situated and will clarify some of the decisions I made in my approach of this study.

Precarious interfaith relations

First, the quote shows the fragility of relations between religious communities in Pakistan. Of course this is demonstrated by the fact that, on the day of the "Youhanabad incident," both Christians and Muslims were confronted with targeted violence because of their religion. Violence between religious communities, or even different groups within one religious community, is not uncommon in Pakistan. Leaving aside the question whether this violence is "faith-based," in many cases, including the "Youhanabad incident," it is clear that the religious affiliation of the victims is relevant (Syed 2016: 7). Edwina Pio and Jawad Syed, in their chapter on "persecution of Christians in Pakistan," provide some background to this violence as well as presenting an extensive list of violence towards Christians since 1993 (Pio & Syed 2016: 197). In the context of this study, more important than the actual violent events of the "Youhanabad incident," however, are the implications thereof for interfaith relations of people that were not immediately involved in the incident, like CSC and its participants in Faisalabad. As will be further discussed later on in this chapter, many Christians, and possibly also Muslims, experience anxiety or even fear and perceive a threat of violence in relation to the religious other.

Second, the quote above demonstrates that the various participants in CSC's interfaith dialogue programs entertain diverging, sometimes even opposing, expectations of how Christians and Muslims are to express their identities, perceive the religious other and relate to one another. While the Muslim participants expected the Christian participants and CSC to express their condemnation of the violence against Muslims after the suicide bombings in Youhanabad, the Christian participants, at least initially, did not share this understanding of their relationship. Besides the diverging expectations of Muslims and Christians in CSC's network, demonstrated above, some participants (often from NGOs) also expect the organization to de-emphasize religion altogether. Since these participants consider

religious identities and divides part of the problem, they argue for a stronger "human rights perspective."[7]

Third, while CSC, simply by virtue of its name is recognizable as a Christian organization, the quote above demonstrates that in its interfaith programs CSC also takes on the role of facilitator, or even mediator between Christians and Muslims who reside in a certain location. The organization's Christian affiliation is already evidenced by its ecumenical inception in 1967 through the West Pakistan Christian Council.[8] In addition, it is shown by the religious affiliation of its current board and staff, which almost exclusively consist of Christians, of whom many are clergy (CSC 2017). Nevertheless, as the quote indicates, CSC's role in interfaith relations is not to represent its religious affiliation, but rather to mediate between Christians and Muslims. One of the main aims of the organization, as explained on its website, is "[t]o encourage Christian-Muslim dialogue and to encourage mutual understanding and peaceful co-existence" (CSC 2017). In order to achieve this aim, CSC employs a variety of activities, which are often part of "programs," in which both Christian and Muslim Pakistanis participate. The names of these programs contain terms such as "interfaith harmony," "peacebuilding," "peaceful co-existence," and "minority rights" (CSC 2014: 1). In this chapter I will focus on CSC's programs that are considered to be part of interfaith dialogue, or interfaith harmony efforts.

Because of this emphasis on CSC's interfaith dialogue efforts, it is important to stipulate what constitutes the notion of dialogue for the organization and thus in this chapter. While some scholars of religion consider everyday encounters between people from different religious traditions interreligious encounters, in this study only CSC's *organized dialogue programs* in which people are to participate as religious actors qualify as such (Cornille 2013: xii; Moyaert 2013: 202). In line with David Vishanoff, I argue that religious identities are activated in certain settings, in the sense that they become salient (Vishanoff 2013:

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[7] Interview INT_CSC02.
[8] The West Pakistan Christian Council is an ecumenical body, now called National Council of Churches in Pakistan.

350). This is what occurs in CSC's dialogue programs. The organization and setting's emphasis on participants' religious identities in interfaith dialogue is what makes religion salient in the encounter. Moreover, although I do acknowledge that these encounters occasionally may also include interfaith humanitarian or advocacy cooperation, for the purpose of this study, interfaith dialogue only refers to *verbal interactions* between individuals. At CSC, virtually every interfaith dialogue program also includes organized and structured conversations on human rights, peacebuilding and other social issues. These interactions can take place in various settings, including houses of worship, and may even involve religious practices, such as prayer and scripture reading, as is common at the start of a dialogue program at CSC. Furthermore, while I am familiar with the different meanings that "religion" and "faith" can convey, the reality is that both interreligious and interfaith dialogue are employed rather uncritically by CSC itself and by the participants of dialogue at CSC. In line with what Oddbjørn Leirvik has argued, I have observed that while faith is often used to refer to personal motivation or religiosity, at CSC it is also common to talk about "faith communities," as institutionalized religion (Leirvik 2014: 3).

Interfaith harmony and interfaith friends

More important than the use of the terms "religion" and "faith" is the distinction between "dialogue" and "harmony" (or the lack thereof) at CSC. At first glance the terms "interfaith dialogue" and "interfaith harmony" are employed interchangeable at CSC with the latter emerging more pronounced in the last two decades.[9] Since approximately 2010, "interfaith harmony" also seems to have become a common term in Pakistan's national political domain. Following the merger of the federal Ministry of National Harmony with the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2013, the

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[9] This is evident from various publications of CSC's journal, *Al-Mushir*, as well as from program documents and the organization's annual reports. Its '37th Annual Report,' for example, mentions a program initiated in 1998, called "Weaving Communities of Hope: Interfaith Harmony Among Grassroots Communities" (CSC 2004: 7).

latter is now called "Ministry of Religious Affairs and Inter-faith Harmony, although it still seems mostly concerned with matters of *Hajj* and *Umrah* and with madrassa education in Pakistan (Dawn 2013). At CSC, however, the notion "interfaith harmony" primarily emerged in response to perceived increasingly precarious interfaith relations, and as a result of restricted opportunities for dialogue out of fear for blasphemy accusations.

I will further explain this context of precarious relations and fear of blasphemy below; first I wish to argue that CSC's use of "harmony" also indicates the desired direction or aim of its interfaith programs. CSC conducts its interfaith programs for "peaceful co-existence" and "mutual understanding," as its website and various publications illustrate. Moreover, many of CSC's staff members have expressed their or the organization's "belief in interfaith harmony." One of those staff members, Salam, referred to this "belief" in order to differentiate CSC's approach from other actors involved in interfaith dialogue. He argued:

> "Yes. Many of the Christians working in interfaith do not believe in it. (…) They do not believe in the cause of interfaith harmony, they think it is useless. They only believe in evangelism. Evangelism is converting and interfaith harmony is co-existence. Many people do not believe in co-existence, they either have the attitude, we need to evangelize and convert them or they think no matter what we do it will not make any difference."[10]

For CSC, "belief in interfaith harmony" is thus not a prerequisite of interfaith dialogue, but a key objective of the encounter between Muslims and Christians. This aim will prove important for this study, because to a large extent, it determines CSC's efforts to navigate communication of religious identity in interfaith dialogue. In order to reach this objective of interfaith harmony, communication of participant's religiosity that may contradict this aim, such as concepts of evangelism

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[10] Interview INT_CSC04.

and conversion described above, need to be navigated by CSC as the facilitator of the dialogue encounter.

Interestingly, this approach to interfaith dialogue with harmony as its aim resembles understandings of dialogue as a means, or even type of peacebuilding. Sociologist Anna Halafoff, for example, argues that the interfaith movement, in its focus on peace, has "long sought to transform exclusive attitudes into more pluralist perspectives and to provide detailed methodologies for the peaceful resolution of conflict influenced by theological and philosophical principles derived from their faith traditions" (Halafoff 2013: 268). Ayse Kadayifci-Orellana, similarly, argues that interfaith dialogue has the potential to contribute to peacebuilding because, through its appreciation of religious identities, religious texts and "the numinous world of strongly experienced religious emotion (…) [r]eligious understandings become the lens through which parties recognize the irreducible dignity of all human beings" (Kadayifci-Orellana 2013: 154). A similar approach to dialogue could be observed at CSC. One long-time participant at CSC, Rashid, argued, "the fruit of interfaith harmony is always social harmony." Moreover, in his understanding interfaith harmony is informed by faith, "it is a way to let people know your faith, your understanding for the betterment of the human race."[11]

It would certainly be a mistake to interpret CSC's engagement with Christian-Muslim relations as part of the "contemporary global governance of religious diversity" that Elizabeth Hurd (2015: 22) identified and analyzed, especially since the organization emerged from the ecumenical movement in the 1960s. Still, the examples of interfaith dialogue in service of peace and harmony above illustrate what Hurd described as "the dynamics of good religion-bad religion" (Hurd 2015: 22). This is a dynamic through which certain types of religiosity are centralized and legitimized, while others are excluded and reformed, based on criteria of common good, tolerance, harmony and peace (Hurd 2015: 34). Even though the diversity of participants and perspectives involved in dialogue at CSC does not suggest strong processes of exclusion, CSC's attempts to navigate

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[11] Interview INT_CSC19.

communication of religion in dialogue demonstrates centralization and legitimization of certain types of religiosity. Verbal expressions of religious identity that harmonize the Christian-Muslim encounter are embraced and promoted, while religiosity that jeopardizes harmony is filtered out, corrected and disavowed.

Another illustration of CSC's focus on interfaith harmony is offered by its use of the terms "friends" and "friendship" in communication about religious others. In formal and informal settings, staff of CSC would commonly refer to Islamic partner organizations and Muslim participants as "interfaith friends." In a meeting with CSC staff, in 2014, the function of interreligious friendship for interfaith harmony was already mentioned. Interfaith harmony was explained as the challenge of being a "good Muslim" or "good Christian" while at the same time being friends with people from other faith communities. [12] Similarly, during interviews, the importance of friendship for interfaith dialogue and interfaith harmony would often be emphasized. As Kashif argued in an interview, "Unless you become friends with people and people get to know you better you cannot talk about dogmas and beliefs."[13] A similar sentiment was expressed in other interviews and many of CSC staff would mention the organizations' "Muslim friends" and "Hindu friends." [14]

In light of this focus on interfaith harmony and interfaith friendship the communication about religion in interfaith dialogue has to be carefully monitored and navigated. The quote about the "Youhanabad incident" above already gives a glimpse of how communication is navigated, when the staff member explains that CSC made a statement that "condemned all the violence and killings of that day." In this instance, the Christian identity of the organization had to be distanced, beyond any doubt, from the violence used by Christians in Lahore. For CSC these attempts to navigate religiosity seem to be integral to its approach to dialogue for harmony, but are also necessitated by the environment in which the organization operates. In order to better understand this dynamic between CSC and this environment, I will discuss the organization's perceptions of its social and political context below.

[12] Fieldwork report FWR_02.
[13] Interview INT_CSC01.
[14] Interviews INT_CSC03; INT_CSC04; INT_CSC07.

Christian Study Centre in context

To adequately discuss CSC's understanding of its political and social context, it is important to point out that the above-mentioned "Youhanabad incident" is not isolated. For many Pakistani Christians, the incident is part of a history of experiences of exclusion, insecurity and even violence emerging from society. Since CSC, as an organization for Christian-Muslim dialogue, aims to contribute to "peaceful co-existence," this context is crucial for its vocation. Below I will therefore first discuss CSC's perception of its relation to Pakistani society, followed by its experiences of challenges emerging from this context.

Appreciation of contextual adaptation

From the above-mentioned aims of CSC it is quite obvious that the organization aims to impact or even transform Pakistani society, or at least the relations between religious communities within it, towards peace and understanding. At the same time, however, this very context also exerts influence on CSC itself. The impact of Pakistani society is even something that the staff of the organization recognizes, as the quote from Pervez, a staff member, demonstrates.

> "Since 1967 [when the organization was established, ed.], in the early years, the dimension and direction was different, because of the context at that time. Back then there was a very different situation from now, so the approach was different. The Centre was mostly focused on intellectual dialogue and research. Then during the 80s a wave of Islamization occurred and the Centre had to adapt to that. They had to adapt to the context. The things that happened in the late 80s and mid 90s are different again from what happened in the 2000s. Especially after 9/11 everything changed. After 9/11 the Centre

played a positive role in conveying that it [the "war on terror," ed.] was not a war between Christianity and Islam."[15]

The connection between the organization's programs and its social and political context is thus assumed to be mutually constitutive, with CSC trying to change society through dialogue, but also adapting its programs according to the perceived need within this society. In fact, the quote above shows that CSC's adaptability to its immediate context is considered to be an asset of the organization because it proves its relevance. According to Pervez the organization's success is actually a result of this ability to "respond and adapt to its context."[16]

The quote above also indicates that this element of adaptability is integrated into CSC's self-understanding and its narrative of the organization's history. The changing context requires different approaches to dialogue from the organization, in order to maintain social relevance. An article in CSC's journal *Al-Mushir* by a former director of the organization, Dominic Moghal, also illustrates the fact that this adaptability is part of CSC's self-understanding. In this article on CSC's history, Moghal argues that the shifts in CSC's approach to dialogue were a result of a changing context. In short, while interfaith dialogue at CSC started as a meeting of minds, an encounter between scholars and religious leaders, the process of Islamization in the 1980s, also mentioned above, required CSC to include social and political issues and civil society actors in its dialogue programs. Moreover, Moghal argues, because of dialogue partners who "are not only suspicious but also very hostile" and perceive Christians "as agents of the West," CSC again had to change its approach to dialogue in the 1990s and adopt what Moghal calls "a dialogue of hearts" (Moghal 1998: 15).

Besides providing an image of how CSC understands its relation to wider society and its appreciation for adaptability and social relevance, the above quote and Moghal's *Al-Mushir* article also indicate some of the aspects of CSC's

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[15] Interview INT_CSC07.
[16] Interview INT_CSC07.

perception of society. Although CSC maintains an attitude of constructive commitment to Pakistan's society, experiences of Islamization, minority status, blasphemy laws, religious extremism, social and political exclusion, and even violence and insecurity also surface commonly in CSC's perception of society. Below I will further elaborate on these experiences and explore how they relate to CSC's understanding of its own vocation and activities.

Islamization and minority status

In CSC's understanding of its social and political context, the various above-mentioned experiences seem to be interrelated. Processes of Islamization emphasized CSC's and Christians' minority status, but also generated experiences of exclusion and confronted Pakistanis with a new reality of the amended blasphemy laws. These laws, together with general insecurity in the country, contributed to experiences of marginalization and violence among Christians, according to CSC.

Many Pakistani Christians claim experiences of social exclusion. According to one staff member of CSC, social exclusion of Christians primarily emerged during the late 1990s and consisted of an understanding of Christianity as alien to Pakistan. In response, CSC attempted to show "that Christianity is not a foreign religion and Christians are indigenous and are sons and daughters of this soil and they do not have any hidden, foreign or Western agenda."[17] After 2001, with the emerging so-called "war on terror," this feeling of alienation among Christians was aggravated. The aforementioned Rubina understood this process as follows:

"When America or some foreign country does things, because they think these are Christian, only because of being Christian they are related to us. (…) They just think about one relation, only the religious relation. Their nationality, their identity, their living, their social values, their economic situation, all these things are different from us, but these differences do not

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[17] Interview INT_CSC01.

matter."[18]

While the quote already indicates that Rubina claims Pakistani belonging, emphasizing difference with American Christians, it also demonstrates the experiences of social exclusion and the perceptions of Christians as different in wider Pakistani society. Besides exclusion or alienation, however, Rubina also points out that Pakistani Christians are sometimes confronted with aggression or violence based on this presumed association to "the West."

Exclusion and violence, together with the blasphemy laws, have generated experiences of fear among Pakistani Christians. As one of the measures of Islamization, Zia-ul-Haq implemented various amendments to the blasphemy laws, through which "defamation" of the Quran and Muhammad was criminalized. According to Pakistani theologian Qaiser Julius, the number of blasphemy cases increased drastically during the succeeding decennia, from eight cases between 1947 and 1980 to 1,246 cases between 1981 and 2012, of which over 10 percent involved Christians (Julius 2016: 99). I already indicated that these laws affected CSC's approach to dialogue previously. One staff member, Asmi, explained how these changes around blasphemy restricted the organization's interfaith dialogue programs.

> "You know what happened after the blasphemy law was amended in the 80s, the theological interfaith discussion nearly stopped. (…) People [Christians as well as Muslims, ed.] stopped discussing these things out of fear of blasphemy charges."[19]

This fear is further aggravated with the rise of self-identified Islamic movements in Pakistan that use violence. Violent incidents with Christian casualties in Shanti Nagar, Gojra, Joseph Colony and Youhanabad are all part of a Pakistani Christian

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[18] Interview INT_CSC03.
[19] Interview INT_CSC02.

memory of violence, including that of the staff of CSC.[20] Violence, insecurity and precariousness of interreligious relations however, are not exclusively Christian experiences and perceptions. Saba, participant of dialogue and staff member of an Islamic partner organization of CSC also referred to the "very difficult atmosphere" in which CSC is working. In her understanding, the main difficulty consists of extremism: "we have had a lot of extremist incidents in the last year. But I think, even in this atmosphere, CSC is doing very good work."[21]

Against this background of Islamization, exclusion and insecurity, the "minoritization" of CSC's self-understanding emerged, as is outlined in the previous chapter. Minority discourse and a self-identification as a religious minority emerged alongside processes of Islamization in the 1980s. Still, 30 years later, many factors contribute to the continuation of this minority status. As Asmi, a staff member of CSC, commented: "Yes the context is harsh in many ways so that feeling, that minority feeling has emerged."[22]

For Pakistani Christians, the social and political environment thus contributes to experiences of minority status, at the same time however, "minority" as a social category has been gradually adopted by Pakistani Christians. In a recent contribution on minorities in Europe and India, Jyotirmaya Tripathy and Sudarsan Padhmanabhan focus on "the processes through which minorities perform as minorities – their discursive formation, narrativization, and representation" (Tripathy & Padhmanabhan 2014: xi). In the context of Pakistan, this emphasis on "minority" as something that is discursively formed by actors from the minority group may not do justice to the situation of non-Muslims in the country. Many scholars on Pakistan have commented on how the rule of the above-mentioned Zia-ul-Haq increasingly introduced aspects of Islam in Pakistan's legislation and politics, among which a separate electorate for religious minorities, is likely to have contributed to experiences of minority status (Esposito 1998: 175; Lau 2006: 117; Murphy 2013: 84). Certainly, Pakistani Christians have adopted and appropriated

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[20] Interviews INT_CSC02; INT_CSC03; INT_CSC05; INT_CSC06.
[21] Interview INT_CSC15.
[22] Interview INT_CSC06a.

the category of religious minority, especially in response to imposed social classifications of "dhimmi" and of being alien to Pakistani society. Still, the categorization of a "religious minority" was initially, and still is to a large extent imposed on Pakistani Christians. John O'Brien, for example, explains how the official Census of Pakistan in 1961 replaced caste designations by religious categories, making "Christian" the official categorization of groups of people (O'Brien 2012: 12). Moreover, the fact that affiliation to this minority status carries social, political and legal implications, as indicated by the examples of Islamization, shows that it is not just a discursive reality.

A more suitable tool to study CSC as a minority organization is offered by sociologist Mitch Berbrier. He approaches the categorical status of minority as a space or social location, one that is more desirable than deviant space (Berbrier 2002: 556). Berbrier distinguishes roughly between two types of claims in relation to deviant and minority space: distance claims and contiguity claims. The function of the first is disidentification, emphasizing inconsistency and dissociation with other perceived deviant individuals, groups or spaces, while the second reversely serves to identify, claim consistency and associate with the position of other established minority groups (Berbrier 2002: 560). To be sure, Berbrier's emphasis on "cultural cartography" is not necessarily a relevant metaphor for this study's methodology and, I would emphasize, the desirability of "minority space" is certainly relative to deviant space. Still, his distinction between "distance claims" and "contiguity claims" in the formation and appropriation of minority space show considerable resemblance to the forms of identity talk discussed in chapter one, and are suitable tools to study CSC's strategies in navigating communication of religion and religious identity. The distinction between "minority space" and "deviant space," moreover, could be seen as running parallel to Hurd's "good religion-bad religion" dichotomy.[23] For CSC, claiming distance from deviance could be a way to

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[23] Hurd seems to understand the formation of religious minorities to be processes of global politics, among others (Hurd 2015: 47), and like Berbrier argues "minority" is a desirable category in some settings (Hurd 2015: 62). She does not, however, link this formation to dynamics of "good religion-bad religion."

distinguish itself from what its context considers "bad religion." Simultaneously claiming contiguity with the designated space for minorities is most likely a means to demonstrate belonging to "good" (i.e., socially acceptable) religion.

Minority space, social exclusion and fear of blasphemy accusations and violence are thus aspects of the Pakistani Christian experience that impact CSC's approach to dialogue. The boundaries of minority space, public perceptions of Christian alienness and increasing risk of blasphemy charges, at least partly, determine the direction of interfaith dialogue and the communication of Christian identity that CSC perceives appropriate in the context of Pakistan. Besides these experiences of the larger social and political context that shape the dialogue, CSC is also faced with diverging expectations within its direct network of organizations and actors that cooperate and participate in its interfaith dialogue programs. Below I will further explore these expectations and provide a first impression of the perceptions and responses they elicit at CSC.

Diversity in dialogue

Before I discuss the diversity of organizations and people that participate in CSC's programs and the variety of religious attitudes they bring to the encounter, as well as their diverging expectations of CSC and of interfaith dialogue, it is important to mention some other characteristics in which these actors differ from each other. First, different actors have different roles in the interfaith encounter. Some organizations and people are involved as participants in the programs, while others are so-called "resource persons," meaning that they contribute to the program, usually in the shape of a lecture or supervision. Again, others are considered implementing partners, and, as such, are being trained to implement the dialogue activities themselves. Since these implementing partners are crucial to CSC's work, as they carry out CSC programs in different locations, CSC dedicates much effort to training implementing partners.

These different roles also indicate varying degrees of involvement. Resource persons, for example, are usually more familiar with CSC and are given roles with a certain authority by the organization, while other actors can be involved in the programs incidentally or even only once. Second, besides the differences in religious affiliation, the participating actors also differ in terms of purpose or mission. Some of the organizations are educational institutes or universities, others are human rights organizations or NGOs, and other participants are part of political parties or religious organizations, such as churches or mosques. It is therefore important to note that the diverging expectations of these different actors are informed by a combination of their role in the dialogue, the nature of their organization and their different religious affiliations.

Below I will try to illustrate some of the diverging expectations of dialogue and of CSC among the participants at the organization. One could argue that each individual participant brings her or his own expectations to the interfaith dialogue program and in that sense categorizations along religious lines should be avoided. The discussion of the expectations of an "orthodox Muslim," an "evangelical Christian," and a religiously unaffiliated participant below, therefore, is not intended to represent a typology and is only employed to illustrate the diverging expectations CSC encounters.

Between "orthodox," secularists and evangelicals

While CSC's main vocation is Christian-Muslim dialogue and relations, the organization has also demonstrated it is attentive to intra-religious differences. In the past, for example, CSC has facilitated encounters between Deobandi and Barelvi organizations and actors in Pakistan. Moreover, CSC maintains relations with a wide spectrum of Islamic organizations, ranging from actors of the Deobandi *Wafaq ul Madaris Al-Arabia* to the Barelvi organization *Minhaj ul Quran*, and to various Sufi organizations and actors. In addition, CSC also maintains a relationship with the Dawah Academy of the International Islamic University, an educational institution

established primarily by political actors with support from Saudi Arabia, which is commonly believed to constitute a more Salafi-inclined mission (Malik 1998: 40).

Usman, a CSC resource person, although at present not affiliated with the International Islamic University, told me that he got his Master's degree in Islamic Law from there. At this university, Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, referred to by Usman as "the teacher of Osama bin Laden," was one of Usman's professors.[24] Coming from a self-proclaimed, "very orthodox religious family," Usman would never have thought that he would engage in interfaith dialogue, especially not at a Christian organization.[25]

> "Yes, because the word is 'Christian.' Even for myself, before I got to know the organization, I felt reluctant to become associated with CSC. I found myself thinking, 'O these Christians, they would try to Christianize me if I go there. Whatever they are doing, their aim is to Christianize people.'"[26]

Even though Usman has become an important "resource person" at CSC, whose religious expertise is often consulted, he still believes the organization would be better off with less overt "Christian" expressions. Some (potential) Muslim participants approach dialogue with caution and suspicion, or at least retain fear of Christianization efforts, and CSC is expected to de-emphasize its Christian affiliation in the interfaith encounter.

Interestingly, CSC is confronted with similar expectations from participants with a very different background, being those who are part of organizations that are religiously unaffiliated, such as the South Asia Partnership Pakistan and Institute of Development Research and Corresponding Capabilities. With their main mission revolving around issues of human rights, peacebuilding and democratization, these organizations also comment on CSC's Christian identity, as Pervez of CSC explained.

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[24] Interview INT_CSC12.
[25] Interview INT_CSC12a.
[26] Interview INT_CSC12a.

"Other people raise some questions, like, 'It is the Christian Study Centre. Why Christian? You are doing an excellent job. You are working for a better Pakistan. You are working for equal opportunities for everyone. Why this name? Maybe you can change it to something more secular, more general.' They say that. They think that would be better."[27]

Without wanting to suggest that these non-religiously affiliated organizations are "secular," in whatever sense of the term, the above quote does reflect the tension between religious and non-religious actors in Pakistan's civil society, as discussed by Pakistani economist, Muhammad Iqbal. He argues that there is competition and even conflict between religious organizations and the "modern development-oriented organizations," which often receive funding from abroad (Iqbal 2006: 3). Many of these non-affiliated organizations differ from CSC in the sense that they have very moderate expectations of interfaith dialogue, and prefer de-emphasizing religious identities to the advantage of commonalities in human rights and citizenship.

Besides obviously differing from the Muslim participants in their expectations of religious identity in interfaith dialogue, these non-religious organizations also differ regarding the expectations held by "evangelical Christians."[28] Attitudes of evangelical Christians towards religious others have been studied before, predominantly in Western societies. Two examples of such studies, by Khari Brown and Ronald Brown and by Stephen Merino, claim that the faith and theology of evangelical Christians actually matter for relations between Christians and Muslims. Beliefs often associated with evangelicalism, such as theological exclusivism, an emphasis on truth or competition between religions were shown to be associated with more negative views of religious diversity and rejection of religious pluralism (Merino 2010: 241; Brown & Brown 2011: 328). This is also

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[27] Interview INT_CSC07.
[28] Evangelical churches and organizations are often called "parachurches" or "parachurch organizations" in Pakistan and distinguished from "mainline churches."

reflected in the approach to dialogue by Emmanuel, a CSC resource person who is affiliated with a self-identified "evangelical" theological school.

> "So, I do interfaith because I think this is a good opportunity to share a biblical point of view to Muslims. It is a good opportunity, but I do not think this is enough and I do not think that this is an alternative for evangelism. (…) Whether CSC says in its newsletter or publications what its objectives are or not, I have my own objective, it is very clear."[29]

For Emmanuel, one such opportunity was offered when two Muslim participants were interested in hearing about the divine and human nature of Jesus in Christian theology, during lunch at a CSC dialogue session. Many other evangelical Christians in Pakistan voiced a perception of CSC as a "liberal" organization; this is particularly illustrated by assumptions of losing one's religion, or of blurring religious boundaries (often referred to as "mixing religion") in interfaith dialogue.

While the above-mentioned orthodox Muslim and non-affiliated participants thus expect CSC to tone down its Christian identity, be it because of different motivations (i.e., in order to de-emphasize CSC's Christian identity or to be more neutral and secular, respectively), evangelicals expect the organization to express its religious identity more explicitly, or at least allow Christian participants to do so. CSC, however, being facilitator and initiator as well as participant in the dialogue, advances its own understanding of dialogue and attempts to navigate identity talk in its programs. The discussion of these navigation efforts, below, will demonstrate some of the strategies that constitute the organization's response to its perceptions of the context and of the expectations among the actors in its network.

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[29] Interview INT_CSC14.

Navigating religious identities in dialogue

The background of CSC's experiences of the social and political context of Pakistan and of the diversity of expectations of the participants in its interfaith efforts, underscore the significance of CSC's aim of "peaceful co-existence" and its use of the term "interfaith harmony." Harmony, like co-existence, indicates the goal of interfaith dialogue. Although CSC sets the parameters for participation in dialogue as wide as possible and, as such, does not exclude actors from dialogue, as the discussion about participants' backgrounds and expectations demonstrated, the organization simultaneously aims to move the dialogue and the relations between Christians and Muslims towards harmony and co-existence.

While active exclusion might not be a part of CSC's approach to dialogue, its emphasis on interfaith harmony does result in processes of self-selection. Self-selection can be a result of perceptions of CSC as being a liberal organization, or an organization that tries to "mix" Christianity and Islam, and of interfaith dialogue as a threat to Christian faith.[30] To provide an example: when I introduced myself at a conference on evangelism in Pakistan as "a research student at CSC," many of the other participants expressed their aversion to the organization and said, "Isn't that a very liberal organization."[31] This indicates that they would not want to be associated with the organization, let alone participate in CSC's programs. Another reason for Pakistani Christians to shun interfaith dialogue is a different understanding of its (theological) urgency and of the relationship between Islam and Christianity. As the above-quoted Emmanuel explained:

"Some evangelicals think, 'We have to reach out to other people, Muslims and Hindus, and preach the gospel.' For them this is all they have to do. So

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[30] Interviews INT_CSC03; INT_CSC04; INT_CSC05.
[31] Fieldwork report FWR_09.

they think, 'If we invite them and ask them to tell about their religion, why would we listen to that?' They do not believe in it."[32]

Here, again the notion of "belief in dialogue" is used. This respondent does not specify what this belief implies, like Salam did, in the sense that dialogue is not linked to co-existence or harmony. The quote, especially the question "why should we listen to that," however, does demonstrate that many evangelicals in Pakistan may not acknowledge the urgency and necessity of dialogue to the same extent as CSC does.

Of course, self-selection is not an active strategy of CSC to navigate the communication of religious identity in dialogue; it seems to simply be a result of its approach to dialogue as a means for harmony. Below I will discuss "channeling," "disavowal" and "embracing" as more active interventions to navigate religion in dialogue.

Channeling communication of religious difference

One of the ways in which CSC navigates the communication of Christian and Islamic identities in the interfaith encounters, is through a process that I call "channeling." In this process, dialogue is structured in such a way that a certain degree of control can be exercised over the communication that can enter into the dialogue, and the moment these expressions can become part of the dialogue. The following two aspects constitute this process of channeling.

The first way in which CSC channels the communication of religiosity in its interfaith dialogue programs, is by introducing two stages in the dialogical encounter. Through the two stages, an intrafaith dialogue about the religious other precedes the actual interfaith encounter. In the interfaith dialogue, co-religionists discuss their views of the religious other and the facilitator can assess, and where necessary challenge, certain interreligious attitudes. This is not necessarily a

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[32] Interview INT_CSC14.

common structure of dialogue at CSC and the staff of the organization explained that this method was used in the field (i.e., in less controlled and less familiar settings). The quote below describes this two-staged structure of dialogue well:

"For example, Syed [a resource person, ed.] has been a long-standing friend; he has a long-standing relation with CSC. (…) So he has a very moderate approach, he likes us. He is fully aware of the teachings in both books [Bible and Quran, ed.] and he understands that people are motivated by both of them. And whenever Muslims create a problem, he is easily able to teach them which verse speaks on this issue. Here I want to give an example. I am going to hold a dialogue session in Faisalabad next week in which I have divided the Christians and Muslims in separate groups and in these groups they will sit with a scholar of their own religion and they will share their concepts and the misunderstandings they have. The wrong teachings they have learned about the other religion and the various interpretations they have heard about them. So they will sit with their scholar and learn what the actual meaning of those verses about other religions in Quran or the Bible are. After that they sit together [Christians and Muslims, ed.] and listen to each other's interpretations and what they learned. So that is what we are doing. Then, when you talk about the commonalities between the religions, they will agree."[33]

Asmi, from CSC, explained that this structure allowed Muslims and Christians "to say whatever they needed to" before they would actually engage in dialogue with one another.[34] This, as well as the above mention of "misunderstandings" and "wrong teachings" about the religious other, shows that certain expressions of Christianity and Islam are considered inappropriate for interfaith encounter and therefore have to be identified and addressed in intrafaith settings. Before dialogue

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[33] Interview INT_CSC03.
[34] Interview INT_CSC02.

with the religious other, an attempt is made to "correct" these "misconceptions" by "a scholar of their own religion." This scholar employs the authoritative texts and traditions of the respective religion to legitimize a more cordial understanding of the religious other. This is also how Rashid, the aforementioned participant of interfaith dialogue at CSC, understands interfaith harmony. "One of the most important elements of interfaith harmony is to change your behavior to people of other faiths," he explained in an interview.[35]

Again, it is important to mention here that CSC does not employ this two-stage approach to interfaith dialogue in every context. This is also shown by the above quote, which highlights that this approach is used in Faisalabad, but not at CSC's compound in Rawalpindi. The difference between the context of the organization's compound and "the field," which is what the areas in which CSC works are often referred to, consists of the degree of predictability and safety. In, for CSC, less controlled and less predictable contexts, such as the area of Faisalabad, the organization seems to prefer the two-stage approach to dialogue in order to manage the existing views and attitudes of the participants in an intrafaith session before the actual interfaith dialogue.[36] This approach, besides constituting a means to encourage harmonious interfaith expressions, is often said to be informed by concerns about the potential threat of blasphemy allegations. Many of CSC's staff argues that since the increased risk of blasphemy accusations, the talk about Christianity and Islam and their relationship have to be monitored closer.

The second way in which communication of religious identity is channeled in interfaith dialogue at CSC is constituted by the role of the above-mentioned "scholars" linked to the organization. CSC selects these scholars, its "resource people," and, as the quote above demonstrates, this does not happen at random. The (moderate) religiosity of the resource person can be an important aspect of his or her suitability to function as an authoritative and corrective voice for potentially

[35] Interview INT_CSC19a.
[36] It should be noted that, while on this particular occasion the two-staged approach was employed early on in the program, the intrafaith stage is not necessarily at the start of the program. It can also take place in the middle or further towards the end of the program.

undesirable expressions of their own religion or about the religious other among participants. While CSC thus leaves room for diverging understandings of religious others, the people who take the stage are generally expected to express notions of Christianity and Islam that facilitate interfaith harmony.

No compulsion in religion

While the above shows that CSC attempts to prevent certain ways of talking about religious identities, and especially the religious other, from entering the interfaith dialogue, it also actively disavows certain religious attitudes, especially those that are perceived to impose (aspects of) one religious tradition on both Christian and Muslim participants. Because of CSC's Christian affiliation, its attempts to disavow impositions of religion differ in relation to Islam and Christianity. For the latter it primarily takes the shape of disavowing conceptualizations of the religious self as actors of evangelism and the religious other as objects of conversion. The above-mentioned process of self-selection has already shown that such understandings of religion do not agree with the attitudes that CSC considers vital for interfaith dialogue and harmony, nevertheless CSC is at times still required to distance its dialogue programs from Christian evangelistic expressions and efforts.

Since, as a "Christian organization," CSC's relation to Islam is different from its relation to Christianity, the organization does not disavow aspects of the former in the same way. As an outsider to Pakistani Muslim communities, CSC might consider its position inappropriate for criticism of conversionist expressions of Islam. I did encounter conversionist attitudes among Muslim participants as well, for example, with Shahid, a teacher at an educational institution linked to CSC, who said: "As a Muslim I will try to convince you of Islam, and you might try to convince me of your religion, but we do not want to use force."[37] While *da'wah* is thus not foreign to Muslim participants at CSC and may, at times, even have been a motive for involvement in the interfaith encounter, CSC would not disavow it in the

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[37] Interview INT_CSC16a.

same terms as Christian evangelism. The organization certainly disavows certain communications of Muslim identities or Islam. Religious extremism and violence is categorically condemned, also in relation to Islam, as the discussion of the "Youhanabad incident" earlier demonstrated. More specifically with regard to Islam, however, CSC disavows religious imposition indirectly through a preference for non-political expressions of Islam. This takes place through an emphasis on Sufism and religiously inclusive citizenship.

First, in many of CSC's programs Sufism is emphasized as a religious resource for humanism, harmony and peace.[38] In interviews, but also in many of CSC's publications, Sufism is portrayed as the principal Islamic tradition in relation to interfaith harmony and peaceful co-existence. This interpretation of Sufism as an inspiration for interfaith peace and harmony can certainly be seen as a religious legitimization of CSC's approach to interfaith dialogue. As the aforementioned Halafoff and Kadayifci-Orellana have argued, theology can be employed to foster peaceful attitudes. It seems to me, however, that this emphasis on Sufism is at the same time a disavowal of Islamic traditions that are perceived to be less aligned with interfaith dialogue. It shows a preference, or in Hurd's words the "legitimization," of Sufism *vis-à-vis* other Islamic traditions.[39]

Second, imposition of religion is disavowed through a critical attitude towards certain forms of political Islam. In this respect especially the above-discussed processes of Islamization, among which the blasphemy laws, are considered incongruous religious-political attitudes in the context of interfaith dialogue and therefore rejected. The laws are considered a deterrent to interfaith dialogue because they generate inequality and fear among the participants.[40] In many of CSC's interfaith programs, Muslim participants are encouraged to perceive

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[38] Interviews INT_CSC09; INT_CSC03.
[39] The place of Sufism at CSC may have changed over the years. In the past Sufism seems to have been stressed more. Currently it is mostly part of the project called "Composite Heritage," in which some partner organizations use aspects of the tradition to bridge certain social divides.
[40] Interview INT_CSC02.

non-Muslim Pakistani's as equal citizens and to reject Islamic positions that may infringe on this citizenship.

As such, this disavowal of political Islam, like CSC's emphasis on Sufism, also contains a positive endorsement of certain communication of religion in relation to politics and society. "Pakistan is a pluralistic society," is a claim commonly heard in interviews with CSC's staff and read in its publications.[41] CSC thus emphasizes the religious diversity of society and also aims to see this reflected in the country's national imagination. Zeeshan, for example, told me that he once explained interfaith harmony to participants as a tool to learn how "we can be Pakistanis together."[42] The aforementioned Pervez similarly shared the story of a Muslim participant who approached the dialogue program with exclusivist conceptions of the religious other. At the end of the dialogue, however, this participant said that Hindus and Christians "are just as Pakistani as I am and just as religious as I am."[43] These expressions of sameness on the level of nationhood, citizenship, national identity and religious identity enable the organization to indirectly disavow religious attitudes that advocate for unequal social and political treatment of different religious groups.

In relation to Christian attempts to impose Christianity on Muslims in interfaith dialogue, I have encountered various stories at CSC of when, how and why evangelism is disavowed. Interestingly, what many of these stories have in common is that evangelism is generally rejected in response to suspicions of evangelism (under the guise of interfaith dialogue) from Muslims participants in dialogue. Moreover, in many of these narratives evangelism is associated with conversion. Evangelism, conversion and Christianization are interrelated in many participants' understandings, as demonstrated in various quotes above, making the question of its place in relation to interfaith dialogue and harmony even more sensitive. The story below, for example, shows how a participant visiting CSC for a

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[41] Interviews INT_CSC01; INT_CSC04.
[42] Interview INT_CSC05.
[43] Interview INT_CSC07.

dialogue program that ran for several days had been warned about evangelism by her family.

> "Well, she came from an area that is not very well developed, you could say. It is mostly rural. There have been different incidents between Christians and Muslims in this area and in general they thought that the Christian Study Centre would try to convert her and try to convince that their religion is superior to hers. (…) So when she told this about her family [during the evaluation of the dialogue session, ed.], I shared that communities often criticize us that we use this platform of Christian Study Centre for the conversion of people and I said, 'Yes, we are in the business of conversion, but not religious conversion. We want to convert people's attitudes towards people of other faiths.'"[44]

Much like most stories of interactions about evangelism and conversion in CSC's dialogue programs, CSC's staff member Pervez explains here that the organization does not want "religious conversion." Other staff has explained to me that they do not "preach Christianity," "evangelize" or "prepare people for baptism."[45] The quote above, however, does not just disavow religious conversion, but also positively advances CSC's vocation. The quote alludes to CSC's aim to transform people's attitudes towards the religious other in order to advance interfaith harmony and, as such, centralizes that aim in the interfaith encounter. By using the term "conversion" in relation to this transformation of interfaith attitudes, Pervez indicates the importance and impact of interfaith harmony.

While CSC thus disavows evangelism and conversion, and at times even distances itself from Christians with conversionist attitudes, the organization does not hide its Christian identity. Above I have shown that some Muslim and secular participants would prefer the organization to de-emphasize its religious identity,

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[44] Interview INT_CSC07.
[45] Interviews INT_CSC01a; INT_CSC03; INT_CSC08.

some Christian participants actually expect CSC to express this identity more vocally. Below I will discuss how CSC embraces its Christian identity in response thereof.

Embracing Christian identity in interfaith dialogue

The above discussion of "evangelical" expectations already demonstrated that among some Christians, perceptions of CSC as a liberal and syncretistic organization are prevalent. I often met such perceptions when introducing myself as a "research student of CSC." It should therefore come as no surprise that the staff of the organization also experiences these perceptions in their interactions with other Christians.

These perceptions seem to be couched in a more general understanding of CSC as an organization that is not "Christian" enough. Many staff members of CSC, for example, would share stories about Christians who argue, "this is a Christian organization, you must only work for Christians," and question CSC's ties with Islamic organizations and actors.[46] This proposed change in CSC's vocation, from interreligious programs to an exclusive focus on co-religionists, would imply a more pronounced Christian identity and prevent any possibility of "mixing the faiths" or compromising Christianity on behalf of Islam.[47] Perceptions of CSC as liberal and not strong enough in expressing its Christian identity are thus related to the organization's interfaith orientation and some Christians' understanding of what that means. In contrast with these perceptions, CSC presents itself as a conservative organization and emphasizes its religious identity, but also defines interfaith dialogue as a process of religious growth. In one interview, for example, a staff member shared about a dialogue session in which various views on the matter of salvation were discussed and argued that "salvation and life after death is still very

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[46] Interview INT_CSC03.
[47] Interview INT_CSC03.

narrowly interpreted," only to conclude that "in my opinion we are very conservative."[48]

In addition to this emphasis on the Christian identity of the organization, various staff members of CSC would also express the value of interfaith dialogue for personal spiritual growth. This interpretation of interfaith dialogue constitutes a response to some Christian perceptions of liberalism, as illustrated by Rubina, who said: "We are not losing our faith in any way. I can actually say that this work has strengthened my faith."[49] Understanding Islam and dialogue with Muslims require intensification of and a "choice" for personal Christian faith, this staff member argued. Asmi, using the term "spirituality," similarly argued that one has to explore one's own faith, or spirituality, when engaged in interfaith dialogue encounters.

"It is very important to explore your spirituality and faith in relation to your humanity. What it really says about this. I think, the deeper you go into your spirituality, the more humane you become."[50]

The term "humanity" in the above refers to the commonality between Christians and Muslims in Pakistan, the human state that transcends religious differences. These staff members thus argue that an intensified Christian spirituality or faith is not incompatible with interfaith harmony, or even fraternity, but rather they actually understand the two as simultaneous and correlated processes. It is important to note here that this commonality between Christians and Muslims does not erode Christian distinctiveness. While CSC generally exhibits a conciliatory approach to Sufism, as explained in the previous part, the above staff member also shared about a dialogue meeting in which someone tried to "mix up" Christian spirituality and Sufism, only to qualify it as "dangerous" and "unjust" to both traditions, and thereby emphasizing that Christianity and Islam are distinct traditions whose distinctiveness should remain.

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[48] Interview INT_CSC02.
[49] Interview INT_CSC03.
[50] Interview INT_CSC03.

In the face of perceptions of CSC as a liberal organization and interfaith harmony as a threat to Christian faith, CSC embraces and emphasizes its religious identity and defines interfaith dialogue as compatible with, and even inherent to, "strong" or intensified Christian faith. These expressions of its identity allow CSC to maintain its Christian distinctiveness and to reconcile its interfaith vocation with its Christian affiliation.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored how CSC, as an initiator and facilitator and simultaneously a religiously affiliated participant of interfaith dialogue, negotiates communication of religion in its organized interfaith dialogue programs. The above discussion has demonstrated that CSC understands itself as an organization that is socially relevant, rooted in the Pakistani context, and adaptable. In CSC's perception, Pakistan's social and political configurations should have a bearing on its vocation and approach to interfaith encounters. As a result, increased experiences of alienation and conflict between religious communities have directed the organization to interfaith harmony and peacebuilding as aims of its dialogue programs. In order for dialogue to serve this aim of harmony, CSC is required to navigate the expressions of religious identity that participants bring to the encounter. These navigation efforts are even more urgent considering the diversity of participants in CSC's dialogue programs, with diverging or even opposing perspectives. I have identified the following strategies the organization employs to navigate expressions of religiosity.

In less controlled and less predictable settings, CSC can attempt to channel the religious communication of participants in dialogue. By introducing two stages in the dialogue process, first intrafaith, followed by interfaith, inappropriate communication of religious identity and difference can be filtered out and if necessary reformed. Views of the religious other, qualified by CSC as "misunderstandings," "misconceptions" or "wrong teachings," are identified and

addressed through this strategy. Moreover, co-religionists in the intrafaith dialogue, who are selected from CSC's "resource people," "correct" these views using the authoritative texts of the respective tradition. This way the expressions of each religion that eventually enter into the interfaith dialogue are channeled and, to a large extent, in agreement with CSC's aims of "understanding" and "peaceful co-existence," facilitating an encounter and experience of interfaith harmony.

Despite these channeling efforts, issues that might jeopardize this harmony, such as attempts by both Christians and Muslims to impose one's religion on others, can still enter into the dialogue. Because of CSC's Christian affiliation, however, its response to Christians trying to impose their religion is different from its response to Muslim participants. In relation to Christians, CSC has to disavow expressions of evangelism and conversionist attitudes. It categorically rejects any impression that the organization entertains evangelistic intentions, by both Muslims and Christians, while centering its actual aim of interfaith harmony. At the same time, as a Christian organization, CSC seems to consider its position inadequate to similarly reject Islamic *da'wah*, even though some Muslim participants might hold evangelistic attitudes. Still, much like the incompatibility of evangelism and interfaith dialogue, CSC also understands politicized religious expressions to be inappropriate for its dialogue programs, and in response advances presumed non-political forms of Islam, such as Sufism. Moreover, conceptualizations of Pakistani identity as Islamic are actively criticized and adjusted through an emphasis on inclusive citizenship and the religious pluralism of the country.

The difficulty of balancing between the different religious views and communication CSC's encounters in its programs is well illustrated by perceptions among Christian participants of interfaith dialogue as theologically liberal and syncretistic. In response to these perceptions, CSC attempts to reconcile Christian faith and identity with the practice of interfaith dialogue. As a result, the organization is at times required to emphasize its Christian identity, or even its "orthodox" or non-liberal character, while at the same time maintaining its openness to the religious other. Christian-Muslim dialogue is presented as a process involving

spiritual growth and a deepening of faith, instead of being a threat to faith commitments. This emphasis on the compatibility of dialogue and faith justifies CSC's Christian identity and legitimizes its interest in interfaith dialogue and harmony. Interestingly, however, in these responses to liberalism, CSC also postulates implicit definitions of Christian faith in which matters of choice and experiential spirituality are centralized.

Navigation efforts like channeling views of the religious other and disavowal of evangelism can certainly be perceived as means to advance co-existence and interfaith harmony, and, as such, illustrate Hurd's dynamics of "good religion-bad religion" (Hurd 2015: 33). CSC's attitude towards evangelism and conversion, moreover, resembles Berbrier's understanding of distance claims, and could be seen as an illustration of claiming a socially acceptable "minority space" (Berbrier 2002: 560). While CSC's aims of co-existence and interfaith harmony are thus certainly intended to affect Pakistan's precarious interfaith reality, they can also be perceived as shaping the communication of Pakistani Christianity within the organization.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Contested Textbook Content: A Catholic Organization's Efforts for Textbook Reform in Pakistan

Introduction

"We need to take our position as a church-based organization into consideration. We do not highlight the issues that Jinnah focuses on and we cannot do it in the same way.[1] The hardcore sentences in their reports about religion and Islamization going on in the textbooks, we would not use such lines. The objectives are very similar between our organizations. We also network with each other quite often. They often involve us in their work for curriculum reform.[2] When we go to Islamabad, we always visit them and meet and talk about the issues."[3]

How does the National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP), as a church-based organization, operating in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and embedded in a network of predominantly secular actors, engage in a semipublic debate about educational content?[4] That is the question I wish to explore in this chapter.[5] The

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[1] "Jinnah" refers to The Jinnah Institute, an institute for "independent policy research and public advocacy in Pakistan" (Jinnah Institute 2011: 11). This institute is also involved in textbook reform efforts.

[2] Textbook reform and curriculum reform are often used interchangeably within NCJP. In this chapter, I only use "textbook reform" because that is what most of my data pertains to.

[3] Interview INT_ER02.

[4] "Church-based organization" is an alternative for the more common term "faith-based organization." Although NCJP would tick many of the boxes of a "faith-permeated organization" in Sider and Unruh's typology, I have opted for "church-based" (Sider & Unruh 2004: 112). Besides objections to the use of "faith" in relation to organizational identity, as voiced by Jeavons (2004: 141), this choice was also informed by NCJP's own use of "church-based" to refer to its confessional identity.

quote above is from Dua, a staff member of NCJP, a "non-profit and non-partisan human rights body established by the Pakistan Catholic Bishops' Conference" (NCJP 2011: back cover).[6] It indicates a strong awareness of the implications of the organization's church-based identity for what it can or cannot say or do. Many recent studies about Christianity in Pakistan have focused on the minority status of this Christian identity, situating it in an overwhelmingly Islamic or Muslim-majority context (Waardenburg 2003 437; Walbridge 2003: xi; Gabriel 2007: 49; Gunner 2011: 31). Göran Gunner, for example, argues that much like Christians in the Middle East, Pakistani Christian organizations emphasize national identity in terms of citizenship and national solidarity, however "in Pakistan there is an emphasis on being a religious minority," as opposed to the focus on national belonging among Christians in the Middle East (Gunner 2011: 32).

Based on such studies, one could thus expect that an organization like NCJP, which is involved in "advocacy … regarding human rights especially of the religious minorities," would also employ minority-rights discourse in public debates about textbook content (NCJP 2011: back cover). In this chapter, however, I will show that Pakistani Christians' use of a "minority discourse" and their focus on being a minority is dependent on the setting of interaction. For NCJP, with regard to its involvement in textbook reform, the setting mostly consists of its network. As we have seen in the quote above, NCJP is embedded in a network of organizations without religious affiliation. The mention of "Jinnah" in the quote does not refer Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the late leader of the All-India Muslim League and first Governor-General of Pakistan. It refers to the Jinnah Institute, "a think tank, advocacy group and public outreach institution independent of the government" (Jinnah Institute 2011). According to the quote from Dua, Jinnah is part of NCJP's network, but so are many other actors involved in textbook reform. I will refer to

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[5] An earlier version of this chapter is published as: Grit, K, (2017), 'Contested Content: A Catholic Organization's Efforts for Textbook Reform in Pakistan', in: *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 18(4), p. 409-430.
[6] For privacy reasons, names of people are anonymized in this paper.

this network as "the field of textbook reform." NCJP's involvement in textbook reform is approached as a part of its embedding in this field.

The efforts of the different actors in this field primarily consist of the publication of reports in which textbooks are analyzed and criticized. The focal point of these efforts is to change certain content of the textbooks used in primary and secondary schools in Pakistan.[7] In these reports, many different adjectives and labels are employed to discuss the textbooks. According to the quote, the abovementioned Jinnah Institute uses "hardcore sentences about religion and Islamization going on in the textbooks" in its reports. This understanding of textbooks as a vehicle for Islamization is just one interpretation. Other labels applied are "biased," "bigoted," "intolerant," "polemic," "misrepresenting other religions," and "prejudiced" (USCIRF 2016: 2). The variety of labels indicates that the actors differ in their interpretation, or frame, as to why the textbook content should be transformed. In this chapter, I will analyze NCJP's frames of the textbook content and thereby explore its involvement in textbook reform. As mentioned however, I will approach NCJP, and thus its frames, as embedded in the field of textbook reform. To understand how NCJP functions in this field, I will address the following question: how do the social relations and discursive aspects in the field of textbook reform shape NCJP's frames of the textbook content?

This question will be discussed in four parts. First, I will further elaborate the concepts of discursive fields and frames as analytical tools in this study. The textbook reform efforts of the various actors constitute a discursive field, while NCJP's interpretations of the textbooks are understood as frames. These concepts will serve to demonstrate how the field of textbook reform constrains and facilitates NCJP's frames. Next, I will situate this field of textbook reform in the larger process of textbook development in Pakistan. This will help to understand the scope of the

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[7] Textbook content in Pakistan is produced and published by the Textbook Boards of the respective provinces of Pakistan in collaboration with registered and authorised publishers. The Textbook Board is an autonomous party within the School Education Department of each provincial government. With the passing of the 18th Amendment in 2010, the Federal Ministry of Education transferred many of its powers to the provincial governments, including its involvement concerning the curriculum and textbooks.

field and the nature of the actors within it. In the third part I will further detail the field of textbook reform. I will introduce the various actors advocating for textbook reform, and address how I approached these actors methodologically. In this part I will also discuss the sources of data and the analysis employed in this study. Fourth, I will introduce the interpretive frames of the textbooks that surfaced from the research at NCJP. I argue that NCJP employs the following three frames of the textbook content: a national security frame, an educational quality frame, and a legal frame. I will explicate the relationship of these frames to those of other actors in the textbook reform field to show how this field affects NCJP's framing. In the last part of this chapter, I will discuss the implications of the findings at NCJP. This is to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between frames and discursive fields for religiously affiliated actors in public settings.

Discursively embedded frames

The concepts of discursive field and framing are the main tools of analysis in this study. In the first chapter I have discussed my understanding of framing, in this chapter I will further elaborate on this concept, primarily through recent publications in social movement scholarship. Below I will first discuss my approach to the concept of discursive fields.

Discursive fields

David Snow argues that the concept of discursive fields "can be thought of as 'embedding' concepts in that they reference broader enveloping contexts in which discussions, decisions, and actions take place" (Snow 2008: 7). That is how the concept will be employed in the current study. The field of textbook reform is the context in which NCJP's textbook reform efforts are embedded.

Snow develops his conceptualization of discursive fields in relation to Lyn Spillman and Marc Steinberg's definitions of the concept, respectively, who both

echo Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of "field" (Steinberg 1999: 748). As such, Spillman and Steinberg argue that discursive fields constrain as well as facilitate processes of interpretation and signification (Spillman 1995: 141; Steinberg 1999: 740).[8] The field consists of the categories of thinking and meaning, the limits of interpretation, and of "patterned social relations" between the various actors (Steinberg 1999: 749). These three aspects will be central to the analysis of NCJP's interpretations of textbooks. My expectation is thus, that NCJP's textbook reform efforts are facilitated and constrained by the field of textbook reform: through the discourse that is established and accepted in this field, through the established limits of the discussion around textbook reform and through the relations between NCJP and the other actors in the field of textbook reform.

Interestingly, Snow's discussion of discursive fields seems to reflect at least two emphases of Steinberg's understanding of the concept. First, like Steinberg, Snow argues against a conceptualization of discursive fields with fixed boundaries. Approaching the concept from a symbolic interactionist perspective, he suggests a more elastic understanding of discursive fields, in which interpretive constraint is a matter of degree. This opens up the possibility of a continuum of discursive fields ranging from "emergent fields to highly structured fields" (Snow 2008: 9). Second, in line with Steinberg, Snow emphasizes the abovementioned aspect of "patterned social relations," as one of main aspects of discursive fields. This is also a relevant aspect for this current paper because it adequately captures the particularity of NCJP's Catholic affiliation. The social relations in discursive fields focus the attention on the identity of the actors and their position in the field. Again, employing a symbolic interactionist approach, Snow advocates for a focus on the relationships and patterns of interaction between these actors in the field, which can range from unstable and evolving to an "ordered and legitimated system of relations among the various actors" (Snow 2008: 10). This understanding of discursive fields enables us to address questions about "the relative discursive influence of different

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[8] Steinberg uses the term "discursive repertoires" instead of "frames" to refer to process of interpretation.

actors" and whether some discourse is more dominant because of "the proponent's or articulator's 'standing'" (Snow 2008: 23).[9] This appreciation for the aspect of the actor's identity in relation to the discursive field corresponds to my focus on NCJP's involvement in the field of textbook reform. Focusing on NCJP's religious affiliation, as well as its own perception thereof, in relation to the field of textbook reform, should produce information about the effect of (perceptions of) identities on an actor's involvement in certain debates. This involvement of actors will be captured by the concept of "framing." Below I will discuss how this concept can be employed in relation to NCJP's engagement in textbook reform.

Frames as interpretations of the situation

The field of textbook reform thus consists of a variety of actors, including NCJP. In the above, I have already illustrated that these actors apply a variety of interpretations to the textbooks. To study these different interpretations, I will employ the concept of frames. This concept was first introduced as a tool to study social movements and other actors in civil society which analyzes the interpretive processes that these actors can employ to attribute meaning to peoples' grievances (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford 1986: 465). Snow built his definition of frames on Erving Goffman's conceptualization in *Frame Analysis* (1974) and emphasized the aspect of frames as interpretive schemata for experience (Snow et al. 1986: 464).[10] Frames are thus specific interpretations of a situation (Goffman 1974: 11). The verb "framing" refers to the formation and propagation of these interpretations. This is a process of signification, which means that through framing, movements attribute meaning and interpretation to events and circumstances (Snow

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[9] Snow refers to Myra Ferree (2002) with regard to "standing." Ferree understands standing as "a group being treated as an agent" (2002: 86).
[10] Snow is mostly concerned with frame alignment processes. Alignment is not immediately relevant for this current study. Another term that is frequently used in this context is "resonance." A frame has to resonate with interpretations of the potential supporters of the actor. This term is not used because the function of resonance is already included in the concept of discursive fields.

& Benford 1988: 198). In the case of this current study, the situation that is being framed by NCJP is the textbooks.

More recently, Snow explicitly distinguished between everyday interpretive frames and collective action frames. Collective action frames are not just interpretive structures that organize how a situation is experienced, but also evoke agency by "calling for action that problematizes and challenges existing authoritative views" (Snow 2004: 385). Interpretations that are frequently applied to textbooks in Pakistan, such as "distorted," "biased," and "hateful," indicate a problematization of the textbook content. This problematization constitutes one of the three components of frames introduced by Snow: the diagnosis. The other two components are prognostic and motivational (Snow & Benford 1988: 200; Snow 2004: 386). The diagnostic and prognostic components will prove particularly suitable analytical tools for the current study. In the diagnostic component, NCJP and other actors, aim to problematize the content of textbooks in Pakistan, thereby challenging those who intend to maintain a status quo. The prognostic component constitutes the proposed solutions for the problems and the suggested methods to improve the situation; this will also be shown to be an important component of NCJP's frames. The motivational component is less relevant in textbook reform. This component is mostly aimed at the mobilization of participants for the organization (Snow & Benford 1988: 201), while NCJP aims primarily to influence educational policies rather than to generate popular support.

In summation, in my analysis of NCJP's frames of the textbooks in relation to other actors in the field of textbook reform, I will employ the following concepts. First, frames with their diagnostic and prognostic components. Second, discursive fields and their facilitating and restricting factors: categories of thinking and discourse, limits of the discussion and social relations. Before I turn to the analysis of the case study, I will first further situate the field of textbook reform in the process of textbook development in Pakistan and detail the relevant actors to NCJP in the field of textbook reform.

The power of textbooks

As mentioned earlier, the various actors involved in the field of textbook reform employ and present a variety of frames to the content of these textbooks. The commonality between these frames however, is the central place occupied by the textbooks. This commonality indicates the perceived importance of textbook content for the society of Pakistan among the different actors. As the analysis of NCJP's frames will demonstrate below, textbooks are thought to exert influence and have power in society. The capacity of textbooks is also argued among scholars of education, especially as a function employed by the state. Christine Beresniova, for example suggests that textbook narratives should be perceived against the background of a Foucauldian power/knowledge relationship, in which power and knowledge mutually presuppose and reinforce each other (Beresniova 2014: 270). Textbook content is thus a result of the power and influence of certain actors in society and simultaneously legitimizes these power relations, while delegitimizing other power claims. According to others, like educationist Michael Apple, the knowledge included in textbooks is not simply a mirror reflection of the power relations in a society. Rather, the development of textbooks is a process of "intense conflicts, negotiations, and attempts at rebuilding hegemonic control by actually incorporating the knowledge and perspectives of the less powerful under the umbrella of the discourse of dominant groups" (Apple 1992: 8).

One of the levels of the process of textbook development thus consists of interaction and negotiation between various actors; it is at this level of negotiation that the field of textbook reform, and NCJP's efforts therein should be situated. This level of negotiation, and by implication the field of textbook reform, is connected to other stages in the development of textbooks. Agencies of the provincial government, like the Punjab Textbook Board, which carries responsibility for the development and approval of textbooks, will appear to be important authorities for

the actors in the field of education reform.[11] Even though this legal, state-mandated, level of textbook development is relevant for the field of textbook reform, a discussion of the process of textbook development at this level would be beyond the scope of this study and would require different sources of data. Moreover, as the current study attempts to focus on the implications of the religious distinctiveness of NCJP in the field of textbook reform, it may complicate this analysis to include actors that are legally different (i.e., state-mandated).

Many academic studies before this have actually explored the relationship between political actors, nation-building and textbook development in Pakistan. A common argument in these studies is that through Islamic content in non-religious studies textbooks in Pakistan a religious understanding of nationhood and citizenship is forged and Islam is further established as the central "political ideology" of the country (Jalal 1995: 86; Ahmad 2004: 39; Lall 2012: 274; Nelson 2008: 283). This study will demonstrate that similar arguments are advanced among the organizations in textbook reform, including NCJP. Still, based on the character of the authors, I differentiate the above studies from the reports by policy-oriented actors and organizations in the field of textbook reform. Again, the current study is concerned with civil society actors' engagement, especially that of NCJP as a Catholic organization, with these issues of textbook content and reform.

It is also interesting for this current study to mention that both Beresniova and Apple have argued that the "legitimate knowledge" contained in textbooks often neglects the perspectives and experiences of less powerful, or minority groups. With regard to historical narratives, Beresniova would even go as far as to claim that textbooks "rarely include all social groups" and "are exclusive and often categorize

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[11] In the last decade there have been various changes in Pakistan's education governance, two of which are relevant for this current study. First, with the aforementioned 18th amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan in 2010, the authority to develop curricula and textbooks was assigned to the provincial governments. Many of the actors in the field of textbook reform, including NCJP, thus address their efforts to provincial agencies. Second, in 2015, through the Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board Act, the Punjab Textbook Board and the Punjab Curriculum Authority were united in the Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board. Since this was some years after the reports of the various actors in the field of textbook reform were published, these reports still refer to the Punjab Textbook Board.

modes of belonging hierarchically" (Beresniova 2014: 271). As will be demonstrated in the analysis of NCJP's frames of the textbooks, various actors within the field of textbook reform, including NCJP, often advance this very same argument.

While this discussion demonstrates that a Foucauldian conception of the power/knowledge relationship can be instructive for an understanding of textbooks as ideologically invested, the current study also employs the aforementioned concept of interpretive frames, as developed by Goffman, and later Snow, to analyze NCJP's responses to these textbooks. It is therefore important to briefly clarify the relationship between the two. Echoing philosopher Ian Hacking, I would argue that the methodologies of Foucault and Goffman are complementary, in the sense that the former focused on the formation and history of structures and institutions, while the latter was more concerned with actors' interactions with these structures (Hacking 2004: 288). Thus, this current study understands textbooks as an aspect of the structure of the society of Pakistan and NCJP's frames about these textbooks as an attempt to interact with, or respond to these structures. Before I further analyze this interaction and discuss these frames however, I will first briefly introduce some of the actors engaged with textbook reform, the sources of data collected and the tools and process employed to analyze this data.

Study design

Two sources of data were analyzed for this study. First, the reports published by the various actors in the field of textbook reform. Most relevant for this study is a report from 2013 called "Education Vs. Fanatic Literacy." This was published by NCJP, and edited by Nabila Bhatti and Peter Jacob. This report primarily consists of a history of education and textbooks in Pakistan, the current situation and an analysis of textbook content in Sindh and the Punjab (Bhatti & Jacob 2013). In this report, NCJP refers to various other publications on the same issue by other actors in the field of textbook reform. The following sources feature most prominently in NCJP's

report and also serve as data for the current study: "Rewriting the History of Pakistan," by Pervez Hoodbhoy and Abdul Nayyar from 1985, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan*, by Khursheed Aziz from 1993, "A Subtle Subversion: A report on Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan," written for the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) and edited by Abdul Nayyar and Ahmad Salim in 2003, Rubina Saigol's "Enemies Within and Enemies Without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks" from 2005, and "Curriculum of Hate," written for the Centre for Research & Security Studies (CRSS) in 2008. These reports are generally intended to inform educationists, and government officials involved in education, about the actors' perception of the textbooks as containing objectionable content. These reports include an analysis of the textbooks in which their content is problematized, as well as recommendations to salvage the perceived problematic content. This corresponds to the aforementioned diagnostic and prognostic frame components. Because NCJP employs the terminology contained in these reports to develop its own frames of the textbooks, the reports largely constitute the discursive field of textbook reform. In line with how I defined discursive fields in the previous section of my analysis, this section will be focused on the reports' use of discourse, the limits of the discussion, and the social relations they convey.[12]

The second source of data consists of six semi-structured interviews with authors of these reports, and with current representatives of organizations involved in textbook reform. The main subjects discussed in these interviews are the history of the textbook reform efforts, the government and society's receptiveness to the

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[12] SDPI is a Pakistani non-profit organization founded in 1992 and aims to "catalyse the transition towards sustainable development, defined as the enhancement of peace, social justice and well-being" (SDPI 2016). CRSS is a Pakistani think-tank founded in 2007 that performs research and advocacy to contribute to "a democratic Pakistan where all inhabitants are acknowledged as equal citizens without any racial, ideological, ethnic, religious, or sectarian discrimination" (CRSS 2016). Pervez Hoodbhoy and Abdul Nayyar (both also contributed to the aforementioned SDPI report), as well as Khursheed Aziz are well-known academics at prestigious institutions in Pakistan and involved in political activism and advocacy against extremism and for liberalism and religious freedom (Notezai 2015). Rubina Saigol is a Pakistani educationist and has, as such, written various publications about education, nationalism, militarization, religious fundamentalism and other subjects.

reform advocacy, the challenges to reform, and differences and collaboration between the various actors involved.

The data was analyzed using a software tool for qualitative data analysis, called RQDA.[13] First I applied different "codes" to various parts of the data (for both the interviews and reports), subsequently I categorized the codes with "code-categories." While the codes mostly reflect the perceptions, language, motives, discourse and experiences contained within the data itself, the code-categories organize these codes into more generic groupings, which revealed three types of frames of textbook content at NCJP. The first is what I call "national security frame" of textbook content. This holds that the textbooks are dangerous because their "hateful content" generates extremism and violence. Second is the "educational quality frame" of textbooks. This frame argues that, because the historical content of textbooks is biased, it is of poor educational quality. Third is a "legal frame" of the textbooks, which presents the textbook content as wrong, in the sense of violating certain laws and rights, especially the Constitution of Pakistan. For each frame, I will demonstrate how NCJP articulates the frame in relation to existing discourse in the field of textbook reform.

Dangerous textbooks

The dominant frame of NCJP seems to be that the textbook content is a cause of extremism and violence and thus a threat to national security. This frame of NCJP is developed in relation with other actors in the field of textbook reform. The report from SDPI and the report from CRSS will show to be especially instructive in this section.

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[13] RQDA is open source computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software that is a part of the R platform.

Image 2: Front cover of NCJP report "Education Vs. Fanatic Literacy"

Diagnostic: Textbooks as "hate material"

The national security frame of textbook content is not just expressed in NCJP's discourse but also in the cover of its report. As can be seen in image two, the front cover is a drawing of the head of what could be a young boy, but instead of a cranium with hair, the top of his head is open and various weapons are sticking out. Moreover, the image depicts a sad expression and closed eyes on the young boy's

face. This could be interpreted to illustrate the student's suffering from the dangerous textbook content. The title and subtitle displayed on the cover page below also attest to this frame.

Terms such as fanaticism, militancy, animosity, violence, and terrorism are all employed in this frame, but the term that features most prominently is "hate." In fact, I argue that NCJP employs "hate" as an umbrella term for textbook content that it considers biased, historically distorted or intolerant. Additionally I will suggest that this application of "hate" enables NCJP to link debates around textbook reform with discourse about terrorism and national security. In this frame NCJP focuses on the effect of the "hate material" and argues that this material "is a major cause of growing religious intolerance/extremism" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 9).

It is noteworthy that only the study from Hoodbhoy and Nayyar from 1985 does not qualify the textbook content as "hate material" (or any of the other abovementioned terms); all the other studies refer to the textbook content as hateful (Aziz 1998: 193; Nayyar & Salim 2003: 19; Saigol 2005: 1033; CRSS 2008: 4). In the study from Aziz, SDPI and in Saigol's publication, hate content and the promotion of hate is argued to be especially pertinent in relation to Hindus and India. SDPI, for example, perceives the "hate material" in textbooks as a result of what it calls the "ideology of Pakistan" (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 11). Despite considerable conceptual confusion, the notion of the "ideology of Pakistan" is often taken to constitute the justification of the existence of Pakistan based on Islam.[14] SDPI argues "[t]hat the pathological hate against Hindus is only because of adopting the so-called Ideology of Pakistan is borne out by the fact that the pre-Ideology (before the 1970s) textbooks of Pakistan did not contain this hatred" (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 20).

The use of the term "hate" by other actors shows that the discourse employed in this frame of national security was already part of the field of textbook reform before NCJP's report. The initial meaning of the term, however, differed

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[14] There is no clear definition of the concept of "ideology of Pakistan." Some understand it to equate to the two-nation theory, others claim it is simply defined as "Islam" or "Islamic principles" (Bahadur 1998: 19; Hoodbhoy & Nayyar 1985: 2).

from the interpretation NCJP promotes; two significant differences come to the fore. First, both NCJP and CRSS employ a more pervasive application of "hate material" than Aziz, SDPI and Saigol. For NCJP and CRSS, the term is not merely linked to Hindus and the "ideology of Pakistan," but to textbook content about the history of partition, about contemporary (global) politics, about Islam, and about other religions. NCJP, for example, cites the following textbook passages, from three different subjects (Urdu, Social Studies, General Knowledge) as instances of hateful content: "Hindus got offended by the decision to create Pakistan, and tried hard to undermine the plan" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 14), "Christians martyred Imad uddin Zengi (R.A.) through a conspiracy" (2013: 17) and "Hindu [sic] worship idols in temples" (2013: 18). In the report of NCJP, as well as CRSS, "hate material" seems to have become an umbrella term for passages that are also framed as historical distortion and as "biased" or "intolerant."

Second, and related, there is another difference between the various actors' frames. The reports of NCJP and CRSS use the term "hate material" to forge a causal link between the textbook content on the one hand and terrorism, national security, and thus the survival of the country, on the other. CRSS, for example, prefaces its exploration of "hate material" with three tables proving a sharp increase in terrorist fatalities and sectarian killings between 2007 and 2008, to subsequently ask the question of why these killings occur. CRSS argues: "'Curriculum of Hate' is part of the answer" (CRSS 2008: 7). NCJP echoes these claims of CRSS and draws the conclusion that schools have produced "Pakistanis brimming with militancy, animosity and fanaticism" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 7). SDPI is the only other organization that also suggests that terrorism might be a result of the textbook content, but understands this primarily in relation to textbook content about Jihad in Islamiyat (Islamic Studies), as opposed to "hate content" in other subjects (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 79). Much of this content about jihad was already removed from the textbooks when CRSS and NCJP published their reports (Rumi 2015).

CRSS and NCJP's construction of a link between "hate material" and terrorism makes textbook reform an issue of national interest and national security.

This is also communicated by NCJP's assertion that "the current state of affairs depicting a declining education standard, commoditization of education and radicalization of society is result of a narrow understanding of rights and utilitarian approach towards education. Education must be understood as a means of building responsible citizenship" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 8). This sentence already illustrates the prognostic component of this frame, to which I will turn shortly. For now, I want to emphasize that the construction of a causality between the textbook content and violence and national insecurity through the term "hate material," communicates that this is an issue of national interest. An excerpt of an interview with Sarah, a staff member of NCJP, also demonstrates this.

> "Our purpose of making a content analysis ['Education Vs. Fanatic Literacy', ed.] is to show that this is the state of the books and if you want to curb intolerance in society, don't you think that one of the major factors is this hateful content?"[15]

The difference between these frames, of NCJP and CRSS on the one hand and the earlier reports on the other hand, can be understood as the result of a developing "war on terror" discourse in Pakistan. As Ali Qadir and Pertti Alasuutari have argued, between 2002 and 2010 the "war on terror" discourse in Pakistani media went through a process of domestication and nationalization. They identify six different ways in which domestication took place, among which the following: an increasing representation of Pakistanis as victims of terrorism, an increasing understanding of domestic events through a "war on terror" lens and an increasing emphasis on the economic, business and political implications of the "war in terror" for Pakistan (Qadir & Alasuutari 2013: 583). Between the publication of SDPI's report in 2003 and NCJP's report in 2013, this counter-extremism discourse had thus become a part of the national field for most media (Qadir & Alasuutari 2013: 587). Moreover, as Qadir and Alasuutari show, with terrorism increasingly being

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[15] Interview INT_ER01.

associated with domestic suffering and national security, the "war on terror" and related discourse (such as "hate material") carries an element of national interest. These processes enabled CRSS and NCJP to incorporate this discourse into the field of textbook reform.

Prognostic: National interest

As explained above, the diagnostic frame component is commonly accompanied by a prognostic component. In the prognostic component, NCJP suggests solutions to the problems it identified in the diagnostic component. As Snow and Benford argue, the diagnostic and prognostic often correspond (Snow & Benford 1988: 201). Interestingly, for the abovementioned actors, this means that both the similarities and differences in the diagnosis are reflected in the solutions as well.

The prognostic component consists of two elements in NCJP's frame. First, NCJP calls for the removal of the "hate material" it has identified. Second, NCJP puts forward citizenship education as a solution. This prognostic component corresponds and confirms the frame of textbook reform as a matter of national security and national interest.

In line with the aim of the report to influence policy, NCJP directs its call for a solution to "hate material" and the insecurity it generates towards the government.

> "Till March 2013 [month when the report was published, ed.] the powers at the helm have yet to realize that our survival as a nation at this point in time and respectable living in the days to come is largely dependent on our ability to remove all the motivations for hatred against anyone" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 4).

This quote builds on the definition of the problem of "hate material" for the national security and livability of Pakistan and proposes modification of this material as the

primary solution. Another illustration of this solution is NCJP's emphasis on a redefinition of education as a means of advancing responsible citizenship. In its recommendations, the organization argues, "the textbooks and teaching at schools should focus educating young minds on universal humanity, dignity of human beings and responsible citizenship" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 25). This prognostic component has little precedence in the field of textbook reform. It only echoes SDPI's proposed solution of "Peace education" (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 127). Peace education is intended as a tool for conflict resolution and aimed at generating more tolerance in society. The proposed curriculum would range from promoting students to "love and trust humanity" to education about "right [sic] and duties of citizens" (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 130). Apart from SDPI, NCJP seems hardly to refer to other actors in the prognostic component of the "hate material" frame. In fact, besides SDPI, none of the other reports mention citizenship education as a solution. I argue that this prognostic component of NCJP has to be understood against the backdrop of a contention NCJP claims to experience commonly. This contention is the allegation of promoting a "hidden," "Western," "anti-state" agenda. The excerpt below illustrates NCJP's experience of this contention well.

Dua: "In fact, this very situation happened with Dr. Dean, as well. She was a Christian lady from Karachi. She was a part of the curriculum committee of the new curriculum for the province [Sindh, ed.]. She was working on the changes we are demanding and Jinnah Institute is demanding. She was working on them, but a specific lobby of a religious political party."

Sarah: "They had a one and a half months smear campaign against her and then she had to flee the country."

Dua: "They made banners and billboards with her name saying she is a Western agent and that she is an infidel."

Sarah: "To the extent that they also said that her name is a Western name, Dean. But she is born and brought up in this country. She is truly a Pakistani. So that sort of things will be attracted if we give hardline criticism. For us to go in that direction would not be advisable."[16]

NCJP, as an organization affiliated to the same religion as Dr. Dean, feels inhibited in giving "hardline criticism" in its frame because, as a Christian organization, it is vulnerable to allegations of having a "hidden Western agenda." In order to circumvent such allegations, the textbook content is framed as a threat to national security. By framing the textbooks as "hate material" and thereby as a threat to national interest, NCJP seems to suggest that its call for reform of textbooks is in the interest of all Pakistanis. The solutions around citizenship education, promoted in the prognostic component, also express this concern for Pakistan's national interest. The link between textbooks, "hate material," and national security enables NCJP to position itself as an organization serving the public good. This demonstrates how the perception of NCJP about its own relation to the field of textbook reform, as a church-based organization, shapes its framing efforts. Perceptions of vulnerability to allegations of alienness (because of this Catholic identity) lead the NCJP to self-censor its frames and increase the salience of its service to national interests.

Biased textbooks

I have argued in the above frame that "hate material" is used as generic term for several problems with textbooks; the other frames therefore, have some overlap with the first. This especially holds for the educational quality frame of textbook content. This frame revolves around the subjects of history and Pakistan studies and problematizes the way in which Islam is discussed in both subjects.[17] Below I will explore the diagnostic and prognostic components of this frame and the continuity

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[16] Interview INT_ER01.
[17] Pakistan Studies is a course taught at Middle Level Schools in Pakistan. It comprises of topics such as Pakistan's history, politics and culture.

and differences with other organizations' frames in the field of textbook reform. I will primarily focus on NCJP's frame in relation to the article from Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, SDPI, and Aziz, because NCJP regularly refers to them when discussing historical distortion in the textbooks.

Diagnostic: The problem of historical distortion

NCJP's report explicitly calls the textbook content a "distortion of history," which is a frame of the textbooks that is adopted from other actors (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 6). The distortion is explained as a combination of at least two aspects: 1) "Gross inaccuracies of facts and omissions that served to distort the nature and significance of actual events in our history" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 7). NCJP refers to the SDPI report to substantiate this claim. The SDPI dedicated an entire chapter to "Historical Falsehoods and Inaccuracies," in which it argues that "the Islamic perspective on historical events" and Pakistan's struggle for independence in "religious terms, i.e. Hindus versus Muslims" is a distortion of history (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 69). The existence of textbook frames as historically distorted in the field of textbook reform enabled NCJP to adopt this interpretation. 2) NCJP frames the textbook content as historically distorted by suggesting it is "teaching prescribed myths" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 7). History as the teaching of myths is adopted from Aziz's study of History textbooks in Pakistan. He explains how "prescribed myths" about the role of Islamic leaders in Pakistan's history advances the aforementioned "ideology of Pakistan" (Aziz 1998: 24). Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, along with SDPI, also identify the "ideology of Pakistan" as part of the problem in relation to historical distortion. This ideology was a vehicle of an exclusively Islamic reading of Pakistan's history and *raison d'etre* (Hoodbhoy & Nayyar 1985: 2; Nayyar & Salim 2003: 33). Interestingly, NCJP refers only once to the "ideology of Pakistan" in its report, and not in relation to historical distortion (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 5). Even though NCJP shows itself to be familiar with the abovementioned historical analyses of actors that link the "ideology of Pakistan" to historical distortion, NCJP opts to use terms like

"Islamist revisionism" and "Islamic ideology" instead. This difference can be best understood as a result of an element of the diagnostic component: the question of who is to blame for the historical distortion.

Who is to blame?

The discourse of distortion used by NCJP and other actors is especially relevant given the importance of blaming for the diagnostic component of framing (Snow & Benford 1988: 200). "Distortion" carries an element of intentional misrepresentation and most reports do, in fact, see an intentional political strategy behind these misrepresentations. In textbook reform advocacy, the blame is commonly attributed to governments. Below I will demonstrate the similarities and differences between the way in which NCJP and other actors' attribute blame. The NCJP report seems to attribute most of the blame to the previous military government of Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq. It suggests that, after Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto nationalized the schools in the 1970s, Zia revised the curricula around Islamic thought in order to promote Islamic ideology. This is a common attribution of blame in the field of textbook reform. Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, as well as SDPI, also direct the blame to the Bhutto government of the 1970s and the Zia government of the 1980s. After East Pakistan gained independence, becoming Bangladesh in 1971, West Pakistan was in search of national identity and the government moved to reinforce national ideology (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 63). That is how the Islamization of education developed, they argue (Hoodbhoy & Nayyar 1985: 11; Nayyar & Salim 2003: 66).

However, upon taking a closer look at SDPI and Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, significant differences with NCJP appear. Whereas SDPI, Aziz, and Hoodbhoy and Nayyar (as well as some other actors) attribute the blame for the imposition of the "ideology of Pakistan" to a "politico-religious" party called Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), NCJP avoids blaming JI and using the notion of "ideology of Pakistan" (Hoodbhoy

& Nayyar 1985: 3; Nayyar & Salim 2003: 16).[18] Islamization, according to SDPI, happened under Zia-ul-Haq but was actually a consequence of the collaboration between Zia and JI (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 16). This understanding of the blame was also expressed in an interview with Ramsha, who was involved in developing the SDPI report.

Ramsha: "So all these things have been happening in Pakistani school systems now for about three and a half decades, it started in the 1980s. So during the 80s, 90s and now it also continues in this century. When our evangelical dictator, Zia-ul-Haq, came into power, he appointed a religious party, Jamaat-e-Islami, to look after the system of education. And JI had the belief; its founder had this philosophy."

K.G.:   "Yes, is that Maududi?"

Ramsha: "Maududi. Yes. His philosophy was that in an Islamic country, the entire education of whatever subject should be Islamic in nature."[19]

As mentioned above, it is not uncommon in the field of textbook reform to blame JI for the Islamization of education and the imposition of the "ideology of Pakistan" in the textbooks. Much like SDPI, Saigol, for example, argues that the "ideology of Pakistan" and an Islamic narrative of history were political tools for nation building under Zia-ul-Haq. Interestingly, however, neither Maududi nor JI is mentioned in the NCJP report, nor did these names surface in the interviews with NCJP staff. The organization does acknowledge the role of conservative political powers in the preservation of the status quo, but seems reluctant to specify blame in the same

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[18] Jamaat-e-Islami is a political party in Pakistan, striving for the implementation of an "Islamic system" in the country (Haqqani 2013: 11).
[19] Interview INT_ER04.

degree of detail as other actors. In fact, the quote below shows a perception of the government as restricted by the same religious-political powers as the actors advocating for textbook reform. Thus while SDPI, Aziz, Hoodbhoy and Nayyar, and Saigol argue that the political establishment has used conservative sentiments for political aims (i.e., national unity), NCJP perceives these sentiments as forces that hold the government captive and prevent any textbook reforms.

> "When you look at a society that is so radicalized, the social acceptance of what we want repealed is so high that it becomes very difficult to achieve. The textbook content has a big sentimental attachment in society. So that is a factor for political parties. Even if they want to reform, they fear from the backlash of the religious parties."[20]

The differences in attributing blame thus come alongside a different perception of the relationship between the actors and the government in general. NCJP assigns most of the blame to a past (unelected) government and argues that, because in contemporary Pakistan the textbook content has considerable support in society, the current government cannot implement textbook reform. Consequently, NCJP is more accommodating towards the current government. Conversely, other actors take a predominantly critical stance towards both previous and current governments and political parties, perceiving very little popular support for the "biased textbook content" in society. They argue that it is the deadlock between the "religious right" and the government that has generated a state of lethargy on the side of the government with regard to textbook reform.

In light of these differences between NCJP's and other organizations' perceptions of the cause of the problems with educational content, it is important to point to a study of the educational demands among parents in Rawalpindi by Matthew Nelson. In this study he argues that Pakistani citizens actually value religious education more than many organizations for textbook reform are inclined

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[20] Interview INT_ER01.

to assume (Nelson 2006: 715). As a result these organizations are caught between democratic values in which popular demands drive educational content and the reality that these demands may favor religious content over "liberal," "vocational," or "civic" education (Nelson 2006: 719). The quote above shows NCJP's awareness of potential popular demand for religious educational content and understands the government's reluctance towards textbook reform as a result of the "sentimental attachment in society." In NCJP's understanding the opportunities for textbook reform do not come from popular demand, but from the government's willingness to decide against these demands. This section will show that this is reflected in NCJP's proposed solutions for change.

As a result of its perception of the government, NCJP understands its involvement as a contribution to the government's education policies and perceives any willingness by the government to reform textbook content to be an achievement of NCJP's and other organization's efforts, as Dua's quote below illustrates.

> "Well we are not here to just criticize the government. There are some important steps taken by the governments of Punjab and Sindh. I gave you the example of the Ethics books in Sindh and before that they also made the decision to incorporate the historic speech of Quid-i-Azam [common title for Muhammad Ali Jinnah often translated as 'Great Leader', ed.] made shortly after independence of Pakistan about the role of religious minorities in Pakistan."[21]

The above demonstrates that NCJP appropriates a discourse already prevalent in the field of textbook reform, of textbooks as biased and thus educationally poor. Much of the discourse of other actors is adopted, but NCJP differs in its attribution of blame. As opposed to other actors, NCJP does not explicitly blame the problem with "biased" textbooks on certain political parties, such as JI. Additionally, NCJP has a more conciliatory perception of the government and understands itself as a

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[21] Interview INT_ER01.

constructive contributor that can be solicited. In the next section, I will explore how these differences are reflected on a prognostic component.

Prognostic: Changing content or changing structures

Similar to the previous frame (of national security), the frame of education quality also has a clear prognostic component in which the similarities and differences between NCJP and other actors of the diagnosis are reflected. First, the similarities: corresponding to the diagnosis of poor educational quality because of bias and historical distortion, NCJP proposes that the textbook content should be changed. Incorrect and outdated content should be replaced by "quality education" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 6). This echoes prognostic components of frames of other actors. SDPI and Saigol, for example, argue for improvement of textbook content to make it more "modern," "academic," "progressive" and "critical" (Nayyar & Salim 2003: x; Saigol 2005: 1031). The actors thus propose improvement of the quality of education as a solution to the problems of bias and distortion.

The differences in the diagnostic element between NCJP and other actors, however, are also reflected in its solutions. The primary focus of the solutions of NCJP is the implementation of other textbook content by the government. Its advocacy is mostly directed to political actors involved in educational policies. Shortly after the above quote from Sarah about potential backlash of religious parties towards NCJP, Sarah also explained that these religious-political powers could be bypassed.

> "So given all those factors, we know it's a patient matter, but at least if the government can show their willingness to try. And they don't have to beat the drum about reforming the textbooks. Just as subtly as the content crept into the books it can be taken out as well."[22]

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[22] Interview INT_ER01.

Again, as in the above, this quote shows that the opportunity for educational reform is thought to consist of the government's willingness, not of popular demand. The prognostic element of NCJP's frame does not address the popular and political forces that enable the inclusion of what it considers biased content. This is most likely because NCJP did not explicitly blame these forces in the first place. The textbook content is to be changed, but the structure and power dynamics of educational policy development are not challenged. SDPI and Saigol, in contrast, also proposed structural solutions alongside their call to reform the textbook content. They argue that the existing textbook boards and the curriculum wing of the ministry of education should be abolished and, according to SDPI, replaced by a National Education Advisory Board consisting of academics and educationists (Nayyar & Salim 2003: ix). This solution would be a means of excluding the religious parties from the education policy development process. Interestingly, the need to restrict religious-political forces from educational policy development is also identified in an interview with one of the authors of "Education Vs. Fanatic Literacy" but not translated into its reports or publicly expressed by the staff of NCJP. In fact, NCJP is well aware of this difference in framing efforts between itself and other actors, and understands it as a result of its minority status.

> "You see we are a Catholic, church-based organization. I mean we personally feel, and we have been told by our network and by civil society that we [pause, ed.]. To criticize the Islamic elements in society, even if we may work with an Islamic scholar, because of the umbrella of being a church-based organization, we could attract a sort of resistance. People could say who gives you the authority to criticize this."[23]

This quote from Sarah from NCJP, illustrates how the field of textbook reform, NCJP's perception of this field, as well as of its own position therein, also restricts its framing efforts. As opposed to its non-Christian counterparts in the field of

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[23] Interview INT_ER01.

textbook reform, NCJP is reluctant to be explicitly critical of the current government and to identify the religious-political forces opposing textbook reform. In its own experience, NCJP's church affiliation limits its ability to develop frames about structural solutions for textbook reform and about "Islamic elements" in educational policy development. The organization perceives its own identity to imply a deficit in legitimacy to address "Islamic elements." Even collaborating with an "Islamic scholar" cannot salvage that, in its own understanding. These perceptions limit NCJP's framing efforts. At the same time, as I have demonstrated with regard to this frame, NCJP's relations and the discourse used in the field of textbook reform facilitate and enable NCJP's framing capacity. This is demonstrated by NCJP employing frames that were developed by other actors. These frames link textbook content to bias and historical distortion and thus poor educational quality, and are adopted by NCJP without requiring adaptation.

Unconstitutional textbooks

The legal frame of textbook content holds that the content is biased in favor of Islam, and therefore discriminatory towards minority religions, and a violation of human rights and the Constitution of Pakistan. Similar to the previous frames, I will explore how these interpretations are employed in a diagnostic and prognostic component by NCJP and how this relates to the discourse of other actors in the field of textbook reform.

Diagnostic: The problem of unconstitutional textbooks

NCJP argues that the textbooks contain a bias towards Islam and thereby put non-Muslim students at a disadvantage (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 9). In this frame, the perceived religious bias is linked to religious discrimination. I will demonstrate that NCJP understands this bias to result in discriminatory practices in which non-

Muslim students are disadvantaged. This disadvantage, in turn, is framed within legal discourse and presented as a violation of their rights as minority students.

The religious bias considered here is twofold. First, the bias pertains to the relationship between the subject of Islamiyat and its alternative for Hindu, Christian and Sikh students, called Ethics. NCJP argues that Ethics is considered inferior to Islamiyat and that teachers, on average, award students with lower grades for Ethics. Student scores, in turn, have consequences for their access to higher education. As an illustration, NCJP commonly refers to something it calls "institutional discrimination."

> "That is the 20 extra marks for the Hafiz-e-Quran. Hafiz-e-Quran[24] means a person who learned the Quran by heart."[25]

This provision to earn extra marks within Islamiyat does not have an equivalent in Ethics, meaning that students who take Islamiyat have a potential 20-mark advantage in their overall score. This is often cited as a reason why even non-Muslim students opt to take the subject of Islamiyat. More importantly however, it is perceived as religious discrimination, because it gives an advantage to Muslim students.

Second, NCJP claims that Ethics itself is also subject to religious bias. Similar to the frame of educational quality, in which the Islamic bias causes historical distortion, NCJP argues that Ethics actually "describes the Islamic perspective" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 9). This claim was reiterated in virtually all interviews on the issue.

> "Yes, they do [have Ethics, ed.]. But that is not much about ethics or religion in general. Those books are actually very similar to the Islamiyat books. So

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[24] Hafiz(a) is a term commonly used to refer to someone who memorized the Quran. The 20 extra marks contribute to a student's SAT scores required for admission to public colleges in Pakistan.
[25] Interview INT_ER01.

the ethics they are teaching in those books do not really differ from the ones in the Islamiyat books. Ethics means to teach the children how to be a good person or a good citizen, how to behave well. So they only teach that from an Islamic perspective."[26]

Much like the educational quality frame, the problem defined here is that non-Muslim students are exposed to an exclusively Islamic perspective or narrative. As opposed to the previous frame, however, in this legal frame, bias is perceived not as a problem of distortion and educational quality, but rather of equality and discrimination and thus a legal issue. NCJP, in this regard, primarily invokes the Constitution of Pakistan.

> "It [the textbook content, ed.] is in violation of Articles 20 and 25 of the Constitution of Pakistan, guaranteeing religious freedom and equality of citizens respectively, but particularly Article 22 of the Constitution which states: "No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction (…) if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than its own" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 8).

The religious bias in Ethics as well as the primacy of Islamiyat over Ethics is thus interpreted as a legal issue. The problem identified here by NCJP is that, because of the Islamic bias, Ethics constitutes a violation of the Constitution.

This legal frame of Ethics and its subordinate relationship to Islamiyat, however, does not seem to be common in the field of textbook reform. Both SDPI and CRSS do refer to constitutional violations in their reports, but only in relation to Islamic content outside of Islamiyat and Ethics. They argue, for example, that lessons on reading the Quran in the subject of Urdu are a violation of the abovementioned Article 22 (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 15). NCJP is aware of the existence of this discourse in the field of textbook reform and refers to SDPI in

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[26] Interview INT_ER01.

relation to this frame of the textbooks as a violation of the Constitution (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 7). While NCJP thus employs this frame with regard to Ethics and its relationship to Islamiyat, the other actors are more focused on biases in other subjects. The previous frames (of hate material and educational quality) demonstrated NCJP's reliance on already established terminology in the field of textbook reform. In the frame currently under discussion, however, an established discourse is largely unavailable, at least with regard to the subject of Ethics. In this frame, NCJP extends the discourse of textbook content as biased and unconstitutional to the subject of Ethics. By building its interpretation on constitutional articles that other actors also employ, NCJP embeds this frame in the field of textbook reform. At the same time, however, NCJP extends the limits of the discourse by applying it to the subjects of Ethics and Islamiyat. This difference between NCJP and other actors will be further elaborated with regard to the prognostic element.

Prognostic: Constitutional advocacy

The main solution NCJP proposes to the problem of bias and discrimination with regard to Ethics is to replace it with religious education. Again referring to Article 22 of the Constitution, NCJP argues, "the students belonging to minority religions should get equal opportunity to study their own religion(s). This should be a substitute for Islamiat instead of Ethics, enabling students to avail grades in their own religious learning" (Bhatti & Jacob 2013: 25). This was reiterated in conversations I had with NCJP staff. Upon my question whether they also wanted students to learn about religions other then their own Sarah explained that the organization advocates for a repeal of Ethics, in order to have it replaced by religious education for each religion separately.

"It would be just be a Hindu can study Hinduism, a Christian can study Christianity. So it would be religious studies for each religion separately, not just Ethics as a general subject for non-Muslim students."[27]

It is important to point out here that this frame constitutes NCJP's most explicit advocacy for minority rights, particularly for Christians in Pakistan, in terms of textbook reform. Additionally, as seen on a diagnostic component already, SDPI, CRSS and the other actors in the field do not employ this frame. I would argue that this explains why this frame revolves around the Constitution of Pakistan and why NCJP appeals to the judiciary. Tahir, an interlocutor who has long been involved in textbook reform, also within NCJP, explained this appeal as follows.

"I submitted a petition [at the Supreme Court, ed.], asking a clear injunction or orders, requiring the textbook boards of the provinces and the federal education boards to, first of all, take out hate material against the religions, to remove discrimination, meaning that only one religion can be taught so to provide a suitable alternative to non-Muslim students, and then to remove the policy of 20 extra marks for only one set of students."[28]

Article 22 has a central role in the legal frame. Based on this article, biased content can be interpreted as discriminatory, and the substitution of religious education with Ethics, for non-Muslim students is presented to be in accordance with the Constitution. NCJP's use of this article positions the frame in a mainstream and commonly recognized discourse, especially among those to whom the appeal is directed, the judiciary. The necessity of the use of this constitutional discourse and the appeal to the judiciary is constituted by the unavailability of existing frames about Ethics and by the emphasis on minority interests in this particular frame. This demonstrates that, even though the field of textbook reform provides few discursive

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[27] Interview INT_ER01.
[28] Interview INT_ER03.

opportunities for NCJP to adopt and develop in relation to its frame about Ethics, the organization extends the existing rights discourse to the subject of Ethics. In doing so, NCJP embeds the frame in the field of textbook reform.

Conclusion

The central aim of this chapter was to examine how the social relations and discursive aspects in the field of textbook reform shape NCJP's frames of textbook content. I have demonstrated that, by adopting the discourse in the field of textbook reform, NCJP was able to apply a national security, educational quality, and a legal frame to the textbook content. Through these frames, NCJP conveys a strong concern for national interest and the common good of Pakistan. Furthermore, the organization adapted the adopted discourse by extending its meaning in both the national security and legal frame. At the same time, NCJP's perception of its own identity and the social relations in the field also caused it to restrict its framing efforts in the prognostic component of two of the national security and educational quality frames. These processes of discourse adoption, extension, and restriction will be recapitulated below.

Patriotically criticizing textbooks

Adopting the discourse from this field enabled NCJP to represent the issue of textbook reform as a matter of national interest. Concern for national interests and the public good is expressed in all three frames discussed above. Even the legal frame, which primarily emphasizes the right to religious education for minority students, exhibits concern for national interest by framing neglect of religious education for Christians and Hindus as a violation of the Constitution of Pakistan. Similarly, the frame of textbooks as biased and historically distorted conveys NCJP's concern for the quality of education in the country. The removal of the narrow Islamic narrative of Pakistan's history is thus not proposed by NCJP as a

means of improving the position of religious minorities, but rather as solution for qualitatively poor educational content, to the benefit of all students in Pakistan. The national security frame even more vividly illustrates this emphasis on national interest. NCJP frames the textbooks as dangerous by interpreting much of their content as "hate material." This hate material is suggested to be the major cause of intolerance, extremism and violence in the country. Extremism and violence are a threat to national security and prosperity, NCJP argues. By linking "hate material" with violence and thus with an endangerment of national interest, NCJP can promote its textbook reform efforts as an expression of patriotism.

This demonstrates that Pakistani Christian organizations indeed emphasize national identity, as well as religious minority identity, as Gunner suggested (Gunner 2011: 31). Which identities will be emphasized, however, largely depends on the setting in which the organization is engaged. The discourse of the three frames was already a part of the field of textbook reform. In its frames of the textbooks, NCJP appropriated this discourse. The field of textbook reform thus provided NCJP with a discourse to problematize the textbook content, and develop and propose alternatives for this content. NCJP's embedment in a network of actors involved in textbook reform thus goes along with an embedding of its frames in this field. However, NCJP does not employ the discourse in the field of textbook reform without adapting it. These adaptations consist of discourse extension, as well as, restriction and self-censorship, thereby illustrating both the facilitative and restrictive functions of discursive fields.

Discursive extension

NCJP's appropriation of discourse prevalent in the field of textbook reform primarily consists of an extension of the meaning of "hate material" and of the use of Article 22 of the Constitution. First, the organization extends the initial meaning of "hate material" as anti-Hindu sentiment to a blanket term that includes any religious bias and negative stereotyping of various religious groups. Second, this

term enables NCJP to link its textbook reform efforts to a "war on terror" discourse that was emerging in Pakistan starting in 2001. "Hate material" facilitated NCJP's interpretation of the textbook content as a cause of Islamist extremism and violence, and enabled the organization to draw the textbook reform efforts into the "war on terror" discourse. A similar process can be observed with regard to the use of the Constitution of Pakistan, especially Article 22, in the field of textbook reform. NCJP extends the existing meaning of this legal discourse by applying it to the subjects of Islamiyat and Ethics. The organization argues that, based on the Constitution, students from minority religions should receive education in their own religion instead of a course in Ethics that is, in its perception, biased towards Islam. These examples of NCJP's extension of the discourse in the field also confirm the conceptualization of the unfixed boundaries of the field (Snow 2008: 8). In particular the extension of "hate material" with its link to extremism and national security indicates how boundaries of a discursive field can be stretched and converge with other fields.

Minority identity

As opposed to these extensions of the discourse in the field of textbook reform, NCJP's frames also exhibit limiting adaptations. The prognostic component of the frame of "textbooks as dangerous," for example, demonstrates NCJP's self-censorship in response to a perceived vulnerability to allegations of alienness. The organization perceives its Catholic identity as creating an increased vulnerability to suspicions and accusations of entertaining Western loyalties. As a result, NCJP seeks to avoid "hardline criticism" and frames its efforts towards textbook reform as a matter of public good. Similarly, the prognostic component of NCJP's frame of textbooks as biased is also restricted by its perception of its Catholic identity in relation to other religious identities. It understands this identity to entail a limited legitimacy to "criticize Islamic elements in society." As opposed to other actors, NCJP does not explicate the blame of this "distortion" to any specific "religious-

political" party and does not challenge the role of such parties in the process of textbook production in general, because of a perceived limited legitimacy to criticize this.

These adaptations not only demonstrate that the discursive aspects and social relations in the field of textbook reform restrict and enable NCJP's framing efforts, they also show the importance of NCJP's own perception in these processes. It seems that the restrictive function of the field of textbook reform is mediated by NCJP's perceptions of its own identity and the social relationships in this field. Based on its own experiences and perceptions, as well as stories of experiences of other Christians, NCJP understands its own position in relation to other stakeholders to have some restrictions. This aspect of perception of oneself, as well as the relationships within the field, could be fruitful to be further explored in future studies on the relation between discursive fields and framing processes.

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CHAPTER SIX

Christian Teachers in Pakistan: Navigating Islamic Textbook Content and Christian Identity at Missionary Schools

Introduction

At the Bishops' residence of the Catholic diocese of Rawalpindi and Islamabad in Pakistan, there is a large map the diocese on the wall.[1] Interestingly, this map does not show churches, but depicts all the schools under the diocesan administration. Church-affiliated schools in Pakistan are commonly called "missionary schools," indicating their missionary origin.[2] Like most schools in Pakistan, they teach from government-sanctioned textbooks.[3] Unlike other schools however, the staff in missionary schools is predominantly Christian, while the student population is religiously diverse. One staff member at the Catholic Diocesan Board of Education (DBE) in Rawalpindi, Amina, showed me the religious affiliation of students at missionary schools in 2015.[4] That year 77 percent of the staff of missionary schools in the diocese of Rawalpindi and Islamabad was Christian, while 59 percent of the student population was Muslim.[5] The accessibility of missionary schools for Muslims students is commonly argued to be part of the schools' appreciation of

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[1] An earlier version of this chapter is currently under review with a peer-reviewed journal as: Grit, K, 'Christian Teachers in Pakistan: Navigating Islamic Textbook Content and Christian Identity at Missionary Schools.'

[2] In the early 20th century, foreign missionaries established many of today's church-affiliated schools in Rawalpindi. Even though there remain few foreign missionaries in contemporary Pakistan, most of these schools still refer to themselves as "missionary schools." Protestant schools are officially known as "station schools," but most Christians of different denominations use "missionary school" as a generic term.

[3] Textbook content in Pakistan is produced and published by the Textbook Boards of the respective provinces of Pakistan, in collaboration with registered and authorized publishers. The Textbook Board is an autonomous part of the School Education Department of each provincial government.

[4] For privacy purposes the names of all interlocutors and schools in this study are anonymized.

[5] Interview INT_ER06.

religious diversity and their desire to offer a service to society, but one interlocutor also referred to the financial necessity of this inclusive enrolment policy in the context of Pakistan.[6]

In many of these missionary schools teachers have reservations about the textbook content on Islam and on religion in general. These particular conditions can produce a tension between the ways the textbooks discuss religion and the perspective the teachers consider suitable for the classroom setting. For this reason, many teachers argue that the textbook content cannot simply be adopted. However, since it is part of a government-mandated curriculum, the teachers cannot ignore the textbooks either. As a result, teachers often intervene in the textbook content on religion. The experience of one teacher, here called Shaima, in the passage below illustrates this well.

Shaima: "This textbook is from the Rawalpindi textbook board [points towards a textbook for Social Studies, ed.]. It is about the values of religion and it says these are the values of Islam. Although we have it in every religion, here they focus on Islam. And this book [shows another Social Studies textbook, ed.] is from the Federal board. You can see this is also about values and these values are also Islamic. In this book they say these are special values of Islam, like equality, honesty and hardworking, but we also have these. The Christians also have these. The focus of these books is only on the values of Islam."

K.G.: "Yes, and would you also say that in class?"

Shaima: "No, I would say that these are the values of all religions. And in class 9 and 10, the students understand that, they know about these values. (…) I tell them in class that it is not just about Islam or

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[6] Interview INT_MS16

Christianity, so they know that there is no difference in religion and every religion preaches good things."[7]

This quote first of all demonstrates the tension teachers at the missionary schools can experience when confronted with content about religion and religious difference. They perceive an emphasis on Islam and on religious difference in the textbooks they have to use, but attempt to tone down this emphasis. The response, however, goes beyond a mere reduction. As evidenced in the fragment above, some teachers also present an alternative image of religion to the students in response to the textbooks. They actively intervene in the way in which issues of religion, religious difference, and specifically Christianity and Islam, are framed in the textbooks. In this chapter, I will explore how the teachers at missionary schools engage with this textbook content and how they discuss Christian identity and religious difference with the students in response to content about religion in the Social Studies textbooks.[8]

This engagement of the teachers with the textbooks will be discussed in the following sections: First, I will explore previous studies about religion and textbook content in Pakistan. In this part I will discuss the approach of Social Studies textbooks to religion, specifically Islam, and to religious difference. In addition, this part will situate missionary schools in the Pakistani educational system and indicate their particularities in terms of religious identity and diversity. In the second part of this paper I will discuss the fieldwork at the missionary schools in Rawalpindi and briefly discuss the relevant differences between the schools involved in this study. Furthermore this part will explain the aforementioned concept of "frame," elaborate

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[7] Interview INT_MS03.
[8] The teachers in this study taught Social Studies and the affiliated course, Pakistan Studies. These are government-mandated courses for junior school, middle school and secondary education. I chose these subjects because of their educational content; they consist of a combination of several subjects, including citizenship education, history, culture, politics, and geography. Moreover, as the previous chapter has shown, Social Studies and Pakistan are among the subjects that are often problematized by NGO's and in academic studies, for containing "Islamic content." In classes one to eight, the schools offer Social Studies and in classes nine to twelve, this is called Pakistan Studies.

on the related concepts of "keying" and "footing" and explain why these are suitable to study the teachers' responses to the textbooks. The third section is an extensive discussion of the results the fieldwork. In this part, I will detail the various responses to the textbooks employed by the teachers and explore what these say about Christian identity and religion. This will show how, in response to religious differentiation and Islamic content in the textbooks, teachers tone down religious identities, and by doing so, harmonize the situation. At the same time, however, various re-interpretations of the textbook frames are employed to negotiate Christian identity in relation to Pakistani identity. The strategies of critique, invocation and copying will demonstrate these re-interpretations. In the last section, I will elaborate on the findings in relation previous studies about framing, footing and keying and draw conclusions on how these processes unfold at missionary schools in Pakistan.

Education, religion and difference in Pakistan

As discussed in chapter five, educational content, especially with regard to religion, is a matter of contestation in Pakistan. The debate about textbook content involves various scholars of (religion in) Pakistan as well as many policy-oriented civil society and political actors. Since the previous chapter has extensively detailed some of the latter, this chapter will mostly focus on academic contributions to the discussion. Moreover, while most of these contributions have analyzed religion and religious difference in the textbook content, others, more in line with the current study, have also explored what this content has produced, or how it has been appropriated, in terms of attitudes to religious difference in Pakistan.

Islam in textbooks at missionary schools

Regarding religious content in textbooks in Pakistan, academic studies generally do not question whether or to which degree religion is discussed in non-religious studies subjects, but rather how religious content is employed.

Already in 1995, historian Ayesha Jalal explored how Pakistani state efforts to rewrite history "from an Islamic point of view" had made its way in history textbooks through the textbook boards (Jalal 1995: 77). In this rewriting, Muslim identity is equated with Pakistani identity and portrayed in antagonism with the external and internal other, be they other nationalities or various ethnic or religious affiliations (Jalal 1995: 86). This concern for textbook content in relation to citizenship and nationhood resurfaces in most studies of the textbooks. Like the current paper, many of the more recent studies focus on the subject of Social Studies. Iftikhar Ahmad, for example, argued that Social Studies textbooks "seek to create practicing Muslims" and as such "adhere to the national policy of promoting Islam as a political ideology for the purpose of strengthening an Islamic state" (Ahmad 2004: 39). As one illustration of this claim, Ahmad offers that non-Muslims are defined as *zimmis* (Urdu for *dhimmis*), meaning that they enjoy a different and lesser kind of citizenship (Ahmad 2004: 44). This concern for textbook content in relation to citizenship and nationhood emerges in other studies of the textbooks as well. Referencing Ahmad and others, Oddbjørn Leirvik claims that various publications have demonstrated "narrow definitions of citizenship" and "the exclusion of religious minorities" contained in textbooks in Pakistan (2008: 143). In a similar vein, Marie Lall has argued that citizenship education (mostly Pakistan Studies) in Pakistan is conflated with nationalism and that nationalism is infused with Islam (Lall 2012: 274). As such, education is a reflection, or a means, of the "coalescence of Islam and national identity (Gabriel 2007: 32), or "religious nationhood," as mentioned in chapter two.

While many of the abovementioned studies are primarily concerned with "public education," often called "government schools," in Pakistan and the curriculum used there, Lall in line with Tariq Rahman and Matthew Nelson before her, differentiates between various types of education in Pakistan. Lall distinguished between government schools, private schools, philanthropic schools and madrassas

(Lall 2012: 274).[9] According to her findings, private schools differ from other schools in the sense that religion was not defining of Pakistani citizenship and "[t]here seemed to be less focus on religion and more on patriotism" (Lall 2012: 282). Interestingly, some years earlier, Rahman reached similar conclusions. He argues that the education system is socio-economically stratified. This means that the students of the "Westernized elite" attend private English-medium schools at which they prepare for British O and A level examinations with an international curriculum and textbooks. As a result they "tend to be more tolerant of the other, be it religious, the West or India" (Rahman 2004: 315). A common perception is thus that education in private, English-medium schools in Pakistan is less infused with Islamic content and does not employ a narrow definition of Islamic citizenship. From that perspective one could expect that the English-medium missionary schools in this paper also enjoy this privileged and "more tolerant" educational content. While this is certainly true for some more prestigious missionary schools in Pakistan, the vast majority of schools in this study use the government examination. Still, even within government-sanctioned curriculum and textbooks there are differences between the provincial boards of education in Pakistan in terms of how educational content is managed. As Amina from the Catholic DBE explained to me, schools in Cantonment areas can decide to be registered in the Federal board of education as opposed to the provincial. One of the schools in this study actually considered a move from the Punjab board to the Federal board; this however is not because of religious content in the textbooks but because of the "consistency of the curriculum" on the Federal level.[10]

Matthew Nelson offers a more helpful categorization of schools in Pakistan, for the purpose of this study. Nelson, in agreement with all the above, argues that the textbooks used in Pakistan "conflate the terms of 'Islam' with those of 'citizenship'" in an attempt to construct a religious nationalism (Nelson 2008: 283). Moreover, Nelson argues that these textbooks are used at schools throughout

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[9] She also mentions higher education, but that is, considering my focus on primary education, less relevant for the current study.
[10] Interview INT_ER06.

Pakistan, with the exception of some "very elite English-medium private schools focused on GSCE and A-level exams" (Nelson 2008: 279). In his categorization, these elite private schools are distinguished from "private non-elite" English-medium schools, "private non-elite" Urdu-medium schools, government schools and madrassas (Nelson 2008: 280).

The majority of missionary schools in Pakistan can be assumed to fall in the categories of private non-elite English- and Urdu medium schools. Staff members of the DBE also emphasize this. They claim that the highest tuition fee at missionary schools, of 3,500 Pakistani rupees per month, is still only 10 percent of what "elite schools" charge. [11] As such, missionary schools are part of a niche between the overwhelming majority of government schools and the elite private schools. Even within that category, the schools constitute a small subsection, due to their religious affiliation. Rahman, Nelson and Lall focus primarily on the differences between private and public, or elite and non-elite schools, with regard to how religion and religious diversity is treated. It should not therefore come as a surprise that none of the above studies explicitly focus on, or even mention, missionary schools as a separate category. [12] This current study takes a different approach. The particularity of the schools that I focus on is their Christian identity, not their educational category or the type of textbooks they use. This focus should illuminate how teachers' experiences of religious identity and difference may inform their pedagogical agency to navigate religious textbook content in non-religious subjects.

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[11] Interviews INT_ER06b; INT_ER08c.
[12] Rahman does refer to "the convents," also church-affiliated schools, but argues that these were replaced by more expensive private schools in the 1980's (Rahman 2004: 315). During my fieldwork however I have also visited several convent schools in Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Lahore. Convent schools however, are not managed by the Diocesan Board of Education and have their own governing body as confirmed by one interlocutor (INT_ER07).

Religious difference in school

In his work on Christians in Pakistan, aforementioned Theodore Gabriel does dedicate some attention to Christian experiences of education in Pakistan. Much like the studies above, and the reports in the previous chapter however, this mostly consists of a problematization of textbook content of non-religious subjects as biased in favor of Islam, and negative and exclusionary towards Christians (Gabriel 2007: 48). In contrast with other studies however, Gabriel also reflects on "Christian schools" as sites of interaction between Christians and Muslims. In this regards, two findings are particularly interesting for the current study. On the one hand, about the textbooks at missionary schools he claims, "the Islamic bias is not obviated by the Christian management" (Gabriel 2007: 33), which leads one to think that these schools may not provide opportunity for expressions of Christian identity and religious difference. On the other hand, Gabriel suggests that missionary schools facilitate "amicable relationships" between Pakistani's of different religions and that these institutions "stress the nearness of the two religions [Christianity and Islam, ed.]" (Gabriel 2007: 96). In Gabriel's study the textbook content, and the relations and interactions between Christians and Muslims at missionary schools almost seem to be treated as two separate issues. This study attempts to connect the two by looking at how the textbook content on religion and religious difference is actually treated and discussed (i.e., navigated) by teachers at missionary schools.

Nelson offers a more detailed analysis of attitudes towards religious difference in Pakistani schools in general. Again, while his work is not concerned with missionary schools and he takes the elite versus non-elite distinction as a primary focus, his findings about different approaches to religion indicate important directions for this current study. First, it should be noted that the difference that required most attention in Nelson's study is difference within Islam. He identifies a general tendency among teachers to deny or avoid the difference between various Islamic "sectarian" groups or schools, or to treat then as taboo (Nelson 2009: 601, 609). This goes beyond ignoring specific differences, but more fundamentally,

"*difference itself* was the thing that most of my respondents had been taught to regard as undesirable" (Nelson 2009: 603). As a result, religious difference was not envisioned to be eradicated through expulsion, but rather through "*religious and sectarian assimilation*" (Nelson 2009: 604). It is against the background of this approach to difference, Nelson, argues, that we should understand religious nationhood in Pakistan, wherein equality is defined as homogeneity (Nelson 2008: 282).

This way of engaging with religious difference, or lack thereof, is widespread in Pakistani society according to Nelson (2014: 171). At the same time however, he also identified another approach to religion and diversity, one in which religious difference can remain and coexist with the terms of equality. Interestingly, in one article Nelson situates this approach in the "elite English-medium private schools," again, attributing this different approach to the category of school and type of textbooks used (Nelson 2008: 282). In another article however, Nelson suggests that this approach in which the terms of religious difference are embraced, can also emerge from "autonomous interpretive acts" (Nelson 2014: 178). The combination of both articles shows that discussion of, and challenges to the textbook content, can be facilitated by the institutional context (the school), as well as by individual agency. Both aspects will therefore be integrated in my analysis of how teachers at missionary schools deal with religious content.

Study design

In order to adequately situate and explain the teachers' responses and interventions in relation to the textbook content, I will first outline the missionary schools involved in the study below. In addition, I will discuss my fieldwork at the missionary schools and the aforementioned analytical tools: framing, keying and footing.

Missionary schools in Rawalpindi

Religious diversity is a salient feature of most missionary schools. Many schools and confessional educational boards emphasize their non-discriminatory policies and diverse student population on their websites and in face-to-face interaction. Thus, although the teachers at these schools self-identify as Christian, the majority of their students do not. The diversity differs between schools. The principal of one school said that the student population was about 95 percent Muslim, while the principal at another school indicated having at least 50 percent Christian students.[13] All the other schools in this study reported a ratio somewhere between these percentages. Thus, Christian students are generally overrepresented at missionary schools, at least relative to their share in society, according to the latest census (1998), making the schools religiously diverse institutions, in comparison to society.[14]

In the spring and autumn of 2015, over an accumulated period of about 4 months, I visited and investigated six missionary schools in Rawalpindi, three Catholic and three from the Church of Pakistan (Protestant).[15] The main criteria for selection of these schools were approachability and receptiveness, socio-economic status, and security concerns. First, approachability and receptiveness were important preconditions to build trust in order to be able to conduct the interviews. My affiliation with the Christian Study Centre (CSC) was a vital factor in this respect. Contact with the schools was mediated through CSC. CSC's reputation and interpersonal relations between the teachers and its staff provided me with a degree of inherited trust and made the teachers more receptive to cooperate. At the same time however, the mediating role of CSC also limited the scope of the case study.

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[13] Interview INT_MS01.

[14] According to this census, Christians constitute approximately 1.6 percent of Pakistan's population. In urban Punjab, of which Rawalpindi is a part, Christians make up 3.3 percent of the population (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 1998).

[15] The six missionary schools in this study are only a fraction of the educational institutions of churches in Pakistan. In fact, the Diocesan Board of Education of the Catholic Church claims to have over 40 schools in just the Islamabad/Rawalpindi diocese (i.e., Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces) (Pierce 2016).

Schools that were not a part of CSC's (informal) network were not considered for this study.

The second criterion is the socio-economic status of the schools and only surfaced during the course of the fieldwork. The first two schools CSC's staff brought me in contact with were somewhat prestigious institutions, although Nelson's categorization of "private elite English medium school" would not apply to them. Nevertheless I made an effort to include at least four schools with lower tuition fees and students from less privileged backgrounds in this case study.

Third, security issues limited my travel in Rawalpindi. The areas where most of the missionary schools are located were considered safe enough for me to visit. The security agencies however advised me against visiting one school, and so instead I had to invite the teachers from this school to CSC.

All the missionary schools in this study offer grades 1 to 10 (Junior School and Middle School) to their students. As such, students at the schools are no older than 16. The two more prestigious and expensive schools also offer the aforementioned GCSE examination, commonly called Ordinary and Advanced level education (O and A levels), alongside the curriculum and examination common in Pakistani public schools. This is a United Kingdom accredited system, with different textbooks often used at the "elite English-medium private schools," that qualifies students for further studies abroad. Only one teacher, Sahar, mentioned that she uses books for GCSE examination, saying "last year the school used Punjab textbooks, now we are using Oxford." Sahar explained the Punjab textbooks "are more related to Pakistan" in terms of culture and history and said that she has never discussed religion in the classroom.[16] The other schools only use the curriculum and textbooks from the Punjab board of education, or what one principal called "the government system," which means that the government sets the examination.[17]

I conducted semi-structured interviews at the six schools with 18 Social Studies teachers and principals, each between 30 and 90 minutes long. The number

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[16] Interview INT_MS11.
[17] Interview INT_MS01.

of interviewed teachers differed from school to school, from five teachers at the bigger institutions to only two teachers at the smaller schools. Before the interviews, I had exploratory meetings with the principals in which I explained the study and gauged their willingness to be involved. I would usually introduce myself as a research student from CSC (a term commonly used by CSC staff). The following topics were addressed during each interview: religion at the school in general (prayers, religious celebrations, religious symbols etc.), religion in Social Studies classes (religion in relation to history, culture and current affairs in Pakistan), religious diversity (ranging from simple differences to violent sectarian conflicts), and Christian identity in the classroom (expressions of Christian identity in relation to religiously diverse students). Participant observation could have been a valuable tool, alongside these interviews. Most teachers, however, argued that my presence (as a white male) in their classroom would cause too much disruption.

The interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded. First through more detailed in-vivo coding and subsequently with "code categories," using RQDA. Applying code categories is a means to create clusters of codes with a certain measure of similarity, or that pertain to similar processes, as such it is a method of "meta-coding" (Saldana 2009: 24). An example of this would be the codes: "Shia-Sunni differences," "intra-Islamic relations" and "threat of sectarianism." These three codes would constitute the code category "danger of intra-Islamic differences." The code categories in turn would be analyzed to identify attitudes about religion in the classroom, which constitute the strategies through which the teachers are involved in keying and footing in relation to the textbook frames.

Framing, footing and keying

The teachers' classroom discussion of Christian identity and religious difference is analyzed as a response to the textbooks. This requires concepts suitable for studying interaction between the teachers' interpretations and representations of religion on the one hand and their context on the other hand. To that end, I employ the concepts

of "frame," "footing," and "keying," all three are adopted form sociologist Erving Goffman. As discussed in previous chapters and especially in chapter one, Goffman understands frames as "definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman 1974: 11). In this chapter, the Social Studies textbooks are conceptualized as frames. They are definitions, or interpretations, of the history, culture and society of Pakistan. To understand how the teachers interact with these textbooks as interpretations of the situation, I will employ Goffman's two concomitant concepts of footing and keying. The concept of footing refers to someone's perception of his or her position in relation to others and to the frames that are dominant in an interaction. This entails one's own role, as well as the relations between others and their relation to the frame. As Goffman explains, and as I will show in this study, people can change their footing in relation to others and in relation to the frames (Goffman 1981: 128). The concept of footing will thus serve to explain the shifts in roles, identities and relationships teachers make in response to the textbooks. The other concept, keying, refers to the process by which an event that is already framed is transformed into something else (Goffman 1974: 44). One could say it is an effort of reframing or redefining the situation, as Snow and Benford have suggested (2000: 10). In this study, keying will therefore help to understand the teachers' reinterpretation and redefinition of the frames about religion and religious diversity in the textbooks.

In what follows, I will first discuss the various responses of the teachers that emerged from the fieldwork. I will show how these responses constitute efforts of footing and keying in relation to the textbook frames of religion. In addition, I will explain the aims of these teachers' responses and their effects with regard to Christian identity and religious difference. Excerpts from the interviews will serve to illustrate the strategies and show how they are employed.

Answering the textbooks

Five responses to the textbook content about religion and religious differences emerged from the data analysis of the interviews at the missionary schools. The first two responses constitute shifts in footing: The first is, what I call "avoidance." This is a means to harmonize a perceived tension between the textbooks' Islamic content and the school's Christian identity as well as between different intra-Islamic identities by disregarding these identities. The second response is "foregrounding." This is also a response in order to harmonize, but by engaging rather than disengaging with religious identities. The teachers highlight inclusive and non-religious roles and identities in response to the religious differentiation emerging from the textbooks. The last three responses are a means of keying: The third response is called "critique." This response enables the teachers to key the textbooks as an object of evaluation rather than knowledge. The classroom situation is redefined as one in which students can actively examine the Social Studies textbook content based on their own experiences. In this evaluation, the teachers highlight experiences of religious pluralism. The fourth response I call "invocation." In this response (historical) authorities are used to justify a religiously pluralist redefinition of the Islamic narrative of history in the textbooks. The fifth and last response to the textbooks is that of "copying." This complements the textbook content on Pakistani Muslim heroism with examples of Pakistani Christians, who are accorded heroism, following the rational of the textbooks. This enables the teachers to present and legitimize a patriotic Christian identity.

Harmonization through shifts in footings

Below I will first discuss the two "harmonizing" responses in which religious difference is toned down as much as possible. Both these responses are approached as a shift in footing, meaning: a strategy to reconfigure the salient identities that emerge in an interaction.

Avoiding religious difference

As mentioned in the above, religious differences as well as an emphasis on Islam seem to generate a complicated and sometimes tense situation for Social Studies teachers. Teachers indicated that they consider too much stress on Islam and religious difference in the textbooks to be undesirable in the context of the Christian identity of the school and the diverse student population. One teacher explained how she handles religious difference in the classroom: "We are not talking about this religion is this and this religion is that. We only talk on a general level, about all religions."[18] This already illustrates the response of avoidance of differences.

Similarly, an emphasis on intra-Islamic differences is thought to instigate polarization or even conflict. Islamic content and intra-Islamic differences in the textbooks define the identities and relations of the teachers and students in the classroom in religious terms, but the teachers object to the primacy of religious designations and try to define the identities and relations in the classroom differently. Teachers rather, tend to avoid the Islamic content and intra-Islamic differences and highlight non-religious roles. Through this strategy the teachers change the footing of themselves and of the students in relation to the frames contained in the textbooks, in order to harmonize the classroom situation.

The Islamic content or an Islamic framing in the textbooks, many teachers explain, sits uneasy with their own and the school's religious identity. When teachers refer to content as "Islamic," they talk about a wide range of chapters and subchapters in the textbooks. They cite passages of speeches of Mohammad, Islamic doctrine, and content about contemporary Islam. What most of this content has in common is that it emphasizes a narrow Islamic perspective of Pakistan's history and society, thereby evoking religious difference and ascribing a minority position to Christians. Avoiding such content is one way of limiting the place of religion in the classroom. Avoiding simply means intentionally disregarding certain content from

[18] Interview INT_MS06.

the Social Studies textbook. Most of the teachers actually brought along the textbooks to show me the chapters and passages they considered problematic, as the excerpt from an interview with Shaima demonstrates.

> "This is the book of Punjab board for Pakistan Studies [shows a textbook, ed.]. It is mostly about history. Pre-Islamic history and when Islam first came to Pakistan, and the period of Muhammad Jinnah, Quaid-i-Azam [a common title for Muhammad Ali Jinnah, meaning 'Great Leader', ed.]. It is all Muslim history. They are all Muslim leaders, Muslim heroes. But sometimes we have to skip these pages, because there are so many things about Islam and Islamic culture. And we are a Christian school and we have many Christian students also, so we can do that."[19]

The teacher understands the Christian identity of the school to be in tension with the Islamic reading of Pakistan's history in the textbook. The Christian identity of the school and some of its students, in her perception, legitimizes avoidance of elements of the textbook frames. Interestingly, this perception of an uneasy relationship does not only bring the teacher to avoid Islamic content. By omitting certain content she also reinforces her role as a teacher who manages the information in the classroom setting. Even though this teacher justifies her actions with an appeal to Christian identity, the effect of avoidance is that religious identity is de-emphasized. By avoiding the Islamic reading, with its implicit designation of Christian teachers and students as the religious others, this teacher establishes herself in a non-religious capacity of teacher.

Avoidance and redefining relations also surface in response to intra-Islamic differences. Many teachers pointed to experiences of sectarian confrontations outside the school to explain their choice to omit content regarding differences between Muslims.

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[19] Interview INT_MS03.

Azmia:	"They are killing their own people, Shia and Sunni. So that is why I said, 'This spreads hate against the other religions and within Islam. They hate each other. So we do not teach them about Shia and Sunni.' (…) You know, when Daesh, the ISIS, when they destroyed a very old grave in Iraq, the teachers were very worried that some students might favor them."
K.G.:	"Yes, I understand. So, do they talk about these topics with students?"
Azmia:	"No, I do not let them, because they are very young. They have very innocent minds."[20]

Interestingly, even more than the teacher from the previous quote, this excerpt demonstrates the teacher's role in managing relationships between the students. The school principal above, Azmia, refers to Shia and Sunni as "they" and expressed a concern that "they" might develop hostile relations among each other and towards others (such as Christians). This also expressed by another teacher, who said that students of different groups who claim, "our religion is great" may start fighting each other.[21] At the same time, however, the teacher stresses that the students have innocent minds, something also stressed in other interviews, which affirms both her perceived role as a teacher (with responsibility to protect the students) as well as their position as students.[22] The innocent students need to be protected from potential hostility between different identities, such as Shia and Sunni, and the teachers are to guarantee safety in the classroom setting. In response to the perceived potential of intra-Islamic differences to ignite social conflict, some teachers thus manage the relations in the classroom, selectively teaching information, and

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[20] Interview INT_MS01a.
[21] Interview INT_MS15.
[22] Interview INT_MS08.

sometimes aiming to avoid religious labels altogether, in order to preserve harmony between the students.

Foregrounding inclusive identities

The second response that is used to deemphasize religious identities and difference in order to manage and harmonize the relations in the classroom is, foregrounding. As opposed to the above, foregrounding is employed when religious differences have already entered the classroom setting and avoidance is no longer an option. Foregrounding refers to a process whereby the teachers promote a third, non-religious identity that serves to unite the students. This intends to redirect attention from differences towards unity and thereby pacify the situation. The most inclusive identity I have encountered is the category "human." One teacher, Adeena, told me, for example, that when one student emphasized religion during a discussion of cultural values in Pakistan, they responded by steering the discussion towards identities that unify rather than differentiate between students.

> "One student asked me, 'Teacher, are all these values Islamic?' And I said, 'No, it is for every religion. We should not say it is only for the Muslims, it is about the values that should be among the people in general and you are the people. Christians are people. Muslims are people. We are all people.' (…) At this school we are a St. Thomas School family. Not a Christian family, not a Muslim family."[23]

This excerpt demonstrates that in this setting, religion was considered an undesirable category of distinction. In response to the question, in which religious differentiation was emphasized, the teacher foregrounds various units of belonging that do not allow differentiation between the students. Apart from the category of "being human," the teacher also emphasizes the students' identity as pupils of St. Thomas

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[23] Interview INT_MS04.

School. It is noteworthy that by foregrounding these inclusive identities that apply to all students equally, the teacher tries to diminish the religious boundaries between the students. Again, deemphasizing religious difference is employed to advance harmonization.

The teachers' efforts to foreground inclusive identities often reinforce an element of belonging to a meta-identity. The above emphasis on belonging to a "St. Thomas School family" already illustrates this. Foregrounding the school as a family also emerged in another interview.[24] A similar process surfaced with regard to national belonging. When confronted with religious differences, either in the textbooks or in discussion with students, some teachers at missionary schools stress being Pakistani as a unifying identity. For example, when I asked about differences and differentiation between Muslims and Christians, Adeena said the following.

> "Okay. We believe Isaac is the son of Abraham and the Muslims say that Ismael is the son of Abraham. So they added that celebration. But, you know, there is also a chapter in the Social Studies book. When we read this chapter [points to a chapter in a Social Studies textbook, ed.], there are a few things I mentioned like, we are Pakistani, but being Pakistani is different than being Muslim. Also in Urdu class there is one chapter that says that all the Muslims are one nation. But, we do not want to differentiate between the students. We do not say, 'You are a Muslim, you are a Christian.'"[25]

This excerpt shows the teacher's effort to de-emphasize the primacy of religious identity. When asked about religious differences, she actually almost immediately turns to being Pakistani as a non-religious (or religiously pluralist) identity and argues that religious distinctions are not, and should not be, made in the classroom. It is noteworthy, however, that this teacher foregrounds national identity as a non-religious category of belonging, especially in light of the textbooks' content on

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[24] Interview INT_MS09.
[25] Interview INT_MS04.

national identity. As explained above, the textbooks are generally thought to advance a narrow definition of Pakistani identity, one in which being Pakistani is conflated with Muslim identity. This is also what the teacher in this excerpt contests when she says, "being Pakistani is different than being Muslim." The teacher therefore does not only change the prominence of identities but also their meaning, and thereby the relation of herself and the students to this identity. In this case, foregrounding national identity is not just a means of preserving harmony but at the same time, an attempt to reconstruct the relationship of a religiously diverse student group to Pakistani identity.

The above shows that teachers perceive a tension between their own Christian identity, the religious diversity among the students and school's Christian identity, and the textbook frames of Islam in relation to Pakistan and Pakistan's history. Additionally, the teachers perceive a threat of religious conflict because of religious difference. In order to harmonize the classroom setting, the teachers manage their relation to the students, to the textbook frames, to religious difference, and to the students' amongst themselves. The textbooks' Islamic reading of Pakistan gives primacy to religious identities and designates the teachers, the school, and the Christian students as the religious other. The teachers, however, seem to reject the primacy of any religious identity in the classroom context and emphasize their capacity as teachers. Moreover, in response to religious differentiation and the threat of religious conflict, the teachers reaffirm the students' position as vulnerable students and their own position as responsible guardians.

Creating space for diversity through keying

The teachers' keyings of textbook content consists of three different strategies: critique, invocation and copying. While each keying changes the way the textbooks discuss religion, they do so in response to different textbook content and in very different ways.

Secularist and pluralist critique

Critique is a response that questions the textbook and dismisses its frames of religion. It surfaced from the data in two main forms. One is the promotion of an explicitly secularist ideal for Pakistan. This ideal informs not just criticism of the Islamic narrative of the Social Studies textbook, but also of the nature of Pakistan as an Islamic state. The second form is critique of the Islamic narrative of Pakistan that is employed in the Social Studies textbooks. This narrative is challenged by critique of the content, but also by encouraging a questioning and critical mindset that addresses the stakeholders and interests behind the textbook frame amongst the students. Critique constitutes new definitions of the situation. In contrast with an understanding of the textbooks as a source of knowledge, this response approaches the textbooks as objects of evaluation. I will demonstrate the various ways in which this is done through excerpts from the interviews.

The promotion of a secularist ideal is based on critique of the relation between politics and Islam in Pakistan. The teachers present their critique as a secularist perspective on Pakistan and explain what secularism means to them. In the excerpt below, Junaid, a Social Studies teacher from St. Theresa's School, first compares Pakistan to what the textbook claims are secular countries. The difference, according to him, is that secular countries do not let religion interfere with politics. In Pakistan, according to the teacher however, people think that secularism is atheism, but he argues that this is not the case.

"You see they have put Turkey in the list of secular states [points to a list headed 'Secular Muslim countries' in a Social Studies textbook, ed.], and Egypt and Indonesia, as well. And for Pakistan, they say that Islam is the state religion [points to the list 'Muslim countries with Islam as state religion' on the same page, ed.]. You know that is the difference between the secular state and the state religion. Because Pakistan is based upon the Islamic ideology and there is a lot of interference of religion in the state affairs. But if

you look at Turkey, they do not have any religious influence into their state of political affairs. That is why it is secular. But somehow the people here translate secular as if that means that the person wants nothing to do with religion. I understand that secular means that the religion has nothing to do with the political affairs of the state. You may be a secular. I may be a secular."[26]

This teacher shows that his secularist critique first has to answer to the accusation of being an atheist position. The teacher does so by referencing other "Muslim countries" that have adopted secularism. The atheist taint of secularism is thereby removed in an effort to make it a more socially acceptable position. Second, by referring to other "Muslim countries" that have adopted secularism, the teacher does not promote a perspective that is completely alien to the textbook; in fact, the teacher uses and seems to agree with the textbook content. His attempt to redefine the relation between Islam and politics in Pakistan is still, to some degree, in accordance with the existing textbook frame. This agreement with the textbook's understanding of secular Muslim countries makes the teacher's secularist critique acceptable.

The second form of critique shows a similar dynamic, but a stronger tendency towards disagreement with the textbook frames. The quote from Adeena below demonstrates that this second form of critique redefines the situation on multiple levels.

"I said, 'Because we live in a Muslim country, that is why the author is Muslim and maybe he belongs to this village. That is why he wrote this. And it does not mean it is true. If they write that there are only mosques in the villages, some things about what they write are not true and some things are true. You know, because when we have a chapter or a line, it is their experience and it does not mean the line is like the actual reality.' So the

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[26] Interview INT_MS08.

students said, 'Okay, okay. Because, teacher, my aunt and my grandfather live in a village and they are Christians.' So I answered, 'Yes, and some villages have a church, but in some villages they have church in a big house also.' The Muslim students were also there so they also know that in the villages there are Christians too, because Christians are also a part of Pakistan."[27]

This teacher from St. Thomas School clearly has a problem with a passage in the Social Studies textbook that claims that there are only mosques in villages, and ignores the potential existence of other religious communities in rural Pakistan. It is important to note that she calls Pakistan "a Muslim country" and thereby expresses agreement with the textbooks' reading of the Islamic character of Pakistan. This illustrates an effort to promote pluralism in accordance with an already existing frame. The teacher applies a layer of interpretation to the frame of the textbooks that is not alien to this frame. At the same time the teacher redefines the situation by advancing experiences of pluralism and an evaluation of the textbooks rather than a simple acceptance of its content. As the example below will explain, this element of evaluation introduces a second level of redefinition in the response of critique.

Adeena, from the last quote, told me about another interaction she commonly has with the students, in which they are encouraged to adopt a critical view of the textbook's narrative. In this interaction, she uses a game she calls "Chinese whispers." In this game, a person whispers a sentence into someone's ear and the person that receives the sentence has to repeat it to the next person. This process is continued through to the last person in the group, who then has to say the sentence she or he received out loud. Often this sentence is different from the sentence the first person whispered, because the participants (unintentionally) change it. The teacher shared that she uses this game to discuss the textbook's narrative of Pakistan's origin, especially the question whether Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a secularist. "Who is the witness of what Quaid-i-Azam said? That he

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[27] Interview INT_MS04.

said, 'Pakistan is only for the Muslims?' There is no proof Quaid-i-Azam used this word," she would say. Then the Chinese whisper game would be played to illustrate that people's account of events changes every time they share it. "In the time of 5 minutes you [the students, ed.] changed my sentence, then how can we know what Quaid-i-Azam said in 1947?" she would argue in conclusion. This form of critique does not just carefully question the established textbook frame, but also redefines the classroom situation as an evaluation of the textbook content and introduces an element of play in this evaluation.

Invoking authority

As demonstrated in much of the above, the teachers' responses to the textbooks often revolve around Pakistan's history. A widely used strategy to redefine textbook frames is the invocation of authorities of unquestionable repute. This response offers a redefinition of the country's history and of the relation between Christian and Pakistani identity, but does so in a way that is largely in accordance with the textbook understanding of historical authority. The teachers employ historical figures of authority, which are highly regarded in popular imagination and the textbooks, to speak on behalf of the teachers' redefinition of history.

Mohammad Jinnah is the historical character most prominently featuring in teachers' response to textbook content. Some of the textbooks say he wanted Pakistan to be an Islamic republic, as it is currently, but many teachers provide a different narrative to the students. They argue that he was a secularist, at least for part of his life. Islamization of Pakistan, they argue, only started after Jinnah died. Interestingly, authorities other than the teachers are often made to purport this alternative reading. A quote from Faizan, a teacher from St. Thomas School, illustrates how invoking influential and respected figures helps to buttress the reinterpretation of Pakistan's history.

Faizan:	"Sir Syed Ahmed Khan presented the two-nation theory, and Quaid-i-Azam also. They, both of them, are secular, but most Pakistanis do not accept this reality."
K.G.:	"Yes, I understand. And what does the book say? Islamist?"
Faizan:	"Yes, but I deeply know because I have passed my MSc in Pakistan Studies. That is why I know. The book says they were full and pure Muslims. But when I was studying our professor said, 'I am Muslim, but I will tell you the reality, please do not be angry with me.'"
K.G.:	"And what did he say?"
Faizan:	"He told us Quaid-i-Azam and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan were secular. Secular people. But some students got angry and stood up and said to the professor, 'Bay'ah.' That is the pledge of allegiance for Islam. The professor said, 'Listen man, listen, I am Muslim, I am a true Muslim, but the reality is the reality. Quaid-i-Azam's first wife was Rattanbai, Rattanbai was Hindu so Quaid-i-Azam was secular.'"[28]

Three observations help to understand this response of invocation of authority better. First, the teacher in the quotation above claims three authorities for her reading of Pakistan's history: Mohammad Jinnah, Syed Ahmed Khan and her college professor. Two of the three are long since deceased. The supposed founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Jinnah, only lived to see the country for one year. Syed Ahmed Khan was an Indian Muslim scholar who founded the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College (predecessor of Aligarh Muslim University) and died 1898. All

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[28] Interview INT_MS05.

three characters, however, are perceived by the teacher to have the authority to declare her account of Pakistan's history acceptable. Even though this account is a redefinition of the textbook frames, by advancing these characters, the teacher agrees with the textbooks on what constitutes an authoritative voice. Second, and also noteworthy, all three authorities are believed to be, or to have been, Muslims. Their religious identity clearly matters, as the interaction between the professor and students at her college also demonstrates. By highlighting the Muslim identity of the authorities, she acknowledges the importance of Islam in contemporary Pakistan. Her account diverges from the textbook frames historically, but does follow the relevant contemporary criteria for legitimization. Moreover, by pointing out the Islamic identity of the authorities that she claims support her secularist reading of Pakistan's origin, the teacher can prevent students from interpreting her redefinition as a Christian perspective. Third, the teacher presents the two historical figures, Syed Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as having been crucial for the development of the two-nation theory and eventually of Pakistani independence. Claiming to agree with their vision for the country implies a certain measure of loyalty or even patriotism to Pakistan. Her account of history is thus not a position against the current Islamic identity of Pakistan but rather as an embodiment of the authentic Pakistan, the Pakistan intended by its founders. This element of patriotism is also reflected in the response I call "copying."

Copying Pakistani heroism

Copying refers to a common response of teachers to the textbooks, in which they create space for Christian national heroism in Pakistan's history by copying an emphasis of heroism that is already established by the textbooks. In line with the textbook frames of national heroism, teachers portray influential people in Pakistan's history as heroes, particularly Christian heroes. Nayyar and Salim already identified this notion of heroism in the textbooks. They argue that "a composite of distorted stories of pre-Islamic India, falsified accounts of Muslim kings, distorted

justification of the two-nation theory, Muslim heroes and discussions of the superiority of Islamic principles replaced the subjects of history and geography" (Nayyar & Salim 2003: 67). The Christian teachers do not tend to downplay the role and importance of Muslim heroes in Pakistan's history, but rather argue that the discussion of Pakistan's historic leaders is biased toward Muslims. That is why they complement the historical account by highlighting the contribution of Christian heroes. The following interaction, which started with me asking about the mention of Christian leaders in the textbooks, illustrates this well.

Junaid: "No, no they are not [mentioned, ed.]. But there is this question, 'Name a few of the non-Muslim leaders?' [The teacher reads this question from a Social Studies book, ed.]. But they are not mentioned in the book so we have the freedom to answer this ourselves. So we can just let the students know about S.P. Singha."

K.G.:   "S.P. Singha?"

Junaid: "Yes. He is a beautiful example, a wonderful contribution. He was a Christian and he has done a great job for the Christians of Pakistan. He was a member of the Muslim League and he promoted the ideology of the Muslim League as well. He said to the Muslim League that we are Christians but we will not be with the British, we will support the Quaid-i-Azam. We want a separate country for the Muslims of India."[29]

Junaid also explained he often uses Alvin Robert Cornelius (the 1960 Chief Justice of Pakistan) and Cecil Chaudhry (an Air Force Group Captain who fought in Indo-Pakistani wars in 1965 and 1971) as examples of Christian heroism. These names

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[29] Interview INT_MS09.

seem to be part of a Pakistani Christian nationalist repertoire; they also featured at some of the other missionary schools. Even though this emphasis on Christian Pakistani heroes constitutes an attempt to redefine Pakistan's history in response to the textbooks, the efforts simultaneously demonstrate agreement with the established frames of Pakistani heroism.

The following two elements explain this well. First, the pronounced religious identity of Muslim heroes in the textbooks enables the teachers to emphasize the diversity in Pakistan and in the classroom. The teachers challenge the perceived bias in the textbooks by presenting some heroes as Christians, but can distinguish them by their religion because religion is already made salient by the textbook frames of Muslim heroes. Second, this excerpt and the historical characters put forward as heroes show that the teachers at missionary schools follow the same interpretation of heroism as is used in the textbooks. Heroism is understood as a contribution to Pakistan in terms of support for independence, developing the state, and protection of the country from potential treats. Emphasizing their Christian identity is an attempt to embed the Christian community in the historical narrative of Pakistan. The teachers redefine Pakistan as a country that belongs to Muslims as well as Christians without reducing the Islamic character of the country. Especially the choice to advance S.P. Singha and Justice Cornelius as heroic figures is interesting in this regard. As the teacher explained, the former voted for Pakistan as a separate country for the subcontinent's Muslims. The latter has even been described as someone "more Muslim than the Muslims" who argued that "the Islamic character of Pakistan must be maintained" (Braibanti 1999: 131).

It is my contention, therefore, that this image of Christian heroes should be perceived in light of the aforementioned conflation of Pakistani citizenship and Islamic identity. To be an exemplary citizen means to contribute to the development or protection of Pakistan as an Islamic Republic, which is exactly what these historical characters did. The efforts to present them as both Christian and as national heroes at missionary schools are examples of an attempt to reconcile Christian identity with Islamic-defined Pakistani citizenship. The teachers do

interpret history differently from the textbooks in their emphasis on Christian heroes, but ensure that national heroism carries the same meaning it does for the Muslims in the textbooks.

Discussion

The Christian teachers' responses, i.e., keyings and shifts in footing, to the textbooks constitute efforts to reframe the textbook content with regard to religion and religious difference. In the above, I have discussed these responses separately; in this paragraph I will look at their mutual relations. In this regard it is interesting to mention that keying and footing can also occur simultaneously. While the above nearly separated the two, the keying of a frame can actually be employed from a different footing (Ensink & Sauer 2003: 63; Matsumoto 2011: 594). The response of invocation, in which teachers speak on behalf of an authoritative figure (be it their college professor or a prominent historical figure from Pakistan's history), is thus a process of keying as well as a shift in footing. The teachers key the textbook content from a more pluralist and inclusive perspective, and at the same time change their footing by claiming to represent an authority from outside the classroom, which legitimizes their keying.

Below I will first explore how the keyings contain elements of frame agreement and frame dispute with the textbooks simultaneously and, as such, strategically attempt to negotiate Christian identity in relation to Pakistani nationhood. Second, I will discuss the teachers' use of keyings and shifts in footing with regard to religious difference. This will demonstrate that, in line with Nelson's findings, teachers avoid religious difference in some settings and especially intra-Islamic difference. In other settings however, the distinction between Christians and Muslims is acknowledged. I will briefly comment on the relationship between keying and footing in the different responses.

Agreement and dispute through keyings

As the above has shown, the teachers' responses that constitute keyings, are attempts to negotiate Christian identity in relation to of the textbook frames of Pakistan's history, society and national identity. As such, the keyings, critique, invocation, and copying, exhibit a measure of frame agreement and frame dispute simultaneously. To put it simple: they introduce a novel element to the textbook frames, while also agreeing with parts of these frames. Goffman has argued that this can be thought of as adding another layer or "lamination" to an already existing frame, a layer that has to contain a measure of congruency with the existing frame (Goffman 1947: 81). It seems to me that agreement in this sense does not necessarily mean support of the frames or even consensus. Rather, it may imply what some have called a "pseudo-accord" (Wine 2008: 2), in which there is agreement about the boundaries of negotiation, that is, the rules or limits within which keying can be employed.

This characteristic of simultaneous agreement and disagreement with existing frames is clearly demonstrated in the teachers' keying responses, especially in copying and invocation. For the response in which the teachers copy Muslim examples of heroism and apply this to Christian examples, for example, the novel element is the Christian identity of the "heroes," while the agreement with the textbooks consists of the nationalist definition of heroism. Within the defined limits of Pakistani nationalist heroism the teachers can thus negotiate space for Christian identity. Similarly, the response in which the teachers invoke historical authoritative figures (e.g., Muhammad Jinnah and Syed Ahmad Khan) introduces the reinterpretation of Pakistan's original purpose as "secular" or religiously pluralist, as opposed to Islamic. At the same time, it agrees with the textbook understanding of authoritative voices, by invoking these historical figures. As such, the reframing, or reinterpretation efforts, contain agreement and stay within certain limits.

Textbook responses and religious difference

In line with previous studies of religion and religious difference in Pakistani schools, some of the teachers' responses are shown to deemphasize or even avoid differences and distinctions between different religions. Nelson's findings about the denial of intra-Islamic difference are confirmed by the harmonizing responses of avoidance and foregrounding. The teachers employ these shifts in footing, avoiding religious identities and foregrounding non-religious meta-identities, in response to perceived danger of division or conflict between students. While Nelson related the denial of intrareligious difference to Pakistani notions of national identity and the homogeneity of Islamic nationhood (Nelson 2008: 282), this study has shown that these differences are also avoided or deemphasized in order to maintain group cohesion on a classroom level. This aim of cohesion, or of mitigating division, confirms Snow and Benford's claim that reframings can be employed "when the existence of competing or conflicting beliefs within a group threatens its coherence and increases the prospect of schism or fractionalization" (Snow & Benford 2000: 10). This also explains why the teachers do not just avoid religious difference, but also foreground identities that maintain or reinforce the unity and cohesion of the group, like being "human" and a part of a "school family." Foregrounding and emphasizing these identities constitute attempts to minimize the chance of religious difference leading to division and conflict.

It must be noted however, that the teachers do not present an unambiguous approach to religious difference. In order to negotiate Christian identity, in relation to Pakistan's history, society and national identity, the teachers also have to differentiate Christian identity and religious difference in some situations. As discussed, the keying responses aim to reinterpret Pakistani identity as religiously pluralist and emphasize the distinction between Pakistani Christians and Muslims. Certainly, the teachers emphasize sameness, or equality, in terms of citizenship and nationhood, but through copying, critique and invocation, attempt to include religious difference within this national unity.

As such, the teachers' approach to religious difference resembles Nelson's observation of an understanding of unity and equality in which diversity is embraced (Nelson 2008: 284). The discussion of previous studies earlier in this chapter however, shown that this understanding of religious difference at Pakistani schools is usually associated with "elite English-medium private schools," and GSCE A and O-level examinations (Rahman 2004: 315; Nelson 2008: 282). At the same time, I have mentioned Nelson's claim that efforts to embrace religious difference can also emerge from "autonomous interpretive acts" (Nelson 2014: 178). Given the fact that most missionary schools in this study are not "elite" schools and use the "government curriculum," the teachers' interventions (keying and shifts in footing) can be perceived as pedagogical agency within the institutional context of a church-affiliated school. At different occasions teachers justified their responses to the textbooks based on the schools identity and the diverse student population. The interpretative interventions and negotiation of religious difference employed by the teachers thus seem to be facilitated by the interplay of religious diversity among the students and the Christian identity of the school.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored how Christian teachers at missionary schools engage with the frames of Social Studies textbooks in Pakistan, especially content with regard to religious identity and religious diversity. The teachers find much of the textbook content objectionable and I have identified five different responses they use to negotiate Christian identity and religious difference in relation to this content. Each response illustrates aspects of the teachers understandings of Islam and Christianity in Pakistan, their own position as Christian teachers in a religiously diverse setting, and of the social processes they employ in interactions about religion in the classroom.

The Christian teachers' responses of avoiding religious identities and foregrounding of inclusive meta-identities constitute shifts in footing. These shifts

are a means of harmonizing the classroom situation when the textbooks evoke religious differentiation or emphasize religious difference that the teachers consider undesirable or even dangerous. The process of footing enables the teachers to reconfigure the relationships between students, between themselves and the students, and between themselves, the students and the textbook frames. They emphasize the students' non-religious and inclusive identities, such as human or Pakistani. At the same time, they foreground their own identity as guardians who provide protection against perceived divisive religious identities. When religious differentiation is perceived as a threat, the footing responses represent the teachers attempt to maintain or restore the coherence of the group.

This study has demonstrated that the keying responses of critique, invocation and copying are employed to negotiate space for Christian identity and religious difference in relation to an Islamic emphasis of textbook content on Pakistani history and society. The teachers' keyings of the textbook frames redefine Pakistani identity as well as Pakistan's history and society as religiously pluralist. They perceive the textbook narrative as Islamic and exclusionist, and through the keyings, aim to establish a more inclusive account with space for Christian identity. The response of copying has demonstrated this process well. Copying keys the textbook content by using its rationale for national heroism in the history of Pakistan to apply it to Christian historical characters, demonstrating the roots and loyalty of Christians to Pakistan as an Islamic state. The textbook rationale for heroism (contribution to Pakistan as an Islamic state) is adopted from the textbook frames, but the textbooks are simultaneously keyed by the teachers' claim that Pakistani heroism and patriotism is not limited to Muslims only.

Like the other keying responses, copying simultaneously exhibits agreement and dispute with the textbooks frames. The response of critique, for example, disputes the historical narrative of Pakistan's origin as exclusively Islamic, while it agrees with the textbooks on contemporary Pakistan being a "Muslim country." These simultaneous components of agreement and dispute confirm

Goffman's understanding of keying as applying a layer of meaning to already-existing and meaningful frames.

The third keying response, invocation, lets (historical) characters of authority speak on behalf of the teachers. In doing so the teachers transpose authority from the textbooks through these historical characters to themselves. The teachers' account lets these authorities say something different about Pakistan's history in relation to Islam than the textbooks do. This demonstrates that one response can contain a keying as well as a shift in footing. In Goffman's terms, invocation is an illustration of an "embedded" utterance (Goffman 1981: 227), and as such, a form of footing. This embedded speech is used to redefine the textbook content on Pakistan's history and thus also keys the existing frames.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

Introduction

In this dissertation about Pakistani Christians, I have used four case studies to explore how civically engaged and self-identified "Christian" or "church-affiliated" organizations (the Christian Study Centre, the National Commission for Justice and Peace, and missionary schools) are involved in processes of negotiation of Pakistani Christian identity in semi-public settings. The main question was how these organizations negotiate both their own religious identity and Pakistani Christian identity in general, in relation to various others with whom they interact in semi-public settings. The selection of CSC, NCJP and the missionary schools was thus informed by their similarity in terms of Christian identification, but also by their involvement in wider society. The semi-public engagement of the organizations entails interaction with others, such as various Islamic groups, political parties and actors, as well as other Christian organizations.

This dissertation has approached identity and identity negotiation as processes of interaction in which actors and organizations develop expressions of identity and communicate identity in specific settings, i.e., in relation to specific "others." Communication of identity has thus been central in this dissertation. In order to analyze and conceptualize the ways in which Pakistani Christians employ and attribute meaning to the term "Christian identity" in both colloquial and formal conversation, I have utilized the concepts of "identity talk" and "framing." As explained in chapter one, following Goffman, this study understands framing as the process of producing and promoting interpretative schemas of specific events, such as the textbooks in chapters five and six. Identity talk, in line with contributions from social movement scholarship, is here approached as accounts of identity through which actors make associative claims or distance themselves from others.

Both analytical tools thus enabled me to comprehend the perspectives, interpretations, identity claims, and efforts of distancing and association that Pakistani Christians employ. Many of these components of framing and identity talk will resurface at various occasions throughout this conclusion.

In order to investigate Pakistani Christian identity negotiation, I conducted fieldwork in Pakistan in the period from March to June 2014 and from February 2015 until February 2016. Data collection took place through qualitative research methods, especially unstructured and semi-structured interviews and participant observations, as well as document analysis and literature study.

The findings of this dissertation demonstrate that Pakistani Christians employ continuously changing categories of identity, which transpire on different levels. The research also showed that identity communication processes are typically a response to perceptions and interpretations of the wider social and political context and of the specific settings in which the Christian organizations under investigation operate. In order to substantiate this more generic conclusion, I will present the results of this study in two sections. Considering the responsive and interactional character of Christian identity negotiation, I will first detail the findings pertaining to Pakistani Christian perceptions and experiences of their social and political context. Experiences of the Islamization of Pakistan, of precarious interfaith relations, and of a vulnerability of Christian identity will be shown as relevant for the vocation and identity negotiation of the different organizations. In the second section, I will present the specific findings regarding Pakistani Christian identity negotiation from the different case studies through a discussion of six strategies or patterns of identity negotiation.

Christian experiences of a "homeland for Muslims"

Christian experiences of the context of Pakistan can best be understood against the background of the political and legal realities of the country. This dissertation has demonstrated that Pakistani Christian identity negotiation is shaped by perceptions

of concrete legislation, like the separate electorates and the blasphemy laws, and of actual events, like the "Youhanabad incident." The Islamic character and the Islamization of Pakistan are central to the way the organizations in this study understand and position themselves. Time and again during my research it became evident that contemporary Christian experiences of social and political exclusion and alienation are fashioned by a context in which Pakistani belonging is defined in Islamic terms. Negotiations of Pakistani Christian identity are often a response to these experiences of exclusion. Three concrete examples from the case studies may serve to prove this point, as they evidence how these experiences of the Pakistani context impact the vocation and activities of the Christian organizations.

First, chapters two and three have demonstrated that the legislation regarding blasphemy has been widely analyzed and problematized in legal and political studies. Pakistani Christians and Christian organizations are also involved in these discussions about the blasphemy laws and commonly protest against "misuse of the laws." However, these political debates are not the only way in which the blasphemy laws impact the life of Christians. This study has made clear that the experiences and stories of Pakistanis (Muslims and Christians) who received blasphemy accusations also impact Christian-Muslim encounters in Pakistan. This study has shown that this impact consists primarily of fear of blasphemy accusations in the context of interfaith dialogue. The CSC case study in chapter four makes clear that fear of blasphemy accusations has resulted in reluctance among both Muslims and Christians to participate in Christian-Muslim programs that focus on theological issues. This directly affects CSC's understanding of its programs, as illustrated by the organization's focus on "interfaith harmony" and its attempts to navigate certain perceptions of the religious other in Christian-Muslim dialogue. I will return to this later in this conclusion.

Second, events and stories of violence against Christians in Pakistan have become part of a narrative of Pakistani Christian insecurity. An example of this are the suicide attacks on two churches in Youhanabad in March 2015, which served to sketch the context and dynamics of CSC's work in chapter four. This chapter makes

clear that these attacks are perceived to be part of a long list of violent "incidents" against Christians. The list of "incidents" constitutes a narrative or memory, which substantiates the Pakistani Christian perception that the interreligious relations in Pakistan are precarious, which in turn makes the encounter with the religious other a potentially vulnerable situation. Again, these "incidents" and experiences partially explain CSC's focus on interfaith harmony and its quest to foreground shared meta-identities between Christians and Muslims like "humanity" and "Pakistani." Similarly, experiences of religious conflict prompt Christian teachers to foreground inclusive (non-religious) identities at the missionary schools, as shown in chapter six. As such, the stories and experiences of violence and interreligious precariousness help to understand why Pakistani Christians deemphasize religious difference in situations that are perceived to be at risk of division and conflict, even though the organizations in this study all claim Christian identity.

A third example of how the political and social reality in Pakistan impacts the vocation and activities of Christian organizations is the case study of NCJP. This case study illuminated NCJP's response to the involvement of Islamic (political) groups in the development of textbooks. As chapter five has shown, in NCJP's experience, "Islamic elements" exercise considerable influence on the formation of textbooks used in Pakistani schools. While NCJP challenges the textbook content, the involvement of these Islamic groups in the textbook formation process is largely ignored in the organization's lobby efforts. NCJP explained this neglect by referring to its Christian identity; the organization perceives that its Catholic identity could potentially evoke allegations of Pakistani disloyalty. This perception is based on narratives about other Catholic actors who have been accused of secretly entertaining a "Western agenda." The past experiences of Catholic Pakistanis being labeled as foreigners and disloyal to the Pakistani nation restricts NCJP's framing efforts, in the sense that the organization refrains from attributing blame for textbook content on the involvement of Islamic actors in the textbook development process.

These three examples demonstrate how the social and political context of Pakistan as well as the Christian experiences of this context affect the vocation and identity negotiation of the organizations investigated in this study. Identity negotiation is thus situated in both this context and these experiences. The particularities of the others (e.g., Islamic groups, the Pakistani state) in the negotiation processes, together with Christian perceptions of these others, to a large extent, shape Pakistani Christian images, categories and strategies to engage with identity.

Strategies of identity negotiation

The interactional and responsive nature of identity negotiation implies that Pakistani Christians employ a variety of self-identifications, identity categories and claims. Below I will discuss six strategies of identity negotiation. Most of these will demonstrate the importance of the other involved in the setting.

The strategies of identity negotiation are divided into two categories. Strategies one to four constitute negotiations of Christian identity on the level of Pakistani identity and nationhood. Based on the quote in the title of this dissertation, "Christians by faith, Pakistani by citizenship," one might expect that these strategies follow a simple pattern of religious otherness and national sameness. While it is certainly true that Pakistani Christians claim Pakistani citizenship and identity, they also attempt to negotiate the terms and meaning of Pakistani nationhood.

Strategies five and six focus on how Pakistani Christians negotiate identity in response to an emphasis on religious difference. These strategies demonstrate that the organizations in this dissertation counter perceived interfaith conflict or inappropriate attitudes to religious difference by foregrounding meta-identities and attempts to harmonize differences.

Christian identity and Pakistani identity

Through the first four strategies, Pakistani Christians negotiate religious identity in relation to national identity. The first of these strategies consists of reinterpretations of Pakistan's historical and origin narrative. Second is Pakistani Christians' efforts to create space for Christian identity in Pakistani nationhood. The third strategy attempts to prove Christian belonging in the context of Pakistan, through concrete examples of Pakistani Christian nation building. Fourth is the strategy through which Christians employ and expand vocabularies and identity categories in order claim legal and institutional recognition in the textbooks in Pakistan.

Pakistan's original purpose

The first strategy relates to how Pakistani Christians are engaged in debates about the history and purpose of Pakistan. Pakistan's origin narrative has an important place in these debates. Chapters two and three have shown that some academic studies of this history claim Pakistan was already envisioned as an Islamic state before partition, while others argue that Pakistan's original purpose was "secular" or pluralist and that Islamization only emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. Pakistani Christians often claim this original secular or religiously pluralist origin narrative in discussions of Pakistan's history.

The case studies in which this strategy was most evident are the ones about education reform and the missionary schools. NCJP, like many other organizations in the field of textbook reform, framed the textbook content on Pakistan's history as a distortion of history and biased towards an Islamic perspective. Interestingly, the "blame" for this bias is attributed to Zia-ul-Haq, indicating the above-mentioned perspective of a late Islamization, while Muhammad Ali Jinnah is argued to have promoted a religiously diverse Pakistan. This claim of Jinnah having established a religiously plural Pakistan was even more pronounced as it emerged among the teachers at the missionary schools. The teachers employed this strategy as a

reinterpretation or reframing of the textbook content, which they perceived as supporting a reading of Pakistan's history and purpose that is exclusively Islamic. In the teachers' reinterpretation of the textbook content, Jinnah and other founding fathers were claimed to have envisioned Pakistan as a "secular" or religiously diverse country. In this reinterpretation, Pakistan is thus presented as a country in which the state was originally not involved in people's personal religious matters and in which Islam did not dictate Pakistan's politics. The invocation of historical characters of authority, like Jinnah, Syed Ahmed Khan and Allama Iqbal, is instrumental in this negotiation. This strategy enables the teachers to deviate from the textbook content and to let these authorities voice a different perspective on Pakistan's history in relation to Islam than the textbooks do, without having to question the authority of these historical characters. Moreover, the references to these historical characters present the reinterpretation as being in accordance with Pakistan's original purpose and legitimize the validity of the teachers' perspective of history. By claiming these authoritative Muslim voices as a part of a religiously diverse or non-religious definition of nationhood, Pakistani Christians enable themselves to prove that their position is neither hostile to Islam nor unpatriotic.

Christian space in Pakistani nationhood

In line with the Islamic reading of Pakistan's history as reflected in the textbooks, there is a widespread understanding in Pakistan of Pakistani nationhood and national identity being based on Islam. On several occasions in this dissertation I have mentioned this "coalescence of identities" or religious nationalism; this study has also demonstrated how Pakistani Christians have responded to this conceptualization of Pakistani nationhood.

Again, teachers at missionary schools criticized the textbook emphasis on the Islamic character and identity of the country and its citizens and deemed it a biased perspective. The teachers responded to the textbook equation of being Pakistanis and being Muslim by highlighting the religious diversity in the country

and citing specific examples of this diversity, such as the presence of churches in Pakistani villages in response to textbook omission of churches in Pakistan. Negotiating Christian presence in Pakistan also takes place in relation to political actors. The contestation over religious demographics discussed in chapter two is one example. Many Christians and Christian organizations question official statistics on the relative size of the Christian community in the country and argue that Christians, or minorities in general, constitute a larger presence in Pakistan than the official statistics present.

Besides this contestation of demographics, the very terminology of "community" and "minority" already speaks to efforts to create space for Christian identity in Pakistani nationhood. Both terms are employed by Christians to situate themselves as a religious group embedded in Pakistani society. The case study of CSC's history demonstrates these efforts well. In chapter three I have shown that in response to experiences of Islamization in the 1970s and 1980s, CSC increasingly began to employ terms like "Christian minority" and "Christian community." These terms were also imposed upon Pakistani Christians, partly by the government in its efforts to formally recognize certain religious minorities, and partly by academic and policy-oriented studies that applied the term "minority" to Pakistani Christians, as demonstrated in chapter two. Nevertheless, in many of its publications in *Al-Mushir*, CSC also adopts and appropriates the category "minority." The conclusion that the use of this term in *Al-Mushir* is a means to create space for Christian identity, i.e., distinctiveness within Pakistani identity, is corroborated by two corresponding and interconnected developments. First, the use of "minority" goes alongside efforts to distance Pakistani Christianity from Western Christianity and to associate Pakistani Christianity with Pakistan's cultural and religious heritage. In many of CSC's publications from the 1980s the relevance of Western Christianity for Pakistani Christians is rejected, while the importance of Islamic traditions for Pakistani Christianity and Christian theology is emphasized. Second, the term "minority" is commonly accompanied by claims of citizenship. Again, these claims are often employed in response to experiences of exclusion as a result of Islamization and

Islamic nationhood. In opposition to labels of Pakistani Christians as "dhimmis" or "second-class citizens," CSC presents and advances the citizenship of Christians in Pakistan as socially and politically equal to citizenship of other religious groups.

Of course, among Pakistani Christians in general there is a variety of perspectives of what Pakistani nationhood entails, but a common and important pattern is that religious identity does not have any bearing on Pakistani citizenship. The religious difference, implied in CSC and other organizations' Christian identity, is complemented by claims of political and social equality, and as such constitutes a means to negotiate Christian space within Pakistani nationhood.

Proving Christian Pakistani belonging

Apart from Christian identity negotiations through reinterpretation of Pakistani history and claims of Christian citizenship within the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, this dissertation has also demonstrated Christian efforts to emphasize, or even prove belonging in relation to Pakistani identity. These claims of association and belonging commonly take shape against the background of above-mentioned allegations of entertaining a "Western agenda" or "Western loyalty."

CSC employs social engagement as proof of national loyalty and belonging. In response to experiences of exclusion, for example, through narrow Islamic definitions of Pakistani nationhood, CSC presents the organization as belonging to Pakistan and operating in service of Pakistani nation building. This was illustrated in chapter three which evidenced that CSC's associative claims of being "sons and daughters" of Pakistan were corroborated by commitments to social engagement and efforts of nation building. Christian commitment to nation building and contributions to society, in the form of schools and hospitals, is presented to prove loyalty and belonging to Pakistan, especially in a context where this loyalty is disputed.

A similar attempt to negotiate belonging emerged in the case study about NCJP. While the organization self-identifies as a Catholic organization, is known as

such, and sees itself as part of a religious minority, NCJP still presents its human rights advocacy and educational reform lobbying as a matter of nation building and a service to national interests or to the public good. In its efforts for textbook reform, NCJP frames the contested textbook content in terms of educational quality, security and constitutionality, which communicate a concern for national interests as opposed to minority issues. NCJP's linking of "hate material" with terrorism and extremism is especially interesting in this regard. NCJP claims that the textbooks' negative images and attitudes towards religious others, by NCJP defined as "hate material," are a cause of insecurity and violence and, as such, a problem for all Pakistanis.

The third place where I encountered Christian efforts to prove Pakistani belonging was at the missionary schools. At these schools many teachers feel that the current textbook content promotes an exclusionary Islamic account of Pakistani nationhood. In response, Pakistani Christian teachers regularly foreground historical Christian figures to prove Christian involvement in nation building. Both teachers at missionary schools and participants in CSC's programs typically reference the contribution of people like S.P. Singha, Alvin Robert Cornelius (Justice Cornelius) and Cecil Chaudhry to the Pakistani national interests. Invocation of these historical figures reveals an interesting pattern in Christian claims of Pakistani identity. As attempts to prove Christian belonging and include Christian identity within Pakistani nationhood, this strategy still largely follows an Islamic frame of understanding national identity. The above-mentioned Pakistani Christians are brought to the fore to prove Christian support for an independent Pakistan for Indian Muslims. Chapter six has shown that Justice Cornelius was known to prefer Islamic legislation in the context of Pakistan, and Cecil Chaudhry is famous for his involvement in the wars between India and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. Negotiation of space for Christian identity in relation to Pakistani nationhood and belonging thus opposes the exclusion of Christians from Pakistani identity, it does not, however, necessarily challenge the Islamic connotation of this identity. The emphasis on proof of Pakistani belonging

adds a layer or, in Goffman's terms, "lamination" of meaning to existing definitions of Pakistani nationhood, without challenging the Islamic character of Pakistan.

Appropriating vocabularies

In their social and political engagement, the Christian organizations under discussion can be seen to employ an established terminology and vocabulary from the wider society and to appropriate these terms in order to promote the organization's perspectives and concerns.

NCJP's use of existing terminologies and interpretations in the field of education reform constitutes one example of this strategy. Being embedded in a field that has an established discourse of the textbook content on religion, NCJP adopts and reinterprets the terms used in this field. In this respect, the organization's use of the aforementioned "hate material" is of particular interest. Chapter five has shown that, while the established meaning of this term was mostly considered to refer to negative depictions of India and Hindus, NCJP extended this meaning to include textbook content on all minorities and non-Muslim others. As a result, "biased" or "intolerant" content on Christians was also problematized as "hate material." Other organizations have interpreted "hate material" as the result of the two-nation theory and Hindu-Muslim antagonism. NCJP's extension of the term enables the organization to address textbook content pertaining to other minorities as well, including Pakistani Christians.

A similar discursive extension emerged in NCJP's appropriation of the unconstitutionality of textbook content. While other organizations in the field of textbook reform argue that religious content on non-religious subjects is against Pakistan's constitution, NCJP extends this frame to the subject of Ethics. According to the organization the course Ethics violates the law because it is biased in favor of Islam, even though the subject is meant as an alternative to the subject of Islamiyat for non-Muslim students. Extending this frame of unconstitutionality to the subject of Ethics enables NCJP to lobby for non-biased religious education for minority

students in their own religious tradition. Again, while the terminology is adopted from other organizations, NCJP's appropriation enables it to negotiate Christian identity in its textbook reform efforts.

Christian identity and interreligious relations

While the strategies discussed above negotiate Christian identity in relation to Islamic conceptions of Pakistani history, society and nationhood, the strategies below are more concerned with religious diversity in the public domain. As such, these identity negotiations emerge in response to perceptions of precarious interreligious relations and perceptions of inappropriate views and attitudes towards religious difference. Foregrounding of meta-identities and facilitating experiences of interfaith harmony are thus a means for Pakistani Christians to mitigate perceived threats to religious difference and Christian identity.

Meta-identities

Another strategy with which Pakistani Christians negotiate Christian identity and religious diversity in Pakistan is through the introduction and foregrounding of meta-identities. These identities are non-religious categories or labels that the various organizations in this study employ to deemphasize religious difference and emphasize sameness. In a way, Pakistani Christian engagement with national identity, as discussed above, already constitutes an example of foregrounding a meta-identity. As the above has shown, however, because of the Islamic connotation attributed to national identity in Pakistan, foregrounding this identity as non-religious requires considerable reinterpretation.

A clear example of foregrounding meta-identities can be found in the case study of the missionary schools. Chapter six has shown that the teachers at these schools foreground meta-identities in response to textbook content that highlights religious difference between Christian and Muslim students. The textbook content

and at times the students themselves introduce religious difference, or intra-Islamic difference, into the classroom setting. Out of pedagogical reasons, or fear that an emphasis on difference might lead to division and conflict between the students, the teachers foreground identities like belonging to a "school family" or having a shared "humanity." These meta-identities are commonly foregrounded in settings where religious differentiation, or religious difference, is perceived as a threat to organizational cohesion and harmony. As such, foregrounding these identities enables the missionary schools to conciliate or harmonize religious difference. Below I will discuss how CSC employed this same strategy, also in response to religious difference, based on the findings of chapter three.

Interfaith harmony

Due to its focus on relations between Christians and Muslims, CSC's vocation is inherently concerned with religious diversity and religious difference. As chapter four has evidenced, CSC's approach to interreligious relations is marked by efforts to bridge religious difference. The term "interfaith harmony" has a central place in these bridging efforts, as it is the aim of the dialogue between Christians and Muslims. Below I will briefly discuss the background and function of this harmonizing approach to religious difference. Moreover, I will demonstrate that this approach to Christian identity and religious difference in the context of CSC precipitates an intra-Christian front of identity negotiation.

The case study about CSC's focus on interfaith harmony has shown that the term "harmony" emerged as an aim of dialogue in a context of Islamization and of perceived precariousness of interreligious relations. While CSC certainly does not deny or ignore religious difference, the way the teachers at missionary schools occasionally do, the organization nevertheless carefully negotiates religious difference. At CSC, Christian identity is accompanied by pluralist and inclusive terminology, such as "belief in interfaith" and "interfaith friends." These terms, together with CSC's aim to promote interfaith harmony, seem to be an effort to

bridge religious divides and difference. Moreover, as expounded upon in chapter four, CSC employs various strategies to navigate how religious difference is discussed in interfaith dialogue, with the aim of harmony in mind. For example, through channeling perceived inappropriate attitudes and understandings of the religious other are corrected in order to prevent these understandings from entering the dialogue. This constitutes an important aspect of CSC's strategies to promote harmony. Moreover, through its disavowal of evangelism, as well as its rejection of politicized religion, the organization aspires to promote harmony and respect for religious "otherness" between Christians and Muslims.

Through these strategies, CSC relegates perceived inappropriate understandings of religious difference from certain settings and programs in interfaith dialogue. One of the effects of this strategy is a mutual distancing between CSC and "evangelical" Christians. CSC sets the parameters for dialogue between Christians and Muslims relatively wide, as demonstrated by the involvement of Salafi, Deobandi and evangelical educational organizations in its programs. Still, CSC explicitly rejects conversionist attitudes. Moreover, some Muslim and Hindu "interfaith friends" appear to be more proximate to the organization than evangelicals that do not "belief in interfaith harmony." Similarly, evangelicals distance themselves from CSC by labeling the organization as "liberal."

One could argue that this disassociation is a political necessity for CSC in order to maintain a good public standing. In my analysis, however, it is also part of CSC's normative framework with regard to interfaith dialogue, which aims at harmony. This is corroborated by the fact that CSC's conciliatory approach to religious difference emerged in the late 1970s, has a long history and does not seem to depend on political contingency, as demonstrated in chapter three regarding CSC's history.

At the same time, CSC's response to intra-Christian objections to interfaith dialogue as "mixing religions," or to CSC itself as a "liberal" organization, demonstrates the complexity of identity negotiations for CSC. In the setting of intra-Christian relations, CSC has to claim or reaffirm its Christian identity and reconcile

Christian faith and interfaith dialogue aimed at harmony. Within CSC's careful attempts to navigate Christian identity in interfaith dialogue, the organization is thus also required to negotiate Christian identity and Christian-Muslim difference with other Christian groups and organizations in Pakistan.

Suggestions for further research

The six strategies of identity negotiation discussed above provide a detailed understanding of how CSC, NCJP and the missionary schools investigated in this study communicate religious identity and religious difference in different settings in Pakistan. The interactional nature of the concept of identity negotiation effectively served to understand the communication of Pakistani Christians' identity as a response to contextual realities and Christian experiences and perceptions thereof. The concept acknowledges the importance of both the Pakistani context and Pakistani Christian agency in the ways these organizations engage with identity. Developments in this context, such as the emergence of Islamic nationhood, Islamization, and violence and insecurity shape Pakistani Christian identity negotiation to an extent. At the same time, Christian framing and identity talk also shape the images and understandings of Christian identity and difference that are presented in the public domain. The variety of negotiation strategies in relation to national identity and to interreligious relations, as discussed above, demonstrates this importance of both context and agency.

In light of this importance, two avenues for future research could be explored. First, it would be meaningful to repeat this study in a different context. How would Christian identity negotiation take place in a secular Muslim majority context? It seems likely that processes of negotiation would unfold differently in contexts without Islamic legislation and blasphemy laws. Theological differences and questions could be much more central to interreligious dialogue in places where the terms of citizenship are further removed from religion. In contrast with the above, the significance of identity claims in relation to national identity might be

minimal in a context devoid of elements of religious nationhood. Moreover, Pakistani Christian memory of violent "incidents" targeted at Christians, and reminders of these events through security issues and measures in everyday life, shape the negotiation of identity and religious difference. Contexts without concerns related to security, violence or perceptions of precarious interfaith relations would most probably generate different identity claims and might warrant far less emphasis on non-religious commonality and "interfaith harmony."

Second, this study could also be replicated with a different religious group or different organizations within the same context. As the discussion of mutual distancing between CSC and some evangelical Christians already indicates, there are different approaches to negotiation of identity and religious difference among Pakistani Christians. One might expect that Christian identity would be communicated differently by organizations that are less engaged in semi-public settings. Moreover, how do other recognized religious minorities in Pakistan negotiate their identity in relation to others? The historical developments that have shaped the socio-economic configuration of the Pakistani Christian community will be very different for other religious minorities. In contrast with Pakistani Christians, Hinduism is most likely not associated with the West, but might be perceived and accused of being loyal to India within the framework of antagonism between India and Pakistan. Ahmadi Muslims only became a "non-Muslim minority" in 1974, when the government of Pakistan formally designated them as such, and have since been prohibited to claim certain aspects of Islam and Muslim identity. Pakistani Hindu and Ahmadi Muslim agency and identity negotiation might thus be a very different process and involve different strategies than Christian communication of identity. Increased understanding of how different religious minorities in Pakistan engage their identity could provide additional valuable information regarding the interplay between historical socio-economic and religious characteristics of minority organizations and the social and political context.

Appendix I: Primary data

Interviews

Case study: Christian Study Centre

Pseudonym	Date	Reference (audio recording)
Kashif	2015-12-10	INT_CSC01; INT_CSC01a; INT_CSC01b
Asmi	2015-12-11	INT_CSC02
	2016-02-20	INT_CSC06; INT_CSC06a
Rubina	2015-12-02	INT_CSC03
Salam	2016-02-18	INT_CSC04; INT_CSC04a; INT_CSC04b
Zeeshan	2015-12-08	INT_CSC05
Pervez	2016-01-10	INT_CSC07
Saima	2015-12-11	INT_CSC08
Rahim	2015-11-20	INT_CSC09
Akram	2015-11-27	INT_CSC10
Faisal	2016-01-30	INT_CSC11
Usman	2016-01-31	INT_CSC12; INT_CSC12a;
Qasim	2016-01-15	INT_CSC13; INT_CSC13a; INT_CSC13b

Emmanuel	2016-01-11	INT_CSC14
Saba	2016-01-24	INT_CSC15; INT_CSC15a
Shahid	2016-02-14	INT_CSC16; INT_CSC16a
Naveed	2016-02-14	INT_CSC17
Saad	2016-01-25	INT_CSC18; INT_CSC18a
Rashid	2016-01-28	INT_CSC19; INT_CSC19a; INT_CSC19b; INT_CSC19c
Tariq	2016-02-18	INT_CSC20; INT_CSC20a
Abbas	2015-06-03	INT_CSC21

Case study: Missionary schools

Pseudonym	Date	Reference (audio recording)
Azmia	2015-06-04	INT_MS01; INT_MS01a
Latif	2015-06-08	INT_MS02
Shaima	2015-06-08	INT_MS03
Adeena	2015-06-09	INT_MS04
Faizan	2015-06-09	INT_MS05
Mahmoud	2015-11-06	INT_MS06
Imran	2015-11-06	INT_MS07
Rashid	2015-06-18	INT_MS08

Junaid	2015-06-18	INT_MS08
Farhan	2015-06-05	INT_MS09
Reza	2015-10-13	INT_MS10
Mani	2015-10-13	INT_MS10
Sahar	2015-06-11	INT_MS11
Wahid	2015-06-09	INT_MS12
Yusuf	2015-06-09	INT_MS13
Bano	2015-06-09	INT_MS14
Zenab	2015-06-08	INT_MS15
Maya	2015-06-05	INT_MS16

Case study: National Commission for Justice and Peace

Pseudonym	Date	Reference (audio recording)
Sarah	2016-01-25	INT_ER01
Dua	2016-01-25	INT_ER01
Dunya	2016-01-25	INT_ER02 INT_ER02a INT_ER02b
Tahir	2016-01-25	INT_ER03
Ramsha	2015-06-12	INT_ER04
Yasmin	2016-02-08	INT_ER05 INT_ER05a
Amina	2016-01-17	INT_ER06 INT_ER06a INT_ER06b
Rehman	2015-06-17	INT_ER07 INT_ER07a

		INT_ER07b
Afzal	2016-01-25	INT_ER08
		INT_ER08a
		INT_ER08b
		INT_ER08c

Fieldwork reports

Event	Date	Reference
Program at CSC	15 March 2014	FWR_01
Meeting at CSC	22 April 2014	FWR_02
Staff meeting at CSC	6 June 2014	FWR_03
Program at CSC	9 June 2014	FWR_04
Meeting at CSC	26 February 2015	FWR_05
Program at CSC	27 March 2015	FWR_06
Meeting at NCJP	25 May 2015	FWR_07
Program at CSC	15 June 2015	FWR_08
Conference at Church of Pakistan	6 October 2015	FWR_09
Visits at partner organizations CSC	28 January 2016	FWR_11
Conference at CSC	6 November 2017	FWR_12

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Het belang van islam in Pakistan, voor zowel maatschappij als politiek, kan nauwelijks worden overschat. In 1947 verkreeg het land onafhankelijkheid van Brits Indië, als "thuisland voor moslims." Pakistan is sinds 1956 een islamitische republiek en sindsdien is, volgens velen, het rechtssysteem en de politiek verder geïslamiseerd. Als bewijs van deze islamisering wordt vaak verwezen naar de oprichting en erkenning van sharia-rechtenbanken (*Shariat Courts*), de invoering van de Hudood verordeningen, de invoering van gescheiden electoraten op basis van religie en de uitbreiding en actieve handhaving van blasfemiewetgeving, evenals een groeiend islamitisch nationalisme in Pakistaanse politiek en samenleving.

In Pakistan wonen echter ook vele zogenaamde "niet-moslims," met name hindoes en christenen. Deze dissertatie zet uiteen hoe enkele christelijke en kerkelijke Pakistaanse organisaties, binnen de hierboven beschreven context, christelijke identiteit percipiëren, hierop reflecteren en erover communiceren in relatie tot de religieuze ander. De bestudeerde organisaties zijn: het oecumenische Christian Study Centre (CSC), de katholieke organisatie National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP), en enkele protestante en katholieke *missionary schools*. Al deze organisaties zijn, op verschillende manieren, actief in semipublieke settings, die gekenmerkt worden door het feit dat Pakistaanse moslims en christenen elkaar daar ontmoeten. Middels een combinatie van veldwerk (diepte-interviews en participerende observaties) en literatuurstudie heb ik, binnen deze organisaties, de *identity negotiation* (zie hieronder) van Pakistaanse christenen in dergelijke settings onderzocht.

Identity negotiation is het concept dat in deze dissertatie gehanteerd wordt om de reflectie op en communicatie van christelijke identiteit te analyseren en te duiden. In Pakistan, met name onder christenen, wordt de term "christelijke identiteit" veelvuldig gebruikt, zowel in alledaagse interacties als in formele communicatie. De betekenis die aan deze identiteit wordt gegeven kan echter verschillen per organisatie, per gesprekspartner en per situatie. Aangezien het niet

het doel van deze dissertatie, noch mijn plaats is om bij te dragen aan de discussies over de betekenis en vormgeving van "christelijke identiteit" in Pakistan, dat is een Pakistaans (christelijke) discussie, vereist dit onderzoek een benadering van identiteit die inzicht geeft in het gebruik van de term "identiteit" onder Pakistaanse christenen. Identiteit en *identity negotiation* wordt in deze dissertatie daarom benaderd als een proces dat vorm krijgt in sociale interactie. Dit betekent dat identiteit gepresenteerd en gecommuniceerd wordt op basis van ervaringen en waarneming van de context, de setting en de gesprekspartner in de interactie. Omdat processen van *identity negotiation* dus vorm krijgen in specifieke contexten en in relatie tot specifieke gesprekspartners, is de relatie tussen de ervaringen van Pakistaanse christenen en de manier waarop over religieuze identiteit gecommuniceerd wordt belangrijk onderdeel van deze dissertatie. Het concept *identity negotiation* heb ik geconcretiseerd door middel van de noties *framing* en *identity talk*. Deze noties zijn handvaten om de ervaringen en interpretaties van christenen over de Pakistaanse samenleving, alsmede de uitingen van christelijke identiteit onder Pakistaanse christenen inzichtelijk te maken.

De dissertatie is opgebouwd uit vier case studies, twee over CSC, één over NCJP en één over de *missionary schools* (hoofdstukken drie tot zes). Daarnaast biedt hoofdstuk twee een beschrijving van de *status quaestionis* en de relatie daarvan tot het huidig onderzoek. Hoofdstuk zeven bestaat uit de conclusie van het onderzoek. Hieronder geef ik per hoofdstuk een korte samenvatting van de dissertatie.

Hoofdstuk twee geeft een review van literatuur over Pakistaanse christenen. De literatuur over Pakistaans christendom toont een diversiteit aan begrippen en beelden van Pakistaanse christenen. Studies uit begin twintigste eeuw, veelal opgesteld door zendingswerkers, en historische studies, beschrijven Pakistaanse christenen veelal door de lens van het kastesysteem. Toetreding tot het christendom werd gezien als een proces dat langs de scheidslijnen van kaste gaat, met voornamelijk *Chuhra*, kasteloze onaanraakbaren, die zich in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw bekeerd

hebben tot het christendom. Deze studies beschouwen sociale mobiliteit als het voornaamste motief voor bekering onder deze *Chuhra*. Alhoewel de bekering en de nieuwe religieuze categorisering van *Chuhra* als christenen de sociale positie van de groep niet perse verbeterde, bood, aldus deze studies, de connectie met Westerse zendingsorganisaties wel agrarische- en onderwijsmogelijkheden.

Later in de twintigste eeuw lijkt de categorisering van Pakistaanse christenen zich te verschuiven van kaste naar etniciteit. Enkele studies constateren dat de overgrote meerderheid van deze christenen uit de Punjab komt en daarom benaderd moeten worden als Punjabi. Binnen dit perspectief wordt de christelijke gemeenschap en het christendom in Pakistan gekenmerkt door zowel een lage-kaste achtergrond als de Punjabi cultuur en etniciteit.

Na de onafhankelijkheid van Pakistan wordt dit kaste- en etnische perspectief aangevuld, en in sommige gevallen vervangen, door een juridische en politieke benadering van de positie van Pakistaanse christenen. De ontwikkeling van deze conceptualisering lijkt samen te hangen met een beeld van Pakistan als steeds verder islamiserend land waarin de positie van christenen als religieuze minderheid een probleem vormt. De sociale en politieke positie van Pakistaanse christenen wordt door literatuur uit de jaren zeventig en tachtig in toenemende mate geschetst als achtergesteld en benadeeld vanwege het religieuze verschil met Pakistaanse moslims en het Islamitische staatsbestel. Sommige publicaties problematiseren de positie van christenen inderdaad enkel in termen van godsdienstvrijheid en rechten van minderheden, terwijl andere studies meer oog hebben voor de samenhang van kaste en religieus verschil in de context van uitsluiting van Pakistaanse christenen. Naast de eerdergenoemde islamisering binnen Pakistans juridisch stelsel en in de politiek, benadrukt deze laatste conceptualisering ook de ontwikkeling van een Pakistaans nationalisme dat gebaseerd is op islam. De argumentatie is dat Pakistaanse identiteit wordt geconstrueerd als zijnde een uitsluitend islamitische identiteit, waar christenen met *Chuhra* achtergrond geen deel van kunnen uitmaken. De uitsluiting van christenen in relatie tot Pakistaans nationalisme wordt binnen dit

perspectief dus beschouwd als gevolg van zowel de lage kaste-achtergrond als christelijke identiteit.

De literatuur review laat zien dat de positie van Pakistaanse christenen gedurende de laatste honderdvijftig jaar op verschillende manieren is benaderd, maar toont tegelijkertijd ook aan dat de positie van christenen doorgaans als achtergesteld, onderdrukt of gedupeerd wordt geschetst. Enkele studies hebben echter ook aandacht voor christelijke agency en de (re)acties van Pakistaanse christenen. Deze studies wijzen op het belang van maatschappelijke betrokkenheid op het gebied van onderwijs, interreligieuze dialoog, mensenrechten en humanitaire hulp door Pakistaanse christenen. In veel van deze settings zijn christenen in staat uiting te geven aan christelijke identiteit en, waar mogelijk, deze identiteit te relateren aan andere religieuze identiteiten en aan Pakistaanse identiteit. Ze laten, simpel gezegd, zien dat het mogelijk is om zowel christen als Pakistaan te zijn. Dergelijke maatschappelijke betrokkenheid en de communicatie van christelijke identiteit in die setting is precies de focus van deze dissertatie. Als zodanig draagt dit onderzoek bij aan ons begrip van de manieren en strategieën waarop christelijke identiteit uiting krijgt in Pakistan.

Hoofdstuk drie bespreekt hoe de communicatie van christelijke identiteit vorm heeft gekregen binnen CSC tussen 1970 en 2001; de aandacht gaat daarbij met name uit naar *Al-Mushir*, het tijdschrift van de organisatie. CSC, als een plek voor christen-moslim dialoog, heeft een bijzondere positie in de Pakistaanse maatschappij. De organisatie had vanaf haar oprichting in 1970 nauwe banden met de internationale zendings- en oecumenische beweging. Tegelijkertijd was de organisatie gevestigd in een nationale context die toenemende mate islamiseerde. Vanaf de zeventiger jaren bewoog CSC's van een apologetische benadering van de religieuze ander, richting een benadering van wederzijds begrip en *coexistence*, onder meer onder invloed van de genoemde internationale connecties. Diezelfde connecties zorgden er echter ook voor dat CSC, als christelijke organisatie, door sommige andere Pakistani niet werd beschouwd als een Pakistaans, maar als een internationaal of Westers instituut. Het

Pakistaanse karakter van CSC werd bovendien bemoeilijkt door christelijke ervaringen van sociale en politieke uitsluiting vanwege de islamisering van het land in de zeventiger en tachtiger jaren. Pakistaans burgerschap wordt in deze periode door veel christenen ervaren als in groeiende mate bepaald door islam en daarmee als middel om Pakistaanse christenen buiten te sluiten.

In reactie op deze nationale en internationale context valt een verschuiving binnen CSC waar te nemen en positioneerde CSC zichzelf als expliciet Pakistaans en communiceert over zijn christelijke identiteit als zijnde inherent Pakistaans. In *Al-Mushir* wordt deze verschuiving tussen 1975 en 1995 zichtbaar door het verschijnen van vele publicaties waarin de positie van christenen in een geïslamiseerd Pakistan wordt besproken. Ook zijn er artikelen over de kenmerken van een lokale, Pakistaanse theologie en vorm van christendom. Pakistaans christendom wordt in deze artikelen expliciet geportretteerd in relatie tot islam. De erfenis van westerse theologie wordt verworpen en islamitische theologie en tradities staan centraal als voornaamste gesprekspartners van Pakistaanse christenen. Daarnaast ontwikkelt CSC gedurende deze periode een groeiende maatschappelijke betrokkenheid, geconcretiseerd in een focus op rechten van minderheden en maatschappelijke en politieke actie. Door middel van deze publicaties en activiteiten probeerde CSC afstand tussen Pakistaans christendom en westers christendom te creëren en Pakistaanse christenen expliciet te situeren in en verbinden met de lokale context. De organisatie herdefinieert op deze manier christelijke identiteit in de context van Pakistan en ontdoet het van westerse connotaties. Daarnaast herdefinieert CSC ook Pakistaans burgerschap, door volwaardig burgerschap voor Pakistaanse christenen te benadrukken en Pakistaans nationalisme als religieus divers te interpreteren.

In hoofdstuk vier zoomt deze dissertatie verder in op de programma's van CSC omtrent interreligieuze dialoog die gericht zijn op "*interfaith harmony*." Voor CSC is het doel van christen-moslim dialoog binnen de organisatie *interfaith harmony*, wederzijds begrip en *coexistence*. Zoals bovenstaande echter al weergeeft, vindt

deze dialoog plaats in een context die geïslamiseerd is en die wordt ervaren als problematisch en marginaliserend voor christenen. Bovendien is er, met name sinds de jaren negentig, onder christenen een groeiende angst voor religieus conflict en geweld. Pakistaanse christenen hebben het beeld en de ervaring dat geweld tegen christelijke organisaties en kerken in de afgelopen dertig jaar is toegenomen. CSC's focus op *interfaith harmony*, als doel van dialoog, lijkt te zijn ontstaan vanuit deze percepties en ervaringen. Het doel van de dialoog is bij te dragen aan vreedzame relaties tussen de verschillende religieuze groepen in Pakistan.

CSC's netwerk van organisaties en participanten is echter uitermate divers en de verschillende deelnemers hebben uiteenlopende verwachtingen van zowel dialoog als CSC's christelijke identiteit. Om te zorgen dat de dialoog ook daadwerkelijk bijdraagt aan het bevorderen van de harmonie stuurt CSC de communicatie over religieuze identiteit in interreligieuze relaties zorgvuldig. De strategieën die CSC hiervoor gebruikt zijn het kanaliseren van communicatie over de religieuze ander, het afwijzen van evangelisatie en gepolitiseerde religie als zijnde onwenselijke vormen van religieuze expressie en het propageren van een interpretatie van het christelijke geloof als zijnde verenigbaar met *interfaith harmony*. Door middel van kanaliseren zorg CSC ervoor dat bepaalde beelden van christenen en moslims, beelden die potentieel tot conflict kunnen leiden, gecorrigeerd worden voordat ze daadwerkelijk worden gedeeld in interreligieuze dialoog. Dit gebeurt in gesprekken voorafgaand aan de dialoog, van respectievelijk moslims en christenen onderling. Op vergelijkbare wijze wordt omgegaan met evangelisatie en politieke islam. Beide thema's worden gezien als potentieel conflictueus en worden daarom afgewezen. Deze afwijzing helpt CSC bovendien om een sociaal geaccepteerde positie in te nemen in Pakistan. CSC's nadruk op harmonie en het verwerpen van evangelisatie zorgt echter ook voor controverses over de christelijke identiteit van de organisatie, met name onder christenen. Volgens sommige Pakistaanse christenen zou CSC "liberaal" zijn of pogen islam en christendom te "mixen." In reactie daarop geeft CSC een beeld van interreligieuze dialoog als mogelijkheid tot geloofsverdieping. Christelijk geloof wordt

gepresenteerd als verenigbaar met *interfaith harmony* en als een middel voor participanten om zich bewuster te worden van hun christelijke identiteit. De christelijke identiteit van de organisatie wordt op deze manier benadrukt zonder dat de organisatie afbreuk hoeft te doen aan het doel van harmonie.

In het vijfde hoofdstuk speelt de religieuze identiteit van NCJP een hoofdrol. Als katholieke organisatie is NCJP betrokken bij semipublieke discussies over de inhoud van lesboeken in Pakistan, met name met betrekking tot – door NCJP en anderen als negatief ervaren – religieuze inhoud in niet-religieuze vakken. Dit hoofdstuk bespreekt hoe NCJP is ingebed in een breed maatschappelijk veld (discursief veld) dat zich bezig houdt met lobby voor vernieuwing van lesboeken. NCJP begeeft zich daarmee in een breder veld, waarin verschillende organisaties en actoren interpretaties promoten over het probleem van de lesboeken en mogelijke aanpassingen daarbinnen. Doordat de vele organisaties binnen dit veld regelmatig met elkaar samenwerken is er veel overeenkomst en uitwisseling tussen de verschillende strategieën waarmee de organisaties veranderingen proberen te bewerkstellingen. Door middel van een analyse van NCJP's interpretatiekaders (frames) maakt dit hoofdstuk inzichtelijk hoe de katholieke organisatie zich positioneert binnen dit veld.

Het meest opvallende aan de wijze waarop NCJP haar lobby voor vernieuwing van de lesboeken *framed*, is dat het appel voor vernieuwing van de inhoud wordt gepresenteerd als een kwestie van algemeen maatschappelijke en nationaal belang. NCJP's eerste frame problematiseert de inhoud van de lesboeken als "*hate material*," een label dat betrekking heeft op lesstof die negatieve beelden van niet-moslims propageert. Door "*hate material*" zouden jonge Pakistanen radicaliseren en gewelddadig kunnen worden, claimt NCJP. Hiermee relateert NCJP haar lobby voor de vernieuwing van de lesboeken aan de "*war on terror*" en wordt de verwijdering van negatieve beelden over niet-moslims gepresenteerd als zijnde van maatschappelijk – en daarmee nationaal – belang. Een vergelijkbaar patroon blijkt uit de tweede interpretatiekader dat NCJP gebruikt . In dit frame wordt

bepaald materiaal in de lesboeken geschetst als geschiedvervalsing en daarmee als gevaar voor de onderwijskwaliteit. Het islamitische perspectief op de geschiedenis van Pakistan in de huidige lesboeken is eenzijdig, volgens NCJP. Om de lesboeken te "moderniseren" en aan de academische standaard van waarheidsgetrouwe representatie te voldoen moet een inclusieve en religieus pluralistische beschrijving van de geschiedenis worden opgenomen. Het derde en laatste frame problematiseert de inhoud van de lesboeken als ongrondwettelijk. NCJP stelt dat volgens de Pakistaanse grondwet elke leerling recht heeft op religieus onderwijs in de eigen religie. Aangezien het vak Ethiek, dat aan niet-moslims wordt gedoceerd als alternatief voor Islamiyat (islamitisch godsdienstonderwijs), teveel gekleurd is door islam, schiet het curriculum volgens NCJP te kort in het recht van niet-moslims om onderwijs te krijgen over de eigen religie. Het feit dat NCJP zich hierbij op de Pakistaanse grondwet beroept toont nogmaals aan dat NCJP vernieuwing van de lesboeken als kwestie van landsbelang communiceert.

Alhoewel alle drie de frames overeenkomsten vertonen met interpretaties van andere organisaties zijn er ook verschillen en aanpassingen tussen de lobby van NCJP en andere organisaties waar te nemen. Enerzijds rekt NCJP bepaalde begrippen omtrent onderwijsvernieuwing op, bijvoorbeeld waar het gaat om "*hate material*." De lobby van andere organisaties richtte zich minder op negatieve beelden over niet-moslims in het algemeen en meer op antagonisme tussen India en Pakistan. Door deze thematiek van "*hate material*" op te rekken kan NCJP ook negatieve beelden over christenen en christendom aankaarten. Tegelijkertijd laat NCJP ook bepaalde aspecten van andere frames weg uit haar interpretatie van de lesboeken. Zo kiest de organisatie er niet voor expliciet de "*Islamic elements*," die de problematische inhoud van de lesboeken ontwikkeld hebben, te benoemen, dit in tegenstelling tot andere actoren in het veld. Deze terughoudendheid is ingegeven door de katholieke identiteit van de organisatie. Die identiteit wordt ervaren als potentieel risico voor NCJP's participatie in discussies over de auteurs van "hate speech." NCJP's betrokkenheid in onderwijsvernieuwing vertoont dus *identity negotiation,* door het creëren van ruimte voor Pakistaans christelijke identiteit in de

lesboekinhoud en het verbinden van de thematiek van vernieuwing van lesmateriaal aan het algemeen belang. Tegelijkertijd kiest de organisatie ervoor om binnen deze betrokkenheid bij een maatschappelijke kwestie als onderwijsinhoud, de eigen katholieke identiteit niet prominent te benadrukken.

Het zesde hoofdstuk behandelt ook Pakistaans christelijke percepties en interpretaties van de lesboeken, maar in een andere context dan het voorgaande hoofdstuk, namelijk het gebruik van dit lesmateriaal op scholen. Op *missionary schools* in Pakistan, een naam die naar de ontstaansgeschiedenis verwijst, worden veelal bovengenoemde en gewraakte lesboeken gebruikt. Het management van de scholen wordt benoemd door de kerken en de meerderheid van de docenten op de scholen zijn christelijk, terwijl de studentenpopulatie religieus divers en overwegend islamitisch is. In dit hoofdstuk wordt geanalyseerd hoe de (veelal christelijke) docenten voor het vak *Social Studies*, bestaand uit onderwerpen als maatschappijleer, geschiedenis en politiek, communiceren over christelijke identiteit in reactie op de lesinhoud over religie in de lesboeken.

Uit die analyse blijkt dat christelijke docenten het lesmateriaal uitermate problematisch vinden, in het bijzonder vanwege de christelijke identiteit van de school en de diverse studentenpopulatie. Deze docenten, vergelijkbaar met bezwaren van NCJP genoemd in hoofdstuk vijf, ervaren het lesmateriaal als een eenzijdig islamitisch perspectief op de Pakistaanse geschiedenis, samenleving en burgerschap. Op basis van veldwerk identificeert deze dissertatie vijf verschillende reacties van docenten op deze lesboeken; deze reacties categoriseer ik als "*keyings*" (*reframings* of herinterpretaties) en "*footings*" (herordening van identiteiten).

De *footing* reacties bestaan uit de vermijding van aandacht voor religieuze identiteiten en religieus verschil alsmede uit het benadrukken van niet-religieuze meta-identiteiten. De docenten kiezen ervoor de verschillende groepen binnen de islam, zoals soennitisch en sjiitisch, niet te bespreken. Dit geldt zowel voor discussies naar aanleiding van de inhoud van de lesboeken evenals voor religieus verschil tussen de studenten. Volgens de docenten moet dergelijk onderscheid actief

vermeden en geminimaliseerd worden omdat de religieuze verschillen tot conflict kunnen leiden. Bovendien zien ze zichzelf als christen als niet competent om over deze verschillen te spreken. De tweede *footing* reactie bestaat uit de strategie om niet-religieuze identiteiten te benadrukken. Lesboekmateriaal waarin bijvoorbeeld bepaalde Pakistaanse waarden als islamitisch worden bestempeld percipiëren de docenten als problematisch omdat ze religieus onderscheid tussen moslims en christenen zouden benadrukken. In reactie hierop, benadrukken sommige docenten niet-religieuze identiteiten die de verschillende studenten gemeen hebben, zoals "*being human*" of een "*school family*." Beide *footings* herordenen, op verschillende manieren, de identiteit van docent en studenten in het klaslokaal en minimaliseren daarmee religieus verschil, ten gunste van gedeelde niet-religieuze identiteiten.

De *keying* reacties, die ik kritiek, invocatie en nabootsing noem, bieden de docenten de mogelijkheid om het lesboekmateriaal te herinterpreteren. Kritiek is een manier om het lesmateriaal te onderwerpen aan een evaluatie. Een van de docenten bekritiseert bijvoorbeeld het exclusief islamitische narratief van Pakistans geschiedenis in de lesboeken door het zogenaamde doorfluisterspel met scholieren te spelen. Op basis van dit spel wordt de historiciteit van het islamitische narratief in twijfel getrokken. Tegelijkertijd bieden sommige docenten tevens een alternatieve lezing van de geschiedenis, waarin de geschiedenis van Pakistan niet als islamitisch maar seculier of pluralistisch wordt gepresenteerd. De reactie die ik hier invocatie noem is ook een herinterpretatie, in dit geval van de originele intentie van Pakistan. Volgens de lesboeken was de originele bedoeling van Pakistan om een islamitisch land te zijn; volgens de docenten wilden de leiders van de onafhankelijkheid echter een religieus pluralistisch land stichten. Door middel van invocatie van autoriteitsfiguren, waaronder bijvoorbeeld de prominente onafhankelijkheidsleiders, wordt deze herinterpretatie gelegitimeerd als zijnde de oorspronkelijke opzet van het land. De laatste reactie op de lesboeken bestaat uit het nabootsen van islamitische heldenverhalen, met Pakistaans christelijke helden in het hoofdrol. De heldenverhalen over de Pakistaanse geschiedenis in de lesboeken zijn volgens de docenten te eenzijdig en negeren de bijdrage van Pakistaanse christenen. Als

herinterpretatie van deze geschiedenis introduceren de docenten enkele christelijke helden die een belangrijke bijdrage hebben geleverd aan de ontwikkeling van Pakistan als natiestaat. De docenten voeren christelijke figuren als opperrechter Cornelius en politicus S.P. Singha op als voorbeelden van Pakistaans christelijk burgerschap en als voorbeelden van christenen en christelijke loyaliteit aan de Islamitische Republiek Pakistan.

Door de herinterpretaties van de lesboeken en de herordening van identiteiten in de *missionary schools* claimen de christelijke docenten zowel de Pakistaanse identiteit als christelijke identiteit. Zoals in eerdere hoofdstukken geïllustreerd, wordt Pakistaanse identiteit bovendien geherdefinieerd als religieus pluralistisch.

Op basis van deze studie kan dus met recht geconcludeerd worden dat christelijke *identity negotiation* in Pakistan een interactief en reactief proces is, waarin christenen ervaringen en percepties van de maatschappelijke context en de directe setting verdisconteren in de manieren waarop christelijke identiteit gecommuniceerd wordt. De christelijke organisaties uit de case studies vertonen dan ook een verscheidenheid aan claims in de communicatie van christelijke identiteit. In algemene zin volgt de *identity negotiation* van deze organisaties een vast patroon. Christenen claimen "*Christian by faith, Pakistani by citizenship*" te zijn; enerzijds wordt de nadruk gelegd op nationale identiteit en gelijkheid en tegelijkertijd wordt er ruimte geclaimd voor religieus verschil en onderscheid. Hieronder bespreek ik daarom eerst de conclusies over christelijke identiteit in relatie tot Pakistaans nationalisme en vervolgens de conclusies over christelijke identiteit in relatie tot religieuze diversiteit en onderscheid.

In relatie tot Pakistaanse identiteit vindt de *negotiation* allereerst plaats door middel van een herinterpretatie van Pakistans oorspronkelijke intentie en geschiedenis. Dit kwam vooral tot uiting in case studies van NCJP en de *missionary schools*, waar de ontstaansgeschiedenis van Pakistan als pluralistische en seculiere staat met gelijk burgerschap voor niet-moslims werd benadrukt, soms met beroep op

belangrijke figuren in de onafhankelijkheid van Pakistan. Ten tweede blijkt dat de organisaties binnen de conceptualisering van Pakistaans nationalisme ruimte proberen te maken voor christelijke identiteit. Op de *missionary schools* gebeurt dit doordat docenten wijzen op de aanwezigheid en plek van christenen in de Pakistaanse samenleving en de bijdrage van christenen aan de stichting van de staat Pakistan. Binnen CSC kwam dit tot uiting in artikelen die het Pakistaanse karakter van de organisatie en van het christendom in Pakistan bevorderden en die spraken over gelijkwaardig burgerschap. De derde conclusie omtrent *negotiations* in relatie tot Pakistaans nationalisme wordt gevormd door een soort "bewijslijst" van voorbeeldig burgerschap. Het CSC presenteert bijvoorbeeld de maatschappelijke betrokkenheid van christelijke organisaties veelal als dienst aan de Pakistaanse maatschappij en illustratie van nationale loyaliteit. Ook de NCJP case studie benadrukt in haar lobby voor hervormingen van onderwijs materiaal het algemeen maatschappelijk belang. Bovendien worden op de *missionary schools* historische christelijke helden opgevoerd als bewijs van de bijdrage die Pakistaanse christenen hebben geleverd aan de totstandkoming van de Islamitische Republiek Pakistan. Ten vierde eigenen christelijke organisaties zich breder gedragen perspectieven op de Pakistaanse samenleving toe. Dit kwam ondermeer tot uiting in NCJP's frames, waarin de betekenis van bepaalde termen, zoals "*hate material*" werden opgerekt om de positie en het perspectief van Pakistaanse christenen in publieke discussies aan de orde te stellen.

Daarnaast kunnen op basis van deze dissertatie ook twee conclusies getrokken worden over christelijke identiteit in relatie tot religieus verschil en diversiteit in Pakistan. Allereerst, maakt deze studie duidelijk dat de context bepaalt of christelijke identiteit en religieus onderscheid wordt benadrukt of juist afgezwakt; daarin worden strategische keuzes gemaakt. Uit de case studie naar de geschiedenis van CSC blijkt bijvoorbeeld dat vanaf de jaren zeventig, wanneer vanwege de toegenomen islamisering religieus verschil in Pakistaanse politiek sterker wordt aangezet, CSC stappen onderneemt om de afstand tussen Pakistaans christelijke identiteit en islam te verkleinen, terwijl de organisatie de afstand tot Westers

christendom juist vergroot. De overeenkomsten tussen islam en Pakistaans christendom en de relevantie van islam voor het formuleren van een Pakistaanse christelijke theologie wordt benadrukt. Op een vergelijkbare bemiddelende manier wordt omgegaan met religieus verschil in de *missionary schools*. Wanneer religieus verschil tussen studenten in de lesboeken te zeer voor het voetlicht dreigt te komen, richten de docenten de aandacht op meta-identiteiten die het onderscheid tussen moslims en christenen verkleint.

CSC's huidige benadering van dialoog, waarin *interfaith harmony* als doel centraal staat, is een andere manier van omgaan met religieus verschil. Door de nadruk te leggen op harmonie, met bijvoorbeeld termen als "*interfaith friends*," en door op verschillende manieren de communicatie tussen moslims en christenen te structureren, probeert CSC religieus verschil te overbruggen en af te zwakken. Alhoewel de organisaties in deze dissertatie zichzelf dus identificeren als christelijk en zich als zodanig inspannen om christelijke identiteit zichtbaar en hoorbaar te maken in het semipublieke domein, proberen ze tegelijkertijd het religieuze verschil tussen Pakistaanse moslims en christenen te minimaliseren. Zoals een medewerker van CSC zei, "*we have to walk the line*." Christelijke *identity negotiation* betekent balanceren op het slappe koord van enerzijds "Christian by faith" en anderzijds "Pakistani by citizenship" zijn.

Curriculum Vitae

Kor Grit (born 1985) studied theology and religious studies at VU University Amsterdam. For his master's thesis he investigated the effect of the religious beliefs and theology for the perceptions of Dutch society within a so-called "migrant church." Alongside his studies Kor was involved in Christian-Muslim dialogue and relations through the Centre for Islamic Theology at VU University Amsterdam. After his studies he took up the position of fraternal worker and PhD student within the collaboration between Kerk in Actie, Christian Study Centre and the Department of Philosophy and Religious studies of Utrecht University, through which this current dissertation was developed.

Quaestiones Infinitae

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