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Customer Discrimination faced by the Christian Community in Islamabad

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January 2022

School of Social Sciences and Humanities (S³H)
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S3H Working Paper Series

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Abstract

Religious intolerance for the Christian community has translated in not only affecting their social standing but has also created hindrance in their professional lives. This study aims to investigate whether customer discrimination is prevalent against the Christian community in Islamabad when it comes to employing them for household jobs. Data was collected from over 400 respondents residing in the city of Islamabad, who were questioned through convenient sampling. The questionnaire covered various aspects of customer discrimination, such as behavior, gender preference and acceptability towards Christian workers. Cross tabulation was used to find association between variables. The result of the study suggests that moderate level of discrimination is practiced by the majority of households in Islamabad.

Keywords: Customer Discrimination, Christian community, Gender-based discrimination, Religious Intolerance

1. Introduction

Pakistan consists of five major ethnic groups including Punjabis, Pashtuns, Baloch, Muhajir, and Sindhis. Religious and sectarian groups such as Ahmadis, Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, and Shia Muslim sects are also present. Amongst the 10 to 13 million Pakistanis who belong to minority communities, Christians, Hindus and Sikhs are the greatest in numbers. When the country came into being in 1947, religious minorities amounted to about a quarter of the total population. Today, however, they account for less than 4%.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah attempted to set up a multi-confessional state. To this end, he designated people from religious minority groups to Pakistan's first cabinet. However, the Pakistan of yesteryear and the vision of its founders bears little resemblance to the Pakistan now, where Nobel prize winner Abdus Salam was removed from a position he rightfully scored and economist Atif Mian's appointment to the advisory council was revoked. Apart from their intellectual capabilities, one thing they both have in common is their faith. Despite their commendable service to the country, both Mian and Salam have been subjected to discrimination.

Along the past decades, minorities in Pakistan have become a soft target for discrimination due to a plethora of factors. The corrupt, discriminatory and non-effectiveness of our police and judicial systems playing a key role. Other factors that have furthered the breeding of intolerant discriminatory mindsets includes the years of radicalization of Pakistani society, wrongful interpretation of religious texts and the hard-hitting reality that Pakistan remains a third world country with literacy rate around 60%, hence majority society believes the regressed, manipulated, weaponized interpretation that maulvis preach. A fitting example of how Islamic texts and traditions are manipulated to breed intolerance is the use of the word *Kafir*. *Kafir* is a synonym for disbeliever and was a term that was first used to refer to Meccans who refused to accept Islam. The term suggests refusal to acknowledge divine revelation, but the word now has not only a negative connotation attached to it but is also used as an attack and abuse on those of different faiths. Moreover, Hussain, Saleem & Naveed (2011) are of the notion that education curriculum plays a big role in advocating discrimination towards various minority groups. A negative perception of a minority group can result in extreme behaviour patterns which might involve violation of the groups' basic rights. School teachers are biased when passing on information to the students which eventually leads to misinformed and prejudiced attitudes towards minorities. This is a depiction of the hateful narrative against those of different faith in Pakistani society. Moreover, another factor as is a judicial system that is unwilling to protect minorities and often even condones the behavior of aggressors.

The judicial system of Pakistan is often not only unlikely to help those belonging to minority groups, but might actively encourage discriminatory behaviour towards them. The absence of relevant laws and lack of implementation of the laws that do exist in state institutions has made Pakistan a hub of instability and violence. The UN's Commission for Human Rights and Amnesty International figures for the period 2000 to 2007 shows that around 30 to 50 Christians are subjected to violent deaths due to reasons of faith in a year. In addition, many are falsely imprisoned and subjected to physical abuse and threats at the hands of fellow Muslims. According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, the report for the year 2017 suggested that there was an escalation in blasphemy-related violence and mob attacks in Pakistan while the government failed to take appropriate action.

Discrimination is a negative act/behaviour based on the belief that members of a particular group are inferior simply because of a factor such as religion, race, gender and ethnicity. Coming to discrimination in the labour market, this is when workers with identical education, experience, or skills are paid unequal wages or are excluded from employment opportunities, promotions and benefits because of the aforementioned factors. This means that workers are treated unequally even when they are equally efficient.

A negative bias towards a group of workers leads to the employer downgrading the expected value of employment for that particular group. This decreases the marginal return of productivity, which in turn leads to a decrease in demand from the employer's side and eventually leads to unemployment in the society for the unfavoured group.

1.1. Objective of the study

According to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Christians account for approximately 1.6% of the total population making it one of the largest minority groups in the country. However, Christian communities are amongst the impoverished sections of the society and are often only found doing menial jobs. There are many areas where the Christian communities reside most of which are colonies, some of these areas could even pass off as pseudo-slums; sectors G7, F6, and F7 are where these slums can be located. Upon visit, the magnitude of inequality and variability in lifestyle of the people compared to the rest of Islamabad is starkly evident.

This study explored the question of whether Pakistani society does in fact discriminate based on religion when they hire for household staff. Data was taken from Islamabad to see how Christians were discriminated against in their professional lives.

1.2. Organization of the study

The second chapter of this study features previous literature on this topic and Chapter 3 elaborates upon the theoretical framework. Chapter 4 explores the methodology that was used. Chapter 5 analyses the data that was collected and discusses the results. The final chapter concludes this study.

2. Literature Review

Previous literature provides evidence that minority groups have been subjected to discrimination in the labour market, when it comes to hiring, wages and treatment by customers. Customers often do not wish to come into contact with people belonging to certain groups that they think of in a less favourable manner. Firms that hire people of a group that is subject to discrimination might also have to lower prices to entice customers to avail their services.

Kahn (1991) posited that when there are constant returns to scale and free entry in the market, then customer discrimination can result in wage differentials in the long run. The general equilibrium impact of affirmative actions on wages, productivity and unemployment is seen and it is found that affirmative action policies increase the chance of a nondiscriminatory general equilibrium outcome.

Holzer and Ihlanfeldt (1998) used data from a survey of 800 employers in four metropolitan areas of the United States: Atlanta, Boston, Detroit and Los Angeles to find how customer discrimination affects the earning and employment opportunities of minorities and in particular, blacks. They found that the racial composition of the customers who frequently visited an establishment does have an effect on who gets hired, especially in jobs that required direct contact with customers. In addition, they also found that the race of an employee also has an impact on his/her wages, with black employees earning less than their white counterparts.

Bodvarsson and Partridge (2001) developed a wage model based on professional basketball. This paper incorporated Becker's three sources of discrimination (employer, employee and customer discrimination) into one model. An insight that the model made is that the racial composition of employees in a firm does influence wages

Charles and Guryan (2008) focused on testing the predictions from Becker's work on employer prejudice. They attempted to test the predictions of Becker's original prejudice model concerning the association between racial wage gaps and prejudice. In the short run of Becker's model, discrimination resulted in employers perceiving black workers to be more expensive than they actually

were. Market influence led to black workers being employed by the least prejudiced employers in the market. They concluded that racial prejudice plays a crucial part in wage determination of minorities. Additionally, they found that as much as one-fourth of the gap between white workers and black workers could be related to racial prejudice.

Parrett (2008) used survey data from five restaurants in Virginia to find if customer discrimination exists in this industry. This was tested by comparing the tips of male and female servers. They found that customer discrimination does exist but only by those customers who came to the restaurants quite rarely. Furthermore, they showed that the female servers were only tipped well when they provided exceptional service and were tipped poorly when this standard was not met. On the other hand, male servers were not held up to the same standards and were tipped favourably even when the service provided by them was not up to par. A reason behind why discrimination was practiced by customers who frequented the restaurant rarely was due to them not having to worry about any future impact of their actions such as their reputation with waitstaff or the service that would be provided to them if they were to visit these restaurants again.

Leonard, Levine and Giuliano (2010) employed evidence from more than 800 similar businesses of a single large employer that employed over 70,000 employees. They looked into how changes in demographics of customers and employees within these establishments impacted performances and sales. In contrast to most other empirical studies, the results in this paper were quite modest. They found that most customers are not very sensitive to the race of the employees who serve them. Whereas sales did tend to fall in white communities when more black employees were hired, and sales did increase as more Hispanic employees were hired, but both of these effects were small. The results of this research do not reinforce the claim that the race of the employees is important.

Bar and Zussman (2016) investigated the presence of customer discrimination against Arab workers in the Israeli market. They focused on the market for labor-intensive services, where the interaction between Jewish customers and Arab workers often takes place in the customers' homes. It was found that around 40% of the Jewish Israelis in the customer survey were willing to pay a more to receive services from Jewish workers as compared to Arab workers. This was due to the customers' belief that Arab workers are a threat to their safety. Their research also revealed that firms employing Arab workers charged lower prices as compared to those that employed Jewish workers.

Customer discrimination becomes prevalent in the labor market when a large share of the consumers does not want to interact with minority workers. The value of such workers' services falls,

and this may lead employers to reject minority applicants even if such employers are themselves unbiased. In the French labour market, African employees do not have much representation when it comes to jobs which require direct contact with customers and are overly exposed to unemployment. It was concluded that those of African origin were discriminated against in jobs that require direct contact (Combes, Decreuse, Laouénan, &Trannoy, 2016).

According to the USS IRF report (2017), many Christian activists had reported that there was large scale discrimination going on in the country against Christians in private employment. This made it extremely difficult for Christians to find jobs other than those involving menial labor. Not only this, but most of the advertisements for such jobs specified that they were in search of Christian applicants only. Furthermore, religious minority community leaders also came forward and stated that the government of Pakistan had failed to take appropriate action required to protect the Christian and Hindu communities from the illegal practices of bonded labour in the brick making and agricultural sectors.

Christians were only offered lower-level jobs which were considered dishonorable and dirty. Middle class Christians face discrimination by Muslims and are considered inferior to them. They often have to face strong discrimination at work (Khokar, 2021).

Pakistan has been placed on the 5th spot on the list having 50 countries where Christians are targeted for their religion. The World Watch list came forward to state that the greatest prosecution is being faced by those who have converted to Christianity from Islam. However, all of them to some extent are considered lower-class citizens in this country. The list is prepared and released by a group which advocates Christian rights all over the world (Pakistan no country for Christians, reveals report, 2021).

2.1. Conclusion of Literature Review

To sum up, the past literature makes it clear that the discriminated group have to face many difficulties in the labour market, in the form of lesser employment opportunities, wage gaps and poor treatment by customers.

2.2. Literature Gap and Justification of the Study

Upon research, it was found that little to no literature existed in Pakistan regarding customer discrimination. No past studies had been carried out to see how Christian minorities were treated in

household jobs in terms of hiring opportunities, wages, behavior of the employer/customer. This research on the customer discrimination faced by the Christian community aims to fill this gap.

3. Theoretical Framework

The most notable neoclassical explanation of discrimination is constructed on the work of Gary Becker, and progresses with the concept that certain workers, employers or customers do not want to work or interact with members of other racial groups or with women (Becker, 1971). There is little research on why the bias exists, rather it is just presumed that there is a 'taste' or disinclination towards people from groups that are perceived unfavourably and that this taste can be looked at in exactly the very same manner that economists would study individual preferences between goods and services.

A possible indication of labor discrimination is when a wage gap exists in a market. In the situation where the firm has to pay all labor the same wage rate, it will not recruit members of the unfavoured group. Nonetheless, the firm is faced with a trade-off between lowering costs by employing workers at lower rates, or to discriminate and hire workers from the favoured group at higher rates. This trade-off exists when the members from the disadvantaged group can be hired at lower wage rates. In the latter case, firm's costs increase and thus results in lower profits. But according to Becker, in a competitive market if the owners of a business are concerned with making money more than the color, gender, ethnicity etc. of the people they interact with, then buying, selling, hiring, and promotion decisions should be made based on economic factors.

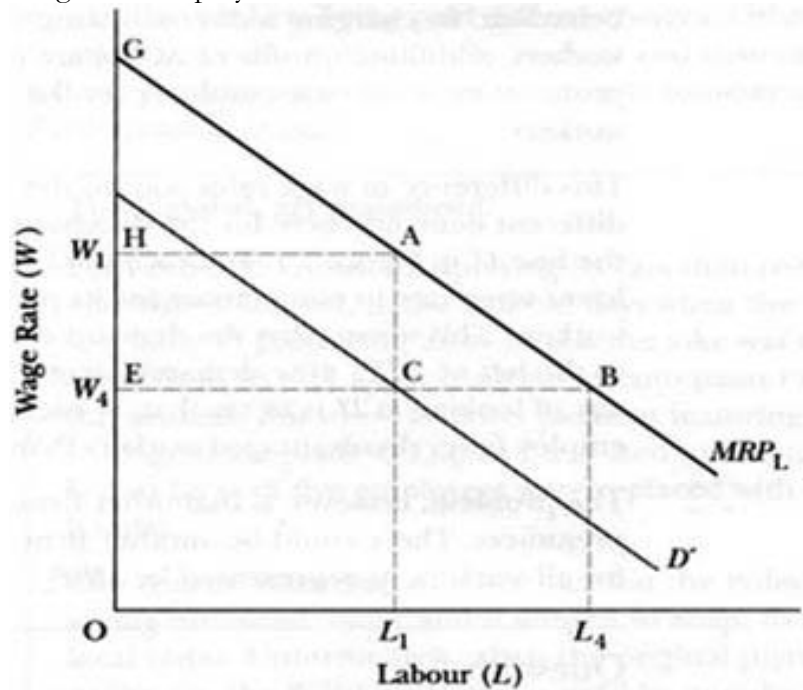
A large cost is borne by all firms and employees who discriminate over reasons other than productivity. This cost acts as an incentive from the market to limit discrimination. Black and white workers are used as the main categories in Becker's model, mainly due to the discrimination against the blacks in the 1950s. However, this model is a lot more general in nature. It clearly shows that a discrimination cost is borne by whoever discriminates over any reason other than productivity.

Secondly, the model is based on the market functioning or the interaction which takes place between individuals. Social interaction is represented through market. All sorts of interaction between individuals like marriage etc. are used in economics. Thirdly, the model makes use of the economic notion in equilibrium, which is the point at which people do what is in their best self-interest and interaction takes place between individuals.

An observation was made by Becker by using this approach that discrimination not only has adverse effects on the person who faces discrimination but also on the one who discriminates. The

black worker who faces discrimination faces a cost of reduced wages in comparison to white workers with similar work experience. The employer too faces a cost as now he or she has to pay more to hire a white worker. This leads to the creation of two types of cost; the black worker gets less wage in comparison to the white worker and the employer has to pay additional amount to get the same level of productivity.

Figure 1. Employer Discrimination in the demand for labour¹



Assuming that there are no variations between different groups of workers when it comes to productivity, the marginal product of labor curve will be the same given the same level of productivity, notwithstanding the number of workers they employ. In the graph above, this is represented by MRP_L . In a competitive labour market, a firm will employ labour up to the point where the wage equals the marginal revenue product of labour. This is the reason why the MRP_L curve is also the firm's demand curve for labour. With W_1 as the wage rate, the firm will employ L_1 workers. But if the firm discriminates against members of a particular group, no laborers from this group will be utilized at W_1 . This employer will be biased against them, and if this is a habitual practice amongst firms, the disadvantaged group will eventually be jobless.

¹ Reprinted from “Economics explains discrimination in the labour market” by OpenLearn, 2012. (<https://www.open.edu/openlearn/people-politics-law/politics-policy-people/economics/economics-explains-discrimination-the-labour-market/content-section-0?active-tab=description-tab>). Copyright 2012 by OpenLearn.

Becker was of the opinion that more competition would result in a decline in labour-market discrimination; however, competition could not completely eradicate it. An employer could not be racist but could have customers who did not wish to deal with black people. These customers would pay a higher price in equilibrium in order not to conduct business with black people and in doing so, would subsidize discrimination.

Employers have a taste for discrimination, which means that there is a negative value to hiring members of a minority group. Thus, these workers need to have a higher productivity or accept lower wages for the same productivity, in order to compensate their employers. Moreover, customers who discriminate against members of a certain group would get lower utility from having to deal with a firm who hires people from that particular group. This would result in a decline in the labour market returns for these workers.

Other than the discrimination a worker might face in the market, there are other types of discrimination that a worker could encounter. These include premarket discrimination which is the discrimination a worker faces before entering a workforce such as inequality in schooling or belonging to an impoverished neighborhood. Workers also face occupational discrimination which involves obstacles that hinder specific groups from entering into a particular occupation.

Firms will maximize

$$U = pF(N_b + N_w) - w_w N_w - w_b N_b - d N_b$$

where p is the price level, F is the production function, N_b is the number of black workers, N_w is the number of white workers, w_w is the wage paid to the white workers, w_b is the wage paid to the black workers and d is the coefficient of discrimination. Employers who have a preference for white workers ($d > 0$) will consider the wage of black workers to be $w_b + d$. These employers will only hire black workers if

$$w_w - w_b \geq d$$

4. Empirical Methodology

4.1. Data and Sample

The research was carried out in Islamabad as the greatest number of Christians in all of Pakistan reside here, as according to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) the highest percentage of

Christians reside here (4.07%² of the total population of the area). A questionnaire was circulated to a sample of 400 people, one response per household. This was done through convenience sampling.

The total population in Islamabad given by PBS is 805,235 according to the 1998 population census. Out of which, 32,773 are Christians. The following formula³ for sample size was applied:

$$\text{Sample Size Calculation: } \frac{(\text{Distribution of 50\%})}{\left(\frac{\text{Margin of error\%}}{\text{Confidence level of score}}\right)^2}$$

Finite Population Correction:

$$\text{True Sample: } \frac{(\text{Sample Size} \times \text{Population})}{(\text{Sample Size} + \text{Population} - 1)}$$

The sample size was calculated as 384 and was rounded off to 400, where the confidence level was 95% with the margin of error being 5%.

4.2. Questionnaire Design and Reliability

The study used a questionnaire to gather data, it was divided into eight sections. The first section consisted of questions regarding demographics; gender, age, education and profession of the head of household as well as family income and family size. The next section was related to past employment history.

The remaining sections were answered on a 5 Likert scale, from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The third section was in regards to the preference between a Muslim worker or a Christian worker for various household jobs. The fourth section comprised of questions related to preference between a male Christian worker and a female Christian worker, for the same set of jobs that were considered in the previous section. The fifth section was regarding the characteristics that a respondent believed a Muslim worker will have or that a Christian worker will have. The sixth section had to do with the difference in the respondent's treatment of a Muslim worker and a Christian worker. The seventh section included questions concerning the acceptability of hiring a Christian worker amongst the respondent's family and other workers. The final section comprised of a set of questions regarding wages and experience of the workers and how changes in these two would impact hiring decisions.

A pilot study was held with a sample of 30 respondents who were selected through convenience sampling. The questionnaire was conducted through phone calls, in order to prevent the

² <https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//tables/POPULATION%20BY%20RELIGION.pdf>

³ <http://fluidsurveys.com/university/survey-sample-size-calculator/>

misinterpretation of questions and so that the questions could be phrased in a way that would be better understood by the respondents. However, no changes were made to the questionnaire as the respondents of the pilot study faced no problems with understanding the questions.

To ensure the accuracy of the findings, Cronbach Alpha was used to check the reliability of the questionnaire. After carrying out the pilot study, Cronbach Alpha was used on the data obtained to check for consistency in the relevant sections of the questionnaire. Table 4.1 shows the Cronbach Alpha coefficients for the pilot study. Since all the values are greater than 0.5, they imply that there is a high inter-term consistency.

Figure 2. Pilot Study Coefficients

Pilot Study	
Variable	Cronbach's Alpha
Section 1-Employment	0.8204
Section 2-Gender	0.7880
Section 3-Characteristics	0.8787
Section 4 and 5-Behaviour and Acceptability	0.6283
Section 6- Wages and Experience	0.7750

4.3. Coding and Construction of Variables

The information was coded from a range of 1 to 5, for the set of questions after the demographics. With 5 being associated with the answer which was most discriminatory for all sections, except for the section which was related to acceptability of Christian workers. In that section, the answer which indicated the most acceptability was given the highest value.

The demographics were also coded. For gender, females were coded as 1 and males were coded as 2. For the question regarding age, coding was done according to the ranges that had been made; with 1 being given to ages up to 40, 2 being given to ages 41 to 50, 3 being given to ages 51 to 60, 4 being given to ages 61 to 70 and 5 being given to ages above 71. For education, Matric was coded as 1, FSc was coded as 2, Bachelors was coded as 3, Masters was coded as 4 and PhD was coded as 5. For professions, each of them was coded as a separate value. Family income was coded according to the ranges; income less than PKR 50,000 was coded as 1, PKR 50,000 to PKR 100,000 was coded as 2, PKR 101,000 to PKR 300,000 was coded as 3, PKR 301,000 to PKR 500,000 was coded as 4 and income more than PKR 500,000 was coded as 5. Family size was also coded according to the ranges;

families with 1 to 4 members were coded as 1, 5 to 8 were coded as 2, 9 family members and above were coded as 3. To code hiring history if any respondent answered ‘yes’ to either of the two questions regarding previously having employed a Christian worker, it was coded as 5. If both the answers were ‘don’t know’, it was coded as 3. If one answer was ‘no’ and the other was ‘don’t know’, it was considered ‘no’ and coded as 1.

Each section comprised of questions regarding a particular aspect. By totaling the responses of each respondent for every section except for the section regarding hiring history, an index was constructed. After this, the range was calculated by taking the highest possible sum and subtracting the lowest possible sum from it. The difference between the highest and lowest possible sums was divided into three sections, as equally as possible.

The **Hiring History** index had 2 questions. The questions were as follows:

1. Has a Christian worker ever been employed in your house?
2. Has a Christian worker ever been employed in your neighborhood or extended family?

The **Employment** index had 8 questions. The questions were as follows:

1. I would prefer to hire a Muslim worker as a cook as opposed to a Christian worker.
2. As compared to a Christian worker, I would prefer to hire a Muslim worker as a driver.
3. I would prefer to hire a Muslim worker as a gardener, instead of a Christian worker.
4. I would prefer to hire a Muslim worker as a cleaner, rather than a Christian worker.
5. Compared to a Muslim worker, I would prefer to hire a Christian worker as a helper.
6. I would prefer to hire for maintenance (painter, plumber, or an electrician) a Christian worker over a Muslim worker.
7. It is better to hire a Christian worker as a sanitary worker only.
8. It is better to hire a Muslim worker as a cook.

Figure 3- Construction of Employment Index

Variables	Construction		
Employment (Questions:8, Minimum Score: 8, Maximum Score: 40, Range: 40-8= 32)	High Discrimination (3) 31-40	Moderate Discrimination (2) 21-30	Low Discrimination (1) 8-20

The **Gender** index had 6 questions. They were as follows:

1. I would prefer to hire a Christian female worker as a cook as opposed to a Christian male worker.
2. As compared to a Christian female worker, I would prefer to hire a Christian male worker as a driver.
3. I would prefer to hire a Christian male worker as a gardener, instead of a Christian female worker.
4. I would prefer to hire a Christian female worker as a cleaner, rather than a Christian male worker.
5. Compared to a Christian male worker, I would prefer to hire a Christian female worker as a helper.
6. I would prefer to hire for maintenance (painter, plumber or an electrician) a Christian male worker over a Christian female worker.

Figure 4. Construction of Gender Index

Variables	Construction		
Gender (Questions:6, Minimum Score: 6, Maximum Score: 30, Range: 30-6= 24)	High Discrimination (3) 22-30	Moderate Discrimination (2) 14-21	Low Discrimination (1) 6-13

The **Characteristics** index included 5 questions. They were as follows:

1. A Muslim worker is more honest than a Christian worker.
2. A Christian worker is cleaner than a Muslim worker.
3. A Muslim worker is more productive/competent than a Christian worker.
4. A Muslim worker is better at managing time than a Christian worker.
5. A Christian worker is lazier as compared to a Muslim worker.

Figure 5. Construction of Characteristics Index

Variables	Construction		
Characteristics (Questions: 5, Minimum Score: 5, Maximum Score: 25, Range: 25-5=20)	High Discrimination (3) 18-25	Moderate Discrimination (2) 12-17	Low Discrimination (1) 5-11

The **Behaviour** index had 3 questions. They were as follows:

1. The place of work/seating area/resting area is the same/would be the same in my house for Muslim workers and Christian workers.
2. The tools required for work in my house are the same for a Muslim worker and a Christian worker.
3. The bonuses/holidays/loans that are given by me are the same for a Muslim worker and a Christian worker.

Figure 6. Construction of Behaviour Index

Variables	Construction		
Behaviour (Questions: 3, Minimum Score: 3, Maximum Score: 15, Range: 15-3=12)	High Discrimination (3) 11-15	Moderate Discrimination (2) 7-11	Low Discrimination (1) 3-6

The **Acceptability** index had 4 questions. They were as follows:

1. My family would not accept it if I hired a Christian worker.
2. I would hire a Christian worker, but the Muslim workers in my house would not accept it.
3. I would only hire a Christian worker, if no Muslim workers were available for the job.
4. I would not hire a Christian worker, if plenty of Muslim workers were available for the job.

Figure 7. Construction of Acceptability Index

Variables	Construction		
Acceptability (Questions: 4, Minimum Score: 4, Maximum Score: 20, Range: 20- 4=16)	High Acceptability (3) 15-20	Moderate Acceptability (2) 9-14	Low Acceptability (1) 4-8

The **Wages and Experience** index had 5 questions. They were as follows:

1. I would hire a Muslim worker and not a Christian worker, if they ask for the same wage.
2. I would prefer to hire for any of these jobs a Christian worker, if he/she was working for lesser wages as compared to a Muslim worker.

3. I would hire a Muslim worker, if he/she and a Christian worker have the same number of years of experience.
4. I would hire a Christian worker if he/she had more experience than a Muslim worker.
5. If a group of workers are needed for some work in my house, I would consider hiring a Christian worker.

Figure 8. Construction of Wages and Experience Index

Variables	Construction		
Wages/Experience (Questions: 5, Minimum Score: 5, Maximum Score: 25, Range: 25-5=20)	High Discrimination (3) 18-25	Moderate Discrimination (2) 12-17	Low Discrimination (1) 5-11

Detailed questionnaire is provided in the appendix.

5. Result/Analysis

5.1.1. Descriptive Statistics

5.1.2. Summary Statistics

Table 5.1. Summary Statistics

Variables	Percentages
Gender	
Female	19.25
Male	80.75
Age	
≥40	11
41-50	25
51-60	40.25
61-70	17.75
71 ≤	6
Education	
10	2.75
12	7
16	33
18	52.5
22	4.75
Profession	
Business Owners	24.5
Doctors	14.75
Academia	8.75
Banking Sector	10.5

Engineers	11.25
Others	30.25
Family Income	
>PKR 50,000	1
PKR 50,000-PKR 100,000	11.75
PKR 101,000-300,000	39.25
PKR 301,000-500,000	27.5
PKR 500,000<	20.5
Family Size	
1-4	38.75
5-8	58.5
9 ≤	2.75
Hiring History Index	
Yes	63.25%
No	27.25%
Don't know	9.5%
Employment Index	
Low Discrimination	33.5%
Moderate Discrimination	60.25%
High Discrimination	6.25%
Gender Index	
Low Discrimination	2.25%
Moderate Discrimination	88%
High Discrimination	9.75%
Characteristics Index	
Low Discrimination	38.25%
Moderate Discrimination	58.5%
High Discrimination	3.25%
Behaviour Index	
Low Discrimination	65.25%
Moderate Discrimination	29%
High Discrimination	5.75%
Acceptability Index	
Low Acceptability	5%
Moderate Acceptability	48.75%
High Acceptability	46.25%
Wages and Experience Index	
Low Discrimination	49.5%
Moderate Discrimination	41.5%
High Discrimination	9%

As the head of households were questioned, the respondents were largely male. Majority of the respondents (40.25%) ranged from the ages of 51 to 60. The respondents were highly educated; 52.5% had obtained their postgraduate degrees and 33% had obtained their undergraduate degrees. Most of the households that were questioned had a family income of PKR 101,000 to 300,000 or above. This could be because of their educational background as well as their professions. 63.25% of

the respondents had either employed a Christian worker in the past, knew a family member or neighbor who had employed a Christian worker, or both.

The employment index which was in regard to the preference the respondents showed between a Muslim and a Christian worker for various jobs, 60.25% of the respondents were moderately discriminating and 33.5% of the respondents fell in the low discrimination category. The gender index which was in terms of preference between a male Christian worker and a female Christian worker had 88% of the respondents moderately discriminating. The characteristics index concerning the perception that the respondents had regarding the traits that a Muslim worker and a Christian worker might possess had 58.5 % respondents in the moderate discrimination category and 38.25% of the respondents in the low discrimination category. 62.25% of the respondents fell in the low discrimination category for the behaviour index which included the treatment of the respondents towards a Muslim worker and Christian worker. The acceptability index had 48.75% of the respondents in the moderate category and 46.25% of the respondents in the high category. This was in regard to how acceptable it was for the respondents to hire a Christian worker. For the wages and experience index which comprised of changes in the employers hiring decisions with changes in workers' wages and experience, 49.5% of the respondents fell in the low discrimination category and 41.5% fell in the moderate discrimination category.

5.2. Cross Tabulation

The association between the demographic variables and the variables that had been constructed was examined through cross tabulation. Alongside cross tabulation, Pearson's chi square test was run to see if the association between the variables was statistically significant. Since some of the cells were empty, the Fisher's exact test was run for greater accuracy.

5.2.2. Cross Tabulation of Constructed Variables and Demographics

Employment

The hypothesis pertaining to hiring history and discrimination related to employment is as follows:

H0: Hiring history is not associated with discriminatory behavior when employing for house help

H1: Hiring history is associated with discriminatory behavior when employing for house help

Table 5. 1- Hiring History and Discrimination related to Employment

Hiring History	Discrimination related to employment			
	Low Discrimination	Moderate Discrimination	High Discrimination	Total
No	32.11%	57.8%	10.09%	100.00%
	26.12%	26.14%	44%	27.25%
Don't know	21.05%	78.95%	0.00%	100.00%
	5.97%	12.45%	0.00%	9.5%
Yes	35.97%	58.5%	5.53%	100.00%
	67.91%	61.41%	56%	63.25%
Total	33.5%	60.25%	6.25%	100.00%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Pearson's χ^2 value=9.8798		P-value=0.043	Fisher's exact=0.046	

Data shows that hiring history is correlated with the respondent's discriminatory behavior when employing house help. Out of the respondents, 63.25% did in fact have previous history of employing Christian workers. Of all these respondents, most of them fell in the low and moderate discriminatory behavior category with 35.97% in the former and 58.5% in the latter category. This implies that since majority of the respondents had previously hired Christian workers, they would not highly discriminate against them when employing for various household jobs. Since the p-value and Fisher's exact value was less than 0.05, the null hypothesis was rejected, and it was concluded that hiring history and discriminatory behavior of the employer are associated.

Gender

The hypothesis pertaining to age and discriminatory behavior shown by the respondent between a Christian male and Christian female worker is as follows;

H0: Age is not associated with discriminatory behavior shown by the respondent between a Christian male worker versus a Christian female worker

H1: Age is associated with discriminatory behavior shown by the respondent between a Christian male worker versus a Christian female worker

Table 5.2. Age and Discrimination related to the gender of a Christian worker

Age	Discrimination related to gender of Christian workers			
	Low Discrimination	Moderate Discrimination	High Discrimination	Total
≥40	6.82%	86.36%	6.82%	100.00%
	33.33%	10.8%	7.69%	11%

41-50	1%	85%	14%	100.00%
	11.11%	24.15%	35.9%	25%
51-60	0.62%	95.03%	4.35%	100.00%
	11.11%	43.47%	17.95%	40.25%
61-70	5.63%	83.1%	11.27%	100.00%
	44.44%	16.76%	20.51%	17.75%
71 ≤	0.00	70.83%	29.17%	100.00%
	0.00	4.83%	17.95%	6%
Total	2.25%	88%	9.75%	100.00%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Pearson's χ^2 value= 29.3521		P-value=0.00		Fisher's exact=0.00

Results show that people are inclined towards discriminatory behavior when it comes to making a choice between employing a Christian male worker as opposed to a Christian female worker. There is a preference for male workers as compared to female workers, which is evident by more respondents being in the moderate and high discrimination category. It can be seen in the table above that 35.9% of the respondents in the age group of 41 to 50 and 20.51% in the age group of 61 to 70 are highly discriminating. In addition, as the p-value and Fisher's exact value is less than 0.05, the association between the two variables is statistically significant.

Acceptability

The hypothesis pertaining to hiring history and acceptability of a Christian worker is as follows;

H0: Hiring history of the respondent is not associated with the respondent's acceptance for a Christian worker

H1: Hiring history of a respondent is associated with the respondent's acceptance for a Christian worker

Table 5.3. Hiring History and Acceptability of a Christian worker

Hiring History	Discrimination related to acceptability of the workers			
	Low Acceptability	Moderate Acceptability	High Acceptability	Total
No	11.93%	49.54%	38.53%	100.00%
	65%	27.69%	22.7%	27.25%
Don't know	2.63%	52.63%	44.74%	100.00%
	5%	10.26%	9.19%	9.5%
Yes	2.37%	47.83%	49.8%	100.00%
	30%	62.05%	68.11%	63.25%
Total	5%	48.75%	46.25%	100.00%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Pearson's χ^2 value=16.67	P-value=0.002	Fisher's exact=0.005
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As far as acceptability is concerned, statistics show that with previous employment of a Christian worker, they are easily accepted by the family of the household head or the household other staff. To elaborate, 49.8% of the respondents are highly accepting. In addition, as the p value and the Fisher's exact value was less than 0.05, the null hypothesis was rejected, and it was deduced that hiring history does have an association with the respondents' acceptance for a Christian worker.

Wages and Experience

The hypothesis pertaining to hiring history of the respondent and wages/experience of workers is as follows:

H0: Hiring history is not associated with discriminatory behavior of the respondent considering change in wages and experience of the workers

H1: Hiring history is associated with discriminatory behavior of the respondent considering change in wages and experience of the workers

Table 5.4. Hiring History of the respondent and Wages/Experience of workers

Hiring History	Discrimination related to wages and experience of the workers			
	Low Discrimination	Moderate Discrimination	High Discrimination	Total
No	42.2%	42.2%	15.6%	100.00%
	23.23%	27.71%	47.22%	27.25%
Don't know	71.05%	28.95%	0.00%	100.00%
	13.64%	6.63%	0.00%	9.5%
Yes	49.41%	43.08%	7.51%	100.00%
	63.13%	65.66%	52.78%	63.25%
Total	49.5%	41.5%	9%	100.00%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Pearson's χ^2 value=15.6617		P-value=0.004	Fisher's exact=0.004	

The data shows association between the respondents' hiring history and their discriminatory behavior regarding changes in wages and experience of the workers. Respondents' that had previously employed a Christian worker or had relatives/neighbours that had history of doing so showed low discriminatory behavior in terms of wages and experience, 49.41% to be exact. As the p-value and Fisher's exact value was less than 0.05, thus the association between the variables was statistically significant and the null hypothesis was rejected.

5.2.3. Cross Tabulation of Constructed Variables

Employment and Gender index

The hypothesis pertaining to employment discrimination based on religion and discrimination based on gender of Christian workers is as follows;

H0: Employment discrimination based on religion is not associated with discrimination based on gender of Christian workers

H1: Employment discrimination based on religion is associated with discrimination based on gender of Christian workers

Table 5.5. Employment Discrimination based on Religion and Discrimination based on Gender of the Christian worker

Discrimination related to employment	Discrimination related to gender of the Christian workers			
	Low Discrimination	Moderate Discrimination	High Discrimination	Total
Low Discrimination	5.97%	83.58%	10.45%	100.00%
	88.89%	31.82%	35.9%	33.5%
Moderate Discrimination	0.41%	91.29%	8.3%	100.00%
	11.1%	62.5%	51.28%	60.25%
High Discrimination	0.00%	80%	20%	100.00%
	0.00%	5.68%	12.82%	6.25%
Total	2.25%	88%	9.75%	100.00%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Pearson's χ^2 value=16.4678		P-value=0.002	Fisher's exact=0.004	

This table shows that gender discrimination is more prevalent than religion-based discrimination. Majority of the respondents' answers show moderate discrimination when it comes to gender, even if they fall under low discriminatory behavior when it comes to religion. For the moderate discrimination category, 60.25% of the respondents are discriminating on the basis of employment as compared to 88% of the respondents who are practicing gender-based discrimination. Moreover, the same can be seen for the high discrimination category where 6.25% of the respondents are practicing employment discrimination while 9.75% of the respondents are practicing gender-based discrimination. The totals in the table above reveal that respondents are biased against Christian female

workers more than they are biased against Christian workers as a whole. The p-value and Fisher's exact value was less than 0.05 and so the null hypothesis was rejected.

Employment index and Characteristics index

The hypothesis pertaining to employment discrimination based on religion and characteristics that the workers are perceived to have is as follows;

H0: Employment discrimination based on religion is not associated with characteristics that the workers are perceived to have

H1: Employment discrimination based on religion is associated with characteristics that the workers are perceived to have

Table 5.6. Employment Discrimination based on Religion and Characteristics that the workers are perceived to have

Discrimination related to employment	Discrimination related to characteristics			
	Low Discrimination	Moderate Discrimination	High Discrimination	Total
Low Discrimination	58.96%	40.3%	0.75%	100.00%
	51.63%	23.08%	7.69%	33.5%
Moderate Discrimination	30.71%	66.8%	2.49%	100.00%
	48.37%	68.8%	46.15%	60.25%
High Discrimination	0.00%	76%	24%	100.00%
	0.00%	8.12%	46.15%	6.25%
Total	38.25%	58.5%	3.25%	100.00%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Pearson's χ^2 value=76.04		P-value=0.000	Fisher's exact=0.000	

There is no particular belief amongst the respondents' that a Muslim worker is better than a Christian worker where hygiene, morals, productivity is concerned. The totals 33.5%, 60.25%, 38.25% and 58.5% show that predominantly the respondents were in the low and moderate levels of discrimination as far as characteristics of the workers are concerned with respect to employment discrimination. This goes on to show that the majority of people do not associate negative

characteristics to Christian workers. Hence in this case, the null hypothesis is rejected because the p-value and Fisher's exact value is less than 0.05.

To sum up, it was found that hiring history has an association with discriminatory behavior. Results suggest that those who have hired Christians in the past are less likely to discriminate against them in terms of household employment. Also, those who had a history of hiring Christian workers or had Christian workers hired in the family are less likely to discriminate with respect to change in wages and experience of the worker. Additionally, it was found that the majority of the respondents prefer to hire male Christian workers over female Christian workers for the same household tasks.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to explore the customer discrimination that the Christian community might face as domestic staff. The existing literature provides evidence that religious minorities are subject to substantial amounts of customer discrimination, however, this research does not entirely support these claims. Moreover, the picture that the print and social media paint of the extent of the discrimination is not in line with this research's findings.

In this paper, the majority of respondents had previously hired Christian workers as household staff. In all of the indexes measuring discrimination, a very small proportion of the respondents were found to be highly discriminatory. Most respondents were categorized in the moderate or low discrimination bracket. Additionally, the acceptability index showed that there were only 5% of people who fell into the category of low acceptability. As such, the results of this paper are modest as compared to the findings provided in the existing literature.

6.2. Limitations of the Study

The study was based on the response of the residents of Islamabad alone, so the findings can't be generalized for the rest of the country. Moreover, the sample size does not have equal participation from men and women due to the fact that the majority of households in the country are headed by males. Additionally, insufficient literature is available on religion-based discrimination in Pakistan. Hence, there is limited historical data and other material to use as guidance for the study.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Demographics

1. Gender: Male/Female
2. Age of Head of Household
3. Education of Head of Household
4. Profession of Head of Household
5. Family Income:
 - less than PKR 50,000
 - PKR 50,000-PKR 100,000
 - PKR 101,000-PKR 300,000
 - PKR 301,000-PKR 500,000
 - More than PKR 500,000
6. Family size
7. Area of Islamabad

Hiring History

8. Has a Christian worker ever been employed in your house? Yes/No/Don't know
9. Has a Christian worker ever been employed in your neighborhood or extended family?
Yes/No/Don't know

Employment

10. I would prefer to hire a Muslim worker as a cook as opposed to a Christian worker.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

11. As compared to a Christian worker, I would prefer to hire a Muslim worker as a driver.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
12. I would prefer to hire a Muslim worker as a gardener, instead of a Christian worker.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
13. I would prefer to hire a Muslim worker as a cleaner, rather than a Christian worker.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
14. Compared to a Muslim worker, I would prefer to hire a Christian worker as a helper.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
15. I would prefer to hire for maintenance (painter, plumber, electrician) a Christian worker over a Muslim worker.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
16. It is better to hire a Christian worker as a sanitary worker only.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
17. It is better to hire a Muslim worker as a cook.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

Gender

18. I would prefer to hire a Christian female worker as a cook as opposed to a Christian male worker.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
19. As compared to a Christian female worker, I would prefer to hire a Christian male worker as a driver.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
20. I would prefer to hire a Christian male worker as a gardener, instead of a Christian female worker.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.
21. I would prefer to hire a Christian female worker as a cleaner, rather than a Christian male worker.
 - Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

22. Compared to a Christian male worker, I would prefer to hire a Christian female worker as a helper.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

23. I would prefer to hire for maintenance (painter, plumber, electrician) a Christian male worker over a Christian female worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

Characteristics

24. A Muslim worker is more honest than a Christian worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

25. A Christian worker is cleaner than a Muslim worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

26. A Muslim worker is more productive/competent than a Christian worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

27. A Muslim worker is better at managing time than a Christian worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

28. A Christian worker is lazier as compared to a Muslim worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

Behaviour

29. The place of work/seating area/resting area is the same/would be the same in my house for Muslim workers and Christian workers.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

30. The tools required for work in my house are the same for a Muslim worker and a Christian worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

31. The bonuses/holidays/loans that are given by me are the same for a Muslim worker and a Christian worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

Acceptability

32. My family would not accept it if I hired a Christian worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

33. I would hire a Christian worker, but the Muslim workers in my house would not accept it.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

34. I would only hire a Christian worker, if no Muslim workers were available for the job.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

35. I would not hire a Christian worker, if plenty of Muslim workers were available for the job.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

Wages/Experience

36. I would hire a Muslim worker and not a Christian worker, if they ask for the same wage.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

37. I would prefer to hire for any of these jobs a Christian worker, if he/she was working for lesser wages as compared to a Muslim worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

38. I would hire a Muslim worker, if he/she and a Christian worker have the same number of years of experience.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

39. I would hire a Christian worker if he/she had more experience than a Muslim worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

40. If a group of workers are needed for some work in my house, I would consider hiring a Christian worker.

- Strongly agree. Agree. Neutral. Disagree. Strongly disagree.

Appendix 2. Construction of Variables

Variables	Construction				
Employment (Questions:8, Minimum Score: 8, Maximum Score: 40, Range: 40-8= 32)	High (3) 31-40	Discrimination	Moderate Discrimination (2) 21-30	Low (1) 8-20	Discrimination
Gender (Questions:6, Minimum Score: 6, Maximum Score: 30, Range: 30-6= 24)	High (3) 22-30	Discrimination	Moderate Discrimination (2) 14-21	Low (1) 6-13	Discrimination
Characteristics (Questions: 5, Minimum Score: 5,	High (3) 18-25	Discrimination	Moderate Discrimination (2) 12-17	Low (1) 5-11	Discrimination

Maximum Score: 25, Range: 25-5=20)			
Behaviour (Questions: 3, Minimum Score: 3, Maximum Score: 15, Range: 15-3=12)	High Discrimination (3) 11-15	Moderate Discrimination (2) 7-11	Low Discrimination (1) 3-6
Acceptability (Questions: 4, Minimum Score: 4, Maximum Score: 20, Range: 20-4=16)	High Acceptability (3) 15-20	Moderate Acceptability (2) 9-14	Low Acceptability (1) 4-8
Wages/Experience (Questions: 5, Minimum Score: 5, Maximum Score: 25, Range: 25-5=20)	High Discrimination (3) 18-25	Moderate Discrimination (2) 12-17	Low Discrimination (1) 5-11

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