

# Pakistani Immigrants

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by Kathleen M. Moore

## Introduction

The experience of Pakistani Americans has been shaped by the convergence of two immigration trends, the first Asian and the second from the Muslim world. The earliest arrivals to the United States were Punjabi men in the 1890s, and immigration from the area that now constitutes Pakistan lasted until the U.S. Congress placed severe restrictions on all Asian immigration through the 1917 “barred Asiatic zone” law and the 1924 Johnson-Reed immigration act. Though they were mostly Sikhs, they were often classified in official records as Asian Indian or, alternatively, Punjabi or Hindu immigrants. Most were from soldiering and farming backgrounds, and many settled in the agricultural sector of California. An estimated 6,000 to 7,000 rural immigrants arrived and settled in the United States between 1890 and 1917. After an interruption of nearly 50 years, Pakistani immigration resumed in the late 1960s, following the adoption of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act. This second wave witnessed a steady upward trend in the number of Pakistanis admitted into the United States. Most have arrived as family units and typically came with university degrees in hand or under student visas to pursue degrees in the United States. Many are highly skilled and thus are in high demand in the American economy. These immigrants are financially well off, with household incomes well above the median income in the United States. On the other hand, a proportion of immigrants at the close of the 20th century are less-skilled persons who have been admitted through the immigration service’s diversity visa lottery program and other channels. In general they have been employed in small retail stores, gas stations, restaurants, and taxi services.

While the majority of the first wave of immigrants were Sikh but were miscategorized as Hindu, in the second wave most arrivals from Pakistan and their children define themselves increasingly as primarily Muslim. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 were a pivotal point in the process of assimilation. The post-9/11 homeland security initiatives and political developments in the Middle East and the Muslim world generated strong feelings of panethnic Muslim solidarity within the United States. This has proven to be a crucial factor in the formation of a Pakistani American identity. A recent study by the Pakistan Embassy in Washington, D.C., estimates that the size of the Pakistani community in the United States is approximately 500,000,

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three-quarters of which is foreign born. Most Pakistani Americans are concentrated in a handful of states (e.g., California, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Texas, and Virginia) and major urban centers. Today Pakistan is ranked 11th in terms of volume of immigrant admissions to the United States. Pakistan has become the largest single Muslim source country of immigration to the United States. As the 21st century progresses, further Pakistani immigration will be determined by the global political economy. Occupational preferences in the United States, as well as political instability and wars in South Asia, will drive immigration flows. Both governments' ability to address global terrorism and the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan will be important in sustaining the U.S.–Pakistani diplomatic and immigration relationship.

## Chronology

- 712** Arab general Muhammad bin Qasim conquers Sindh and Mulan in southern Punjab.
- 1893** Immigrants from the Punjab province begin to settle in western United States.
- 1917** U.S. immigration law enacted with a “barred Asiatic zone” provision, denying entry into the United States of people from south and southeast Asia.
- 1923** *United States v Baghat Singh Thind* ruling by U.S. Supreme Court that defined a “high caste Hindu” from Punjab as “ineligible for U.S. citizenship” because he was not a white person. The federal government subsequently rescinded the naturalization of between 60 and 70 citizens of South Asian origin.
- 1924** U.S. Congress adopts the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act, placing very low limits on legal immigration.
- 1946** Asian Exclusion Repeal Acts of Congress paved the way for Indians, and soon-to-be Pakistanis, to enter the United States as immigrants, acquire naturalized citizenship, and own property in the United States, reversing the 1917 “barred Asiatic zone” provision and the 1923 Supreme Court ruling.
- 1947** The British end colonial rule of India, and the Partition Plan creates two independent nations, India and Pakistan. The first of three Indo-Pakistan wars is fought.
- 1965** The second war between Pakistan and India. In the United States, President Lyndon Johnson signs an immigration bill

that replaces national origins quotas with occupational skills and family reunification criteria. This opens the door for more Asian (including Pakistani) immigration.

- 1971** Civil war resulting in secession of East Pakistan as independent Bangladesh.
- 1972** Civilian rule of Pakistan under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.
- 1977** Military coup installs General Zia ul-Haq as Pakistan's third military president. Zia introduces *shari'a* (Islamic law), which increases influence of religion on civil service and military.
- 1988** Election of first female prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, American-educated daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.
- 1991** Pakistan sends 5,000 troops to fight in Gulf War as part of U.S.-led coalition to defend Saudi Arabia.
- 1999** Military coup installs General Pervez Musharraf (1999–2008).
- 2001** September 11 attacks in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania attributed to Muslim terrorists.
- 2001** U.S. invasion of Afghanistan (Pakistan's northwestern neighbor) and overthrow of the Taliban. Many Taliban militants flee into Pakistan.
- 2002** "Voluntary" interviews of thousands of U.S. residents of Muslim background, targeting Pakistanis in the United States.
- 2005** A massive earthquake hits Pakistan.
- 2007** Exiled political leaders return for parliamentary elections. Government postpones elections due to Benazir Bhutto's assassination during election campaign.
- 2008** Musharraf resigns and Asif Ali Zardari becomes president.
- 2009** Millions of refugees flee armed conflict in northwestern region between government and Taliban militants.
- 2010** Faisal Shahzad, dubbed the "Broadway Bomber," pleads guilty to failed attempt to car-bomb Times Square in New York City.

## Background

### Geography

Pakistan is located in South Asia, along with the countries of India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bhutan. Its southern coast lies along the Arabian Sea and

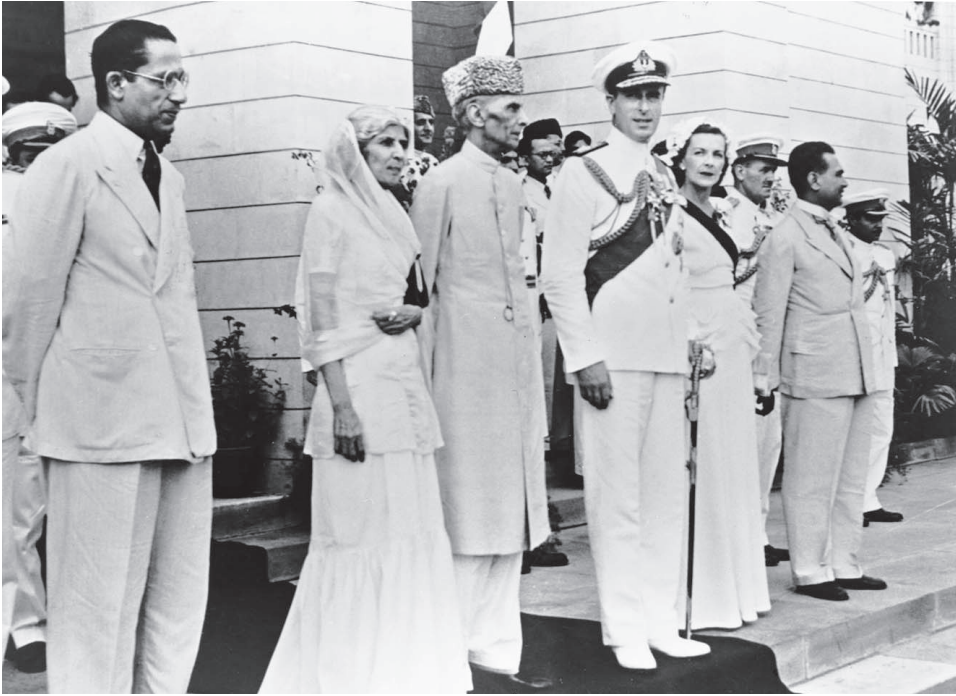
the Gulf of Oman. By land it is bordered by India on the east, Afghanistan and Iran on the west, and the Karkoram mountain range and China on the north. Modern-day Pakistan is divided into four major geographic regions: the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), Sindh, Punjab, and Baluchistan. Each of these regions has its own ethnic groups and language. The capital of Pakistan is the modern city of Islamabad, although the cultural and economic centers are located in Lahore and Karachi.

## History

Pakistan is the site of the ancient Indus Valley civilization (2500–1700 B.C.E.). For many centuries the region served as the crossroads of several military campaigns, expeditions, and trade routes, and witnessed invasions of and/or colonization by Persians, Greeks, Afghans, Arabs, Turko-Mongols, and British. In the eighth century an Arab general named Muhammad bin Qasim conquered the Sindh province and the southern portion of Punjab, laying the foundation for several successive Muslim empires. Muslim rulers established kingdoms in northern India and, as a result, many local inhabitants converted to Islam. During this period, Sufi missionaries were instrumental in converting Buddhist and Hindu inhabitants of the region to Islam. With the gradual decline of the Mughal Empire in the 18th century, the opportunity arose for the Afghans, Balochis, and Sikhs to exercise control over large territories until the British gained a foothold in the region through the commercial activities of the British East India Company. Eventually the British Crown established military and administrative control over all of India by the 1850s.

From the outset, the 20th-century independence movement in India joined Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus together in a common struggle against British colonial rule. Led in the 1920s and 1930s by the nationalist leader Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, the independence movement followed the principle of ahimsa (nonviolence) and engaged millions of protesters in civil disobedience. However, fearing that Muslim interests would be subordinated to those of Hindus in an independent India, the All India Muslim League rose in popularity during the 1930s. In due course the perceived differences outweighed commonalities, and calls for an autonomous region for Muslims in the northern and western provinces of India evolved into a two-state solution. Under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim League called for the creation of a separate nation-state based on Muslim identity. In 1947 when the British signaled their intention to end colonial rule, the leaders of the independence movement agreed to a proposal to partition colonial India and transfer power and independence to two separate governments. Upon independence, the Hindu majority areas became India and the Muslim majority areas became Pakistan.

Thus the modern sovereign nation-state of Pakistan came into existence in August 1947. It was carved out of the two Muslim-majority regions of colonial India,



British lord Louis Mountbatten (in uniform) officially transfers power to Mohammed Ali Jinnah (to left of Mountbatten), leader of the new nation of Pakistan, on August 14, 1947. (Library of Congress)

in the eastern and northwestern provinces of Baluchistan, East Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province, West Punjab, and Sindh. The very name Pakistan was invented in 1934 as an amalgam of the names of these regions of the British Raj: Punjab, Afghania (now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Kashmir, Islamabad Capital Territory, Sindh, and Baluchistan.

The partition of colonial India was marked by upheaval and bloodshed. The partition displaced several million people and caused a massive, and sometimes violent, population exchange between the two newly formed nation-states as provincial leaders chose whether to align with India or Pakistan. Approximately 7.5 million Muslims fled their homes in the newly independent India to resettle in Pakistan, while an equal number of Hindus and Sikhs fled Pakistan to resettle in India. The strains of partition led to the Indo-Pakistani War of 1947 and later conflicts between India and Pakistan. The two countries have fought three wars and continue to contest the destiny of Kashmir, a fertile Muslim-majority province that lies on the mountainous northern border of both countries and is subject to a three-way struggle between Pakistan, India, and the Kashmiris, who seek their own independence from both India and Pakistan.

Pakistan's political history has been unstable. When formed, Pakistan consisted of two regions separated by more than 1,000 miles of Indian terrain: East and West Pakistan. Pakistan's central government was located in the western region, and inhabitants of East Pakistan, physically distant from the seat of government, felt they received inferior treatment. Economic disparities and cultural, ethnic, and linguistic differences made tensions worse. Disputes centered on language differences and the issue of refugee settlement. Bengali was spoken in the east, and Punjabi, Pushtu, Sindhi, and Baluchi in the west; yet Urdu, the language spoken by many of the refugees coming from India to Pakistan, was chosen as the national language. When Urdu was declared the sole official language, a popular movement emerged in the east to demand that the Bengali language also be recognized by the state. Reaching its climax in a bloody street demonstration in 1952, this Bengali movement in time provided the basis for popular cries for secession. Eventually a liberation war broke out between the Pakistani army and Bengali liberation forces, ending in the formation of newly independent Bangladesh in December 1971.

Early attempts at democratic rule succumbed to long periods of martial law. Coups d'état suspended democratic rule from 1958 to 1962, and 1969 to 1971. Next Pakistan experienced six years of "Islamic socialism" under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party, a center-left political party. In 1977, General Zia ul-Haq seized control of the government, reimposed martial law, and had Bhutto arrested and eventually executed in 1979. Under Zia, the influence of Islamic law increased. When Zia was killed in an airplane accident in 1988, Benazir Bhutto, the American-educated daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was elected as prime minister and formed a civilian government, which remained in power until 1990. The first woman to be elected as prime minister of a Muslim country, Benazir Bhutto returned to power again in 1993–1996. In 1996 she was removed from government under corruption charges and went into self-imposed exile in Dubai in 1998. She returned to Pakistan again in 2007 when the government under General Pervez Musharraf dropped the corruption charges against her. She was assassinated at a campaign rally just two weeks before general elections in 2008, where she was the leading opposition candidate. In the same year General Pervez Musharraf was forced to resign from the presidency of Pakistan and was replaced with Asif Ali Zardari, the husband of the late Benazir Bhutto. At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, more than three million civilians have been displaced by the ongoing armed conflict between the Pakistani government and Taliban militants along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan. Western diplomats and intelligence experts say the Pakistani Taliban formed in 2007 specifically to maintain control over Pakistan's tribal regions and to train fighters for jihad against American and NATO forces in Afghanistan, and to strike at the Pakistani state.

The state religion is Islam, and today 96 percent of Pakistan's population is Muslim. The majority of Muslims are Sunni, but Pakistan also has the world's second

largest Shi'a population (second to Iran). There are tiny minority faith communities of Zoroastrians, Christians, Buddhists, and Hindus. There are many different ethnic and linguistic groups, the major ones being Pathans (also known as Pashtoons), Punjabis, Sindhis, and Baluchis. The form of government is federal constitutional parliamentary system, with a president and prime minister. Pakistan has had four constitutions since 1947, and control of government has traded off between military and civilian hands. The military plays a powerful role in Pakistan. Pakistan has been a close ally of the United States, particularly during the Soviet-Afghani war of the 1980s, and again after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States. Increases in U.S. foreign aid have been given to Pakistan to secure Pakistan's cooperation in the war on terrorism.

## Causes and Waves of Migration

To understand the Pakistani American experience, it is necessary to take into account the impact of exclusionary government policies and social prejudice. The contours of immigration and settlement correspond with changes in U.S. immigration regulations. The early arrivals came at the end of a series of Asian migrations to the Pacific coast, beginning with the Chinese in the middle of the 19th century and including the Filipinos, the Japanese, and many other Asian immigrants. But these migrations were abruptly brought to an end by U.S. legislation in 1917—with the creation of the “barred Asiatic zone” restricting immigration from 17 Asian countries—and 1924—setting very low quotas for admissions from nations outside of Europe. Assimilation was also greatly affected in the early 20th century by laws barring Asians from land ownership in some cases, from certain occupations and intermarriage in others, and even from naturalized U.S. citizenship. Barriers against Asian immigration and assimilation were part of the regulatory scheme until the middle of the 20th century. These legal prohibitions had important implications for the development of the Pakistani American community in the United States in ways that are specifically discussed in the following.

### Early Immigration

The first stage of immigration to the United States occurred *before* Pakistan's independence. The vast majority of early immigrants were men from the British Indian province of Punjab. These pioneers were predominantly rural, coming to work in agriculture in the western United States. They arrived in the thousands between 1893 and 1917, just at the time when public opinion and federal and state policies were turning against Asian immigrants in general. Other immigrants from Asia, in particular from China, Korea, and Japan, had already been working in California,



mostly in agriculture and mining. In contrast to the small, family-owned farm of the Atlantic coast and the Midwest, by the 1870s California's landowners developed a corporate, capital-intensive form of agriculture by using large-scale irrigation systems to cultivate commercial crops of fruits and vegetables. Irrigation was a technology that was new to California but was already familiar to those from the British Indian province of Punjab. The Punjab is traversed by the Indus River and its tributaries, and an extensive canal-irrigation system provides water for agricultural production in spite of the region's dry climate. Thus immigrants from the Punjab were well versed in the technical aspects of irrigated agriculture.

Approximately 6,000 to 7,000 rural immigrants from Punjab arrived in California between 1893 and 1917. Many were attracted to come by the economic opportunities advertised by companies seeking to import contract labor. Several did not come directly to the United States but instead migrated first to the Pacific coast of Canada. As British subjects these Asian Indians in theory were entitled to move freely throughout the British Empire, of which Canada was a part. In practice, though, Canada successfully sought power over immigration control in order to limit Asian migration. It is reported that between 1904 and 1908 more than 5,000 Asian Indians (mostly Punjabi) entered British Columbia, Canada. Facing harassment and social prejudice driven by local fears of job competition, many returned to India. Yet the persistent problems of subdivision of land and rural debt in the homeland did not make return an attractive option. Thus a small number migrated further south along the Pacific coast to the United States. Averaging about 30 per year between 1898 and 1903 and then 250 annually from 1904 to 1906, the flow quickly reached its peak of nearly 2,000 per year by 1908. Canada officially ended Asian Indian migration in 1909, and the number reaching the western United States via Canada dropped off significantly.

Just as they had in Canada, these Asian Indian immigrants met with opposition in the western United States. They were subject to the prevailing anti-Asian bias in the Pacific coast states at the turn of the 20th century. Called "Hindus" by other Americans regardless of their religion—roughly 85 percent were Sikh and another 10 to 15 percent most likely were Muslim—the newcomers from the Punjab were treated with derision. Popular magazines and newspapers decried the arrival of the "Hindu invasion" and the "tide of turbans." One periodical warned its readers that the United States was about to be flooded with "Hindus" because the Vedas—scriptures of Hinduism—enjoins them to "cover the earth." Concerns over their assimilability were expressed frequently in popular media not only with respect to outward appearance but also in terms of belief. ¶

Evidence of organized efforts to exclude these new immigrants in the early 1900s is plentiful. A nativist association of citizens called the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League widened its scope to include "Hindus" as a target of its anti-immigration campaign. When a handful of "Hindu" laborers were assaulted in

riots in Washington State lumber camps in 1907, this association claimed that the “Hindus” themselves were responsible for their own injuries, because they were willing to work for less than the prevailing wage and kept “filthy and immodest habits.” Changing its name to the Asiatic Exclusion League in 1910 in order to reflect its widening ambit, these immigration opponents called for the resignation of the immigration commissioner in San Francisco because he putatively encouraged “Hindu” immigration and permitted the entry of Asian Indian arrivals having communicable diseases. In the same year, H. A. Millis, chief investigator for the federal Immigration Commission on the Pacific coast, conducted a study of the growing Asian Indian immigrant population and reported in his findings that the Asian Indian “was the most undesirable of all Asiatics and the peoples of the Pacific states were unanimous in their desires for exclusion.” As Punjabi immigration to the United States increased, prejudice also grew to the point where the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization began to reject new applicants for entry out of a concern for public safety. Before 1907 fewer than 10 percent of applicants for entry as immigrants were rejected. In 1909, 1911, and 1913, though, as many as 50 percent were rejected. Literacy tests were required, but it was the public demand that officials “especially bar Hindus,” as the local Imperial Valley press put it, which resulted in the climbing rejection rate. □

In spite of this unfriendly welcome, the early immigrants from the rural Punjabi region showed tenacity and challenged their lowly status within the first decade of their arrival. A few made alliances with bankers and attorneys in the agricultural valleys of California and went about financing their own enterprises and filing court cases. Some spent time and resources working through the legal system trying to validate their Aryan ancestry in the courts so they might be considered “white” and thus eligible for naturalized citizenship. The push factors that had enticed these newcomers to leave their homeland help to explain why these immigrants succeeded in the face of the odds. As the mortality rate declined in the Punjab and more sons survived to claim their inheritance, family landholdings dwindled. This motivated many young men to leave home to seek their fortunes overseas. At the same time, a significant portion of the pre-1917 immigrants had served in the British colonial military and had been in service overseas, in such places as China and East Africa. It was often in the service of the British Empire that these pioneers learned of opportunities in the United States.

Whatever it was that forged their determination, the immigrants from the Punjab often traveled in small groups in the early years, working in railroads, lumber, and agriculture. In the agricultural economy they cultivated rice in northern California, grew grapes in central California, and helped establish cotton and lettuce fields in the Imperial Valley. They found work picking cantaloupes and planting sugar beets. They were especially successful in working the land as tenant farmers, for instance, in growing rice in Butte, Sutter, and Colusa counties. Many began

sending sizeable money orders from local post offices as remittances to their kin in India. A California (“Anglo”) farm woman, who attested to the skills of these farmers and spoke admiringly of their determination, said they lived in a place she called “Hindu” camp. E. E. Chandler, a chemistry professor and owner of a ranch near Brawley, California, leased land to tenant farmers. He had this to say of the Punjabis: “This Hindu resembles us except he is black—and we are shocked to see a black white man.”

In 1913 California adopted the Alien Land Law (amended in 1920 and 1921) to bar “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from leasing or owning agricultural land. While directed primarily against Japanese farmers, this law discriminated against all Asian immigrants because of the perception that their farming activities presented unfair competition for “white” landowners and agribusiness. It put at risk the rights of Asian Indian immigrants to farm the land, and how it did so requires explanation. The term “aliens ineligible for citizenship” was first introduced into federal law by immigration legislation in 1875 that classified all Asians as persons “ineligible for citizenship” on the basis of race. Notwithstanding this legislation and the subsequent Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, federal district courts continued to grant naturalized citizenship, in many cases determining for themselves who counted as “white” for purposes of naturalization. In 1907 U.S. Attorney General Charles Bonaparte advised the courts that Asian Indians were not suitable applicants for citizenship because, according to federal law, naturalization was limited to “free white persons” and persons of African nativity or descent. However, several federal courts refused to adhere to this advice and accepted the petitions of Asian Indian applicants who had proven they were of the same racial origins as Europeans (i.e., Aryan) and were members of the Caucasian “race.” For instance, in 1908 the federal district court of New Orleans accepted this line of reasoning in the cases of Abdul Hamid and Bellal Houssain, two Asian Indian Muslims.

While it remained unclear whether immigrants from British colonial India were eligible for citizenship, they continued to farm unhindered by the California Alien Land Law. By 1919 they had some 100,000 acres of California land under cultivation. However, an immigration act of the U.S. Congress in 1917, which contained the “barred Asiatic zone” restriction, proved to be an effective barrier to further immigration from virtually all Asian countries, including British colonial India. Admission of new immigrants to the United States was ended. Moreover, the consequences for Asian Indian immigrants already in the United States were profound. Soon after the adoption of the “barred Asiatic zone” provision, the federal government began to challenge the naturalizations of individuals from British colonial India. The reasoning was that persons who were formerly classified as “alien” and now belong to a class barred from entry into the United States (i.e., Asians) should no longer be considered acceptable as citizens. Thus the attorney general’s office renewed efforts to exclude Asian Indians, by retroactively changing the legal status of those already naturalized.

In the 1923 landmark decision of *United States v. Baghat Singh Thind*, the Supreme Court of the United States reviewed the claim of the government that Thind, a man who had described himself in his petition for citizenship as a “high caste Hindu,” was no longer an acceptable citizen. The Court revoked the citizenship that had been granted to Thind years before by a federal court in Oregon. The basis for this decision was that Congress had clearly meant Europeans and not “Hindus” when it used the term “white person” in legislation. While the Court accepted Thind’s contention that Asian Indians are members of the Caucasian race, it ruled that by virtue of their skin color Asian Indians are not a part of the popular understanding of the term “white person.” Further, the Court wrote that while immigrants from the southern regions of Europe—Greeks and Italians—may be “dark eyed and swarthy,” within a generation they would fit into the popular category of whiteness. On the other hand, the descendants of “Hindus [would] retain the clear evidence of their ancestry.” The Court quoted statutory language from the 1917 “barred Asiatic zone” provision to argue that the next logical step would be to exclude persons of Asian Indian ancestry from U.S. citizenship. The Court held that:

It is not without significance . . . that Congress . . . has now excluded from admission to this country all natives of Asia . . . including the whole of India. This . . . is persuasive of a similar attitude towards Asiatic naturalization as well, since it is not likely that Congress would be willing to accept as citizens a class of persons whom it rejects as immigrants.

This ruling met with approval from many newspapers in California—the state with the highest concentration of immigrants from British colonial India—which praised the ruling in their editorial pages and noted that the state’s Alien Land Law would now be enforceable against persons of Punjabi or Hindu descent. The California attorney general, a leading proponent of the anti-Asian movement, promised swift action to “stem the menacing spread of Hindus holding our lands.”

Not only did Thind lose his U.S. citizenship; many others also had their certificates of naturalization rescinded by the federal government. Between 1923 and 1926 some 70 “Hindu” Americans lost their citizenship. In addition, lower courts relied on the Thind ruling as precedent in cases involving persons of Arab and Afghani origins, deciding against their fitness as naturalized citizens as well. Effectively the Court’s decision in the Thind case triggered a campaign to revoke the citizenship of a class of persons previously deemed lawful citizens. Many in the Asian Indian community living in the United States responded, and a long struggle ensued to change the laws so that Asian Indians would again be allowed to enter the country as legal immigrants and eventually apply for naturalized citizenship. Their extensive lobbying efforts proved successful in 1946 when Congress enacted legislation that specifically allowed immigration and naturalization to resume from what was

then British colonial India. The new law also enabled Asian Indian immigrants once again to own property in the United States and reversed the 1923 Third decision that had declared “Hindus” nonwhite and consequently ineligible for citizenship. <sup>7</sup>

Historian Karen Leonard has noted that for the first wave of Asian Indian immigrants, being categorized by other Americans as “Hindu” had important political consequences. Asian Indian men became highly politicized in response to legal and social barriers to full citizenship, fighting hard for citizens’ rights in the United States and freedom for India. Besides the legal obstacles, there were significant social stereotypes that limited the new immigrants’ life chances. Outbursts of public sentiment targeted Asian Indians, who were not only visibly different and presumed inassimilable but also becoming economically prosperous. Like other Asians, many in the Asian Indian community were shunned and confined to living in the foreign sections of California’s cities and towns. In Los Angeles, most Punjabi men lived in Little Tokyo and made a living as peddlers, elevator operators, butlers, and the like. A small handful built acting careers, often portraying characters of Indian, Arab, Mexican, Gypsy, or other “exotic” complexion (see also Appendix III). Others emerged as prosperous farmers in California or among the growing number of intellectuals who had come to the United States to study in universities and colleges on the Atlantic coast and stayed on. However, social stigma and legal constraints combined to shape the circumstances of this budding community even in the area of family life. Arriving without wives or families due to immigration restrictions, the early pioneers tended to marry Mexican women and had families known locally as “Mexican-Hindu.”

The second generation of Asian Indian immigrants tended to emphasize their South Asian heritage, choosing to feature certain aspects of their Punjabi background presented by their immigrant fathers. The children took great pride in following Indian customs; daughters dressed in saris for festive occasions, and dietary prohibitions and traditional burial rituals were observed. Second-generation descendants who were Sikh or Hindu avoided eating meat, and those of Muslim background avoided pork and alcohol, even though typically their fathers did not abstain. Likewise, according to their children, the early Muslim immigrants rarely observed the five daily prayers or the month-long fast during Ramadan. Few owned a copy of the holy book, the Qur’an, or a prayer mat. There is some evidence that Arabic classes were offered for biethnic children being brought up in the Imperial Valley in the early 20th century, allegedly as a result of the conversion of one Mexican wife to Islam. The early immigrants’ spouses, chiefly Mexican women, actively contributed to the construction and maintenance of a “Hindu” identity in the United States (Leonard 1997, 60).

After grinding to a near halt between 1920 and the 1940s, Pakistani immigration resumed in fits and starts with the lifting of legal barriers in 1946. In 1947–1948, when Britain’s empire in India collapsed and produced the independent nations of

India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Burma, the U.S. government allotted to each new sovereign nation-state an annual quota of 105 immigrants. Approximately 1,800 Pakistanis were granted immigrant status between 1948 and 1965. Most were the families and relatives of those who were already in the United States, or were students or government officials in the country for training who would decide to stay or return later as immigrants.

A noteworthy impact of the 1946 law was that it made both the old immigrants and their newly reunited kin eligible to acquire naturalized citizenship. The net effect was to broaden the base for Pakistani Americans to grow as a distinct community. Substantial community formation could not begin in the early years because of the low numbers of immigrants and the legal and social barriers to their success. However, with American citizenship and property ownership made obtainable, a new generation of young, more educated professionals in postcolonial Pakistan was enticed to pursue its future in the United States.

### Recent Immigration

The Asian Exclusion Repeal Acts in the United States (1946) and the independence of Pakistan (1947) altered migration patterns to be sure, but sweeping changes did not come until the 1965 U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Act. This new law jettisoned discriminatory admissions criteria by eliminating the national origins quotas that had heavily favored European immigration to the United States since the 1920s. Immigration reform replaced national origins quotas with preferred occupational skills, family reunification, and humanitarian criteria. Since the late 1960s the total numbers of immigrants from Asian and Muslim countries, including Pakistan, have risen dramatically. Table 247 presents the number of immigrants admitted to the United States from Pakistan in five-year intervals beginning in 1965. A strong upward trend is clear, in particular from 1980 onward. The numbers began at a low of 2,704 in the second half of the decade in the 1960s but grew exponentially to reach 87,110 in the 2005–2009 interval.

The first post-1965 wave of Pakistani immigrants on average was highly educated, being admitted because of employment-based preferences in the new immigration scheme. Many were employed as physicians, engineers, and other professionals. However, beginning in the late 1980s a large number entered under family-sponsored preferences and as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens. Next, in the 1990s there was an increase of 180 percent over the previous decade, which is accounted for by persons admitted under the U.S. Diversity Program started in 1990. Finally, in the five-year interval between 2000 and 2004, Pakistani immigration jumped from 61,850 to 66,256, an increase of nearly 8 percent; and between 2005 and 2009 there was an extraordinary growth rate of 30 percent, increasing to 87,110 over the five-year period.

This might seem surprising given the priority given to national security after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. However, there are two things to keep in mind. First, this period coincides with the U.S. invasion of Pakistan's neighbor, Afghanistan, and the overthrow of the Taliban government. Taliban militants fled to northwestern Pakistan, and the continuing armed conflict between them and the Pakistani forces created a refugee crisis within the country. The U.S. government stood to benefit from Pakistan's cooperation in the war on terror, and the flow of migration from Pakistan to the United States relieved some of the pressures on Pakistan's weak economic sector.

Second, in the post-9/11 period, official U.S. immigration policy has been convoluted. To neutralize any future terrorist threat the government has taken a broad-based approach by tightening airport and seaport security while simultaneously placing Muslims and their institutions in the United States under constant surveillance. In May 2002, the U.S. Congress enacted the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act, which reduced the number of nonimmigrant (visitor) visas to the United States from Pakistan and other Muslim and Middle Eastern countries. While 2001 was a peak year for nonimmigrant visas—72,982 were issued to Pakistanis for temporary entry into the United States for tourism, work, business, and study—by 2002, the number of such visas issued to Pakistanis was cut to 46,735, and cut further to 39,429 in 2003. This represents a decrease of 45 percent over two years. Thus, while immigration to the United States continued to grow in the first decade of the 21st century, there was a decisive decline in temporary admissions because of changes in nonimmigrant visa policies.

Table 248 indicates, on a yearly basis in the first decade of the 21st century, the number of immigrants from Pakistan granted permanent resident status (a green card) in the United States; the percentage this represents of the total permanent resident status granted in that year; and Pakistan's rank as a sending country. This information is obtained from the Department of Homeland Security's *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2009*. According to these statistics there was nearly a 40 percent reduction in the number of Pakistani permanent residents admitted into the United States between 2001 and 2003, when the numbers were 16,393 and 9,415, respectively. This nearly corresponds to the decrease in the number of temporary visas issued to Pakistanis in the same interval. However, in terms of immigration dynamics, two considerations are crucial. First, while in 2003 there was a sharp drop in Pakistani admissions, the numbers immediately began to climb again. In 2004, 12,086 Pakistanis became green card holders, a number already exceeding that of 2003. Furthermore, in each subsequent year the number of Pakistani green card holders continued to increase, to the point that the figure for 2006 (17,418) surpassed the figure for 2001 (16,393). In 2009 a record number of Pakistani nationals achieved permanent resident status in the United States in a single year, at 21,555. This is nearly 10 times as many as were admitted between 1965 and 1969.

The second consideration to keep in mind is that immigration admissions were decreased across the board. In other words, cutbacks in immigration did not affect immigrants from Pakistan more adversely than any other group in the first decade of the 21st century. Table 248 shows that the Pakistani proportion of total admissions remained fairly steady, ranging from 1.25 to almost 2 percent of all green cards granted between 2000 and 2009. Also, Pakistan's rank in terms of volume of immigration to the United States increased over the same decade, rising from its lowest position as 20th in 2005 to 11th in 2008 and 2009. It is too early to say whether this will be a lasting trend; however, at the close of the first decade of the 21st century, Pakistan is the largest sending country of Muslim immigrants to the United States.

In sum, in the second half of the 20th century into the 21st, Pakistani immigration and settlement in the United States reached historic proportions. Moreover, the principle of family reunification and the 1990 U.S. diversity visa program provided the impetus for a far more diverse immigration pattern to emerge from Pakistan in terms of socioeconomic status. During these decades a substantial community could form into viable support networks, particularly in large cities in the United States. Being highly educated and middle class, these communities could afford to sponsor new immigrants, assist new arrivals in finding jobs and places to live, and help them navigate the new environment. Additionally from a Pakistani vantage point, better means of communication and transportation made the United States seem less distant than it had in the past, which also encouraged immigration. More than 75 percent of Pakistanis who have acquired immigrant status since 1965 did so between 1990 and 2009.

In the aftermath of 9/11, public attention focused on persons of the same or similar ethnic and religious backgrounds as the alleged terrorists. The impact of national security initiatives and social prejudice in the United States selectively targeted Middle Easterners, Muslims, Sikhs, and others resembling these categories of people. Persons of Pakistani descent fell within this sphere. In spite of their presence in the United States for over a century, the Pakistani community was suddenly thrust into the glare of publicity as part of the larger Muslim American community. While prior to 9/11 Pakistanis were usually understood as being a part of the South Asian diaspora, the post-9/11 story of persons of Pakistani descent has been defined much more within the context of Pakistan being a Muslim country. Muslim immigrants in America—roughly evenly divided among those originating in South Asia (including Pakistan), the Middle East and North Africa, and Southeast Asia—were the initial focus of attention from law enforcement after the terrorist attacks of 2001. Thousands of men of Asian Indian and Middle Eastern origins were detained for months without being charged with crimes, and many were deported, not for reasons related to terrorism but for minor infractions of visa regulations. Many Muslim charities and nonprofit organizations were shut down, and the U.S.



Treasury Department seized assets and prosecuted officials on terrorism-related charges. Student visas became difficult to obtain, and transnational labor migration on nonimmigrant visas was sharply curtailed. With the advent of homeland security, the civil rights and opportunities for persons of Pakistani origin have significantly deteriorated. Like Muslim Americans in general, Pakistani Americans live with a high degree of apprehension about their own future in the United States and that of future immigrants.

For example, in 2002 the U.S. government conducted “voluntary interviews” with approximately 42 percent of the estimated 6,000 Muslim noncitizen men detained after the events of 9/11. This resulted in the arrest of about 20 individuals on immigration and criminal charges, and at least 241 individuals were deported, more than half of them being Pakistani. In addition, between June 2002 and May 2003, about 82,000 nonimmigrant visitors from Muslim countries complied with “special registration” orders from the National Security Exit Entry Registration System (NSEERS), a program established to monitor certain foreign nationals in the United States whose presence warranted special attention in the interest of national security. Special registration required persons to be photographed and fingerprinted upon entering the United States. The NSEERS program was ended in 2003 under heavy criticism for targeting persons on the basis of national origins and alienating immigrant communities that might otherwise have been willing to help the U.S. government in uncovering terrorist cells in the country.

## Demographic Profile

### Size and Composition

At the beginning of the 21st century, Pakistanis in the United States are estimated to be roughly 500,000 persons. Pakistanis in the United States are a relatively new and young community. According to a study by the Pakistan Embassy in Washington, D.C., nearly 75 percent of Pakistanis in the United States have U.S. citizenship, through naturalization or birth, or permanent residence status. Less than 1 percent of these have obtained immigrant status prior to 1965, and only 10 percent did so before 1978.

The Pakistan Embassy’s study demonstrates that Americans of Pakistani origin live in all 50 states, but the 5 states with the most Pakistanis are New York, New Jersey, California, Illinois, Texas, and Virginia. Of Pakistanis in the United States, 40 percent live in only two states: New Jersey and New York, and 60 percent live on the Atlantic coast; however, the size of the Pakistani population on the Pacific coast is growing rapidly. California has the third-largest Pakistani population, divided evenly between the San Francisco/San Jose metro area and the Los Angeles metropolitan center.



The Muzaffar family, originally from Pakistan, gathers around the computer at their Brooklyn, New York, home searching for news on the earthquake that devastated Kashmir, November 5, 2005. (AP Photo/Kathy Willens)

According to the 2007 American Community Survey, New York City is home to hundreds of thousands of persons from the Indian subcontinent, including approximately 40,000 from Pakistan. Concentrations of Pakistanis live in the boroughs of Queens and Brooklyn. The population more than doubled between 1990 and 2000, according to a study of the 2000 U.S. Census data by the American Asian Federation of New York. Although many work as city engineers and staff the city's hospitals, another 28 percent of the city's Pakistani population lives below the poverty line at the beginning of the 21st century.

### Age and Family Structure

Today Pakistani Americans tend to be young. Approximately 30 percent of persons of Pakistani descent are young adults between 18 and 39 years of age, compared to 21 percent of the American population as a whole. Intermarriage—that is, marrying members of other ethnic or cultural origins—is more common than would be expected. It is quite likely that the rate of intermarriage will increase with each successive generation in the United States, as this is commonly observed in other immigrant groups. Another indicator of integration is the use of English language

at home. According to 2000 census data on language use at home, families from Pakistan (80%) are among the most likely to be bilingual. Data from the U.S. immigration services suggest that the gender composition is balanced. Pakistanis who acquire permanent residence status tend to be married, and those who acquire naturalized citizenship are even more likely to be married.

In 2005, the popular Music Television network (MTV) launched a niche cable channel called “MTV Desi,” aimed at the South Asian American youth. The word *desi* means “from the homeland,” and it is increasingly used to refer to South Asians in diaspora, particularly in North America. This category indicates the emerging influence of young South Asians, including Pakistanis, as consumers and producers of distinctive cultural forms. The channel features Bollywood songs, Indie-pop music videos, and diasporic deejays from North America and the United Kingdom.

### Educational and Economic Attainment

Approximately one-half of Pakistani Americans have a bachelor’s degree or more. Pakistanis in the United States tend to be affluent. Pakistani Americans are a community that has a higher-than-average household income, higher-than-average savings rates, and a higher-than-average representation in the professions. A large proportion is in white collar jobs in managerial or professional positions. Approximately 29 percent report they are self-employed or own their own businesses. However, increasingly since 1990 new immigrants have been working class. According to the 2000 U.S. Census data on the official poverty rate among children, 22 percent of Pakistani American children of immigrant families were living under the poverty line.

### Health Statistics, Issues

Little information is available about health care and status of persons of Pakistani background in the United States. Existing medical literature shows that, similar to Indians, Pakistanis are at high risk for coronary heart disease and diabetes relative to the general population. Compared to their counterparts in Pakistan, Pakistani American women have a higher rate of breast cancer. Other health problems include hypertension and oral sub-mucous fibrosis (related to chewing *paan*, a mix of tobacco and many added spices). High-risk behaviors typically include diets high in saturated fats, sedentary lifestyles, and the prevalence of smoking and chewing tobacco, especially among men. However, these behaviors tend to pass with each successive generation.

In addition to conventional medicine, traditional health practices are sometimes utilized. When ill, the elderly may wear the *taawiz*, an amulet containing verses from the Quran. Death rituals include positioning a dying person directionally, so

that the soles of the feet face toward Mecca, while family members recite verses from the Qur'an.

## Adjustment and Adaptation

### Family, Culture, and Rituals

Family life among the early immigrants of the 19th and 20th centuries was influenced by the climate and circumstances of immigration and settlement. Because of antimiscegenation laws, nonwhites generally were prohibited from marrying white people. So immigrants of "Asian Indian" origin—many of whom were single men—were not given marriage licenses to marry white women in California, although they could legally wed in Arizona. The crazy-quilt of differing state marriage laws resulted in a variegated pattern of family structure. However, marriages between Punjabi men and Mexican women were not uncommon in the early 1900s.

Anthropologist Karen Leonard has pieced together the documentary evidence of these marital unions. She writes that the earliest records of "Mexican-Hindu" marriages date to 1916 in Southern California, when, for example, Sher Singh and Antonia Alvarez married, followed by the marriage of Sher's business partner, Ghopal Singh, to Antonia Alvarez's sister, Anna Anita. The women, having moved from Mexico to El Paso, Texas, and then the Imperial Valley in California, picked cotton in the fields owned by these immigrants from the Punjabi region. They became brides at the ages of 18 and 21; their husbands were ages 36 and 37. By 1919, two more sisters, as well as a niece of Antonia and Anna Anita, had also married Punjabis in civil ceremonies.

This peculiar pattern of sister-partner marriages was repeated in many households. One marriage to a Punjabi led to others, as Mexican women helped to arrange more matches with their relatives and friends. The pattern of arranged marriages formed joint households in which Punjabi business partners often resided together with their sister brides. Moreover, in the hot climate of California's agricultural valleys, many households lived in tents or dirt-floored shacks without ice, electricity, or running water. The early years of adjustment to a new culture and family life led to extraordinary adaptations—husbands teaching Mexican wives how to prepare Punjabi-style meals, and bachelor partners staying on as helpful "uncles" to raise bicultural children.

Historians estimate that in the first half of the 20th century, as many as one-fifth to one-third of the Asian Indian population in California was married in this way, so the "Mexican-Hindu" family life was a fairly typical pattern in these early decades.

AuQ1 ~~Table 000 shows the distribution of marriages made by Punjabis in California from~~

~~1913 to 1949 by type of spouse and region, placing couples where they first settled and where their first children were born.~~ The data show that fully 80 percent of the recorded marriages were between Asian Indian men and Mexican women, with the largest numbers located in the California counties closest to the United States–Mexico border.

Mexican-Hindu families were large, with an average of six children per family. These bicultural families created a distinct community. There were collective cultural celebrations—weddings, dinners and dances, holiday outings—that solidified social networks and invented new kinship ties. Networks based on kinship, so crucial in both Punjabi and Mexican cultures, were an obvious basis for social life, cultural practices, and economic livelihoods. This newfound kinship structure was built on the Roman Catholic “godparent” system in the southwestern United States. In other words, many Catholic parishes accepted non-Catholic Punjabi men as legitimate godfathers in baptisms, giving them hispanicized names on baptismal certificates. This relationship linked extended immigrant families together through their children.

Falling under the jurisdiction of the 1913 Alien Land Law in California—particularly after the U.S. Supreme Court clarified their “nonwhite” status in the 1923 *Third* decision—Asian Indian men could no longer be secure in their ownership of property. Although unevenly enforced, the law permitted the government to seize Asian Indian assets at any moment. One might think that these men would be motivated to marry in order to secure their land holdings. However, marriages to non-Asian or nonalien women could not help to save their property. In accordance with the Cable Act (in effect from 1922 to 1931), women who married aliens ineligible for citizenship also became ineligible for citizenship themselves. In effect, women acquired the legal status of their husbands in marriage, which means that even women who had been born in the United States stood to lose their birthright citizenship. This was known as “marital expatriation” and had momentous implications for marriage practices, since unions arranged for the sake of economic stability were pointless.

To keep hold of their property, Asian Indians in the Imperial Valley began to put their landholdings in the names of their American-born children in 1934. This strategy followed the pattern set by the Japanese, who also circumvented the alien land law by placing their property in the names of their American-born children. It also served as an alternative to Asian Indians’ holding agricultural land in corporation with so-called Anglo partners, a practice that was challenged in a 1933 court ruling. Family structures and rituals of the post-1965 immigrants contrast sharply from the choices made by the pioneers who, out of necessity, married wives of different cultural backgrounds. (Information in this section is adapted from Karen Isaksen Leonard, 1997, *The South Asian Americans*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 49–52. Used by permission.)

### National/Regional-Language Press and Other Media

*Pakistan Link* is the largest publication in the United States for the Pakistani American community. The weekly newsletter is published in English and Urdu and distributed in the United States and Canada. The same publishing company provides a daily electronic version called the *Pakistan Link ePaper*.

*Chowrangi* is an English-language magazine and Web site that features the lives and concerns of Pakistani Americans. It covers business, entertainment, current events, religion, science, technology, and sports in Pakistan, the United States, and the Muslim world.

There are over 5,000 Web sites with Pakistani American content, and yes Pakistan.com provides an English-language compendium of the various Pakistani cultural, social, and relief organizations based in North America.

### Celebration of National Holidays

Pakistani Americans celebrate August 14 as Pakistan's Independence Day, and December 25 for the birthday of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of the nation of Pakistan. Pakistan Day is celebrated on March 23 to commemorate the date in 1940 when the All India Muslim League adopted the Lahore Resolution, asserting the necessity of a separate Muslim majority nation. Religious celebrations include Eid al-Adha, observing the pilgrimage to Mecca, and Eid al-Fitr, ending the month of fasting during Ramadan.

### Foodways

The cuisine of Pakistan is similar to that of northern India. Spices common in South Asian food, such as cumin, turmeric, and chili powder, combined with cinnamon, cloves, and cardamom make Pakistani fare distinct. Meats are lamb, goat, and beef. In compliance with Islamic dietary law, pork is prohibited, and the meat is slaughtered in a way that makes it *halal* (lawful or permissible). Vegetable dishes and unleavened bread are eaten with many meals. Sweets include *jalebi*, an orange-colored fried dessert made of syrup and flour, and *ras malai*, made from heavy cream. Teas flavored with cardamom and cinnamon are common. Religious celebrations such as Eid al-Fitr, marking the end of the month of fasting called Ramadan, and Eid al-Adha, signifying the season of pilgrimage to Mecca, involve feasts including many traditional foods.

### Music, Arts, and Entertainment

In 2005 MTV launched a special music channel called "MTV Desi." The channel features Bollywood songs sequences, Indie-pop music videos, and diasporic



Aeesha Ayyub (left) and her sister, Habiba, of Brooklyn, watch a parade on New York's Madison Avenue celebrating the 52nd anniversary of Pakistan's independence. (AP Photo/Diane Bondareff)

deejays from North America and the United Kingdom. These cultural forms are transnational in nature and express neither an India- or Pakistani-centric nor a North American/Western-centric aesthetic. The audience is second-generation South Asian youth in North America. Bohemia, a Pakistani American born in San Francisco, is a popular rap artist who is noted as a pioneer of Desi Hip Hop music.

Singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who performed devotional music of the Sufi tradition, is a breakthrough performer who played to large concert audiences at world music festivals. He was recognized by *Time* Magazine in 2006 as an "Asian Hero," one of the top 12 Asian artists of the past 60 years. His music is produced on Peter Gabriel's Real World label and has been featured on soundtracks of major Hollywood studio productions, including *The Last Temptation of Christ* and *Dead Man Walking*.

A small number of Pakistani Americans are actors, screenwriters, and directors in the United States (see also Appendix III). For example, Kamran Pasha is a famous Hollywood screenwriter/director most famous for writing the Showtime series *Sleeper Cell*. Actress Christel Khalil is of mixed Pakistani/African American heritage; she appears on the CBS soap opera *The Young and the Restless*.

## Integration and Impact on U.S. Society and Culture

### Intergroup Relations

Out of the tragedy of 9/11, new coalitions have been formed and older ones transformed. A new broad coalition of civil liberties, human rights, ethnic, and immigration advocacy groups has emerged to push a common agenda: to roll back the post-9/11 homeland security policies they regard as the most egregious compromises of basic civil rights and equal treatment under the law. Pakistani American advocacy organizations and the building of coalitions across lines of ethnicity, religion, and national origins are all a part of the broader picture. Arbitrary and indefinite detentions, secret hearings, and severe restrictions of due process have been regarded as a violation of First Amendment rights and have mobilized many Pakistani individuals and organizations to become politically active. Pakistani Americans, like others who are “Muslim-looking,” have had to present themselves to authorities for “special registration,” have experienced hate crimes, and have learned how South Asian religions have become closely associated with violence in mainstream American discourses. Employment discrimination has also yielded a number of cases for which Pakistani Americans have sought legal counsel from advocacy organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union. The federal agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has documented how after 9/11 there was a surge in backlash-related unlawful firings, refusals to hire or promote, and failures to accommodate employees properly with regard to religious observances. According to the EEOC, the number of complaints from individuals who are or are perceived to be Muslim, Arab, South Asian, or Sikh saw a significant increase after 9/11, so much so that the agency created a special category just to handle complaints of this nature.

To confront this rising Islamophobia, several advocacy organizations have coordinated intergroup campaigns and have enjoyed a number of successes, including policy changes and the implementation of cultural awareness training for law enforcement officials. Coalitions have begun to wield considerable political influence and have mounted voter registration drives. In 2007 the Sikh Coalition and the Muslim American Society won reforms to the Federal Transportation Security Administration guidelines concerning permissible religious attire while working at the nation’s airports, and a new procedure for screening religious headgear for passengers passing through airport security. In another example, the South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT) and the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) coordinated a campaign to inventory their communities’ concerns about hate crimes and immigration policy.

Generally speaking, Pakistani Americans have been engaged in organizations that are pan-Muslim in membership, which foster a sense of common identity through social networks that constitute a collectively aggrieved minority. The result of this activism has been the reinforcement of a pan-Muslim identity.





Amardeep Singh (left), legal director of the Sikh Coalition, discusses a new policy by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) that requires Sikh employees to wear MTA logos on their turbans, New York, July 15, 2005. Five Sikh station agents planned to file discrimination charges against the MTA, charging that a post-9/11 policy requiring them to brand their turbans with an MTA logo amounted to religious discrimination. (AP Photo/Julie Jacobson)

### Representative Pakistani American Organizations

**Al Shifa Foundation of North America**, a nonprofit organization, supports al Shifa hospitals in Pakistan to treat acute eye disease and blindness and to provide preventive eye care for the poor.

**AMT**, American Muslim Task Force on Civil Rights and Elections, led by Muhammad Salim Akhtar.

**APPNA**, Association of Physicians of Pakistani Descent in North America. Founded in 1977, has worked to put into place several health care facilities in Northwest Frontier Province and Kashmir and has raised relief funds and assisted disaster victims throughout the world.

**APSENA**, Association of Pakistani Scientists and Engineers of North America. Founded in the 1980s, this organization assists scientists, computer programmers, and engineers in the United States and Pakistan in science, technology, and software.

**ISNA**, the Islamic Society of North America, an organization that developed out of the Muslim Student Association of the United States and Canada (founded 1963). A Muslim organization, ISNA has had multiethnic leadership over the years, including many Pakistani Americans.

**New York Pak Brothers' Yellow Cab Drivers Union.** An advocacy group for Pakistani American taxi drivers working to protect the safety and rights of those particularly vulnerable in the aftermath of 9/11.

**OPEN,** Organization of Pakistani Entrepreneurs of North America. Founded in 1998 by a Boston-based group of entrepreneurs and technology professionals. Mentors young professionals in business and high technology fields. This is decentralized with chapters throughout the nation.

**Pakistani Merchant Association of Coney Island.** Special fund to support the needy within its local community, including widows and orphans.

**PANA,** Pakistan American National Alliance. Founded in 2002 by Dr. Agha Saeed, Pakistani American political science professor at California State University Hayward. A union of five major groups to act collectively on issues pertaining to the Pakistani American community. Includes members of the Association of Pakistani Physicians of North America, Council of Pakistan American Affairs, Pakistan American Congress, Pakistan American Democratic Forum, and PAKPAC.

**SAALT,** South Asian Americans Leading Together. Founded in 2000 as the Indian American Leadership Center, this group focuses on leadership development primarily among youth. After developing more into a civil rights advocacy organization, the name was changed in 2008 to South Asian Americans Leading Together.

**SALDEF,** the South Asian Legal Defense and Education Foundation. Founded in 1996 as the Sikh MediaWatch and Resource Taskforce (SMART), the name was changed in 2001 to reflect the mission of civil rights advocacy, beyond the organization's original conception as media watchdog. It is one of the largest advocacy organizations on Sikh issues.

## Forging a New American Political Identity

Gaining a clearer understanding of Pakistani Americans' emerging political identity requires looking at the post-9/11 politicization of the wider category of Muslim American. Within the political context of homeland security, the profiling of Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities in the United States became a frequently used tool of surveillance after 9/11, and this generated political and cultural responses from the targeted groups. Community organizations played a crucial role in the process of forging an American political identity. The ability of the Pakistani community's (ethnically based) organizations to articulate traditional civic themes in America—volunteerism, voting, minority rights—has permitted their entry into the political process.

For example, since 9/11, highly public federal probes have yielded the arrest of small numbers of Pakistani men in the United States on terrorism charges. In

2005, 24-year-old Hamid Hayat and his father, Umar, an ice cream truck driver, were arrested on charges of funding and organizing a “terrorist cell” in the central California city of Lodi. A U.S.-born citizen, Hamid was alleged to have attended a terrorist training camp in Pakistan in 2003 and had returned to the United States supposedly intending to attack hospitals and large food stores. In its investigation of the Hayats, the FBI interviewed several members of the Pakistani community and raided homes in Lodi. The community is largely working class and numbered between 2,000 and 4,000, many of whom worked in the fruit-packing industry. Lodi, located about 40 miles south of Sacramento, is known for winemaking and fruit-packing, and the small Pakistani population dates from the 1920s. This makes it a much older community, but less affluent, than the upwardly mobile Pakistani population of the nearby metro areas of San Jose and San Francisco. Being agricultural and working class, Lodi lacked any immigrant or civil rights organizations to assist the Pakistanis when they felt under siege during the FBI investigation.

National news coverage of the terrorism investigation in Lodi broke just as President George W. Bush was lobbying for the renewal of the USA Patriot Act amid growing criticism of government abuses of civil liberties. As it became apparent the FBI lacked material evidence linking Hamid with terrorism, government prosecutors reduced the charges against the Hayats to lying to federal investigators. The case against Hamid rested on the role played by another Pakistani man, Nasim Khan, who had infiltrated the Lodi community as a paid FBI informant. In taped conversations Khan could elicit Hamid’s verbal support for Islamic militants, thereby expressing dissent against the United States, but Hamid repeatedly rejected Khan’s insistence that he attend a “jihadi camp” while he was visiting Pakistan. The Hayats were brought to trial separately in 2006. Hamid was found guilty of making false statements to federal investigators and providing material support for terrorism. Terrorism charges against Hamid’s father, Umer, were dropped, and his trial on charges of lying to U.S. Customs ended in a hung jury.

The Lodi case illustrates an important dimension of homeland security policy, one that has been adopted by law enforcement and security authorities. It is an example of preemptive detention of individuals for their expression of political opinion, charging them with crimes for the alleged intention of possible attacks, rather than tangible terrorist activity. The pattern is to use paid informants, often Muslim immigrant men, to infiltrate mosques and befriend other Muslim men. Then the informants provoke their targets to express their opinions in support of militant violence. This has placed young Muslim (often Arab and Pakistani) men at risk for their political views about U.S. policies in the Middle East and the war on terrorism.

Another notable example of terrorism charges against a Pakistani American occurred in 2010. Dubbed the “Broadway Bomber,” a 30-year-old naturalized U.S. citizen named Faisal Shahzad was arrested for being behind the failed attempt, on

May 1, 2010, to bomb Times Square in midtown Manhattan in New York City. Shahzad was taken into custody less than 54 hours after the car bomb was discovered, as he sat on a passenger airlines jet awaiting departure from the John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York to Dubai. In June 2010, Shahzad pleaded guilty to trying to detonate the bomb in Times Square and thus avoided a public trial. Allegedly he learned how to make bombs in Waziristan, Pakistan. In his courtroom statement at his sentencing, Shahzad said that he was frustrated by U.S. pressure on Pakistan to control militants along the border with Afghanistan. He said, "It's a war. I am part of the answer to the U.S. terrorizing the Muslim nations and the Muslim people" ("Verbatim" 2010). Shahzad had come to the United States on a student visa in 1998 and earned a bachelor's degree in computer science from the University of Bridgeport in Connecticut. Later he earned an MBA and worked for a financial company in Connecticut. In April 2009 Shahzad became a U.S. citizen.

## The Second and Later Generations

Approximately 25 percent of Pakistanis in the United States today were born in the United States. Muslim youth of the second generation form their identity from multiple sources of identification, including Pakistani heritage and kinship networks, American popular culture, and Islam. How the current generation of Pakistani Americans create and enact their identities will be influenced greatly by political and social conditions that put their multiple identities in tension.

The effect of media coverage has sustained some barriers to Pakistani American assimilation. Anti-Muslim sentiment remained high in the United States after the events of 9/11, and Pakistanis have not been spared. Several prominent leaders, including the Reverends Franklin Graham, Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and Jerry Vines, the former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, became frequent commentators on prime time television shows denigrating Islam as inherently evil and the Prophet Muhammad as a terrorist. To some extent this powerful denigration molded public opinion, and a majority of Americans came to believe that Muslims are disproportionately prone to violence. In a *USA Today*/Gallup poll conducted on July 28–30, 2006, about 4 in 10 respondents favored requiring Muslims, including U.S. citizens, to carry special IDs as a means to protect Americans from another terrorist attack.

## Issues in Relations between the United States and Pakistan

The concerns the United States and Pakistan share in common relate to security; global terrorism and the war in Afghanistan are two issues that continue to affect

## Youth Profile

### *A Gifted Athlete Surmounts Disabilities*

Atif Moon grew up in Torrance, California. Physical activity is a top priority for this young man. In 1990, he won his first 5k race at the age of five, just the beginning of his list of triumphs in competitive sports. A gifted athlete, sports have shaped Atif's life.

But Atif is no ordinary athlete. In 1985, he was born with neuroblastoma, a tumor on his spinal cord. The physicians told his parents he had no chance of surviving the cancer. Yet after three surgeries at the age of one month, Atif defied the odds. He was left paralyzed from the waist down and became wheelchair bound. Three more surgeries, at the ages of 13, 15, and 16, stabilized his spinal cord. Another surgery at the age of 24 was needed to correct a problem with the rod in his back. But none of this has prevented Atif from leading an active lifestyle. Atif began playing tennis tournaments in early childhood. He won his first major tournament in 1998 and since then has been ranked one of the top Junior Wheelchair Tennis players in the country. He is also a competitive swimmer.

Atif is a second-generation Pakistani American. He visited his parents' homeland when he was in the third grade. A gifted student, when Atif decided to go to college he was accepted at many universities, including the University of Southern California, the University of California Irvine, and the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). But to begin his collegiate journey, Atif thought perhaps it would be best to stay at home and attend the local community college. Commuting would present a challenge. However, when he decided to go to UCLA, he discovered that living on his own was a great experience. Living in the dorms all four years of his undergraduate experience gave him the confidence and independence he wanted. Atif graduated in 2007 with a degree in business economics.

During his sophomore year at UCLA Atif interned at FOX Sports, developing on-air marketing promotions. He later interned with the ice hockey franchise, the L.A. Kings, and with the Los Angeles professional soccer team, the Galaxy. In 2010 he volunteered with the International Special Olympics at Long Beach State, where he is enrolled in the masters program in sports management.

Sports are not Atif's only passion. While an undergraduate at UCLA, Atif was accepted in the UCLA internship program to be an intern in the White House. Serving in White House Office of Presidential Scheduling, Atif had the chance to work with President Bush's scheduled events and handled the invitations the White House received. Though not initially interested in electoral politics, Atif found the experience opened new horizons for him, increasing his independence as he moved across the country to Washington, D.C.

As a cofounder of the Center for Global Understanding (CFGU), a nonadvocacy nonreligious organization, Atif's passion for public life has grown. His focus

has been to encourage Muslim American youth to become involved in civic life and to observe and understand the process of democratic governance. His efforts are concentrated in securing scholarships for college students to intern in Washington, D.C. He says his own experience as a White House intern led him to try new things and to figure out how to take care of himself. And while he considers himself to be in a “double minority”—as a Muslim and a person with a physical disability—he doesn’t see himself as limited. People are accepting of who he is and, he says, they shouldn’t be afraid. By bringing people together to improve the lives of Muslim Americans, Atif hopes to encourage other Muslims to become engaged in public policy debates, not only about national security but also about poverty, health, and education.

In 2009 Atif was named one of the 10 outstanding young Americans by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

diplomatic relations between the two nations. The Pakistani American Public Affairs Committee (PAKPAC) is a nonprofit lobbying organization working to advance and strengthen U.S.–Pakistani relations. According to this organization, issues of primary importance concern bilateral trade between the two nations, addressing the American corporate world’s outsourcing of information technology jobs to Pakistan, and Pakistan’s wish to increase imports of Pakistani products to the United States, particularly of rice, cotton, carpets, surgical equipment, and sporting goods. Since the tragic events of 9/11, PAKPAC has also prioritized the civil liberties and employment opportunities of Pakistani Americans. The dramatic increase in the laws and regulations associated with counterterrorism has adversely affected the civil rights and opportunities for Pakistani Americans.

### Forecasts for the 21st Century

Immigration from Pakistan will largely be shaped by the challenges presented by global terrorism. Concerns over homeland security have not slowed Pakistani immigration to the United States in the 21st century, contrary to what one might expect. In the first decade of the new century, the United States has admitted more Pakistani immigrants than ever. Pakistan now ranks as the 11th-largest source country of new immigrants, just behind Vietnam, the Philippines, Mexico, and South Korea. In the past 10 years it has consistently been the largest single source country for Muslim immigration to the United States.

The largest obstacle to the assimilation of this population will have to do with U.S.–Pakistani diplomatic relations and the conduct of the war on terrorism. Americans in general are becoming less isolated and as a result are more familiar with Islam and Muslims. In many cases Americans are distinguishing between “good”

peace-loving Muslims and “bad” terrorists. However, the tendency to react negatively to perceived security threats is not likely to change much in the future. Success in the war in Afghanistan is increasingly measured by how well Pakistan contains the spread of militant Islam. ~~Such a goal is volatile.~~

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### Appendix I: Migration Statistics

**Table 247** Number of immigrants admitted to the United States from Pakistan 1965–2009 (in five year intervals)

| Year      | Pakistanis |
|-----------|------------|
| 1965–1969 | 2,704      |
| 1970–1974 | 11,228     |
| 1975–1979 | 17,282     |
| 1980–1984 | 24,405     |
| 1985–1989 | 31,495     |
| 1990–1994 | 57,923     |
| 1995–1999 | 61,850     |
| 2000–2004 | 66,256     |
| 2005–2009 | 87,110     |
| TOTAL     | 360,253    |

Sources: U.S. INS (1969, 1971, 1979, 1982, 1988) and U.S. DHS (1996–2009).

**Table 248** Legal permanent resident status granted to Pakistani nationals, 2000–2009

| Year | Number of Pakistanis Obtaining Permanent Status | Pakistanis as percentage of Total of Permanent Status Granted | Rank |
|------|---|---|------|
| 2000 | 14,504  | 1.75  | 16th |
| 2001 | 16,393  | 1.55  | 18th |
| 2002 | 13,694  | 1.25  | 17th |
| 2003 | 9,415   | 1.35  | 15th |
| 2004 | 12,086  | 1.25  | 19th |
| 2005 | 14,926  | 1.30  | 20th |
| 2006 | 17,418  | 1.40  | 17th |
| 2007 | 13,492  | 1.30  | 18th |
| 2008 | 19,719  | 1.80  | 11th |
| 2009 | 21,555  | 1.90  | 11th |

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS). Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2009. Table 3.

**Table 249** Persons obtaining legal permanent resident status during fiscal year 2009; leading states of residence: Region/country: Pakistan

|                | <b>Total</b>  | <b>Male</b>   | <b>Female</b> |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>21,555</b> | <b>10,796</b> | <b>10,759</b> |
| Arizona        | 120           | 55            | 65            |
| California     | 2,812         | 1,441         | 1,371         |
| Colorado       | 76            | 33            | 43            |
| Connecticut    | 360           | 192           | 168           |
| Florida        | 637           | 307           | 330           |
| Georgia        | 641           | 322           | 319           |
| Illinois       | 1,389         | 691           | 698           |
| Maryland       | 825           | 417           | 408           |
| Massachusetts  | 397           | 215           | 182           |
| Michigan       | 573           | 286           | 287           |
| Minnesota      | 146           | 81            | 65            |
| New Jersey     | 1,490         | 748           | 742           |
| New York       | 4,798         | 2,387         | 2,411         |
| North Carolina | 368           | 185           | 183           |
| Ohio           | 274           | 143           | 131           |
| Pennsylvania   | 573           | 302           | 271           |
| Texas          | 2,605         | 1,256         | 1,349         |
| Virginia       | 1,514         | 736           | 778           |
| Washington     | 181           | 89            | 92            |
| Other          | 1,776         | 910           | 866           |

Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Profiles on Legal Permanent Residents: 2009.



## Appendix II: Demographics/Census Statistics

**Table 250** Selected demographic statistics of Pakistanis in America, compared to U.S. general population

| <b>Select Demographics of Pakistani Americans, U.S. Census 2009 American Community Survey</b> | <b>Pakistani American Population</b> | <b>Total U.S. Population</b> |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Total Pakistani American Population</b>  | 333,064                              | 307,006,556                  |
| <b>Total Foreign-Born Pakistanis</b>  | 225,674                              |                              |
| Population Born Outside the U.S.,   | 225,674                              | 38,517,234                   |
| Entered 2000 or later (percent)   | 38.20%                               | 31.60%                       |
| Entered 1990 to 1999 (percent)  | 34.30%                               | 27.90%                       |
| Entered before 1990 (percent)   | 29.40%                               | 40.50%                       |
| <b>Sex and Age</b>  |                                      |                              |
| Total population  | 333,064                              | 307,006,556                  |
| Male  | 53.80%                               | 49.30%                       |
| Female  | 46.20%                               | 50.70%                       |
| Under 18 years  | 30.70%                               | 24.30%                       |
| 18 to 34 years  | 27%                                  | 23.50%                       |
| 35 to 54 years  | 29.30%                               | 28.10%                       |
| 55 and above  | 12.90%                               | 24.20%                       |
| Median age (in years)   | 30.7                                 | 36.8                         |
| <b>Citizenship</b>  |                                      |                              |
| Foreign born, naturalized U.S. Citizen  | 141,449                              | 16,846,396                   |
| Foreign born, not a U.S. Citizen  | 96,617                               | 21,670,837                   |
| Native born U.S. Citizens   | 126,756                              | 268,489,322                  |
| <b>Educational Attainment</b>   |                                      |                              |
| Population 25 years and older   | 196,314                              | 201,952,383                  |
| Less than high school   | 13.50%                               | 14.70%                       |
| High school graduate (includes equivalency)   | 16.00%                               | 28.50%                       |
| Some college or associate's degree  | 17.50%                               | 28.90%                       |
| Bachelor's degree   | 29.30%                               | 17.60%                       |
| Graduate or professional degree   | 23.70%                               | 10.30%                       |

Source: 2009 American Community Survey 1-year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau; S0201. Selected Population Profile in the United States; Population Group: Pakistani alone or in any combination.

## 1688 | Appendix III: Notable Pakistani Americans

**Table 251** Occupational statistics of Pakistanis in America, compared to U.S. general population

| 2009 American Community Survey   | Pakistani American Population | Total U.S. Population |
|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Total Pakistani American Population</b>   | 333,064                       | 307,006,556           |
| <b>Occupation</b>  |                               |                       |
| Civilian employed population, 16 years and older   | 138,191                       | 140,602,470           |
| Management, professional, and related occupations  | 44.5%                         | 35.7%                 |
| Service occupations  | 7.2%                          | 17.8%                 |
| Sales and office occupations   | 33.7%                         | 25.2%                 |
| agricultural, fishing, forestry occupations  | 0.2%                          | 0.7%                  |
| construction and repair occupations  | 2.30%                         | 8.7%                  |
| production, transportation, and materials moving occupations                             | 12.0%                         | 11.9%                 |
| <b>Class of worker</b>   |                               |                       |
| Civilian employed population, 16 years and older   | 138,191                       | 140,602,470           |
| private wage and salaried worker   | 84.7%                         | 78.6%                 |
| government workers   | 8%                            | 14.8%                 |
| self-employed workers in self-owned (not incorporated) businesses                        | 7.1%                          | 6.4%                  |
| unpaid family workers  | 0.2%                          | 0.1%                  |
| <b>Median earnings (in dollars), fulltime, year-round workers</b>                        |                               |                       |
| Male   | 72,006                        | 61,985                |
| Female   | 55,761                        | 44,256                |
| <b>Poverty Rates</b>   |                               |                       |
| All families   | 13.4%                         | 10.5%                 |
| Families with related children under 18 years  | 16.7%                         | 16.6%                 |
| Female householder, with no husband present, family with related children under 18 years | 26.1%                         | 29.4%                 |
|  | 35.8%                         | 38.2%                 |

Source: 2009 American Community Survey 1-year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau; S0201. Selected Population Profile in the United States; Population Group: Pakistani alone or in any combination.

## Appendix III: Notable Pakistani Americans

**Mohammad Akhter** is health commissioner of the District of Columbia and executive director, American Public Health Association.

**Saqib Ali** was elected as a Democrat in 2006 as state representative to the Maryland state assembly. Ali's career is often mentioned alongside that of U.S.

Representative Keith Ellison (D-MN) as a sign of increasing Muslim American political participation.

**Dr. M. Ali Chaudry** was elected mayor of Basking Ridge, New Jersey, in 2001.

**Sabu Dagastir** (1924–1963) played leading roles in motion pictures. He is best known for his work in the 1940s. His credits include *Elephant Boy* (1947); *The Drum* (1938); *The Thief of Baghdad* (1940); *Jungle Book* (1942); *Black Narcissus* (1947); *The End of the River* (1947); *Sabu and the Magic Ring* (1957); and *A Tiger Walks* (1964) (released posthumously). Although born in South India and arriving to the United States well before the partition in 1947, Sabu claimed Pakistan as his mother country. During World War II he enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Corps and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. The subject of a famous paternity suit (*Dagastir v. Dagastir*, 241 P. 2d 656 [Cal App. 1952]), Sabu was alleged to have had an affair that issued an infant daughter. The complaint was tried by a jury which returned a nine to three verdict in favor of Sabu; however, the verdict was reversed on appeal. Famous as “Sabu, the Elephant Boy,” this film actor is celebrated in popular song in folk singer John Prine’s “Sabu Visits the Twin Cities Alone.”

**Tariq Farid** is owner and CEO of Edible Arrangements, Inc.

**Fazal Mohammed Khan**, a business and community leader in northern California, arrived in the United States in the 1920s. He and his family became patrons of the early Pakistani community.

**Fazlur Rahman Khan**, from what was then East Pakistan, arrived in the United States in 1952 to study engineering at the University of Illinois. He is best known for his engineering design of the John Hancock Tower (100 stories) and the Sears Tower (110 stories) in Chicago.

**Mohammad Asad Khan**, born in 1940, is a geophysicist at the University of Hawaii.

**Shahid Khan**, president of Flex-N-Gate, Inc., purchased the St. Louis Rams, an NFL franchise, in 2010. He is an engineering graduate of the University of Illinois.

**Eboo Patel**, founder in 1998 of the Interfaith Youth Core, earned a doctorate in sociology from Oxford University. In 2009 President Obama appointed Patel to the Advisory Council of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships. *Islamica* Magazine named Patel one of the 10 young Muslim leaders shaping Islam in America.

**Haroon Saleem** was elected mayor of Granite Falls, Washington, in 2009.

**Salam Shahidi** (1933–1992) was a medical researcher in the Department of Health, New York City.

**Kamila Shamsie** is an award-winning author of such books as *Salt, Saffron*, and *Broken Verses*.

**Hammad Siddiqi** is an economist and social commentator.

**Shahzia Sikander**, a 2006 recipient of a MacArthur Foundation “Genius” grant, creates murals, mixed-media installations, and performance art. She specializes in Pakistani, South Asian, and Persian miniature painting.

**Faran Haroon Tahir** was born in 1963 in Los Angeles, where his parents studied acting at the University of California Los Angeles. Having grown up in Pakistan, Tahir returned to Hollywood in 1980 to act in blockbuster movies. His movie credits include Disney’s live action version of *The Jungle Book* (1994); *Charlie Wilson’s War* (2007); *Iron Man* (2008) (playing the villain Reza); and *Star Trek* (2009) (playing Starfleet captain Richard Robeau). Tahir has made guest appearances on many television shows, including *Grey’s Anatomy* (playing the character Isaac), *The Practice*, *Alias*, *Family Law*, *Lost*, *The Agency*, *24*, *NYPD Blue*, *West Wing*, and others.

**Saghir Tahir** (R-NH) was the first elected Muslim of the Republican Party. Tahir was elected to the New Hampshire State Assembly in November 2000 and has served four terms.

## Glossary

**Hindi:** The name given to a broad language group spoken in India, Pakistan, Fiji, Mauritius, and Suriname. It is the official language of the federal government of India and many states in India.

**Hindu:** An adherent of Hinduism, a set of religious, philosophical, and cultural systems that originated in the Indian subcontinent. With more than a billion adherents, Hinduism is the third-largest world religion. Hinduism involves yogic contemplative traditions and a wide array of daily morality based on the notion of karma (the results or fruits of one’s deeds). Hindus divide their scriptures into two categories: *sruti* (that which is heard, divine in nature) and *smrti* (that which is remembered, authored by humans). The vast majority of Hindus live in India, and about 1.5 percent of Pakistan’s population is Hindu.

**Punjab:** A province in Pakistan. It is the country’s most populous region, with about 56 percent of Pakistan’s population. To the east, it is bordered by the Indian province of Punjab. This region is the primary source of 19th- and 20th-century South Asian immigration to North America. The main languages are Saraiki and Punjabi and the provincial capital is Lahore. It is known as the “Land of the Five Rivers” (all tributaries of the Indus River).

**Shi'ite:** An adherent of Shi'i Islam, the second-largest denomination of Islam (second to Sunni Islam). Like Sunni Islam, Shi'i Islam is based on the teachings of the holy book, the Qur'an, and the traditions and sayings of the final prophet Muhammad. In contrast with Sunni, Shi'i Islam maintains that the family of the Prophet Muhammad and certain descendants have special religious and political authority over the community. The first of these leaders was Ali, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet Muhammad and the most important figure in Islam after the Prophet himself, according to Shi'ites. Roughly 15 percent of the world's Muslim population is Shi'ite. Estimates of the Shi'ite population in Pakistan range from 10 to 30 percent of the total population, making it the second largest in the world, after Iran.

**Sikh:** An adherent of Sikhism, a religion that originated in the 15th century in the greater Punjab region of the Indian subcontinent. The sikh is a disciple of the 10 gurus recognized in the religion. Sikhs are easily recognized by their turbans and sidearms. Men go by the name Singh (lion) and women by the name Kaur (princess). There are about 25 million Sikhs in the world, roughly 20,000 of which live in Pakistan.

**Sufi:** An adherent of Sufism or *tassawuf* (Arabic), the mystical dimension of Islam. It involves a spiritual practice known as *dhikr*, in other words chanting the names of God as a means of pursuing a mystical union with God. Sufi orders have played a major role in the spread of Islam around the world.

**Sunni:** An adherent of Sunni Islam, the largest denomination in Islam. The word Sunni is derived from *sunna*, meaning tradition. Sunni Muslims, constituting roughly 85 percent of the world's Muslims, invest political and social authority in a series of caliphs after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, beginning with his father-in-law, Abu Bakr. In contrast, Shi'ites believe that Islam's leader must share the Prophet's bloodline, and instead of Abu Bakr, they recognize his son-in-law and cousin Ali as his legitimate successor. In Pakistan the majority of Muslims are Sunni.

**Zoroastrians:** Also known as Parsees, a community who migrated to India in the 10th century to escape persecution in Iran. They are adherents of Zoroastrianism, also known as Mazdaism, a religion and philosophy based on teachings of the prophet Zoroaster. The central belief is that good and evil have distinct sources and that the one universal and transcendent God, Ahura Mazda, is all good and no evil originates with him. Most Zoroastrians live in India, although today there are small numbers in Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, Pakistan, and Hong Kong.

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### Further Reading

Das Gupta, Morisha. 2005. "Of Hardship and Identity: The Impact of 9/11 on New York City Taxi Drivers." In *Wounded City: The Social Impact of 9/11*, edited by Nancy Frazer, 208–42. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

This article, like the book of which it is a part, is about the long-term consequences of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 on New York City residents. This piece relates personal stories of New York's taxi cab drivers, offering a portrait of the heightened discrimination directed at the city's South Asian Muslim population.

Leonard, Karen Isaksen. 1997. *The South Asian Americans*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Presents background information on the history, culture, and politics of people who have immigrated to the United States from South Asian countries, including the challenges of acculturation from roughly 1900 to the 1990s, as well as the cultural traditions, family life, and controversies today.

Moore, Kathleen M. 1995. *Al Mughtaribun: American Law and the Transformation of Muslim Life in the United States*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Looks at the legal challenges faced by Muslim Arab and South Asian immigrants to the United States and African American Muslims in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

Nadam, Adil. 2007. *Portrait of a Giving Community: Philanthropy by the Pakistani-American Diaspora*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

This book analyzes nationwide data on the giving habits of Pakistani Americans. It provides the demography of Pakistani Americans and examines how this immigrant community manages its multiple identities through charity and volunteering.

Obama, Barack H. 2010. "Statement on Pakistan National Day." *Daily Compilation of Presidential Documents 1*. [Online article; retrieved 6/26/10.] Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost.

The president's acknowledgement of the constructive role played by Pakistani Americans in American society.

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Web site of a nationwide nonprofit lobbying organization that advances U.S.–Pakistani relations and fosters greater political and civic engagement of Pakistani Americans.

Pakistani American Leadership Center. [Online information; retrieved 6/26/10.] <http://www.pal-c.org>.

Web site representing the Pakistani American community to the U.S. government since 2004.

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Pew Research Center. 2007. "Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream." [Online article; retrieved 6/26/10.] <http://pewresearch.org/assets/pdf/muslim-americans.pdf>.

This is a report analyzing public opinion data collected by a reputable research center about Muslim residents in the United States.

Sirin, Selcuk R., and Michelle Fine. 2008. *Muslim American Youth: Understanding Hyphenated Identities through Multiple Methods*. New York: New York University Press.



This collection of essays is about identity development among young Muslim persons after 9/11, providing accounts of marginalization and resistance.

Williams, Raymond Brady. 1998. *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

This is a book about the adaptive and organizational patterns developed by Indian and Pakistani Americans and their influence on the changing face of American religion and culture.



## Author Queries

1. Table 000 shows the distribution: This table does not appear to exist in this chapter. Can this section of the paragraph be removed? 
2. “Success in the war in Afghanistan is increasingly measured by how well Pakistan contains the spread of militant Islam.” Would you perhaps like to add something brief here about the killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan in May 2011? 
3. None of these references is cited in the text, except for Leonard, “Verbatim,” and US Dept. of Homeland Security. If the others are not to be cited in the text, they must be removed here. 