

The Pakistani Diaspora in North America

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1. Introduction

The Pakistani Diaspora in North America is both young and new, therefore, there is lack of systemic study on Pakistani immigrants flow into North America and their characteristics. In this backdrop, the paper looks at the engagement of the Pakistani-North Americans in the countries of origin and destination while existing in transnational spaces. Governments are looking for avenues to increase their collaboration with diaspora communities. This interest is not only limited to economic sphere but also encompasses a range of other resources that can be mobilized through transnational and other networks for mutual benefit. This paper also highlights that Canada's officially multicultural environment appears less inclusive for diaspora communities in socio-economic terms than assimilationist America. There are, however, studies on Muslims or South Asians (mostly Indians) in America from which insights and parallels can be drawn. While the interest in the diaspora and their links to home countries have been reiterated in international debates and discussions, they are central to the development discourse of Pakistan, given the critical role they have played through remittances sent back to Pakistan.

Existing literature fails to document accurately the number of the Pakistanis in each of the regions; some estimates claim that there are around 0.85 million Pakistanis in North America with largest aggregation found in the US. ¹The total number of Pakistanis living in North America in 2013-2014 was around 1 million and it increased to 1.18 million in 2014-2015. This 1.18 million includes 0.93million Pakistani's in USA while 0.25 million are in Canada. ² Pakistanis are concentrated in New York, Houston, Chicago, followed by Northern and Southern California. While in Canada Pakistanis are mostly concentrated in Toronto, Quebec, Alberta and Ontario. With a near 100

¹ Samad, A.Y. (2012). Pakistan Diaspora in the UK and USA. In South Asian Diaspora by Chatterji, J. and Washbrook, D. Routledge.

² Author's own calculations based on the estimates of Najam (2006) and Burki (2013).

per cent increase in numbers since 2000, Pakistani-Americans are the second fastest growing Asian immigrant group in the US.³

The multiplicity of actors involved in home and host countries make it very difficult to ensure smooth and seamless immigrant governance. At the same time, this governance also offers potential avenues and opportunities for developing mutual cooperation in various areas like technical and economic with an increased possibility of diaspora integration and engagement between home and host countries. Such improved governance can, therefore, serve to build and reinforce mutual trust and relationships between these countries.

2. Migration Flow from Pakistan to US and Canada

2.1. Pakistanis in the US

The typology of the Pakistani diaspora in North America has been elaborated in Cohen's (2008) comprehensive typology of diaspora; however, primarily it consists of labor migrations, high-end workers, trading networks, long-distance nationalists and cultural producers.⁴

Immigration from Pakistan began when the U.S. government lifted previously prevailing restrictions and repealed quotas imposed under the Immigration Act of 1917 and the Supreme Court ruling in 1923. In fact, in real terms, migration flows from Pakistan to United States commenced after the signing of the Luce-Celler Bill by President Truman in 1946. More importantly, this bill was backed by the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization law, which eradicated specific-country immigration quotas and introduced immigration on the basis of professional experience and education. These laws changed the characteristics of Pakistani's immigrating to US and the numbers increased from 673 persons per year in 1960s to about 1,528 immigrants per year in the 1970s.⁵ Due to this increase in number, Pakistanis now began to either identify as a separate entity including as part of the Muslim community rather than being a subset of the South Asian diaspora.

³ Rehman.Z.,U. (2015). The Pakistani-American Dilemma-Guests or Citizens. Dawn News, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1158917>

⁴ Cohen, R. (2008). *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (2nd edition). London: UCL Congressional Pakistan Caucus. Published by Routledge

⁵ Najam. A. *Portrait of a Giving Community: Philanthropy by the Pakistani-American Diaspora* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 2006).

During the 1980s and 1990s, the United States permitted the immigration of agricultural workers as well as announced the green card system under which visas were awarded through the lottery system. Many came as agricultural workers and as result by 1980s, about 4,265 immigrants of Pakistani origin were admitted and by 1990s this increased to 9,729.⁶ Majority of the Pakistani migrating at this time were from Punjab (50 per cent), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa while only a small number were from Sindh and Baluchistan.⁷ Those migrating were generally high-end professionals, physicians, engineers, IT workers and scientists, who either went directly because of the increasing demand in their professions in the US or as students who stayed after qualifying. Along with these professionals came less educated relatives who were eligible for immigration visa preference for relatives or via the Visa Lottery system.

The visa lottery system attracted applicants from across the economic and educational strata because it had no pre-requisites except twelve years of education and work experience in a profession that required two years of training. As a result even those who were less qualified or semi-skilled migrated, and found employment in small businesses like retail stores, petrol pumps, taxi services, etc.⁸ Consequently, by the year 2000, numbers of Pakistanis in the US increased considerably to 209,273 though as a percentage of the total population they were still minuscule. Of this figure around 24.5 per cent of Pakistanis were born in the United States and around 44.8 per cent were living in the US but did not have the citizenship.⁹

The precise number of Pakistanis residing in the US in recent years has been difficult to predict as multiple sources give different estimates. According to the Pakistani Embassy in Washington, there were about 700,000 Pakistani's while Burki (2013) estimated them to be 850,000 in 2012-2013. The data from Migration Policy Institute revealed that there were 453,000 Pakistanis in the US in 2013-2014. Some analysts such as Najam (2006) and Nimer (2002) have estimated that Pakistanis over the years are an average 15 per cent of the total Muslim population.¹⁰ On their

⁶ The Pakistani Diaspora in the United States. (2015). Migration Policy Institute Report. See <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/RAD-Pakistan.pdf>

⁷ Awan, Z. (2016). Pakistani's in the US. Daily Times

⁸ Najam, A. (2006) Portrait of a Giving Community.

⁹ The Pakistani Diaspora in the United States. (2015) Migration Policy Institute Report.

¹⁰ Najampp 56-57. Also see Nimer. M. (2002). The North American Muslim Resource Guide: Muslim Community Life in the US and Canada. Routledge.

estimates it can be deduced that there are about 0.93 million Pakistanis in the US out of the total 6.2 million Muslim population in 2014-2015. The estimates, therefore, range from half to a million Pakistanis in the US a figure of 750,000 to 800,000 appears to be more probable.¹¹

2.2. Pakistanis in Canada

Unlike in the United States where a small Pakistani migrant population had begun to emerge, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s Pakistanis began migrating to Canada in small numbers. By the early 1960s according to some sources there were as few as five or six Pakistani families living in Canada.¹²

In 1967 a points system was introduced in Canada to regulate immigrant eligibility with preference given to educated French and English speakers of working age. The immigration rules favored those with advanced education and professional skills. Many of these immigrants later sponsored relatives and extended families. During the 1970s, Pakistanis who were either skilled or semi-skilled moved to Canada and settled in Ontario and Quebec. Immigrants from Pakistan, including those who had lived for a long or short time elsewhere (e.g., in East Africa, in Britain or in the Middle East) continued to arrive in Canada. The 1976 Act, which emphasized family reunification and humanitarian concerns over economic interests, was replaced in 2001 with the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, a policy that stressed education, language, and adaptability. Those applicants with trade certificates and second degrees were awarded more points. By 2001 taking advantage of this new system Pakistan was the third largest source of immigrants to Canada supplying 6.1 per cent of the total immigrants.¹³

The number of immigrants from Pakistan further increased from 79,315 to 156,860 in 2011 (98 per cent increase) and further swelled to 198,272 in 2013. 73 per cent of Pakistani immigrants in 2013 resided in Ontario; most of them (97,065) lived in the Greater Toronto Area. Based

¹¹ Authors own calculation based on Najam (2006) and Burki (2013) estimates.

¹² Haider, M. (2013). The Grass appears Greener to would-be Canadian Immigrants. Dawn News.

¹³ Haider, M. (2013). <http://www.dawn.com/news/1022553>

on Burki's assumptions it can be estimated that about 250,000 Pakistani's were residing in Canada in 2014-2015.¹⁴

2.3. Post 9/11: Halting the Immigrant Floodtide

The decade since September 11, 2001, has marked a significant transformation both in lives of the Pakistani diaspora and those immigrating due to the tightening of the U.S. immigration law and policy. The number of Pakistani immigrants admitted to the US after 9/11 decreased by more than forty percent.¹⁵ A factor that clearly contributed to this change was then the government expanded the definition of "terrorist activity" and included abroad spectrum of conduct which would be subject to a broad and at times vague integration. In doing so, non-US citizens of Pakistani origin faced increased security checks. Furthermore, public resentment led to mistreatment of those settled or living in America as well as those visiting. Nonetheless, it can be noted that there was not a significant dip in the number of Pakistani's granted naturalized US citizenship, but that may be because citizenship was a multi-year process and changes in practice needed more time to show in the data. The number of Pakistani students studying in America was also a result of multi-year decisions, which probably explains why the dip was not as dramatic as for immigrant and non-immigrant visa entries. An upward trend in the years preceding 9/11 had taken the number of Pakistani students in the USA to 8,664 for the academic year 2001/02 and it decreased to 7,325 in 2003/04.¹⁶

Canada like the US tightened security measures after the incident of 9/11, including signing the Smart Border Declaration with the United States, which provided increased intelligence sharing and security measures, among other things. Though Canada was the first country in the world to adopt the policy of multiculturalism and is often referred to as a nation whose experiment with this policy has been successful. However, despite its success story, even Canada after 9/11 and years later seems to be grappling with multiculturalism.

¹⁴ Burki,S.,J. The Economic Impact of the Pakistani-American Diaspora. The Express Tribune, 18th March 2013. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/522240/the-economic-impact-of-the-pakistani-american-diaspora/>

¹⁵ The Pakistani Diaspora in the United States.(2015).*Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/RAD-Pakistan.pdf>

¹⁶ Najam. A. Portrait of a Giving Community: Philanthropy by the Pakistani-American Diaspora (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 2006).

In the global debates on multiculturalism, special places are occupied by Canada and Muslims. Canada is used as evidence that multiculturalism works; while Muslims are used as evidence that it does not work. Given this, it can be interpreted that experiences of Muslims and Pakistanis in Canada are different and challenging¹⁷ as compared to other immigrant groups.¹⁸ In terms of immigration dynamics, the number of Pakistanis migrating to North America decreased by almost 40 per cent. This marked slowdown was largely due to unprecedented increase in detentions, deportations, and discrimination that made North America an unfavorable destination for the immigrants.¹⁹

2.4. Characteristics of the Pakistani Diaspora

The Pakistani Communities in the US and Canada share some striking similarities,²⁰ but dramatically differ in their socioeconomic mode of incorporation. Pakistanis are known to have fared better in the U.S. than anywhere else in the world, by attaining higher levels of education and being gainfully employed. The unequal economic rewards that Pakistanis receive for their human capital are reflected in the startling different socio-economic conditions they experience in the two host countries.

¹⁷ Experiences of Pakistani Canadians are difficult because they have to go through a lot of security and documentation checks. They face biases, discrimination, and inequality in everyday life. While other South Asian groups like Indians do not face these challenges. Pakistanis do pay a price for being Muslims.

¹⁸ Also see Najam, A (2006) *Portrait of a Giving Community: Philanthropy by the Pakistani-American Diaspora*.

¹⁹ Chung, A. (2011). *Canadian Less Tolerant after 9/11*. Poll. Vancouver Sun.

²⁰ Similar labor force participation rate, average household size.

Table 1: Household Income of Pakistani diaspora in US and Canada

	Pakistani Diaspora in the US	Pakistani Diaspora in Canada
Household Income(in US dollars)	63000 ²¹	54000 ²²
Average Household size	3.60	4.00 ²³
Share of households with high income(\$90k-140k)	33%	17%
Share of households with very high income(\$140k or above)	18%	8%
Employment		
Share in the labor force	63%	62%
Employed	90%	78%
Professional occupation	32%	-
Educational Attainment		
Bachelor's Degree	33%	20%
Advanced Degrees	23%	9%
Unemployment Rate		
Below poverty line	10%	22%
	16%	44%

Source: Authors Calculations 2014-15²⁴

At first glance, the differences between two locations can be explained by higher human capital in the US than in Canada. While this is plausible, it can be argued that this difference cannot fully explain the gargantuan difference in unemployment rates, educational attainment and poverty levels (nearly fifty per cent Pakistanis in Canada live in relative poverty). The results suggest that, contrary to the expectations drawn from previous studies,²⁵ an active, inclusive multiculturalist country is not enough to

²¹ 2011 Report by Asian American Center for Advancing Justice.

²² Chaudhary, A. &Guarnizo, L. (2016).Pakistan immigrant organizational spaces in Toronto and New York City.

²³ Ali R. Chaudhary. Also see http://humanecology.ucdavis.edu/docs/faculty_docs/crd_guarnizo_luis/Pakistani_orgs_in_Toronto_2016.pdf

²⁴ Data on household income, Employment and Educational Attainment levels of Pakistani's in the US has been taken from Migration Policy Institute RAD data profile 2015.

While data on unemployment level is taken from Center of American Progress data set 2015.

Data on Canadian Characteristics has been taken from Stats can Canada and Murtaza Haider's (2012) calculations.

²⁵ Chaudhary & Guarnizopp 11-14

ensure immigrant's economic prosperity. This leads us to look at another dimension of the Pakistani migratory experience.

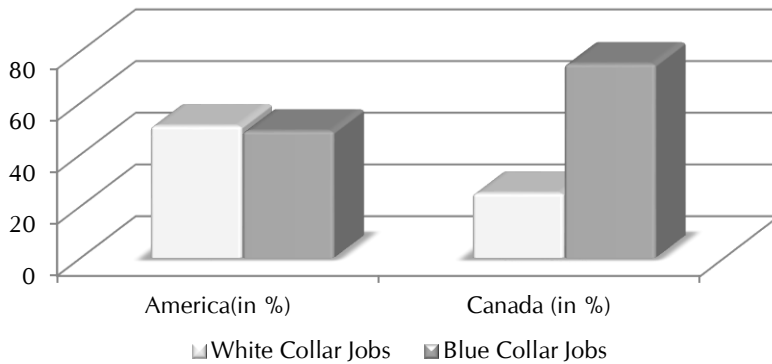
Evidently, an explanation for this could be that Pakistanis are better established and integrated in the US as migration started years back. High poverty rate in Canada is not primarily because of lack of economic participation or lack of employment²⁶ also because they earn too little for their labors- a result of labor force mismatch (being underemployed and thus underpaid vis-à-vis their qualifications) or labor market discrimination. As majority of them (75 per cent) are clustered in blue collar jobs in contrast to the US, where they easily find high skills jobs and thus maintain a higher standard of living.²⁷ Moreover, the demographics of Pakistani Canadians pose an additional challenge; their families are larger in size,²⁸ which inflicts higher housing and living costs. The already lower household income becomes even more inadequate when compared on the per capita basis. With more than half of the women of Pakistani origin not working,²⁹ their families' struggle for economic parity remains an elusive goal.

²⁶ F. Nicole, T. Lemieux & J. Torres. (2014). Foreign Human Capital and The Earnings Gap between Immigrants and Canadian-born Workers. Working Paper Series. Also see <http://www.sole-jole.org/15235.pdf>

²⁷ Penalized Community as majority (75 per cent) are involved in blue collar jobs, and out of these 12 per cent are taxi drivers.²⁷ Surprisingly, of the total taxi drivers, 53 per cent were overqualified with doctorate or post-secondary education. Also see Oreopoulos, P. (2011). "Why Do Skilled Immigrants Struggle in the Labor Market? A Field Experiment with Thirteen Thousand Resumes." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* Vol. 3(4), pp. 148-171.

²⁸ In Canada Pakistanis live as large families as compared to the US. Recently a trend of nuclear families has become common in the US especially in the young couples. Pakistani women in Canada do not work while this is not the case in the US. Also see Moore, Kathleen. (2011). *Pakistani Immigrants*. University of California, Santa Barbara. <http://www.religion.ucsb.edu/wp-content/uploads/4148-321-1pass-Pakistani.pdf>

²⁹ Haider, M. (2016). "The harsh reality of Pakistanis living in Canada". Dawn News. See <http://www.dawn.com/news/1298978>

Figure 1: Employment distribution among US and Canadian Pakistanis

Source: Author's own Calculations³⁰

Worrisome is the fact that Pakistanis in Canada face grave concerns about their future. Statistics reveal that on average 19 per cent (2013)³¹ of the immigrant children in Canada live in poverty — as the child poverty capital of Canada. What is much noteworthy is that since poverty rate for Pakistanis is high it would not be wrong to predict that child poverty will be high too.

As discussed earlier, Canada's multicultural environment for diaspora appears less inclusive in economic terms than *laissez-faire* assimilationist US. Major obstacles that Pakistanis face in assimilating into Canadian society, not lie in the institutional or media domains but, rather, in the socio-economic domain.³² This particular arrangement is

³⁰ The table is based on author's own evaluation and analysis. Also partly based on Najam and Burki's estimates, American Community Survey and Migration Policy Institute's Report Published in 2015. Here we have assumed all those Pakistani-North Americans earning \$ 90,000 and above as doing White collar jobs and rest doing Blue collar jobs. White Collar Jobs include doctors, engineers, accountants, bankers, academics and all those that do professional, managerial and administrative roles. Blue collar jobs include all those that perform non-agricultural manual labor like manufacturing, firefighting, supervisors, construction, drivers, cooks, clerks, housekeepers, nurses, technicians, plumbers, mechanics etc. Also see: Haider, M. (2015). How Canada's new immigration system is going to impact South Asian men. Dawn News. Haider, M. (2012). Dollars and sense of American desis. Dawn News.

High Commission of Pakistan in Canada

The Pakistani Diaspora in the United States. (2015). *Migration Policy Institute* Report.

³¹ Kohut, T. (2015). Nearly 1 in 5 Canadian children living in poverty. Global News See <http://globalnews.ca/news/2360311/nearly-1-in-5-canadian-children-living-in-poverty-report/>

³² Levitt, P. (2007). *God Needs No Passport: Immigrants and the Changing American Religious Landscape*. New York: The New Press.

found neither in the US nor Europe. It seems to be a uniquely Canadian situation and, therefore, the response to it should place specific.

3. Maturing of the Pakistani Diaspora and its changing role in North American Politics, Culture, Society and Philanthropy

The first generation of Pakistanis in North America only adapted to the society but remained closely connected to their ethnic community and homeland. They were the most difficult group to integrate into the “three-generation assimilation cycle”³³ and never fully integrated and only traces of their participation in political, social and cultural spheres can be found. Initially they came to North America to earn wealth and success, however, they always wanted to go back (the myth of return) because of their emotional and social ties.

While the second generation went through the “clash of cultures” to be accepted in both communities and felt more at home in the “culture of arrival” than their parents. They participated in political and social causes in both countries of arrival and origin. Interestingly, at a more collective level, 9/11 has not only called into question the integration of Pakistanis in the North American society but changed the entire process and meaning of citizenship.³⁴ For the diaspora community the concept of being integrated into North American landscape has, in other words, compelled them to participate more in host country’s political, social and philanthropic process.

Consequently, the second generation is involved in various political parties, non-profit organizations, and interest groups within North America.³⁵ Some Pakistani’s in North America have made a for instance Sada Cumber has served as the first US Ambassador to the OIC, Shirin Kheli served in various important posts at the White House and at the State Department, while Pamela Leeming, a Christian Pakistani American, served as a judge in Cook County, which happens to be the second largest county in the country.³⁶ In case of Canada under the new

³³Hansen, Marcus L. (1938). *The problem of the third generation immigrant*. Rock Island, Augustana Historic Society. See <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015030066750;view=1up;seq=7>

³⁴Mohammad-Arif. A. 331-332

³⁵McDaniels, P. (2013) Why is Immigrant Integration Important?. See <http://themihrationist.net/2013/11/08/why-is-immigrant-integration-important/>

³⁶Khurram. A. (2015). How Pakistani Americans can give back. Dawn News

government under Justin Trudeau two Pakistani Muslim women have won seats for the liberal party in the 2015 Canadian elections.

Adil Najam in his book presented the second generation Pakistanis in North America as a dynamic giving community. Truly for a community that is not too big in numbers, it has been remarkably efficacious in building and supporting institutions for varied causes. They have built numerous schools, hospitals, and nonprofit organizations in America and Canada to help the locals.³⁷ The community invests an ample number of hours (43.5 million hours or the equivalent of 25000 full time jobs)³⁸ and supports a diverse tapestry of institutions and groups that provide the diaspora with sustenance in multiple areas that range from arts, recreation, sports to community support. They also have participated in fundraising activities such as World Trade Relief Fund after 9/11 and many other initiatives like that. The community support structures that the diaspora have constructed not only provide them with a sense of cultural connectedness to North America and Pakistan but also give the community (and Pakistan related issues) a greater prominence in the North-American society.³⁹

3.1. Return Migration: No more a MYTH?

The third generation grew up in a bi-cultural setting; their parents were more understanding and generous, as they knew what it means to grow up between or with two cultures.⁴⁰ However, the future of third generation in the US is difficult to predict with the current changing political scenario. Before the incident of 9/11, the myth of return had never been very strong among the Pakistanis in the US (except for the initial years of migration).⁴¹ However, severe events both internal and external,

³⁷The Pakistan Association of Greater Boston has a group called Young American Pakistani's and they have taken part in the World trade relief Fund after 9/11 and collected huge funds for the betterment of families of those that died during the attack. Then philanthropists like Salma Ataulajhan who is a Pakistani- Canadian and is actively involved in fundraising to build hospitals and community schools in Canada. Moreover, a Pakistani-American student at New York University, Hannah Dehradunwala has founded Transferation, a nonprofit startup with the aim of alleviating hunger in New York City and Karachi.

³⁸ Curtis, E. (2010). *Encyclopedia of Muslim-American History*. (1st edition, pp. 450-52). Infobase Publishing.

³⁹Najam, A. *Portrait of a Giving Community: Philanthropy by the Pakistani-American Diaspora* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 2006). Pp 175-78

⁴⁰Frübing, J. (2008). *The third generation of Indians in Britain Cultural identity and cultural change*. Published at the Institutional Repository of the University of Potsdam.

⁴¹Prashad, V. (2000). *The karma of Brown Folk*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

combined with the US government's policies might make this return in coming years, for a few at least, a forced reality.⁴² Also, the political scenario under President Trump, ever-increasing anti-Muslim sentiment and exclusion from the society, ban on some countries of the Muslim world, this all might push young Pakistani diaspora to learn more about their ancestors' culture and history.⁴³ If this holds true then the third generation like their ancestors are likely to suffer from 'clash of cultures'. The universal phenomenon: "What the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember"⁴⁴ might be revived and the third generation is likely to be more close to Pakistan than the second generation.⁴⁵

Overall Canada's policies are slightly favorable for integration in most areas of life. These policies score 68/100 and rank 6th out of the 38 countries on The Migration and Policy Index (MIPEX) and are above that of the US and UK.⁴⁶ Canada still leads the developed world in promoting rapid labor market integration, non-discrimination and a mutual sense of belonging. Immigrants and Canadian citizens generally enjoy the same access and social rights. Furthermore, recent emphasis on discrimination free labor market further guarantees a safe future for the young Pakistani Canadians. Thus, it can be predicted that in Canada's multicultural environment Pakistani diaspora might not have to suffer from 'clash of cultures', and they would be more integrated and involved in political, social and philanthropic networks of the host

⁴² The returnees might include a segment of professionals and businessmen, who will move back to Pakistan, not only because of better economic prospects but out of the fear discrimination in the host country. Also see Mohammad-Arif. A. pp 322-324

⁴³ Prasad, V. (2000). *The karma of Brown Folk*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

⁴⁴ Hansen, Marcus L. (1938). *The problem of the third generation immigrant*. Rock Island, Augustana Historic Society. See

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015030066750;view=1up;seq=7>

⁴⁵ Marcus Lee Hansen's essay "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant" argues that the third generation withstands the loss of culture and identity leading to re-segmentation. The third generation takes interest and pride in their grand-parents heritage. And this leads to a "renaissance of sentiment" concerning their heritage and origin which functions as a binding factor for the ethnic community. Also Frubing (2008, pp 101-104), research points that the third generation of Indians in Britain is well integrated into the multicultural society and enjoys hybrid lives underlining their difference. The grandchildren of the Indian immigrants display a post-diasporic diversity retaining Indian culture in Britain and are more eager to learn and follow the culture and traditions than their parents.

⁴⁶ The index covers 140 indicators in six areas: access to nationality, long-term residence, anti-discrimination, family reunion, labour market access and political participation. Also see <http://www.mipex.eu/canada>

country.⁴⁷ They will be so integrated that they might not actively take part in the social and political activities in their ancestors' home country.

Thus the view that multicultural nations display higher political participation and integration among immigrants than non-multicultural countries seem predominant with regards to North America.

4. Home is where the heart is; Socio-Cultural, Economic, Political and Philanthropic Ties that bind the diaspora to their homeland

Since many children have been raised in households saturated by homeland influences, even those who express little interest in their roots have the knowledge and skills to activate these values and identities if and when they decide to do so. Transnational activism may be important for the first generation; some predict that these ties disappear among transnationals' children. But Muslims and particularly Pakistani Diasporas in the US (unlike Canada) might be different as it is likely that the third generation will be much more involved in their ancestral homes.

Many members of the Pakistani diaspora have deep, positive and multifaceted forms of engagement with Pakistan. ⁴⁸Not surprisingly, many immigrants stay in touch, ⁴⁹ about fifty-nine percent regularly phone family back home and forty-four percent send money at least once in a year. ⁵⁰ About forty-seven percent to fifty-two percent follow current events in their country of origin. ⁵¹There has been a

⁴⁷Ali. R. Chaudharypp 14-16

⁴⁸Desiderio.M &Weinar.A (2014). Supporting Immigrant Integration in Europe? Developing the Governance for Diaspora Engagement. Migration Policy Institute.

⁴⁹Mouw, T &Xie, Y. (1999). Bilingualism and the Academic achievement of first- and second generation Asian-Americans: Accommodation with or without assimilation? American Sociological Review. Vol. 64

⁵⁰There are many indications of how later-generation immigrants are reconciling their cultural roots with their lives as North Americans. Maintaining mother tongues and religious affiliations have been an effective way immigrant communities have maintained cultural links. Census data has shown that language transmission from first-generation immigrants to second and third generations has increased between 1981 and 2006. While these numbers suggest that immigrant families are making a conscious effort to maintain their linguistic heritage, it suggests that the assimilative properties of North America's linguistic landscape have given way to a more inclusive multicultural and multi-linguistic ethic over time. For example, rate of second-generation Punjabi speakers increased from 64 to 81 per cent.

⁵¹Farkas, S. (2003). What Immigrants say about life in the United States? A Migration Policy Institute Report.

technological, informational and knowledge transfer. The brain drain to some extent has been converted to brain (and capital) gain.

4.1. Economic Linkages

The estimated annual wealth of Pakistanis in North America is around \$ 25billion while their accumulated wealth⁵² is \$100 billion and their combined savings are more than \$6 billion. ⁵³As a result it can be predicted that Pakistani diaspora in North America has a very high potential for transferring investments to Pakistan.

Remittances to Pakistan have surged since 2001 when they were valued at \$1.5 billion. In 2003-04 the total remittances coming to Pakistan were more than four percent of the country's GDP and were equal to one-quarter of the total amount of investment. Based on these estimates and the technological ease with which people can remain connected with the investments and dealings in Pakistan, Pakistani diaspora in North America cannot be viewed as "lost children" but as an economic and knowledge resource that can help in National development. In 2012, remittances to Pakistan totaled \$14 billion and represented 6.1% of the country's \$225.1 billion GDP. The US is the 5th most common destination for Pakistani born international immigrants and the 6th largest source of remittances to Pakistan, while Canada is the 7th largest source of remittances coming to Pakistan. ⁵⁴

Remittances (Million US \$)	FY 2015	FY 2016	Prediction for 2017
US	1153.33	1096.76	981.37
Canada	86.48	64.99	72.85
Total	1239.81	1161.75	1054.22

Source: State Bank of Pakistan⁵⁵

Remittances coming from the US to Pakistan are showing a decreasing trend and are expected to fall in the fiscal year 2017. While

⁵² Accumulated wealth includes savings, real estate, vehicles and stocks a person has collected over time.

⁵³ Burki.S.,J. The Economic Impact of the Pakistani-American Diaspora. The Express Tribune, 18th March 2013.

⁵⁴ Burki.S.,J. The Economic Impact of the Pakistani-American Diaspora. The Express Tribune, 18th March 2013. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/522240/the-economic-impact-of-the-pakistani-american-diaspora/>

⁵⁵ Also see <http://www.sbp.org.pk/ecodata/homeremit.pdf>

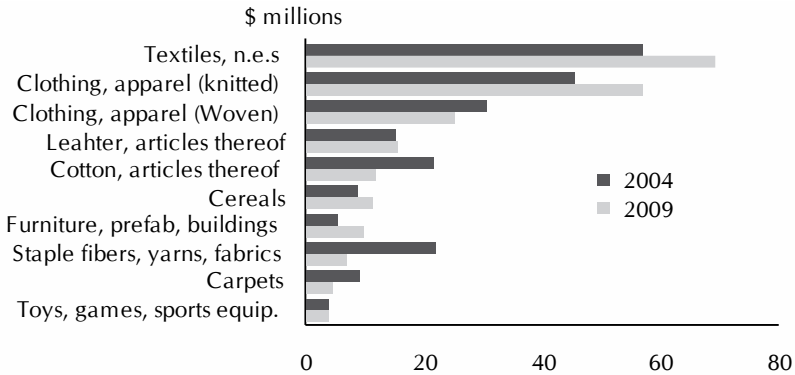
interestingly, the money coming from Canada is expected to increase though statistics show that Pakistanis in Canada are not well off as compared to their American counterparts. The main factors for the remarkable slowdown of the remittances pattern from US into Pakistan are that the Pakistani workers in US are holding their savings within US instead of sending to their families in Pakistan for investment purposes. This is due to recent increase in the interest rates in US which has narrowed the difference in investment returns when compared to Pakistan. Interest rates have gone down in Pakistan and increased in US. This has discouraged Pakistanis to send their money back into Pakistan for investment purposes.⁵⁶ Remittances coming to Pakistan from the North American region have overall shown a downward trend (majorly falling in the US), thus posing a threat to an already fragile economy.⁵⁷

Pakistani diaspora has helped to create demand for Pakistani goods like hand knitted carpets, textiles, blue pottery, jewelry, spices and fruits like oranges and mangoes. Interestingly, trade with Canada expanded from 2004-2009 because of a significant increase in import for textiles. It is important to note that the trade pattern in Canada coincides with the immigrant trend; both showed an upsurge from 2000 onwards. One reason could be that the diaspora helps local companies and products gain international recognition and demand by acting as a bridge between potential consumers and producers. As a result of this many Pakistani clothing brands like Sana Safinaz, Hasan Sheheryar Yasin (HSY), Bareeze, Khaadi and many others have opened up their outlets in US and Canada.

⁵⁶Declining remittances: Pakistanis in US 'holding on to their savings. (2015). The Express Tribune.

Also see <http://tribune.com.pk/story/1016703/declining-remittances-pakistanis-in-us-holding-on-to-their-savings/>

⁵⁷ Yang, D. and Choi, H. (2007) Are Remittances Insurance? Evidence from Rainfall Shocks in the Philippines. *World Bank Economic Review*, 21(2), pp. 219-248.

Figure 2: Major Import Products

Source: Canada's Major Imports from Pakistan by Gauthier and Lapointe (2010)⁵⁸

Moreover, if the diaspora wants to invest back into Pakistan, the business environment is not supportive as government policies and business councils are inadequate. For example, diaspora faces immense problems in starting a business, dealing with permits and enforcing contracts; corruption raises the cost of doing business and adds to the problem of regulatory uncertainty, thus affecting investments.

4.2. Does Pakistani Diaspora Remit Democracy?

The question remains that do Pakistani migrants contribute to a broader process of international democratic diffusion by channeling political beliefs and practices from their host country to the country of origin? The diaspora might spread attitude and behaviors absorbed in host countries to their less democratic home countries such that it might alter the behavior and mentality of people back home.⁵⁹ The Pakistani diaspora communities want to see radical changes and reforms in Pakistan. Many segments of the Pakistani diaspora actively follow Pakistani politics in terms of running and joining overseas factions of the Pakistani political parties. Political leaders like Tahirul Qadri lives in Canada has a political party in Pakistan PAT (Pakistan Awami Tehreek)

⁵⁸ See <http://www.loppar.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/2010-76-e.pdf>

⁵⁹ People who stay behind are connected to migrants' social networks, they are exposed to a constant flow of economic and social remittances (or ideas, practices, and identities that migrants import) on a regular basis. Also see Armendáriz, C & David, C. (2010). Do Migrants Remit Democracy? *International Migration, Political Beliefs, and Behavior in Mexico*. *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 43(1) pp. 119–148. SAGE Publications

and has a large public following in Pakistan. ⁶⁰A significant number of Pakistani expatriates participated in the PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) and PAT (Pakistan Awami Tehreek) sit in's (*jalsa's*). Pakistanis of second and third generation take more interest in the politics of the enduring homeland.⁶¹ This rising interest could be a result of the new political parties which encourage and provide the diaspora with more opportunities or this might serve for them as an entry point into the power structure of the country. These engagements, affiliations and political interests will become simpler and more perspicuous with time.

The diaspora involvement in Pakistani politics and democratic diffusion is still restricted. The Pakistani Government has not made enough efforts to engage the diaspora in the political process. Diaspora community often asks for its right in the democratic process of electing representatives to the national and provincial assemblies. However, till date, no bill has been passed that gives them the power to electronically vote while sitting in the foreign land.

4.3. Diaspora Philanthropy

The Pakistani migrants send huge amounts back home for charitable causes (around 40 per cent of donations are directed to Pakistan from the US). Adil Najam's book highlighted second generation's high involvement in philanthropic and charitable activities back home. The importance of social remittances can be seen by the number of charitable organizations operating in North America, initiated by Pakistani diaspora. These groups take a broad range of focus, including professional and business networks, advocacy organizations, societies that raise money in support of particular Pakistan-based universities or hospitals and organizations contributing to economic and human development programs in the homeland.⁶²The Pakistani Canadian organizations like Islamic circle of North America (ICNA), then Pakistan-

⁶⁰The Pakistani Diaspora in the United States. (2015).*Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/RAD-Pakistan.pdf>

⁶¹Pakistani Diaspora in the West: Part of the Solution or Part of the Problem? (2008). Retrieved from <http://www.pildat.org/Publications/publication/MuslimWestRelations/PakistaniDiasporaintheWest-PartoftheSolutionorPartoftheProblem.pdf> >

⁶²Shazia Khan and Jeremy Higgs co-founded EcoEnergy, a solar company to address the energy access gap in Pakistan. EcoEnergy sells electricity services to small business owners and households in off-grid areas for as little as \$8 a month, allowing small business owners stay open an additional 7-10 hours per day. The mobile based platform allows customers to pre-pay for their electricity through a remotely monitored system.

Canada Association and individuals like Khalid Usman, Sallah Hamdani, Farukh Alam and Toronto's low income neighborhood collected almost \$ 10.7 million for the 2008 earthquake relief fund of Pakistan. Not only this but numerous doctors from America and Canada regularly visit Pakistan for free health camps and awareness.⁶³

4.4. Challenges faced by Pakistanis in the host country (US and Canada)

Samuel Huntington (1996) in his book entitled 'the clash of civilizations' predicted confrontation between Muslims and Non-Muslims and that those conflicts will not be driven by political ideologies, but rather, by cultural and religious affiliations. The Muslims and the West have always had an uneasy relationship. The image of Muslims has become that of 'an impossible-to assimilate outsider'.

Pakistanis before the incident of 9/11 claimed that it was easier to be a good Muslim in America than in Pakistan; since then, however, albeit the process might not be widespread yet, but the more young Pakistanis feel alienated from the mainstream, the more the awakening of their Islamic identity might well go with a withdrawal into themselves. More members of the third generation Pakistani North Americans are expected to attend Islamic schools than before. Islamophobia does not stem only after the events of 9/11, but was part of the pre-existing ways in which Muslims were perceived as "different" from the larger society.⁶⁴

The incident of 9/11 added fuel to the already burning fire and the issue of identity became more critical with the increase in Islamophobia resulting in discontentment amongst North American Pakistanis. Terms like "in-between" or "half-way" became prominent to describe the second generation of Pakistani North Americans, who appeared to be uncertain where to belong.⁶⁵ They faced an upsurge in negative stereotypes expressed by the larger society and Muslim immigrants, more than any other immigrant group, were met with negative attitudes. In the past decade anti-Muslim crimes have made up to thirteen or

⁶³Najam.A. (2007). *Portrait of a Giving Community: Philanthropy by the Pakistani-American Diaspora* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 2006).

⁶⁴Mohammad-Arif.A (2009). Pakistanis in the United States: From Integration to Alienation? In *Pakistani Diaspora; Culture, Conflict and Change*, edited by V.S Kalra and A.Khan.pp 316-334. Oxford University Press.

⁶⁵Farkas,S. (2003). "What Immigrants Say About Life in the United States" *Migration Policy Institute* <<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/what-immigrants-say-about-life-united-states>

fourteen per cent of hate crimes to be committed with a religious bias.⁶⁶ This hate is often reflected in public spheres, social gatherings, labor market and workplaces where it becomes difficult for Muslims and Pakistani's to work or lives.⁶⁷ These have pushed many to assert their identity as progressive Muslims or Pakistani-origin citizens of the adopted country. Still many years later things have not changed and Pakistanis witness problems in everyday life.

Hundreds of Pakistanis have been rounded up, detained and eventually deported due to minor immigration violations in the years following the 9/11 attacks. The reactions of the "host society" have a great influence on the diaspora awareness and on processes of community formation⁶⁸. Negative reactions towards a community's culture often result in a retreat from the public space into a defensive identity.⁶⁹

Furthermore, Trump's election as the President has created a stir amongst the Muslim expatriate community, including Pakistanis because of his anti-Muslim sentiments. In the prevailing atmosphere of Islamophobia, Pakistani North Americans feel not only left out from the mainstream but are also under the impression that they have been singled out as a religious/ethnic minority.⁷⁰ Such a mindset has pressed the Muslim community towards the defensive as they feel uncertain, suspected and, at times discriminated and sidelined based on their religion and nationality. They experience collective fear, alienation, and precariousness related to the growing stigma linking Pakistanis with religious extremism and terrorism. Under the given circumstances the comfort level of Pakistani diaspora and the intricacies of their integration within American society need to be evaluated.

Meanwhile, in Canada, there were no direct experiences of hate crimes or fear post 9/11 and Pakistanis are viewed to be smoothly integrating

⁶⁶ Chung, A. (2011). Canadians less tolerant after 9/11: Poll. *Vancouver Sun*. <<<http://www.vancouver.sun.com/news/9-11-anniversary/Canadians+less+tolerant+after+Poll/5366720/story.html>>>

⁶⁷ Also see <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/mosque-set-on-fire-in-suspected-hate-crime-as-police-investigate-threats-against-muslim-groups-a6736351.html>

⁶⁸ Bertrand, M & Sendhil, M. (2004) Are Emily and Greg More Employable Than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination. *The American Economic Review*.

⁶⁹ L. Peggy. (2009). Roots and Routes: Understanding the Lives of the Second Generation Transnationally *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 35, No. 7, pp. 1225-42

⁷⁰ Also see <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/nov/17/donald-trump-transition-cabinet-news-politics-live>

into the Canadian way of living. Lately, due to negative media stereotyping directed towards Islamic extremism, Pakistanis might face problems within the Canadian society, albeit not to the levels experienced and documented in America.⁷¹

5. Conclusion

The question of identity still remains there whether the diaspora have a single identity or multiple? Where the Pakistani diaspora actually belongs to, Pakistan or North America or both? The true picture will only reveal with more specific research and immigrant related policies over the coming years.

Some might say if migrants earn their living in North America, their earnings, skills, and philanthropic efforts should stay here. While in Pakistan they may argue that expatriates have no right to a political voice because they have abandoned ship and lost touch with the day-to-day realities in their former homelands. These concerns might be valid but there are no easy ways to balance transnational migrants' rights and responsibilities. The challenge remains to figure out how individuals who live between two cultures can best be protected and represented and what should be expected from them in return. Pakistani diaspora work, pray and express their political interests in multiple contexts rather than in a single nation-state. Some will put down roots in the country of arrival, maintain strong homeland ties, and belong to religious and political movements that span the globe. These allegiances are not antithetical to one another.

Given the notion of Canadian exceptionalism, it is important to understand how Canada has been successful in integrating Pakistanis. If things are indeed different in Canada than in the US, than exact features need to be highlighted that have contributed to this difference. An inadequate understanding of the reasons would fail to provide targets for policy making to reinforce it. If Canada's context is different from that of the US, improvements in communication would mean that the US concerns would migrate to Canada, or vice versa generating a similar response for Pakistanis.

⁷¹ Chaudhry, A.R (2015). *Spoiled By War: How Government Policies, Community Characteristics and Stigma Shape the Pakistani Non-Profit sector in London, Toronto and New York*. Department of Sociology, University of California.

It was also observed that within the Pakistani community in North America class differences exist; wealthy and the poor Pakistani North Americans. This intra-group class polarization reflects on social, economic, political involvement and integration into the society. Wealthy Pakistanis have ties with transnational organizations promoting social and economic development back home.⁷² This all helps improve their image and bring them into the public eye. While the poor Pakistanis in North America even if they would like to help people back home, often cannot afford it because of lack of resources and time.⁷³ They never come into limelight and thus their issues remain neglected by the home and host country governments. The point remains that rich Pakistani North Americans make effort to help poor back in Pakistan but not many organizations work locally to help the Pakistani diaspora suffering in North America.

Pakistani Diaspora in North America is quite diverse and talented. This 'diaspora' heterogeneity can be used as a development tool.⁷⁴ Ministry of Overseas Pakistanis should develop initiatives and organizations that help the Pakistani North Americans with tools, resources, and knowledge to invest back in Pakistan. Like China,⁷⁵ Pakistan should also use its diaspora for its socio-economic and political development.⁷⁶ Pakistani government could develop policies and initiatives that ensure transparency as many Pakistani migrants are pragmatic in responding to the state's diaspora engagement initiatives because of mistrust and corruption.

In order to continue strengthening linkages between home and host countries, reform is essential in certain areas. For example, accurate record keeping and documentation of remittances are needed if evidence-based policies are to be formulated. The role of the

⁷² Ali, R Chaudhary, 16-17

⁷³ Guazrino, L.E& A.R. Chaudhary. (2014). Determinants of Transnational Political Engagement among Dominion and Colombian Migrants in Southern Europe. International Migration Institute .Working Paper. University of Oxford.

⁷⁴ *African Diaspora Marketplace*. (2016). *Diasporamarketplace.org*. Retrieved 19 September 2016, from <http://www.diasporamarketplace.org>

⁷⁵ The great majority of foreign direct investment into China has come from Chinese diaspora. They designed strategies to mobilize the resources of the overseas Chinese, with the Special Economic Zones located in the key areas of migrant origins. Also see Smart, A. & Jinn-Yuh Hsu. Summer 2004. The Chinese Diaspora, Foreign Investment and Economic Development in China. *The Review of International Affairs*, vol.3, no.4

⁷⁶ Parker, D. Fall/Winter 2005. Going with the Flow? Reflections on Recent Chinese Diaspora Studies. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, vol.14, no. 2/3: 411-423.

government of Pakistan and Pakistani Embassy is crucial as they can work with the governments of US and Canada and bring more clarity and regulatory uniformity and channelize the ways in which remittances, FDI and charity are being sent to the home country.⁷⁷

Given the way the political world is changing, Muslims are going to be viewed with greater suspicion. The new wave under Trump's Presidency does not seem favorable towards immigrants. That will be a loss, both to the US and to Pakistan. While on the other side Pakistani Canadians do not fare as well economically as Pakistanis in the US do, however, they appear to be culturally integrated and welcomed as is also reflected by the country's Prime Minister's stance.

If there is a silver lining to be found among this profoundly disturbing scenario, it will be in the collective work that needs to be undertaken by Pakistani North Americans, South Asians, Muslim activist organizations and the Pakistani government to contest these alarming developments. It can be just hoped that this new Presidency under Trump can bring some good and unite those who uphold the values of inclusiveness and pluralism and stand by those who are likely to be marginalized. Again, strengthening linkages between North America and Pakistan requires combined efforts of the respective governments, the Pakistani diaspora and the citizens of US and Canada.

⁷⁷ Malik, K. (2015). Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on Economic Growth of Pakistan. *American Journal Of Business And Management*, 4(4).

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The Centre on International Migration, Remittances and Diaspora (CIMRAD) was established in 2014 by the Lahore School of Economics and is the first institute of its kind in Pakistan. The Centre specializes in the study and analysis of international migration and its social and economic consequences – with a focus on the diaspora and the flow of remittances.

CIMRAD is a research and teaching program for the study of migration, diaspora and remittances and their consequences at the local, regional and global levels. With faculty drawn across from the Lahore School of Economics, the Centre uses multidisciplinary approach to explore international migration issues. The program will focus extensively on high quality research and analyzing the underlying causes and consequences of international migration.



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