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Pakistani Diaspora: US and UK

Introduction

The global Pakistani diaspora contains most of features elaborated in Cohen's (2008) comprehensive typology of diaspora but primarily consist of labour migrations, high-end workers, trading networks, long-distance nationalists and cultural producers. In spatial terms the largest concentration of Pakistanis in the diaspora is found in the Middle East, Europe and North America. There are no accurate records of numbers for the Pakistani diaspora but the Government of Pakistan claims that there are just fewer than four million Pakistanis living abroad and under 1.9 million in the Middle East (with the largest contingent found in Saudi Arabia), under 1.7 million in Europe (largest settlement found in Great Britain) and around 0.85 million in North America with largest aggregation found in the USA) (GOP Year Book 2004-5). The key difference in the populations found in Europe and North America and the Middle East is citizenship. Permanent settlement and citizenship rights give the Pakistani population in the Atlantic economies a different trajectory and characteristics than those found in the Middle East where the denial of citizenship rights and permanent settlement leads to circular migration, transmigration and guest worker status. However the US/UK comparison does have a number of difficulties in that the categories recognised and used in the censuses in the two countries are not the same and thus the comparison is indicative of general trends found in the two countries.

In the United Kingdom identification of the numbers of Pakistanis in the population is now relatively straightforward. Having moved from generic categories such as Asians to ethnic categories in the 1990s the census makes enumeration straightforward and accurate. The 2001 census estimated that there almost three-quarter of a million Pakistanis (749,000) out of a total population of visible minorities which was just over 4.6 million (55% of whom where born in Britain) making Pakistanis around one per cent of the total population in the country the second largest minority after the Indians and the overwhelming majority are citizens (Dobbs et al 2006: 30). Controversy in the 1990s over the size of the Muslim population led to a campaign, run successfully by a number of religious organizations, lobbying for a question about religious identity to be included in the most recent census of 2001. It revealed that Muslims were the largest faith community in Britain after Christians (72 per cent), making up nearly 3 per cent of the population that is almost 1.6 million people of which the Pakistanis are the largest component of 43 per cent. Around 1% of Pakistanis belong to other faiths primarily Christians, some Hindus, Sikhs, Jews, Buddhists and 1% had no religion (Dobbs et al 2006: 20-1).

For the United States estimating the Pakistani population is not that straight forward. The US Census 2000 estimated that 4.21 per cent or 11,859,446 were Asian (alone or in combination with one or more other races) the largest being Chinese 1.02 per cent, Filipino 0.85 per cent and Pakistanis numbered 209,273 or 0.07 per cent of the US population. Of this figure around 24.5% of Pakistanis were born in the

United States and around 44.8% are not citizens (Reeves and Bennett 2004: 1,9). The figures for Pakistanis are believed to seriously underestimate the population. The US Census 2000 included a question on 'race' which included the option 'Asian Indian' but not Pakistani and allowed respondents to write-in their preference and another question sought information on ancestry. Critics have argued that the census undercounts Pakistanis because the question is open-ended and require self-identification, Pakistanis can fall into multiple categories including 'Asian Indian' and the large difference between the two questions raises issues of reliability of the data. According to Najam (2006: 56-8) the study conducted by the Pakistan Embassy in Washington probably provides the best estimate of the Pakistani population in the United States. The study based on the Census 2000 and on the Embassy's consular records arrived at a figure of around 500,000 in 2002. These figures were similar to Najam's own estimates, which he considers are conservative given the growth rate of the community. Alternative estimates of the Pakistani population have been through inference by estimating the Muslim population. The ARIS survey of 2008 estimated that there were 1,349,000 Muslims representing 0.06 per cent of the total US population (Kosmin and Keysar 2009:5), which, is considered by many to be too low an estimation. Nimer's calculations lead him to estimate that the population in 2002 was between 2.1 and 3.6 million. Najam (2006) takes the higher figure and estimates that 15 per cent of the Muslim population is from Pakistan and which corroborates his estimates of 525,000 Pakistanis. The difficulty is that unlike the UK neither Pakistani nor Muslim are explicit categories in the census, which have a number of ramifications particularly in terms of social policy.

Pakistani (inhabitants from those areas of India which are now in Pakistan) presence in Britain is inextricably associated with imperialism and colonialism and goes back to the 18th century when sailors, students, and professionals had been entering Britain. This trickle became more substantial in post-war Britain, which suffered a major shortage of labour particularly in mature industries such as textiles where working conditions were poor. In 1951 there were 5000 Pakistanis (including Bangladeshis) by 1961 this figure had risen to 24,900 and by 1966 it had grown to 119,700. Significant number increased as Pakistanis joined the 'beat-the-ban-rush' to come to Britain before the Immigration Act 1962 closed the door. It also shifted the demographics from a population consisting primarily of male workers who originally came only to work and to a more rounded population as they were joined by their families intended on settling permanently (Anwar 1996). By 1971, primary immigration was almost brought to a halt and only family reunification and special voucher holders, and asylum seekers and refugees were allowed (Layton-Henry 1992). With primary migratory flow to Britain halted immigration oscillated between peaks and troughs. The troughs coincided with administrative measures designed to restrict applications for immigration being processed quickly followed by peaks as these restrictions were relaxed. The introduction of the 1971 Immigration Act resulted in a significant number of applications being unsuccessful, until challenged in the court. This forced the new government to change the regulation allowing the backlog to be cleared during the years 1976-78. Similarly demand for medical evidence supporting claims of relationships was used as an administrative measure to regulate migratory flows. Introduction of DNA testing at the point of entry to the

UK resulted in an increase of immigration in 1989. The overall effect of immigration regulations is that the numbers admitted for settlement has been declining and there is very little primary immigration from Pakistan, which today is mainly restricted to entry of spouses (Anwar 1996:12).

Large scale Pakistani migration began in the 1960s and was heavily represented by populations from Azad Kashmir. It is estimated that anywhere between 50 to 75 per cent of the population living in Britain originated from Mirpur (Ballard 1991) with remainder from the Punjab and a smaller number from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province. Mirpuris were sailors in the merchant navy, working in the engine rooms, prior to the Second World War. With the outbreak of hostilities many worked in the munitions factories in South Shields and established a bridgehead, which facilitated the arrivals of fellow countrymen. Two factors played a role in encouraging migration the first was partition and the other was the building of the Mangla Dam. The partition of British India into India and Pakistan resulted in forced transfer of populations and in this climate certain groups were drawn into international migration. The other major impetus for migration from Pakistan came with the establishment of the Mangla Dam (1961-7), funded by the World Bank in which the lake formed by the dam flooded the original town of Mirpur along with 250 villages. The money received in compensation allowed a large numbers of Kashmiris to migrate and eventually settle in Britain. In the northern mill towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire there were opportunities in the woollen and cotton mills and in the West Midlands in particularly Birmingham this was complemented by factory work. The majority of immigrants from Pakistan had low levels of education and skills and many were unable to speak English on arrival there were however a small group of professionals in particular physicians who joined the National Health Service. Large Pakistani communities, mainly Kashmiri, can be found in Birmingham, Bradford, Oldham and the surrounding Northern towns while Manchester's population hails mainly from the Punjab. Luton and Slough, in the South of England, have the largest Kashmiri communities while London has a more diverse cohort can be found than found elsewhere and consist of Punjabis, Kashmiris, Pukhtuns, Sindhis and Urdu speakers. The largest concentrations, mainly working class, are found in East London, London also has the largest middle class professional conglomeration of Pakistanis in the country composed of health professionals, scientist, IT and financial sector workers and business professionals. The British Pakistani population is diverse and differs from region to region and are victims of the North South divide, which reinforces class characteristics. This means that in London and the South East, the community is socially mobile and educational achievement is on or above national averages. While in the West Midlands and the North of England, deindustrialised Britain, the community has generally suffered from a decline in the manufacturing industry and the change to a service economy.

South Asian presence in the USA dates back to the mid-19th century when mainly Punjabi men, 85 per cent were Sikh and 10-12 per cent were Muslims, settled primarily in California. By the early 20th century discrimination against South Asians were formalized in the Immigration Act of 1917 with its 'barred Asiatic zone' and in 1923 a US Supreme Court ruling defined them as aliens ineligible for citizenship as

they were not White. As a result many Punjabis married Mexican women and settled around El Centro in California's Imperial Valley. It was only with the signing of the Luce-Celler Bill by President Truman in 1946, which allowed South Asians the right to become citizens, own property and bring in relatives under national quotas. A slow trickle entered the United States from 1948 onwards from Pakistan mainly following those already settled there and accompanied by a trickle of students and professionals. By the 1960s a clearly definable Pakistani community distinct from 'East Indians' was discernible. It was, however, only with the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act that there was a significant increase in the number of arrivals. The Act increased the number of immigrant visas from Pakistan to 20,000 per year under a number of categories, including preferred occupational skills, family reunification and victims of political and religious persecution. The numbers of arrivals from Pakistan was in the 1950s around 100 a year rose to just under two hundred in the early 1960s to under 700 in the late 1960s when the Act came in to force. By the 1970s the figure had rose to 1528 and by the 1980s was averaging around 5000 a year and by the 1990 it was just under 10,000 arrivals a year. The introduction of the Visa Lottery in 1990 (it had low educational and work experience thresholds that attracted a diverse range of participants) and the Special Agricultural Worker clause (phased out in 1994) in the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) increased the rate of immigration from Pakistan. By 2001 the immigration rates were around 16,5000 per annum however with 9/11 there was a squeeze on entry from Pakistan and numbers by 2003 were just below the 10,000 mark. There was a similar squeeze on visitor visas and student visas during this period but it is not clear whether this a permanent trend or just a short term blip (Helweg 1990, Najam 2006).

Most Pakistanis arriving in the US from the late 1980s onward are from Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi, Faisalabad, Hyderabad and Peshawar. Around 50 per cent are from the Punjab, 30 per cent are Urdu speakers and there are some small numbers of Sindhis and Pukhtuns (Mohammad-Arif 2000:35). Those arriving were high-end professionals, physicians, engineers, IT workers, scientists, who either came directly because of demand in their profession or as students who stayed after qualifying. Along with these professionals came less educated relatives who were eligible under immigration visa preference for relatives or via the Visa Lottery. As Immigration rules changed less qualified and skilled workers migrated, and they chose the self-employment routes and started up small business, retail stores, petrol pumps and taxis. Furthermore a sizable minority of Pakistani Christians and Zoroastrians established themselves in the United States. The largest concentrations of Pakistanis (40%) are found in New York, New Jersey and 90 per cent of Pakistanis live in only four states: New York, New Jersey, Texas and California. The Pakistani community is primarily an East Coast community that is growing in the West and the South (Najam).

The age profile of the Pakistani community in Britain and the United States is in marked contrast to the total population, an ageing population, in both countries. In the UK among the White British population only 20 per cent was under 16 and 17 per cent were over 65 with a median age of 39 and in the US total population only

25.6 per cent are under 18 and 12.4 per cent are over 65 with a median age of 35.4. Pakistanis are characterised by large numbers of young people and a dearth of elderly people in both countries. In the UK over 35% of Pakistanis are aged less than 16 years of age, only 4% above 65 and with a median age of 22 while in the USA 32.8% of Pakistanis are less than 18 years, only 3.0% above 65 and with a median age of 28.7. The fact that there are large numbers children of school age has numerous social policy implications, particularly in Britain (unlike the US where they are dispersed), as they are relatively concentrated in large numbers in a number of cities such as part of London, Birmingham, Leicester, Manchester and Bradford (Dobbs 2006:23-31,40; Reeves and Bennett 2004:6).

Human capital, non-material assets such as education and skills have major impact on employment prospects. In the UK around 18 per cent of Pakistanis of working age have a degree which is marginally higher than the education levels found in the White British population (19%) but a third of Pakistanis have no qualifications while only a quarter of White British have no qualifications (Dobbs 2006:130, 153). In the US 54.3 per cent of Pakistanis are graduates which is double the rate for the total population and only 18 per cent of Pakistanis have less than high school education which fractional better than the average for the total population. Pakistanis educational experience in Britain is 'forked' with significant numbers experiencing high as well as low outcomes. In the UK Pakistani population originally had low qualification and low skill levels and the numbers of graduates has increased as a greater number of the younger generation attend university and along with the arrival of qualified professionals. In the case of the US the original cohort who migrated were highly educated professionals and they were later joined by relatives who were not so well qualified. The evidence shows the main division that is emerging within Pakistanis in the UK and US is between those from middle-class backgrounds, who are achieving high educational attainment leading into prosperous professions and becoming integrated into multi-cultural societies, and those from the working class. Those from proletarian background, with poor educational attainment are subject to uncertain futures and social exclusion and marginalisation, which is more of a problem in Britain (Heath 2001: 128, Reeves and Bennett 2004: 12, Najam 2006).

There is considerable diversity of occupation between Pakistanis in the two countries and within Pakistanis in the individual countries. Only 13.8 per cent of Pakistanis are in managerial and professional occupations in the UK in contrast to White British of whom 30.3 per cent are professionals. It should be noted that 23.3 per cent of Pakistanis work in routine or manual jobs and 26.3 per cent never worked or are long-term unemployed (Dobbs 2006:41). In the US more Pakistanis are professionals around 43.5 per cent than the average for all workers (33.6 %) and 26.2 per cent work in routine or manual work¹ as opposed to the average for all workers of 38.7 per cent (Reeves and Bennett 2004:14). Pakistanis in the British

¹ In the US census the categories that have been condensed into routine or manual work are Service; Farming, fishing and forestry; Construction, extraction and maintenance; Production, transportation, and material moving.

labour market are also clustered in certain sectors of the economy and are over represented in distribution, restaurants and hotels (28.2%), transport and communication (19%), which covers taxis and chauffeurs and manufacturing (18.7%) (Annual Local Area Labour Force Survey 2001/02). In the US there is also clustering with 26 per cent of Pakistanis finding employment in the retail trade, 17.4 per cent in educational and health services and 11.6 per cent in financial, insurance and the real estate market (US Census, American Community Survey: Pakistanis, 2005).

Pakistanis are one of the poorest community in Britain and two-thirds living under the poverty line and in areas with high level multiple deprivation (DWP 2000/1) with 26 per cent of families living in overcrowded conditions (Dobbs 2006). In contrast Pakistanis in the US only 16.5% of families are below the poverty line and the medium family income is around \$50189, which is just above the average family median income of \$50,046 (Reeves and Bennett 2004:16-7). Unemployment for this group in the UK is high with Pakistani male adult unemployment at 16 per cent while White British unemployment is around 6 per cent and with youth unemployment of 26 per cent for 18-24 year olds being considerably higher than the 11 per cent for the equivalent White British age group furthermore 26.3 per cent of Pakistanis never worked or are long-term unemployed (Dobbs 2006:136,41). In the US 76.6 per cent of men and 36.9 per cent of women are participating in the labour force and unemployment rates are around 4.8 per cent (Reeves and Bennett 2004:13, US Census, American Community Survey: Pakistanis, 2005).

Housing patterns in UK and US are quite different. In the UK in the Northern towns, Birmingham, Luton, Slough and parts of London there are Pakistani enclaves with high levels of housing concentration, product of discrimination in the housing market and a propensity for home ownership (67% own their own homes) and lack of suitable social housing that can accommodate large families with average size of 4.4 persons per household (Dobbs 2006). The consequence of this is that parts of some British cities have localities that have high rates of concentration of Pakistanis. In Bradford, Manningham ward has 60.1% in Birmingham Washwood Heath has 56.2% of the locality populated not just by Pakistanis but usually members of the same *biraderis* usually Kashmiri clans (Bradford City Council 2004, Birmingham City Council 2006). In the US while certain states have high concentration of Pakistanis the same scale of housing concentrations does not exist. There are some enclaves but these are not exclusively Pakistani. The trajectory of the Pakistani community is similar to Indians both have not followed the path of earlier immigrants to the US or their counterparts in the UK and formed enclaves primarily due to the suburbanization of an upwardly mobile community. Decision to purchase a home in a particular locality is predicated by employment opportunities, investment considerations, good quality housing like back home, availability of good education, low level of crime and ethnic conflict and the desire to maintain privacy on one hand and not to be so far away from fellow Pakistanis that makes social interaction difficult (Helweg 1990:163-7). Home ownership is lower in the US running at 41.7 per cent but that may reflect labour market demands for flexible labour and the desire to work in ones professional specialization (Reeves and Bennett: 2004 19).

Local Cultural and Social Organizations

Pakistanis in Britain are considered to be a disadvantaged community and have benefited from anti-discriminatory legislation and multicultural policy. Social policy dealing with discrimination and disadvantage and cultural diversity in Britain was piecemeal and primarily implemented on the local level. The approach consisted of a series of legislation dealing with racial discrimination and recognising cultural diversity and the Pakistani diaspora was a beneficiary of this process. The consequence is there is a proliferation of local organisation in localities with concentration of Pakistanis providing services to them. They can be under different nomenclatures, Asian, Pakistani or Muslim and providing arrange of services, sports activities, day care centres for children and the elderly, educational services, advice centres, womens groups, health advisors etc. They also range in size for large centres providing a range of services and facilities to the locality, which could be exclusively Pakistani or primarily Pakistani along with other South Asian groups, to small single service providers servicing a neighbourhood.

The key difference with comparable organisations in Britain is that all these organisation in the United States are funded by its members and as community that is not recognised as deprived ethnic minority have no access to state funding. Cities in the United States with significant Pakistani populations have one or more Pakistani organisations. Cities such as New York, Chicago and Los Angles have a dozen or so local organisations, including student organisations that provide space for social and cultural interaction. In areas with smaller populations such as Raleigh NC, Phoenix AZ, and Boston MA single organisations are found to operate with a long history and divers portfolio of activities. They attempt to develop sense of community in particular localities by holding events on Eid, Muharram, Pakistan Day, music galas, *Basant*, community excursion. They also act as cultural ambassador, participating annual Independence Day Parades in New York and Chicago, act as key facilitators for philanthropic activities such as raising funds from Shaukat Khanum Hospital, Tusnami Relief and earthquake victims: Gujarat and Kashmir (Najam 2006: 69-71).

Religious Organisations

The earliest mosque in Britain dates from 1889, in Liverpool and today there are around 1581 mosques of which 323 of them, the largest number, are considered to be Pakistani Mosques (Naqshabandi 2010). In Britain mosques are constituted on sectarian and ethnic basis representing the religious, ethnic, preferences of the mosque committees and constituencies. The Imams are recruited for the social and ethnic background of the mosque committees are generally not well educated quite often have poor English capabilities and poorly paid. They usually are responsible for leading of prayers, running Quran classes for children and burial and marriage services. Only after 7/7 bombing is there serious consideration for the training of Imams in UK that are not only linguistically competent but also familiar with the liberal traditions of democratic society.

The Sunni presence is dominant and within them there are three overlapping categories. The Brelvis persuasion has the largest number of mosques and has a number of subcurrents represented by influential *pirs*, in a number of major cities. There are a number of revivalist strands, Tablighi Jamat, Deobandi and Ahl-I-Hadith. The third element in Sunni strand consists of elite organisations, which aspire for national status and recognition. This includes the UK Islamic Mission and the Islamic Foundation, Dawatul-Islam, Young Muslim Organisation and Muslim Women Association all affiliates of the Jamati Islami network (Nielsen 1987). The Federation of Students Islamic Societies, represents the amalgamation of the various Islamic groups within the Universities and more radical groups such as Hibzi-ut-Tahrir and Al Mujairoun have gained influence on the campuses. In opposition of these sectarian based organisations there emerged a number of umbrella organisations such as the Union of Muslim Organisation, the Council of Imams and Mosques, the Muslim Parliament as well as the defunct Council of Mosques (Nielsen 1992) There is also a Shia presence, the Agha Khan has a number of organisations and the Ahmadiyya world-wide headquarters is based in South London.

Most of these organisations during the Satanic Verses controversy cooperated and functioned within the U.K Action Committee on Islamic Affairs. This was a confederation, which subsumed the umbrella organisation as well as local institutions (Samad 1992). The significance of the U.K Action Committee on Islamic Affairs was that it was the forerunner of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) which, has 350 affiliates from all across the country and the largest presence is Pakistani. The MCB for a while acted as a representative of the Muslim community before it fell out of favour with the government. Arab Muslim who felt that Islam in the country was dominated by South-Asian organisations set up the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB). (Pedziwiatr 2007).

The oldest mosque in the United States was established in 1915 in Maine and today there around 1200 mosques in the country (Ghazali 2001). Around 77% of Imams are degree educated, usually in Islamic studies and are full time employees. The President of the mosques, 93% are degree educated, and usually the roles of Imam and President are separate. Immigration requirements make it almost essential that imported Imams are qualified but it also represents the different role of the mosque in American Muslim life. Many mosques are Islamic centres and have a wide range of activities: schools, seminaries, inter-faith activity, marriage counselling, wedding facilities, burial services, welfare activities for the poor, prison programs, soup kitchens, food programs, anti-drug and crime initiatives, pre-school support and voter registration (Cesari 2004: 137).

The biggest division among Muslims is between Black converts, Nation of Islam, and immigrants and within the latter group most Islamic centres are non-denominational or Sunni with some Shia presence. The Brelevi presence is not significant and there are no Pirs but there are some Sufi orders. Tabligh-i-Jammat, Jamma-i-Islami, Muslim Brotherhood as well as Salafi and Wahabi groups are prevalent. Very few of the mosques are ethnically based and many moved away for there origins to serve a wider Islamic audience. Hence many religious institutions serve Pakistani needs but

most are not specifically Pakistani institutions even though some may be dependant on their support (Cesari, 2004:25, 51, 85. Najam 2006: 79). On the national Level there are a number of organisations that are active and some have South Asian influence but none specifically Pakistani. The Muslim Brotherhood influences the oldest organisation Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) founded in 1972, Islamic Council of North America (ICNA) has Jammah-i-Islami influence and Council of American Islamic Relations use existing laws to defend Muslims (Cesari 2004:81-4)

Professional Organisations

There is a clear difference between the two countries. In the UK there is a dearth of professional associations and only a handful appear to be functioning: Association of Pakistanis Physicians and Surgeons and British Pakistani Psychiatrist Association are the few that exist and they act a professional support network for members and to promote health care in Pakistan. In sharp contrast there are considerable number of professional organisations in the USA. The oldest and most well known is the Association of Pakistani Physicians of North America (APPNA), which is a conglomerate of affiliates and regional organisations. It has a youth wing, Young Pakistani Physicians Resource Centre for spouse and children of members and numerous affiliates involved in charitable activities. APPNA-Sehat runs integrated health programmes in Pakistan, APPNA Charitable foundation projects include free clinics in the US and educational scholarships for Pakistani Americans and Human Development Foundation of North America. It has a number of affiliated alumni organisations such as King Edward Medical College Alumni Association of North America and DOW Graduate Association of North America. In the 2005 earthquake the APPNA conglomerate of associations raised \$10 million and physicians volunteered their services (Najam 2006: 74-5).

Organisation of Pakistani Entrepreneur of North America (OPEN) is a different model of organisation and provides a platform for Pakistanis in the high tech sector and its activities include networking, mentoring and information sharing and events that bring together professional Pakistanis with high profile Americans. OPEN-New England runs a competition for entrepreneurs with a \$50,000 prize for the successful business plan. There are also proliferations of other organisations for engineers, professionals, alumni associations such as: Association of Pakistani Scientist and Engineers of North America, DASTAK- Network of Pakistani Professionals, Pakistani American Business Executive Associations etc (Najam 2006: 76).

Political representation

A number of factors combined in Britain that made it favourable for Pakistanis to make an impact on the political processes. The foremost was that they were concentrated in enclaves in particular localities interconnected by kinship networks. These networks were overlaid by a range of local community organisations that were established by local authorities under multiculturalism and later community cohesion programmes, combined with networks of mosques and religious organisations and local business servicing the community. These interconnecting

networks provided the basis from which a local political leadership emerged. The political parties were quick to recognise these vote banks and even though Pakistanis are conservative and share views with the Tory Party on a range of social issues they were however alienated by their position on immigration and hence tended to support the Labour Party. In 2007 there were around 257 councillors and mayors of Pakistani origins and in 2009 there were 4 members of parliament, two were cabinet ministers, Shahid Malik and Sadiq Khan, and one peer Lord Nazir Ahmad. With David Cameron and Nick Clegg forming a coalition government in 2010 Baroness Sayeeda Warsi joined the cabinet and was made Chairperson of the Conservative Party and Sajjad Karim was a Member of the European Parliament. Other influential Pakistani politicians are Qassim Afzal a senior member of the Liberal Democrat Party and Salma Yaqoob is significant figure in the Respect Party (Perlez 2007, Travis 2008).

There are also a number of long distance nationalists based in the UK. The Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) was a secular pro-independence organization founded in 1977 in Birmingham by Amanullah Khan and Maqbool Butt, and initiated an insurgency in the summer of 1988. The Kashmiri diaspora funded the organization, supplied it with personnel and leadership. It orchestrated a lobbying campaign in Britain and the United States in order to influence their respective governments. In the 2005 election in Britain the JKLF extracted concessions from the Labour Party on Kashmir in return for mobilizing the Kashmiri vote in key inner city constituencies of Luton, Bradford, Birmingham and Manchester. Muttahida Qaumi Mahaz (MQM) leader is in self-imposed exile in the UK and leads the party from its headquarters in Edgware, Middlesex. Also Hayrbiyar Marri the Baluch separatist leader is based in London.

As Pakistanis in the US develop roots they have begun to involve themselves in the political process however their relative newness, lack of concentration in particular localities and the fact that many are not born in the USA has meant that their attempts have not been successful. Pakistanis raise funds for both of the main political parties, Democrats and Republicans, are involved in voter registration and political awareness campaigns and candidates unsuccessfully stood for state senate in Brooklyn, New York and City Council and Community Boards. These local public offices do not require a candidate to be a born US citizen (only the President and the VP are required to be born citizens) (Qutabshahi 2008). There are also a number of organisations that lobby the White House and Congress; Association of Pakistani Physicians of North America (APPNA) has a political lobbying organisation Pakistani-American Public Affairs Committee, Pakistani American Leadership Centre was instrumental in setting up the Congressional Pakistan Caucus (<http://www.pal-c.org/pkamericans.html>) and the Islamic organisation such as the American Muslim Alliance, American Muslim Council and Muslim Public Affairs Committee (Najam 2006: 74, Cesari 2004:81-4). Generally Pakistanis vote has been divided with affluent Pakistanis have in the past supported the Republicans due to their sharing of conservative values and the belief that Republican administrations were more favourable to Pakistan than a Democrat one. In the 2000 elections many Pakistanis

voted for the Republicans and they were subsequently disillusioned with their policies.

There are also a number of long distant nationalists operating within the beltway lobbying Congress. Sindhi American Political Action committee, Sindh Monitor promote the concerns of Sindh, Baloch separatists, Baloch Society of North America, American Friends of Baluchistan and Kashmiris activists from both India and Pakistan such as Kashmir American Council.

Conclusion

There are a number of important structural and policy differences between the UK and the US, which has an impact on the Pakistani diaspora in the respective countries. The fact the Census in the UK has a category that recognises Pakistanis as well as Muslim allows for the enumeration of the social profile of the community. In the United States Pakistanis, nor Muslim for that matter, are a recognised category in the census therefore do not have a specific ethnic recognition in social policy. Unlike the Indian diaspora, which was recognised as distinct ethnic category in the 1980 census and in 1982 were recognised as a socially disadvantaged group, receiving the same preference as Blacks and Hispanics, competing for government contracts (Helweg 1990: 72). There are also distinct differences in housing patterns between the diaspora in the two countries. In the UK they are located in enclaves, which are predominantly Pakistani, or specially Kashmiri, and in the US while there are enclaves they are not exclusively Pakistani and a considerable number are dispersed in suburbia. This is a reflection of the human capital difference between the diaspora in the two countries. While the educational profile is improving in the UK the tail is still long. Together these various factors in the UK feed into the development of social policy, which recognised the Pakistani community as a disadvantage community while in the US they have very little visibility in relation to social policy. This has allowed Pakistanis in Britain to develop a network of local organisation to service the community which has intersected with business and religious networks. Together this has allowed them to exert some political significance at the local level and now at the national level. This political clout then feeds back into the community in numerous ways accelerating change in the community. In contrast Pakistanis in the US have not yet been able to transfer their associational capacity, cultural, religious and professional into political influence. They are less established than their counterpart in Britain and with time will make inroad into the political sphere.

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