

## INFORMATION TO USERS

**This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.**

**The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.**

- 1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.**
- 2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.**
- 3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.**
- 4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.**
- 5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.**

**University  
Microfilms  
International**

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106  
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

8001559

MALIK, IFTIKHAR HAIDEN  
A STUDY OF THE ACCULTURATION OF THE  
PAKISTANIS IN SOUTH-EAST MICHIGAN IN  
REFERENCE TO THREE VARIABLES: FAMILY,  
PROFESSION AND ETHNICITY.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1979

University  
Microfilms  
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

A STUDY OF THE ACCULTURATION OF THE PAKISTANIS IN  
SOUTH-EAST MICHIGAN IN REFERENCE TO THREE VARIABLES:  
FAMILY, PROFESSION AND ETHNICITY

by

Iftikhar Haider Malik

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English

1979

## ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE ACCULTURATION OF THE PAKISTANIS IN  
SOUTH-EAST MICHIGAN IN REFERENCE TO THREE  
VARIABLES: FAMILY, PROFESSION AND ETHNICITY.

By

Iftikhar Haider Malik

The Pakistanis in the U.S. are a relatively recent and a small community. The present study is designed to review their acculturation in mainstream American culture with special reference to the three variables: Family, Profession and Ethnicity. The author has selected the Pakistani community residing in the South-Eastern part of Michigan for this case study. The area includes both urban and rural features: from the slums of Detroit to well-known campuses like Michigan State University and University of Michigan.

Besides a sizeable number of the students, quite a few Pakistanis are engaged in many professions in this area. One meets Pakistani physicians, engineers, lawyers and businessmen working in different capacities in this part of the state. The Pakistani unskilled workers, likewise, are engaged in all sorts of unskilled or semi-skilled jobs which help them interact with many Americans. There are some Pakistani businessmen in this part of Michigan who run small party stores or sell ethnic foods.

Most of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan, who

have been naturalized, are, generally, married and live very settled lives with their families. The students are, mostly bachelors and make the bulk of unskilled labor.

A majority of the members of the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan belong to the province of Punjab, or come from Karachi area in Pakistan. The Pathans from the Frontier Province are third on the list in context of their number. As regards the other two provinces of Pakistan--Sind and Baluchistan--the representation is very meagre. Only a few Sindhis of Baluchi descent, while two Baluchis from Baluchistan itself, represent that part of Pakistan in Michigan. The Punjabis in Michigan are on an increase and are replacing the Muhajirs--the Urdu-speaking people from Karachi--as the largest group of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan. Despite the diversity in the ethnic origins, the largest community members come from the urban areas of Pakistan.

The number of the students is on a decrease while the number of the other professionals is on a steady increase. An average Pakistani in this part of the U.S. passes through three different stages in his acculturation, which correspond with the three different periods in his stay. His religious affiliations, also, help him in the selection or rejection of many American cultural norms, while his habits and attitudes undergo a cultural change. His attitudes towards Americans, Pakistanis, his motherland and towards women change quite a bit and he plays a very active role in the

evolution and development of a Pakistani-American culture, mentioned as a third culture in the present study. The extent of his/her role in the third culture, owes to all the three variables construed for the present study.

IN HONOR OF MY PARENTS

Mr. and Mrs. Ghulam Rabbani Malik

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout my research, many individuals have helped me kindly in many different ways and I am deeply indebted to all of them. My special thanks for my advisor, Dr. Victor M. Howard, Chairman of American Studies Program at MSU, who has afforded me with inspiration and encouragement in his own dynamic way. His patience and considerate guidance have been unending. Professor Howard spent countless hours from his precious time in going through the different scripts of my dissertation and provided all sorts of editorial help.

Then, Dr. David D. Anderson of the University College, Dr. John Appel from ATL Department and Dr. Douglas T. Miller from the History Department were kind enough to sit on my advisory committee and deserve my sincere appreciation. I owe my thanks to Dr. John Useem from the Sociology Department for his help during the initial stage of my research. My respectable friends and teachers at MSU like Professor William T. Ross, Director of the Asian Studies Center, Professor Surgeet Singh Dulai from the Humanities Department, Professor Harold Marcus of History Department and Professor Fauzi Najjar from the Department of Social Science always provided me a moral support whenever I needed it the most.

I owe my gratitude to all the friends in the English Department of MSU as well as in the International Section



of the University Library.

My sincere thanks are for all the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan who cooperated with me very enthusiastically. I acknowledge my thanks to Anwar Khattak, Mr. and Mrs. Kari-mullah, Dr. and Mrs. Akhtar, Ehsan, Mashori, Jamal, Naseem, Asif, Akbar, Sumbal, Dr. Aurengzeb, Alaf Khan, Ashraf Khan, Zaheer and Mushtaq. My non-Pakistani friends like Cleemputa (Belgium), Habibis (Afghanistan), Shumses and Siddiquis (India), Hasan and Omar (Jordan), Kamal (Egypt), Sami (Palestine), deserve my equal thanks for their sincere thoughts for their friend.

I owe my thanks to my colleagues, students and friends at the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, and in particular Professor Ahmad Hasan Dani, who always provided me with a fatherly affection. I fully acknowledge that the present study has been possible only through the financial help of the Asia Foundation. I thank the staff of the Foundation both here in the U.S. as well as in Pakistan. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Michael R. Thorburn for his sincere efforts to make my stay in the U.S. more fruitful and useful for me.

I sincerely thank Ms. Janice Gee for her painstaking efforts in getting the dissertation typed properly within a short time.

Last but not least my sincere thanks for my beloved wife, Nighat, who proved more than a life-companion for me with all her hard work patience and encouragement.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF MAPS	viii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION: THE CONCEPTS OF THIRD CULTURE AND ACCULTURATION.....	1
Third Culture.....	2
Acculturation.....	4
Studies of Acculturation.....	7
Purpose of Study.....	12
Methodology.....	13
Definition of the Basic Terms.....	15
Scheme of Chapters.....	16
II. PAKISTAN REVISITED.....	30
Geographic and Historical Background.....	30
Religion.....	35
Rural and Urban Life in Pakistan.....	37
Family.....	39
Profession.....	41
Ethnicity.....	43
The Pathans.....	44
The Punjabis.....	46
The Baluchis.....	48
The Sindhis.....	50
III. YOU CAME A LONG WAY.....	54
Classification of the Pakistanis in the U.S.....	64
The Pakistani Community in South-East Michigan.....	68
The Distribution of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan.....	73
IV. EARLY PHASE IN ACCULTURATION.....	78
Historical Retrospective.....	78
The Images of America in a Pakistani Mind.....	80
Early Cultural Shock.....	86
The Variables and Early Cultural Experiences.....	96

	Page
V. MIDDLE PHASE AND PARTICIPATION IN THE THIRD CULTURE.....	103
Definition and Traits of "The Third Culture".....	103
Categorization of the Pakistanis on the Basis of Their Ideological Outlooks.....	107
Social Interactions of the Pakistanis.....	111
Mobility Among the Pakistanis.....	113
Contacts with Pakistan.....	115
Attitudes Towards America.....	118
Attitudes Towards Other Pakistanis in South-East Michigan.....	123
Attitudes Towards Women.....	115
VI. THE FINAL PHASE AND THE COMPLETING OF ACCULTURATION.....	128
Changes in Daily Life.....	129
Neighborhood and Cultural Change.....	133
Attitudes Towards Pakistan.....	136
Mutual Relationships.....	140
Attitude Towards America.....	142
Women and Acculturation.....	149
VII. CONCLUSION.....	154
Appendices.....	
Explanatory Note.....	166
Questionnaire No. 1.....	168
Questionnaire No. 2.....	171
List of Respondents.....	180
Bibliography.....	185

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1.	The Estimated Population of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan (Adults only).....	19
2.	The Division of the Pakistanis Community on the Basis of Marital Status.....	20
3.	The Distribution of the Pakistanis Community on the Basis of Profession.....	21
4.	The Distribution of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan on the Basis of Their Urban/Rural Backgrounds.....	22
5.	The Classification of the Pakistanis Professionals (non-student) on the Basis of their Urban/Rural Origins.....	22
6.	The Classification of the Pakistanis Skilled Professionals on the Basis of Their Urban/Rural Origins.....	23
7.	The Classification of the Pakistanis Un-skilled (non-student) Labor on the Basis of Their Urban/Rural Origin.....	24
8.	The Distribution of the Spouses of the Pakistanis on the Basis of Their National Origins.....	24
9.	The Distribution of the Pakistanis Students on the Basis of Their Rural/Urban and Age Grouping.....	25
10.	The Division of the Pakistanis Community in South-East Michigan on the Basis of Ethnicity.....	26
11.	The Division of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan on the Basis of Their Ideological Outlooks.....	27
12.	The Classification of the Pakistanis Skilled Professionals on the Basis of Their Ideological Outlooks.....	28
13.	The Classification of the Pakistanis Students in South-East Michigan on the Basis of Their Ideological Outlook.....	29
14.	The Classification of the Spouses of the Pakistanis on the Basis of Their Ideological Outlooks.....	29
15.	The Classification of the Pakistani Blue-Collar Labor on the Basis of Ideological Outlook.....	29

LIST OF MAPS

<u>Map</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1.	A General Map of Pakistan .....	11
2.	A General Map of Michigan.....	31

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Concepts of Third Culture and Acculturation

The following pages deal with pluralistic aspect of the American society, where ethnicity and ethnic studies are the prominent features. Besides, an attempt has been made to define the sociological concepts like Third Culture and Acculturation. Further on, the studies of acculturation similar to the present one have been recounted. The present chapter also touches upon the concept of acculturation, regarding the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan.

America has never been a homo-cultural entity. The waves of emigrants from different parts of the world have made American society a multi-ethnic society. Since the early 17th century, the Anglo-Saxon culture has been the main, dominant mainstream culture for generations to come in future. The migrants from other European or non-European countries had to accept many traits of the dominant culture but the pockets of the sub-culture persist until today as historical realities. The diversity in the ethno-cultural heritage of the United States became a focal point for the discipline of Sociology. Since then, the relationship between the dominant American culture and its ethnic counterparts has provided a multi-fold theme to a countless number of sociologists and anthropologists.

After the turn of the this century, historians and sociologists have introduced many theories relating to the experiences of the Americans minorities. (Gordon, 1964: Handlin, 1957). The first theory is that of Anglo-confirmity, which has been used to describe the relationship of the new immigrants with the already settled immigrants. It assumed the complete assimilation of the non-Anglo minorities by the mainstream American culture. The second theory is of the melting pot which acknowledges American culture to be combined of diversified ethnic cultures and has capacity to incorporate different new sub-cultures. This theory has been held for a long time until it was challenged and replaced by the theory of cultural pluralism which not only acknowledges the contribution of the ethnic cultures into mainstream American cultures, but also affirms the persistent survival of such cultures. (Glaser, 1963).

### Third Culture

The relationship between dominant and subordinate cultures, or between pioneer and follower groups has provided an impressive theoretical framework across the world. The search for identity in the wake of the nationalistic movements in the Third World reinforces the need for definition and exploration of cross-ethnic human contacts. Similarly, on a individual basis, the zeal for locating family history has very genuine sociological and psychological foundations. Likewise, the inter-dependence between the developed and less developed nations of the world is

not merely a political relationship of convenience, but rather has become a basic human necessity. The migration of groups of people from different parts of the world to the rich countries in search of a better future has also contributed in the heterogeneity of the local cultures. The new languages, food and dress styles, religions and numerous customs have been introduced in such cultures. The local cultures in the rich countries, being in a powerful position due to technology and science, pose as patrons. In the same way, many scholars, businessmen and scientists from the western countries visit the developing countries and come into contact with different sort of cultures. Such sort of cultural relationship leads to the evolution of a 'Third Culture', a term used by the Useems in their studies of such cross-cultural contacts in South-East Asia. Professors John and Ruth Useem, faculty members at Michigan State University, have defined the concept of Third Culture as following:

By the "third culture" is meant the patterns which are created, shared and learned by men of the two different societies who are personally engaged in the process of linking their societies or sections thereof, to each other. (J. Useem, 1966, p. 146).

We...define it broadly as the behavior patterns created, shared and learned by men of different societies who are in the process of relating their societies or sections thereof, to each other. Put on the widest social scale, one can refer to a world-encompassing third culture and, taken as a whole, one can view it as the common social heritage of mankind. Seen in its particular aspects, it includes the shared understanding of such disparate groupings as



the United Nations, the European common market, the ecumenical movement of the Christian Church, the international exchange of students, international communities of scientists or artists, and the diplomatic community. (Useems, 1953, p. 169).

David Winter, a former graduate of Michigan State University, in his dissertation on American professors in Pakistani academic institutions borrowed the term of Third Culture from the Useems. He defined it as following:

The term "Third Culture" introduced by John and Ruth Useem refers to the culture of those who operate within more than one society at the same time. The emphasis here is upon the patterns of interaction and the cultural contexts rather than the social structure.... Their research on bi-national and international communities has isolated a number of cultural characteristics which emerge as people from several societies interact over a period of time. (Winter, 1968:3).

### Acculturation

The interaction of many cultural groups always leads to many cultural processes. The reception, acceptance or rejection of traits from the other culture, and acculturation or total assimilation are some of the stages in such cultural processes. The cultural historians have given detailed explanations of such terms and many case-studies have been undertaken to illuminate such theoretical conceptualization.

Most of these efforts have originated in the United States because of the heterogeneous nature of the American society. In this nation almost all of the two million citizens trace their origin to some other nation inhabited in some other part of the world. Almost every country in

the world is represented in the U.S., which makes it a nation of the nations. Excepting half a million population of native Americans, who are themselves a minority, all other Americans have their ancestral roots in different parts of the globe. The relationship among these different 'sub-nations' of the U.S. have led to a tremendous amount of sociological research. Concepts like acculturation and assimilation have undergone numerous theoretical treatments. The term, 'acculturation' is a neutral and "safe" term in the context of cross-cultural studies, as some of the following standard definitions will elaborate.

Acculturation refers to a groups' taking on elements (beliefs, values, practices) from the culture of another group. (It) has also been used as a synonym for socialization, the acquisition of ways of behaving and valuing by individuals. We reserve the word for the process of cultural change induced by contact with foreign cultures. Usually both cultures are changed. (Broom) (2:8, 499).

Acculturation is one of the sustaining processes whereby minorities are incorporated into the dominant culture. The term, when used to define a process, refers to the changes in individuals (and, if sharing the same experiences, groups of individuals) whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture.

The process...takes place on two levels: behavioral versus attitudinal or external and internal (in contemporary writing on acculturation). External acculturation is behavior in which material culture, everyday language and secular roles are acquired. (Marden) (7:34, 437).

The term acculturation is widely accepted among American anthropologists as referring to those changes set in motion by coming together of societies with different cultural traditions.

The term remains somewhat ambiguous but persistent usage gives it the meaning of cultural assimilation, or replacement of one set of cultural traits by another, as in reference to individuals in contact situations as more or less "acculturated."

As defined by Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits, as members of the Social Science Research Council, in 1935: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences) (9:21).

Sociologists and cultural anthropologists have described the processes and results of ethnic "meetings" under such terms as "assimilation" and "acculturation." Sometimes these terms have been used to mean the same thing; in other usages their meaning, rather than being identical, have overlapped. Sociologists are more likely to use "assimilation"; anthropologists have favored "acculturation" and have given it a narrower but generally consistent meaning. (Gordon) (4:61).

The process of learning a culture different from the one in which a person was originally raised is called acculturation. Learning the first cultures is sometimes called socialization, sometimes enculturation. Learning other cultures is called acculturation. The process of an outsider's being accepted as a genuine member of a new social group is called assimilation. One is acculturated to a culture, assimilated into a society. One process can occur without the other. (Berelson and Steiner) (1:646).

Thus the concept of acculturation records the relationship among the patterns of two different cultures. Or in other words, it will not be incorrect to attribute the evolution of a third culture to the process of acculturation in any given cross-cultural relationship.

### Studies of Acculturation

Ethnic studies, though a relatively recent phenomenon, has gathered considerable momentum since 1960s. Many articles monographs, dissertations and books have been written on the experiences of the ethnic groups in the U.S. The relatively small minorities, hitherto unknown have gained an equal place in the ethnic studies. The resurgence of this interest has actually followed that phase of American history which mostly revolved around the issues relating to immigration. In the 1950s, people like Oscar Handlin had added valuable collection in the American historiography on immigrants and their encounters in the New World. Once these immigrants were settled, their children started recollecting their roots in the Old World. Lately, the foreign students and scholars on big campuses have attracted the attention of many researchers. The trend seems to be growing. The ethnic studies in the U.S. is no more Europe oriented, rather has developed on a global scale, where Orientals, Asians, Africans and Latin Americans are being studied as distinct cultural societies or minorities, responsible for the multiplicity in the U.S. culture.

Studies of acculturation, other than cited above, are many and cover a wide field of academic interest. Sociological and anthropological studies on assimilation and acculturation include a variety of case-studies. For example, the studies have been made on the groups of Arab-Syrians, Chinese, Greeks Hindustani, Italian, Dutch, German, Black and Norwegian

people in the United States (Tannous; 1943; 264-271; Fong; 1969; 265-273; Treudley, 1949; 44-53; Dadabhay, 1954; 138-141; Gary, 1965, Campisi, 1968; 93-103; Caudill, 1952; Tauber, 1964; 42-50; Wittke, 1967 and Jonassen, 1949; 32-41). Most of these studies evidenced the persistence of ethnic cultures, despite an effective assimilation taking place. In addition to that, these cultural groups retained their cultural differences in one form or the other at the expense of being parts of a complete cultural wholesomeness.

Many recent studies of acculturation on the recent immigrant communities in the U.S. by their own scholars have witnessed the persistence of a sort of cultural continuity in a very un-American way. El-Kholy has done an extensive study of the Muslim Arabs in Dearborn and Toledo. (El-Khoy; 1966). His research was followed by that of Asif Wasfi, who tried to determine the native roots of the marriage customs among the Muslim Arabs in Dearborn. (Wasfi; 1964). The studies of Barbara Aswad from the Sociology Department at Wayne State University in Detroit being into limelight the life-styles of the different Arab communities in Greater Detroit area. An Arab student at Michigan State University did his research on the problems of the Saudi students in the U.S. (Jammaz, 1972). In recent years, another Arab student from Jordan submitted his doctoral dissertation on the spatial mobility and acculturation among the Muslim Arabs in Dearborn area. (Siryani, 1977). Similarly on other campuses in the United States studies by foreign

students on their native communities are being done. Pido's research on the Phillipnoes in a Midwestern town can be cited as an example. (Pido, 1977).

Besides researches treating the ethnic groups collectively, certain individuals from distant lands now have contributed to the ethnic studies by writing their autobiographies dealing with their experiences in the U.S. A Syrian Yankee is an account of a Syrian Arab who is settled in the United States and describes his rise from rags to riches. (Rizk, 1945). Similarly, "A Persian Yankee" is another account of an Iranian student who spent many years of his life for higher education in the United States and then returned to his country to assume an important position with the government. (Ali, 1969).

In our present study, the concept of acculturation has been used to describe the phenomenon where Pakistani culture interacts with its American counterpart in the American socio-cultural setting. It refers to American culture as a donor culture while the Pakistanis in the U.S. are its recipients. No doubt, it is a mutual relationship, but the influence of American culture is more of a dominating nature than that of the Pakistani culture, which in this part of the U.S. operates as a minority ethnic culture.

The present study attempts to assess the changes in the attitudes, habits and life-styles of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan, keeping in view the cultural diversity

and receptivity based on the familial, professional and ethnic backgrounds of the members in the community. The degree the Pakistanis reciprocate to the donor culture into the evolution of a third culture, is another simultaneous consideration in our present study.

The interaction of the American and Pakistani cultures in the American environment consciously pinpoints the existence of a third culture which we can roughly describe Pakistani-American sub culture.

In the following chapters of our study, the concept of acculturation covers the habits like dresses, food, recreation and attitudes like reception, rejection of certain American values, religiosity and ethnic consciousness etc. The present author has presupposed three stages in the stay of each and every Pakistani in the U.S., no matter his or her familial, professional or ethnic background might be. The first stages relates early period of stay covering arrival, early habits and the attitudes for the early three to four months. The individual enters in the second stage when once he or she has lived for three to four months in the U.S. and has gained some familiarity with the new environment. This stage shows a development of stability and self-recognition, once the early shock is gone. The third and final stage covers rest of the time, which generally starts from ninth or tenth month after the arrival of the individual in the U.S. By then he or she has developed associations and certain attitudes, which show the place of acculturation working, given the three variables.





Purpose of Study

- A. There has been an interest growing everytime to study the ethnic multiplicity of the nation, and particularly, the minorities, given in a cultural set-up. In the U.S., one finds this trend very much real and practical because of the hetero-ethnic nature of the American society.
- B. So far the Asians have not been treated that exhaustively like other ethnic minorities in the U.S. The Chinese and the Japanese have attracted some attention of a few scholars in proportion to other Asian ethnic groups in America. The Phillipnoes are the next on the list while the studies on the Arabs, Iranians and the people from the sub-continent are almost minimal. Some researchers on the Arabs have been done quite recently by a few Arab scholars, while the Indians, Pakistanis and the Iranians in America have not undergone any academic research so far. The reasons being their small numbers, plus their recent arrivals in the U.S.
- C. The present study is a modest and pioneer effort to look into the cultural experiences of the Pakistanis in the U.S. The Pakistani community in South-East Michigan has been selected as a case study, or better to say, a microcosm of the entire Pakistani community spread all over the U.S.
- D. Pakistan, like many other nations in the world, is comprised of many ethnic groups who derive their origin on

a geo-linguistic basis. The attitudes of these groups, shaped by special sub-cultural environments interact with the mainstream American culture in many different ways. Like any other Eastern society, with rural and agrarian population being in majority, Pakistani society is not that mobile. The urban centers are more modern and industrial than the rural ones. Religion plays a very dominant role along with an extended family system. Family is the main refuge for a Pakistani to get away from the frustrations in a new country. Created in the name of religion, Pakistan harbors the ideals of the Muslims in entire world, to be a true Islamic society in future. Despite that, many Pakistanis pay only lip service to their religion, but, still, never go out of the way to criticize it. Quite a few Pakistanis consider Islam as a complete policy. Similarly, the professional background, like academic standing, nature of the jobs and the knowledge of certain modern skills seem to be very determining variables in the daily lives of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan. In short, Family, Profession and Ethnicity play a very definitive role in bringing the cultural change in the habits and the attitudes of these community members.

#### Methodology

1. Observation and participation in the daily lives of the community members.

2. Collection of information through informal interviews, talks and some relevant study material.
3. The author received information about many people through a preliminary questionnaire which contains 60 questions. The questions are general in nature, while the intensive sort of information was sought through another interview schedule which has 162 questions. In addition to these questionnaires, the main channels of information were the personal contacts with the people in different areas of Michigan. The author attended scores of get-togethers, picnics, religious prayers, social meetings, family reunions and all other sorts of parties organized by the Pakistanis in all parts of South-East Michigan. The numerous travels to different places and an extensive use of telephone helped in collection of information. The exact number of the Pakistanis in this area is unknown, but it should not exceed 850 and similarly should not be lesser than 525. So a sampling was done on a random basis, so that variety of respondents could be reached. The travels in other parts of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota and South Dakota, helped tremendously in getting the strength for the arguments made in the present study. About 100 Pakistani respondents were reached through all the means listed above. All of them have been allotted serial numbers, to avoid the disclosure of their identity. So the numbers in the parentheses,

throughout the present study, stand for the individuals, whose positions are listed in the last part of the present dissertation.

The information was recorded on regular cards, and, sometimes, the tape-recording on the cassettes was used to assure the full authenticity of the information and evidence. All the respondents were enthusiastic about the research project and were very helpful in answering different questions in a very relaxed way. The author has avoided the use of data, figures or exhaustive models, so that the study should read with a consistent flow. A very inter-disciplinary approach has been adopted in the present study in order to cover different aspect of the theses.

The preliminary questionnaire and the following one, both, have been added in the appendix.

#### Definition of Basic Terms

Many terms, other than the concepts of "Third Culture" or "acculturation" have been used at different places in the present study and need precise definitions. Family, as the first variable stands not only for the institution of family in its Pakistani context, but also, represents the age factor. It stands for a differentiation among the Pakistanis on the basis of their age, marital status and ties with the remaining family members in Pakistan.

Similarly, "profession" has been used in its very under sense of the meaning. Any Pakistani studying or working in any capacity in South-East Michigan has been taken as a

professional. In other words, students, teachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, pharmacists, state employees, factory workers, Pakistanis working at odd jobs and even housewives have been taken as professionals.

The skilled professionals are the physicians, engineers, lawyers, pharmacists and teachers, while semi-skilled professionals are Pakistanis working in factories as members of blue collar labor. Simultaneously, Pakistani students working part-time, other laborers like janitors, parking-lot attendants or babysitters have been considered unskilled professionals in our present study. The semi-skilled as well as unskilled Pakistani personnel, represent Pakistani blue collar labor in South-East Michigan.

Pakistani society, back home, has a clear cut ethnic division, based on geo-linguistic variations. The four provinces of Pakistan, with some overlapping, derive their origins from different ethnic groups, living in these areas. Along with an ethnic division, the Pakistani society includes the rural, tribal and urban variations, which play equally important roles in the cultural changes among the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan.

### Scheme of the Chapters

Chapter 1 is a brief study of the concepts of third culture and acculturation. It, simultaneously, touches upon the similar studies done on certain other ethnic groups in the U.S. It serves as an introduction to our study, too.

The second chapter is an introduction of Pakistan in its historic and cultural perspectives. The study of the three variables has been dealt with in the same chapter along with a survey of the rural and urban spectrum of the Pakistani society.

Chapter 3 discovers the origins of the Pakistani migration to the foreign lands through the ages. The relationship between the people of the sub-continent and the Western Hemisphere has been ascertained through the past few centuries. This chapter, also, deals with the general overview of the Pakistani community in the U.S. and touches upon the certain features of the community under study. Chapter 2 is an effort to look into the community on the basis of the three variables.

Chapter 4 is an effort to encompass the initial experiences of the Pakistanis in the U.S. The pace of acculturation, which is naturally slow, has been ascertained in the habits and the attitudes of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan.

Chapter 5 deals with the second phase in acculturation of the Pakistanis, which starts soon after the early cultural crisis is over. The evolution of a third culture and the participation by the Pakistanis in it make another theme in this chapter. The stability in the habits and attitudes has been assessed among different groups of Pakistanis. Their loyalties to their own cultural institutions in a new socio-cultural environment are the main topics in the Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 is an effort to see the process of acculturation in its third and final stage, when the community members feel completely adjusted in America and pass through the consolidation in their habits and attitudes, which have changed tremendously since they arrived first.

Chapter 7 is the Conclusion, and is a summary of some observations made in the previous chapters of the present study.

Table 1.

The Estimated Total Population of the Pakistanis  
in South-East Michigan. (Adults only)<sup>1</sup>

---

Lansing	55
Ann Arbor	45
Jackson and Kalamazoo	40
Detroit Area	<u>610</u>
Total	750

<sup>1</sup>The sources for the information in these tables are varied like personal observation, contacts, participation and also information provided by the foreign students offices on different campuses and by the local Pakistanis organizations or individuals.



Table 2

The Division of the Pakistani Community on the Basis  
of Martial Status.

Approximate Total = 750

---

Married	500
Single	250
Males	545
Females	205
	<u>750</u>

Table 3

The Distribution of the Pakistani Community on the  
Basis of Profession.

Approximate Total = 750

---

Students (including part-time)	160
Skilled Professionals	200
Semi-Skilled Personnel	190
Housewives	200

Table 4

The Distribution of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan  
on the Basis of their Urban/Rural Backgrounds.

Urban	400
Rural/Tribal	350
Total	750

Table 5

The Classifications of the Pakistani Professionals (non-  
student) on the Basis of their Urban/Rural Origins.

Urban	200
Rural/Tribal	190
Total	390

Table 6

The Classification of the Pakistani Skilled Professionals  
on the Basis of their Rural/Urban Origins.

Urban	130
Rural/Tribal	70
Total	200

Table 7

The Classification of the Pakistani Un-Skilled (non-student) Labor on the Basis of their Urban/Rural Origins.

Urban	70
Rural/Tribal	120
Total	190

Table 8

The Distribution of the Spouses of the Pakistanis on the Basis of their National Origins.

Pakistanis	160
Americans	33
Others	7
Total	200

Table 9

Distribution of the Pakistani Students on the Basis of their Rural/Urban  
and Age Grouping

<u>Province</u>	<u>Rural of Tribal</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>20-30</u>	<u>30-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>Sub-Total</u>
Sind	8	60	53	12	3 =	68
Punjab	20	47	52	10	5 =	67
Frontier	10	13	15	6	2 =	23 25
Baluchistan	2	--	--	1	1 =	2
					Total	<u>160</u>

Table 10

The Division of the Pakistani Community in South-East  
Michigan on the Basis of Ethnicity.

Approximate Total = 750

Sind	355
Punjab	350
Frontier	43
Baluchistan	2
	<hr/>
	750
	<hr/>

Table 11

The Division of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan on the  
Basis of their Ideological Outlooks

Approximate Total = 750

Religious Conservatives	225
Liberals	45
Moderates	270
Total	750



Table 12

The Classification of the Pakistani Skilled Professionals  
on the Basis of their Ideological Outlooks

Religious Conservatives	80
Liberals	20
Moderates	100
Total	200

Table 13

The Classification of the Pakistani Students in South-  
East Michigan on the Basis of their Ideological Outlooks

Religious Conservatives	40
Liberals	40
Moderates	80
Total	160

Table 14

The Classification of the Spouses of the Pakistanis on  
the Basis of their Ideological Outlooks

Religious Conservatives	140
Liberals	5
Moderates	55
Total	200

Table 15

The Classification of the Pakistani Blue-Collar Labor  
on the Basis of Ideological Outlooks

Religious Conservatives	130
Liberals	20
Moderates	40
Total	190

## Chapter 2

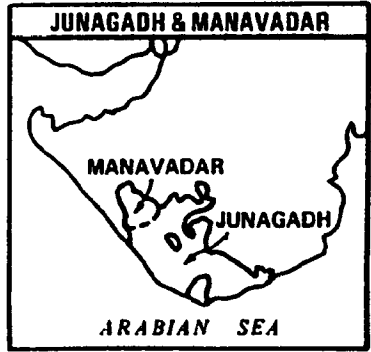
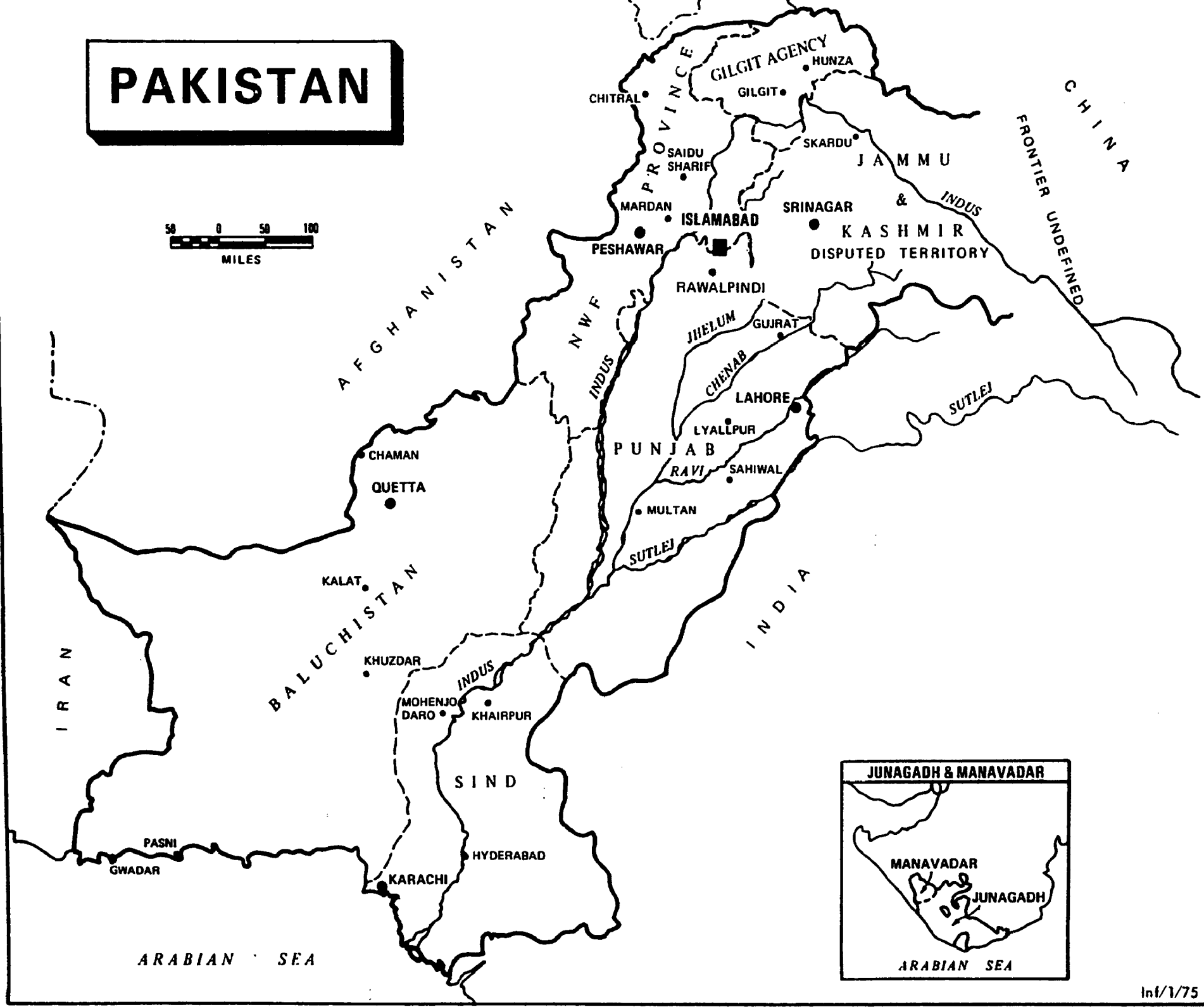
### Pakistan Revisited

This chapter will characterize country and the people of Pakistan in order to estimate the socio-cultural background of the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan. Our survey deals briefly with the history, social structure and the different sub-cultures of Pakistan. The three variables-- Family, Profession and Ethnicity--are described in their Pakistani perspective to determine their respective roles in the acculturation of the Pakistanis in this part of the U.S.

#### Geographical and Historical Background

Pakistan--the land of the pure people--is a Persian word, first conceived by Chaudhary Rehmat Ali in 1933, while he was studying at Cambridge University in England. He was a Muslim student from the Indo-Pak sub-continent, who believed in a separate country for the Muslims in India. (Aziz, 1967; 55). The word "Pakistan" denoted the identity of the Muslims as a separate nation from the other religious groups in the Indian sub-continent. Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947, with the partition of British India into two independent states of India and Pakistan. In December, 1971, Pakistan underwent another partition when its eastern wing, formerly known as East Pakistan, became the independent state of

# PAKISTAN



Bangladesh. The territory of Pakistan stretches from the Himalayas in the extreme North to the Indian Ocean in the South. Pakistan is bordered by India on the East; Afghanistan and Iran on the West; China on the North and the Arabian Sea on the South. The U.S.S.R. is only 20 miles away from the Northern edges of Pakistani frontiers in the Himalayas.

Pakistan comprises of four main geographic regions, known as the North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP), Baluchistan, Punjab and Sind. One third of the disputed territory of Kashmir and some tribal areas along the borders with Afghanistan and Iran, known as the Wild West of Pakistan, also, comprise geographic units of the country.

River Indus, one of the mightiest rivers in the world, stems from Tibet, flows through the mountaneous terrain of Baltistan and the NWFP, brings richness to the plains of Punjab and Sind, and empties into the Arabian Sea. (Fairly, 1965). Thus, it makes the life-line of this young country. Pakistan is a land of diverse geographic features and climates. The high snow-clad mountains in the North, green valleys in the steppes of the hills, lush green plains are joined by the barren mountains of Hindu Kush and Suleiman and the arid deserts of Sind and Baluchistan. The weather is mostly tropical and dry. The historic Khyber Pass lies a few miles away from the city of Peshawer and has served as a gateway to the sub-continent for scores of centuries. The hordes of invaders from Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran

used the Pass in their expeditions into India through the ages. Karachi, deep in the South, is one of the busiest ports in the world while historic cities like Peshawer, Lahore, Multan and Quetta play their roles as the main urban centers of Pakistan.

The Pakistanis are very much conscious of their rich history which stretches back many centuries and is comprised of numerous cross-cultural undercurrents. The famous Indus Valley Civilization was contemporary with its counterparts in Mesopotamia and China. (Wheeler, 1950). The Indo-Aryan culture provided the basic format of the cultural heritage of Pakistan. The invasion of India by Alexander the Great, in 327 B.C. proved a vital factor in the evolution of the well-known Gandhara civilization in the ancient history of Pakistan. The Greco-Bactrian culture, developing during the golden years of the Buddhist past in India, made this area the cradle of the intellectual, artistic and religious pursuits. The Persians, the Greeks, the Kushans, the Huns, the Arabs, the Turks, the Mongols and the Afghans contributed to the cultural and ethnic multiplicity of old Pakistan.

Islam had arrived in this region long before the Muslim Arabs conquered Sind in 711 A.D. This religion has been spreading in the northern parts of the sub-continent with the vigorous efforts of Muslim traders and other travellers from other parts of t

Muslim world. The conquest of Sind by the Arabs started the long phase of Muslim rule in India. The Muslims ruled the sub-continent, until the British replaced them as rulers in the 18th and 19th century. The Muslim rule of India, spread over many dynasties, became the cultural heritage of the Muslims in the sub-continent. These different ruling dynasties of the India Muslims originated in Central Asia and Afghanistan, from whence they moved into India as conquerers. Their invasions and conquests of India added new dimensions in the ethnic, cultural and linguistic realities of the Muslim society residing in the sub-continent. Arabic, Turkish and Persian were the religious as well as the official languages during the Muslim rule in India. (Ahmed, 1969). The local regional languages like Pushto, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Baluchi interacted with these and thus, gradually, caused the emergence of a new language known as Urdu, which is presently the national language of Pakistan. The evolution of Urdu is an after-effect of Muslims' invasions on India.

The ethnic and cultural heritage of Pakistan finds its roots in diversity. Despite the provincial, linguistic and sub-cultural variations, the mainstream of Pakistan culture is an admixture of many Indian and non-Indian values. Traditionally, the modernization of the area started with the consolidation of the British rule in India. Since early 19th century, the European interaction with the Hindus and the Muslims resulted in different tensions, strains and reactions

on the part of the Indians. The Hindus were quick to adjust themselves to the new changes, but the Muslims, even after a long time, could not overcome the shock suffered by the loss of power. The Hindus benefited from western institutions introduced by the British in India, while the Muslims lagged behind. Due to their agrarian and martial background, the Indian Muslims took time in their adjustment to the changing exigencies.

The geographical location of the Muslim majority provinces in the sub-continent played a very decisive role in this legacy. These provinces, which now make Pakistan, were kept behind intentionally by the British government, so that the Royal Army could have maximum enrollment from these areas. Except for a few roads connecting the army posts, or a few buildings to house British officers, there was no other significant development in these areas for many years. The British, because of their fondness for Punjab, did improve the irrigation system in this province and opened a few more institutions of public interest. But the rest of the areas were deprived of the blessings of the British Raj. So the traditionalism, religious orthodoxy and overall a poor economy remained the explicit features of life in the area. Since Independence, the situation has improved to a great extent in the urban centers, but the rural Pakistan persists tragically with the same out-moded traditions.

### Religion

Pakistan is a Muslim country in which more than 98% of the population believe in Islam. Islam, as we saw earlier



was introduced into this area long ago from Central Asia and Middle East. At the present time, it is the state religion of Pakistan and considered to be the main determining factor in the evolution of this country. (Pinzada, 1963). Islam plays a very vital role in the individual, national and international life of a Pakistani. The Holy Quran, the teachings of the Holy Prophet and the lifestyles of his companions are the basic guidelines for a Pakistani Muslim. To a practising Muslim, Islam, unlike many other religions, is more than a religion in its conventional meaning: it is, rather, a complete code of life. Many political parties in every Muslim country base their programs on Islamic ideology. Islam in context of the sub-continent is a living reality. (Zaman, 1964).

Islam is such a reality in Pakistan that even the strong pressure groups like the military and the civil service cannot get away from it easily. Islam is also a source of mobility for many Pakistanis. Pakistanis make the largest skilled and non-skilled labor force in the Arab countries and their revenues sent home make the lion's share in Pakistani foreign exchange. Pakistan has been sending one of the largest groups of the Muslim pilgrims to the holy places in Saudi Arabia annually. The international organizations working for the propagation of Islam are mostly located in Karachi and Lahore. The Pakistanis living in foreign lands are always in the forefront of the Muslim organizations overseas.

### Rural and Urban Life in Pakistan

A majority of the Pakistanis live in rural areas and are engaged in agriculture or cattle-grazing. The tribal areas in the NWFP and Baluchistan, and the semi-nomadic people in the deserts of Sind, are, more or less, rural people like their counterparts in the adjoining areas. Although schools have sprung up all over the country, the life is still traditional. For many, it is hard.

The strong family system with arranged marriages, and the superiority of the community over the individual, are common features of rural Pakistan. The hard work from dawn to dusk, poor food and evening chats with other folks over a "huqqa" are the realities of a peasant's life. The wives spend their time in the house, cleaning, cooking, nourishing the babies or talking with the neighbors. The village well or water spring is the main center of information or gossip for rural women. The village professionals work for different needs of the community and are part and parcel of the simple rural life. The village entertainers with their folk songs and traditional musical instruments bring color to the different social or athletic festivities. A few dams and irrigational canals with an industrialized agriculture have brought prosperity in certain areas for some special groups of the people, but the greater part of rural Pakistan persists in the same patterns. "Mullah", the religious leader, "Pir", the spiritual leader, and the landlord, locally called as "Khan", "Chaudhary", or "Wadera", are de facto in the rural society.

The landed aristocracy was the favorite of the British Raj in the sub-continent and was its staunch supporter. Long after the Independence, those landlords, still, decide the major issues facing the nation. Because of the diminishing value of the land, many rural youths have been joining the army to find an alternative source of subsistence, and the lucky ones have been able to find jobs overseas.

Urban Pakistan boasts educational, cultural and industrial centers like Peshawer, Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Lyallpur, Lahore, Hyderabad, Quetta and Karachi. Most of these cities have existed since ancient times and represent very rich cultural traditions. Being the focal points of modernization, these cities draw people from the rural and tribal areas of the country, who now experience a different sort of life. While in the cities, these rural folks prefer to associate with friends from home. The regional associations continue as the main channels of mutual relationship. Laborers and soldiers, even the students from the same rural areas, tend to feel more comfortable with one another. The urban people have their own attitudes and stereotypes about the rural people. The rural people are very conscious of such stereotypes and feel insecure in the new environment. Such "community" affiliation is voluntary, and it is strongest in cities or countries most distant from home.

With this overview of the Pakistani society, we can touch upon the three variables construed for our present

study. Family, Profession and Ethnicity play very important roles in the socio-cultural processes of the life of an individual. They are decisive factors in the determination of the role a Pakistani has to play within or outside his country. The evaluation of his attitudes towards his own or foreign societies is impossible without looking at family, professional and ethnic influences. The Pakistanis living abroad share many things together, but because of these three factors, an observer can discern informal groups among them. Such groups originate in an open atmosphere and are not hostile or antagonistic to each other. They facilitate the differentiation and recognition among the members of the community as they build up their attitudes towards the new socio-cultural environment, they might be living in. The survey of these variables in their Pakistani perspective will help us in the appreciation of the acculturation of the Pakistani community in South-Eastern Michigan.

### Family

Like all other Western societies, family is a very basic unit in the Pakistani social structure. The mutual dependence among the family members is always on the increase because of inter-family matrimonial relationships. The marriages are mostly arranged with the consent of the elders who wield enormous influence in such decisions. Age means wisdom, respect, and many times authority also. Thus, the married ones are

considered more mature and balanced. Even in big cities in Pakistan, where the traditionalism should exercise less control, it is extremely difficult for a bachelor to find a place to live. His education or position cannot guarantee him a place to live in any area where most of the people are married couples with children.

Marriage is a very limited institution in Pakistan, which brings more relatives together, relieves parents of their obligations towards their youths and stabilizes the institution of family. It is not uncommon for a young rural youth to hurry back to his village or town on vacation with the intention of getting married by putting some pressure on the parents. Marriage is considered a very positive force for an individual in safeguarding his moral conduct by putting checks and balances on his sexual aspirations. In Pakistan there is no dating or pre-marital sex permitted, so marriage is the only way out for sexual fulfillment. Marriage in Pakistan means the end of an era of mobility and the start of an era of balanced stability in the life of an individual who changes from a youth to a man overnight. So the married people, with the lapse of time, attain more honor and respect in their community.

Age is another criterion which determines the status and respect of an individual among the rest of the community members. In the tribal and rural societies of Pakistan, aged people have the final say in the communal affairs. Extended family-system, under the hegemony of these elders, plays a very conservative role

much to the disgust of the young generation. The family traditions are passed on to the succeeding generations with a deep sense of devotion and with a kind of religious reinforcement. Simultaneously, the family is a psychological balm for a troubled individual. With a dutiful sense of sacrifice, the members of the family relate to one another.

On the other hand, the extended family system, because of education and a faster mobility, seems to be losing its sway in many areas of Pakistan. Many marriages, without interference from the elders, are taking place outside the family orbits. Foreign-educated Pakistanis frown at many traditions like the arranged marriage system. The women have been given more educational facilities and in cities are working along with men as colleagues. Despite that, the influence of family as an institution for the development of attitudes in an individual is still not seriously disputed.

### Profession

Professional background is a universal reality in the determination of the socio-cultural attitudes of any individual in any given society. The Pakistanis are no exception in this regard. Social classes are based on the professional pursuits to fulfill the economic needs. Thus the professions have created a social stratification, which is quite different from the rigid caste system prevalent among the Hindus.

The classification of the Pakistani society on the basis of profession can be divided between agricultural and non-agricultural sections. Each of these sections is further divided

into groups like landlords, peasants, tenants, skilled or non-skilled labor in the rural areas, likewise, educated, non-educated, doctors, teachers, physicians, engineers, lawyers, politicians, clerks, artists and clergy in the urban areas. With schools and colleges opening everywhere, education has entered as one of the major focal points in the determination of such classification.

Enlistment in the army has been confined to the farmers in the rural areas of Pakistan, who have formed the bulk of the armies of the previous Indian rulers. The Pathans, certain sections in the Punjabi society and many Baluchis from Sind and Baluchistan were lured into the British Army by organized propaganda.

The British government of India tried to convince the Indian Muslims of being a martial race, whose place unlike Hindu commercial class was in the military. The British depended heavily on the Muslims enlistment in their army and they applied an open discrimination in the recruitments. They preferred rural people over urban ones, and the Muslims over the Hindus in selecting the Indians for their Army. They, regularly shunned off certain Indians from military jobs on the basis of this preferential attitude towards rural and tribal Muslims. This discrimination and differentiation went on for many decades during the British rule on India and tragically helped evolve certain stereotypes among the Indians. Since Independence with more educational facilities at hand, the negative images among the different groups seem to be diminishing slowly.

## Ethnicity

Islam does not recommend any distinction based on color race or tribe. Piety is the main touchstone for a Muslim's nearness to God. The Pakistanis, being Muslims in the majority, generally tend to believe in this basic injunction of Islam, but with the lapse of time and because of the lack of mutual communication, ethnicity is a very strong reality in Pakistan. Interestingly, the ethnic division in Pakistan is clearly defined in its geographic context. The four main provinces of Pakistan house the four major ethnic groups along with some overlapping which is present in form of some diverse population groups in urban centers. With the Partition of 1947, one of the world's largest migrations took place in the sub-continent. Pakistan received the Muslim immigrants from the Indian provinces, who generally preferred to settle in cities rather than in small villages.

The Muslims in the sub-continent, particularly in Pakistan, trace their origin from the Muslim invaders of Arabian, Iranian, Turkish or Afghan origin. These conquerors had mingled with the local population and with matrimonial relationships produced the future generations of the Muslims in the sub-continent. The geographical and linguistic distribution of these Muslims in specific regions made them different from one another. The regional languages, like Punjabi, Pushto, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Baluchi, playing the roles of mother tongues for the Muslims in different provinces, form the basis for the ethnicity in the present-day Pakistan. The Punjabis, the Pathans, the Kashmiris,



the Baluchis, the Sindhis, and likewise the Muhajirs (the immigrants from India), are the people from the same ethnic origin, but the linguistic diversity, with a clear-cut geographic division, have shaped them into different ethnic groups.

### The Pathans

The hilly areas and the trans-Attock plains in the NWFP have been the traditional abode of the Pushto-speaking ethnic group, known as Pushtoon, Pakhtoons, Afghans or Pathans. The Pathans are fair-skinned, hawk-nosed and strong-bodied people, who, through the ages, have lived and fought for honor and freedom. (Caroe, 1976). Every Pathan introduces himself in the context of some clan and is very conscious of its values and cultural traditions. The tribes living near the Pak-Afghan borders make the tribal belt and enjoy special constitutional status in Pakistan. They have been great inspirations to many romantic and heroic stories around the world. These Pathans have their own assembly courts, called 'jurgas', who enforce the decisions on the spot. The elderly Pathans, with superb character and decent personal history, can become members of the jurgas.

These free-spirited people living in the hilly terrain of Hindu Kush and Koh-i-Suleiman are now sending their young to schools and colleges in the towns and have their representatives in the provincial and national legislatures from time to time. The Pathans represent the world's largest and oldest tribal system. Their life-styles are traditional and Islamic, but

not archaic. The new generation of the Pathans studying in Peshawar and other cities is a part of the post-Partition generation of Pakistanis.

The Pathans, living in plains and fertile areas, are engaged in more urban progressions and a mechanized agriculture has brought new changes in their attitudes. There are a number of Pathans residing in Karachi engaged in different kinds of jobs. There are Pathan landlords in Sind. The Pathans make up the bulk of the Pakistan Army and have rendered yeoman service to their country. The Pathans, since the Mughals' time in India, have been almost isolated from rest of the sub-continent. The British tried to subjugate them by force and coercion but failed utterly. The migration of the Pathans to the other areas in Pakistan started in post-Partition days and since then, the Pathans have spread to every town of Pakistan. All the way from the Khyber Pass to Karachi, the Pathans are engaged in the development of their young country. A majority of the Pathans are still farmers in a poverty-stricken state of affairs. The lack of sufficient facilities in education, health, transportation, industry and irrigation are the tragic realities.

The Pathans are very religious people. A bearded Pathan, in his traditional dress, offering prayers by the roadside is a frequent scene in Pakistan. The stress on the observance of religious practices like fasting, annual pilgrimage to Mecca and respect for clergy can be witnessed in a Pathan community. The Pathan women wear huge and long garments, decorate themselves with traditional jewelry and observe veil before non-family males. While driving through the Frontier, one comes

across frequently the usual scene of the Pathan maidens fetching water from nearly Persian well or spring, chatting among themselves. At the appearance of any stranger, all these girls become quiet, turn their backs to the road and hasten to veil their faces with their 'chadders'. They will not talk or move until the stranger has completely disappeared. Many of these shy girls are attending the schools and will be competing for jobs in the near future.

Pushto, the language of the Pathans is a very old, historic and rich language. It strengthens the identity of the Pathans, who cherish its idioms and proverbs. Great writers like Kushal Khan Khattak, the poet-philosopher-warrior of the Pathans in the 17th century, used Pushto. The Pathans are very sensitive about their language and take a great degree of pride in its usage in their daily lives.

### The Punjabis

Punjab, the land of five rivers, is the most populated province of Pakistan, and has the strong flavors of many diverse sub-cultures. Punjabi, a multi-dialect language, determines the ethnic unity and identity of the Punjabis and belongs to the Indo-European group of the languages. The Awans, the Jats, and Arayeens, and some Baluchi and Pathan tribes complete the ethnographic sub-grouping in Punjab. Punjab, excepting the region lying between the river Indus and the river Jhelum, offers the world's most developed and efficient irrigational system. The Muslim rule in Punjab was followed by the Sikhs' in early 19th century, who were defeated by the British in 1840's and Punjab became part of the British Empire, Punjab

was called 'Swordarm of India' by the British because of the heavy enrollment of the Punjabis in the Royal Army. (Malik, 1971). The Punjabis fought in both the World Wars and many of them won promotions in British civil and military positions. The British had developed some sort of fondness for this province and tried to improve its irrigational system. A strong-headed beauracrcy, a neo-feudal class and a sizeable military pressure group became the major polarizing forces in the British Punjab. The present Punjab (both in India and Pakistan) carries the legacy of the British Raj with these three groups still at the helm of the affairs. Punjab was late, but still lucky to have some British institutions which helped its pace in modernization as the fastest one in the entire sub-continent. (Singh, 1963). The Punjabis became the most mobile people in British India and some of them ended up by landing in foreign lands. During the Wars, many Punjabis married women in the areas around the battlefields in the Middle East and South-East Asia.

Pakistani Punjab is center of agriculture, education, industry and even of the the Government. The urbanization here, is faster than that of any other province. Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi, Multan and Sargodha are the big urban centers. Since 1947, millions of immigrants moved in from India and spread all over the province. The assimilation of the immigrants with the Punjabi background has been much easier than of those who came from other provinces of India. There is a handsome number of immigrants from the disputed

territory of Kashmir residing in Punjab, since 1948. The Partition and later on the Kashmir Wars have left many scars in the minds of the old and new Punjabis. (Singh, 1965).

The rural Punjabis are very simple, hard-working people with numerous stories of their experiences in the British Army. The mosque and 'mullah' play the very important role in the daily lives of the rural Punjabis. The landlord, the peasants and other village professionals make the spectrum of a small Punjabi village. The Punjabi folklores are sung at the festivities and the rural sports, which make the bright feature in rural life. The Punjabi movies, produced from the studios in Lahore, attract crowds of the Punjabis all over Pakistan. Family and 'biradary' play very important roles in the social relationship.

Punjabi is widely spoken and used in Punjab but is not taught in the schools as in Pushto. To a large extent, Punjabi has been replaced in the schools by Urdu or English. The Punjabis correspond in Urdu or English but not in Punjabi. In the higher academic, civil or military departments, the use of Punjabi as a medium of conversation is not liked and is, rather, considered impolite by many Punjabis. Such Punjabis, interestingly, prefer to teach Urdu or English to their children. Despite this, Punjabi popular music is widely appreciated all over the country, and Punjabi as a spoken language has still a big following among the masses.

### The Baluchis

Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan. It is

mostly arid and is less populated because of the dry hills and vast deserts. It is the abode of the traditional tribes of the Baluch ethnic origin. These Baluchis are semi-nomadic people distributed into many tribes and scattered over the three countries of Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. The Pakistani Baluchistan, the largest of all in area and population, has been the political and spiritual center of the entire Baluchi ethnic group. Every fourth Sindhi is a Baluchi while, every fifth Punjabi derives his origin from some Baluchi ancestry. Around 300,000 Baluchis live in Karachi and are engaged in skilled or semi-skilled labor.

The Baluchis, like the Pathans, live a clan-style life and have about 18 major tribes, the largest which are Bugtis and the Maris. (Faridi, 1968). The Baluchi tribes in Sind have been the ruling dynasties of the area until the British took control from them in early 1840's.

The Baluchis are very courageous and hard-working people who, like the Pathans, are accustomed to a free-spirited life. Most of them are engaged in sheep-herding and use their swift camels for transportation. The caravans are frequent scenes in Baluchistan. Baluchistan is rich in minerals, which still are mostly unexplored. Poverty and disease prevail over the underfed people, where a chauvinistic sort of feudalism persists. The Baluchis served in the British Army and at present they have a heavy enlistment in the Pakistan armed forces. The Baluchi soldiers are considered some of the toughest fighters in the world. Tragically, Baluchistan is the poorest province in Pakistan. That

is why so many Baluchis have moved to industrial centers like Karachi in the hope of a better future and have ended up living in the slums. The Baluchis of Sind are relatively better off because of the prospects in agriculture there.

The Baluchis are proud of their achievements of their forefathers. Their literature is full of heroic epics of ancient times. (Matheson, 1967). There are not many Baluchis abroad, particularly, in the West, but inside Pakistan they are almost in every nook and corner of the country.

### The Sindhis

The province of Sind derives its name from "Sindh"--the river Indus, which as mentioned earlier, makes the lifeline of Pakistan. (Lambrick, 1975). Sind was the first Indian province to become a part of the Muslim Arabs' Caliphate in 8th century A.D. Sindi is a very rich language and shares its Indo-Iranian vocabulary with the other sister languages in Pakistan. Hyderabad is the place of the Sind University and Karachi is the main port on the mouth of the river Indus at the Arabian Sea. The Sindhis are mixture of many ethnic groups, but share cultural and linguistic traits strong enough to make them an ethnic community, based on geo-linguistic unity. Until very recent past, Sind has been largely a desert with a semi-feudal society flourishing. The big landlords, called "Waderas", wield all the powers in their hands along with an influential group of the local saints, known as "Pirs." The Pirs are not simply religious leaders, but simultaneously, are part and parcel of the landed aristocracy.

Since the separation of the region from the Bombay province in 1930's, the Sindhis have been trying to wipe out the elements, left behind by the Hindu money-lenders. The new generation of the Sindhis is very conscious of their role in their young country.

Since Partition, many Muslim refugees from India have moved into the urban centers of Sind. These migrants, known as "Muhajirs", generally speaking Urdu as their mother tongue, have been playing a very important role in the history of the present-day Sind. Because of their academic background and early cooperation with the local Sindhis, the Muhajirs have dominated the academic, commercial and industrial institutions in Sind. Karachi, being the capital city until 1959, helped the Muhajirs replace the ruling British and Hindu classes in Sind. Many of these Muhajirs are absentee landlords along with a sizeable Punjabi and Pathan aristocracy in Sind. This all has led to many tensions and the young Sindhis feel as being left out and deprived of their native rights in their own land. Their communal tensions between the local population and non-local population has led to many riots, where language and economic realities became the sensitive issues. Sind, particularly, its urban centers, present a very agonizing picture in the turbulent history of Pakistan. It is the second most populated province in Pakistan and shares its characteristics with its rural and urban counterparts in the other three provinces.

There has never been much migration of the Sindhis into Punjab and the NWFP. The lack of communication and a hostile



geographic terrain have been the main factors for such isolation. The mystic literature of the Sindhi poets, however, is popular all over Pakistan. The traditional Sindhi music and dances have suddenly found resurgence since 1960's in the new generation of the Pakistanis. The Sindhi dresses are very similar in pattern to those in Baluchistan or Punjab.

There are many small ethnic groups in Pakistan other than the four major ones. Some of these ethnic groups are very interesting to look at, because of their unique and primitive life-styles. Azad Kahsmir, or the Pakistani side of the State of Kahsmir, is a land of beautiful lakes, hills, valleys and green pastures where the fair-skinned, health-looking Kashmiris have been living for many centuries. Many Kashmiris have immigrated into Pakistan from their troubled land. Most of these Kashmiri Muhajirs live in Punjab or in the NWFP and maintain their sub-culture. These people have been pushed out of Indian occupied territory of Kashmir and always look with nostalgia at their motherland. Their new generation is, interestingly, enough like their first generation in their outlook and is reluctant to assimilate into the local ethnic groups. The Baltis and the other people from the hilly regions of Gilgit, Hunza and Chitral are moving down slowly to the urban centers of Pakistan and a very interesting sort of acculturation of such people is taking place in the urban centers in Pakistan.

Pakistan, the land of the Muslims, is a very unique cultural phenomenon where unity is in diversity. The geographic distribution of the people, with clear-cut linguistic zones,

traditional social structures and sharing in the modern institutions alike have created those ethnic personalities whom we call, the Pathans, the Punjabis, the Baluchis, the Sindhis, the Muhajits or the Kahsmiris. On religious basis, Christians, along with some other very small minorities, make the minor groups who are distributed all over the country. But, mainly, language and geographic division play the major role in the ethnic distribution of the Pakistanis.

### Chapter 3

#### You Have Come A Long Way....

This chapter is concerned with the historical background of the Pakistani migration to the U.S. It also provides an overview of the community in our case-study. Thus, we will be dealing with the composite features of the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan, keeping in mind the distribution of the community members on the basis of the three variables.

Migration is a permanent feature of the history of the Muslims since the early days of Islam. The Holy Prophet, because of the oppression and suppression from the local Meccans, had advised the early Muslims to migrate to places like Abyssinia (Ethopia). Later on, he and his companions were compelled to move to Medina, another city in the Arabian Peninsula, where the local people were very friendly and the future of Islamic movement was safeguarded. The migration of the Holy Prophet, along with his companions, from Mecca to Medina became a historic landmark in the evolution of Islamic civilization. The Muslims, in a new environment, helped by local people, spread the new religion far and wide, until it became one of the world's great religions. Many Muslims voluntarily migrated to distant places in Africa, Central and South-East Asia and to Europe in order to propagate the new religion. In a few years after the

death of the Holy Prophet and during the time of the Muslim Caliphates, Muslim armies conquered the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia. Long before the arrival of the Arabs' army in Sind, the Muslim missionaries had reached almost every corner of northern parts of the sub-continent. Like-wise the Muslim traders introduced Islam in Ceylon, Indonesia, Malayasia, Phillipines and even in China. The expansion of Islam in the Far East or even in the African hinterlands has been due to the efforts of the Muslim missionaries, traders and immigrants who lived in these territories and interacted with the local people. In brief, migration or "Hijra" is something more than just a military conquest or some financial gains in the Islamic teachings.

The Muslim rulers of the sub-continent were originally migrating tribes from the Central Asia and Middle East who chose to settle in this new land and provided a psychological shelter to the local Muslims. In the meantime, the Indian Muslims, because of their historic ties with the Muslims in the adjoining areas, were Pan-Islamic spirited and the mutual migrations helped this continuum of relationship. Annual pilgrimage to the holy places in the Arabian Peninsula was another channel of mutual relationship among the Muslims of different ethnic backgrounds. Until very recently many Muslims from the sub-continent have been migrating to the holy places. This has helped in the development of the multiple nature of the ethnicity of the present-day Saudi Arabia.

With the British conquests in the sub-continent many Muslims suffered from a severe loss of power, and so quite a large number of them migrated to other Muslim countries. During the early years of the twentieth century, at the height of the Balkan Wars, many Muslims joined the "Hijrat Movement" in India, as they became disheartened with the British attitude towards the Muslim Caliphate in Turkey. Other than the religious reasons behind the traditional kind of Muslim migrations, the political, economic and academic factors cannot be ignored in accounting for momentum to the Muslims mobility.

During the British rule in the sub-continent, many Indians were assigned different kinds of jobs in the other British colonies in the Far East, Middle East, Africa and the West Indies. Thousands of poor Indians were invited by the ruling class to work in inhuman conditions in distant lands as a forced labor. This was a terrible sort of slavery happening in the 19th and 20th century, under the auspices of the same Crown which had, already, taken the lead in outlawing the slavery. Most of these laboring Indians died terribly because of the severities of the long voyages, poor health facilities on the ships and the hostile and unfamiliar environment where they were destined to toil. The plantations in Malayasia and the West Indies, and the building of railroads in the British East Africa cost the lives of thousands of helpless Indians, who had been rendered victims to a very cruel sort of drudgery. These coolies suffered

from identity crises in many forgotten lands, while their history remains an untold story until recently. (Tinker, 1974).

The migration of the people from the sub-continent to the Western Hemisphere started at the start of the present century. The relationship between the sub-continent and the U.S., had been minimal for a long time. Only in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a handsome number of the people from the sub-continent could get some chance to come to the U.S. The Entire sub-continent, before 1947, was known as India to the European people who were competing with one another in their efforts to colonize it. This land of richness, rajas, diamonds, hot spices, and tremendous wealth with vast potentials in men and material, traditionally attracted every European nation. India, at that time, was a prosperous land, known as "golden sparrow." Columbus, in search of a new route to India, discovered Western Hemisphere and called the local people Indians. The European colonials in the Americas did not have a clear picture of the Indians under the hegemony of the British East India Company. The vague relationship between the two lands was due to the lack of communication, plus, the engagement of the pioneers in the colonization of the New World. The people of the sub-continent were called, for the sake of differentiation, East-Indians or Indian-Indians. These terms are still used widely to differentiate the Indians from the Native Americans. However, India, to the Europeans in the New World, was a land of mystery, inhabited by strange people, who had many customs and religions, many rich people

known as Nabobs and Rajas with the armies of elephants, and beautiful buildings like Taj Mahal. (Issacs, 1958).

The American missionaries were the first and foremost people to pioneer relationship between the Americans and the Indians. First American missionaries reached the sub-continent in 1813. Their early images of the Indians were, obviously, very partial and they considered local people as heathens or less-civilized. However, their efforts in the hygenic and the academic uplift of the poor Indians could not be under-scored at any cost. The letters of the missionaries, sent back home to the United States, or their journals, describe Indians as primitive people who were not well-versed in the modern style of life and who were very outdated in their religious practices.

The British press and literature as the main source of influence on the American mind on India, helped develop certain stereotypes about the Indians which were based on incomplete information.

Despite that, India still enjoyed greater respect in the minds of the American intellectuals in the 19th century. Walt Whitman, singing of the American dream and visualizing its expansion to the West and the Far East wrote his famous poem, "A Passage to India." The old Hindu mythology won special esteem from the American philosophers like Emerson and Thoreau. These people were well-versed in the Hindu religious beliefs and were very internationalistic in their outlook. They acknowledged the contribution of the Hindu

philosophy and the Muslim mysticism to the humanistic philosophies of the world. Moreover, their Transcendentalist copatriots showed great interest in the metaphysical aspect of the Indian religions. New Englanders who held that much respect for the East, were themselves, later on, named as Bostonian Pundits or the New England Rahmins.

In short, the images of India were vague to the general American public; only certain groups, like the missionaries or intellectuals showed interest for the Indians or the Indian literature. This situation went on until Rudyard Kipling appeared on the scene.

Kipling's stories and poems about the Indians proved the most decisive factor in the determination of the American images of the Indian sub-continent. His ultimate approach to the Indian themes, because of his personal involvement in British India were exotic but were more derogatory from the Indian viewpoint. The stories created the impression of the Indians on a semi-cultured normal, fictitious weak and superstitious people who were physically and intellectually inferior to Western society. Kipling was widely read by the Americans and has been, until World War II, the main channel of information on India for the Western World. His imperialistic background mingled with his personal relationship with the Indians, resulted in a very complex personality in the English literature. Kipling's images of India have proven long-lasting and many generations of Americans have accepted them readily. Thus, the interaction between people of the



two societies cannot be seen without taking Kipling into consideration, who has provided such a literary and historic perspective to cross-cultural relationship.

Swami Vivekenanda visited the America of the 1890's on a Hindu religious mission. He delivered lectures in Chicago and many other small towns across the U.S. The visit of many Swamis followed his, but such visits were mostly sporadic. Until the relationship between the two lands was very limited and touched only upon the religious or literary dimensions. At the turn of that century, a small number of Indian migrants landed on the West Coast. The pioneer immigrants among these newcomers were the Sikhs from the Punjab province of British India who selected British Columbia as the main center of their settlement. Their number between 1905 and 1908 was around 5,000; they were locally known as Hindus. The local people resented the arrival of the new wave of the 'orientals' and staged a racist movement for their expulsion. Due to the hostile attitude of the Canadian public, only 27 new immigrants from the sub-continent would get entry into Canada between 1909 and 1913.

At that time, the sub-continent was passing through a period of political turmoil. Bengal and Punjab were the centers of agitation against the British Government. The mistreatment of the Indian migrants in British Columbia resulted in a violent reaction known as Ghadr Movement. The leader of this rebellious movement were Hardayal, an Indian lecturer at Stanford University, and in Punjab Lala Lajpat

Rai, locally known as the Lion of Punjab. The purpose of the Ghadr Movement was to achieve independence for the sub-continent by using all possible means, including violence. Thus, West Coast provided a temporary base for the Indian nationalist movement outside the sub-continent.

There were a few Indian immigrants in North America in the early years of the 20th century. Most of them were farmers who were not well-off financially. A majority of them were Sikhs from Punjab. The total number of the Indian population on the West Coast in 1910 was five thousand. The local prejudices did not let the Indian community grow and the Immigration Act of 1917 further diminished the number. There were only 2600 Indians in 1922 in the United States, 2400 in 1940 and about 3000 in 1950. (Tinker, 1974).

The American literature and the movies produced in 1930's on India, strengthened the stereotypes of the Indians which had stemmed from the writings of Kipling. The publications of the book, Mother India in 1927, provided ghastly picture of the Indian customs, caste-system, fakirs, child marriages, which had been observed by its author, Katherine Mayo, in her tour of India. The Americans were shocked to discover such things about India and readily accepted the grim picture of Indian society. Even Tagore, the famous Bengali Nobel Laureate, was dejected to see such apathy in the American attitude towards his countrymen. Movies like Gunga Din, Lives of A Bengal Lancer, The Black Watch, Broken Blossoms, Son of India and the Rains of Ranchipur,

created many fabulous images of the Indians and romanticized the themes which were mostly provided by Kipling.

As mentioned earlier, one of the main sources of information of the Americans on India was the British press, which was quoted in the American newspapers. Obviously the British press was not happy with the liberation movements in the sub-continent and was always in praise of the blessings of the British Raj. The cartoons of Gandhi, Nehru and some other Muslim leaders frequently provided evidences of the partiality of the British press. Thus, there was a vacuum in relationship between the people of the Old and New World. The images, created during late 19th and early 20th century, persisted tragically and the lack of communications made them more than just superficial. The Indian Muslims, because of their despondent attitude towards the British Government, were not known in the Western Hemisphere. Kipling preferred them over the Hindus; the missionaries found a bigger challenge in them because of the strong nontheistic nature of Islam. The Muslims, after the loss of power in the Balakans, Middle East and South-East Asia, presented the situation of a very exhausted society with a surprisingly less mobility. The Muslim masses in the sub-continent were reluctant to reconcile with the modern western institutions for a considerable period of time. The interest for the western education was limited to only a few aristocratic Muslim families in the entire sub-continent. A majority of

the Muslims were either agriculturalists, or preferred to join the British Army of Police. This is why Muslim nationalism in India could not get the masses behind it until the 1930's and early 1940's. The the 1940's Muslim students, educationists and lawyers became very active in the mobilization of the common Muslims for the Pakistan Movement. Some of them travelled abroad to win the support for the Muslims' cause in the British India. The Muslim League, working for the establishment of a free Muslim country in the sub-continent, sent many of its spokesmen to the western countries, including the U.S. (Shahnawaz, 1971).

The United States, trying to adjust herself to the wave of nationalism in the Afro-Asian countries in the 1940's, was always in the forefront recognizing the new independent nations.

Pakistan, because of her legacy from the Western world, felt very comfortable in its relationship with the U.S. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, was quick enough to pay a detailed visit to America and was given a very warm welcome. (Kham, 1950). Since his time, Pakistan has become the traditional ally of the Western Bloc, until she entered into the SEATO and CENTO in the mid 1950's. The Pakistanis started arriving in the U.S. in late 1950's, with the largest number of the Pakistanis migrating to the U.S. in the 1960's. Nevertheless, the total number of Pakistanis in the U.S. never grew beyond a few thousand,

because of the strict immigration laws. Some skilled people like physicians and engineers from Pakistan gained naturalization early. The unskilled labor could never find their way into the U.S., while in the United Kingdom and Canada, thousands of workers from the countries of the sub-continent found easy entry until late 1960's.

#### Classification of the Pakistanis in the U.S.

The close relationship between Pakistan and the United States resulted into certain mutual treaties and agreements. Many employees of the Pakistan Government attended different American institutions and likewise, many American experts visited Pakistan in different capacities. The largest number of the Pakistanis in America until the late 1970's have been students. One can categorize them in the following groups:

1. Students sponsored by the American Government or some related Foundation. Such students are officials back home and are bound to return to their mother institutions, once they complete their training in the U.S.
2. Students sponsored by the Pakistan Government. Such students are given stipends or scholarships by their sponsoring department or institution and are obliged to resume their jobs after they complete their training.
3. Students or personnel sponsored by international organizations. Such individuals are also employees of the Pakistan, pledging to return after the expiration of their training programs.

4. Self-supporting Students. Most of these students have assistantships, fellowships or part-time jobs to support themselves. Some of them, with affluent family background, receive expense money from home. Such students, generally, do not have any obligation to return, once they are through with their education. Previously, such students, after taking their degrees in the U.S., could get jobs anywhere and then could achieve the status of an immigrant or later on of a citizen in the U.S. But recently, because of the strict laws of immigration and employment in the U.S., it is hard for such candidates to find jobs in the U.S., unless they are already naturalized.

Along with the students and their families, if they are married, there are some Pakistanis working in different factories or industrial centers as semi-skilled labor. Most of the members of this group were either students previously or were sponsored relatives of some of the Pakistanis already living in the U.S. Overall, the Pakistani students, living in big American cities like New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco and Houston, make the bulk of the Pakistani group of the semi-skilled or non-skilled labor. All of these are part-time students, mostly in graduate schools across the U.S.A. Many of them cluster in big urban centers for the summer jobs or work for certain publishing companies like the Bible Society in Nashville, Tennessee, and move from one state to another, selling bibles or related

literature. Most of these students, at the time of their arrival, were unskilled, but they picked up certain skills while working at the odd jobs and by the guidance provided to them by their Pakistani friends. Until very recent past, such students, after the completion of their training, could get sponsorship for immigration from their regular employees, but now it is quite impossible.

The third category of the Pakistanis in the U.S. is the skilled personnel, who comparatively, found the jobs easily and got the immigration and citizenship in the U.S. without much problems. The physicians, engineers, lawyers or people in other technical jobs can be enumerated in this category. Pakistan has been one of the biggest exporters of such skilled personnel to the developed countries in the West and lately, to the oil rich states in the Middle East. The export of such people is generally referred as "brain drain phenomenon." Such Pakistanis are scattered all over the U.S. and live very affluent lives. Most of them live in suburbia, or in the small towns, away from the humdrum of the busy inter-city life and most of them own the houses they live in. Lately, it seems to be difficult for certain skilled people, like the engineers to get the jobs in the U.S., unless they have already a valid green card. Such people feel dejected if they cannot find a job even after having a relevant degree from some American school. But the graduates with American wives do not face any problem in getting jobs, as their visa status has changed since they married.

Along with these three major categories, there are certain other categories of Pakistanis in the U.S. From time to time, there are government officials visiting the U.S. on different training assignments. Some Pakistani businessmen engaged in export and import business come to the U.S. occasionally. There are tourists and religious scholars who travel in America. The religious groups from Pakistan offer a unique study because of their Pan-Islamic efforts on behalf of Islam. Most of these Muslim missionaries belong to "the Jamat-i-Tabligh-i-Islam," a religious organization which propagates basic tenets of Islam among Muslims and non-Muslims all over the world. This organization is based in Raiwind, a small town outside Lahore in Punjab. The members of this organization come from a cross-cultural background and represent many countries in the world. The Muslim communities in the U.S. and particularly the new converts, host these religious guests and then guide them in their activities among the local communities.

In the field of education, there are cross-cultural groups in which Pakistani intellectuals represent their society. Many universities like Michigan State and University of Michigan, invite Pakistani scholars and visitors to teach certain courses in their fields. There are some Pakistanis who are full-time faculty members at these universities in different departments. Most of such teachers were trained in the U.S. and then got the jobs in various schools. But the



number of Pakistanis holding full-time teaching assignments in big schools is smaller compared with the Pakistanis working as skilled personnel with the governments or private enterprises.

### The Pakistani Community in South-East Michigan

The Pakistani community in South-East Michigan is one of the smallest ethnic groups in the U.S. Despite that, the community has much variety. The exact number of this community is difficult to determine, because of the mobility of its members. Also, the members of the community are scattered over a wider area and their mutual communication is not that systematic and strong. Only people with similar familial, professional or ethnic backgrounds know one another and mostly they interact among themselves. This phenomenon is quite vivid in the Greater Detroit area, rather more so than in the smaller communities of Lansing, Ann Arbor, Saginaw and Jackson. The largest number of Pakistanis live in the Greater Detroit area, followed by Lansing, Ann Arbor, Saginaw and Jackson respectively. Detroit has more variety to offer in the diversity of the community on the basis of familial, ethnic and professional backgrounds, while Lansing and Ann Arbor are basically university towns. In Lansing, still there is a variety on the basis of our three variables, because of its being the Capitol of the State of Michigan and also, because of automobile plants in the city. Ann Arbor hosts explicitly

an academic community of the Pakistanis. The number of the students in Lansing and Ann Arbor is equal generally. Saginaw has mostly Pakistani physicians living there, while Jackson has some engineers with their families. There are many Pakistanis in other towns of Michigan, like Flint, Grand Rapids and Traverse City, the majority of them being physicians or engineers. Kalamazoo, from time to time, has a few Pakistani students studying at the Western Michigan University. Recently, two of the Pakistani students, after finishing their studies at Michigan State University in East Lansing, have joined the Western Michigan University as regular faculty members. The author found another Pakistani engineer in Kalamazoo, who recently moved in from some other state. On occasion, the town of Mount Pleasant hosts a Pakistani student at Central Michigan University. But most of the Pakistanis are concentrated in Greater Detroit area, Lansing (including East Lansing) and Ann Arbor (including Ypsilanti).

Despite its cold weather, Michigan has always been attractive to Pakistanis because of its academic, industrial and agrarian potentials. The universities in Detroit (Wayne State), Lansing (Michigan State), Ann Arbor (University of Michigan) and Kalamazoo (Western Michigan) cater to the needs of a great number of international students, faculty and visitors. The universities in East Lansing and Ann Arbor have been playing very active roles in the international

programs. There have always been Pakistani students present on these campuses, but their number has been mostly fluctuating. Lately, the number of the students on these campuses is on the decline because of economic reasons. The political situation back home plays a very important role in the number of the Pakistani students or personnels arriving in the U.S. for higher studies. During Bhuttos' regime, many Pakistani officials were sent for training in different fields in the American universities, but since 1976, the number has decreased considerably. This has been due to the political instability in Pakistan which started in the early months of 1976 and resulted in a mass movement. The people who mostly succeed in getting scholarships for higher education are government officers. A private candidate cannot get any financial support unless he or she is an employee of the government.

Besides the two schools at East Lansing and Ann Arbor, Eastern Michigan University at Ypsilanti and Wayne State University in Detroit have been catering to the needs of the Pakistani students and intellectuals. The students on these campuses have their own national clubs, generally known as Pakistan Students' Association and they hold their socio-cultural meetings frequently. Such students' organizations have affiliate members from the local Pakistani community, who attend the meetings and functions held under the auspices of the associations. The students provide

leadership as well as an organization to such clubs and the local community members generally tend to cooperate with them. Then there are Pakistani cultural groups in Detroit, comprising of the Pakistani communities from Greater Detroit area and Windsor in Canada. Such groups, despite occasional dissensions, try to hold concerts and cultural shows and make full publicity of their programs through their newsletters and periodical publications. These groups, mostly organized by the Pakistani residents in Detroit, have regular membership fees and hold their functions in the Cobo Hall or in the Ford Hall. Pakistani stars from music and movie industry are featured in such programs; Pakistani dishes are served; Pakistani movies are shown frequently for the entertainment of the community.

The Indian community, being larger in number, and stronger financially, has more frequent cultural programs in Detroit, Lansing and Ann Arbor, and many Pakistanis attend their cultural activities.

The Muslim Students' Association of North America and Mexico is a very powerful organization of students coming from different Muslim countries. It is probably the most organized student organization on campuses in the Western Hemisphere, with regular membership many times excessive, or maybe in the entire world where people with so many ethnic, cultural and professional diversity, thinking alike religiously, engage themselves in many activities. The MSA was founded in 1963 to create a platform for the international Muslim

community in the Western Hemisphere and to enhance Islamic consciousness in the New World. The Pakistani students and intellectuals have been in the forefront in the foundation and development of MSA. The Pakistanis hold very key positions on the Executive Committee of MSA and spearhead its cause everywhere. MSA has local chapters in every big town in the U.S.A. and Canada and in the rest of the countries in the New World. The annual convention of MSA is a big event and is held on the Memorial Weekend on the campus of Indiana University at Bloomington annually. MSA's central premises are under construction in Plainfield, near Indianapolis, while previously the headquarters were in Gary, Indiana, outside Chicago. At that time, the annual conventions were held on different campuses in the U.S. MSU in East Lansing hosted the Convention of 1973, but since 1976, Bloomington has become the permanent place for the annual meetings. Along with the annual convention, MSA tries to cater to the need of the Muslim social scientists, academicians, and physicians and businessmen. MSA has a local chapter in East Lansing and a Pakistani student was its President for two years consecutively. MSA of MSU with a membership of 400 students has some other Pakistani students and non-student families joining MSA's different programs. Local MSA has collected more than half a million dollars to construct a multi-purpose Islamic Center. The construction is already underway for the project. MSA of

Ann Arbor has a big Islamic Center which has a library, a mosque and lodging facilities for the Muslim students. Many Pakistani students, at the time of their arrival, found it more convenient to stay in the Muslim House in Ann Arbor, until they rented their own place for accommodation. Likewise, there are the chapters of MSA at Wayne State University as well as at Eastern Michigan University. Western Michigan University has many Muslim students along with the Muslim faculty members and has a local chapter of MSA. Detroit has many Muslim communities, like the Arabs, Albanians, Turkish, Iranians and a quite large number of Black Muslims now known as the Nilallians. There are many Muslims from the Indo-Pak sub-continent, which make Muslim population in Greater Detroit Area as one of the noticeable religious groups in the U.S. These Muslims have many mosques where they hold their religious meetings and interact with one another frequently. The largest number of the Arabs in the U.S. live in Dearborn and make one of very recent groups of immigrants from the Near East. They have their mosque and school for their children, along with their shopping and entertainment centers in the area. The Arabs make the bulk of the Muslim population in Detroit. The Albanians make another big Muslim population in Detroit and have a mosque. Many Pakistanis go to either of these mosques for the prayers or other religious gatherings.

#### The Distribution of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan

The number of the Pakistanis living as immigrants, or

citizens make the bulk of the Pakistani community in South-Eastern Michigan. There was a time until a few years ago, when the students could get green card without much problem, so many of our community members were students when they reached in the U.S. in the beginning. Only those students now, can be naturalized who are either relatives of some Pakistani-American, or married to American partners. The largest number of the Pakistanis, until a few years back, represented Urdu-speaking people, mostly from Karachi, generally known as Muhajirs in Pakistan. They were pioneer post-Partition Pakistanis migrating to the Western Hemisphere. The second largest group among the Pakistanis in this part of the belongs to the province of Punjab. The Punjabis are growing in their number, as more and more Punjabi families are settling in South-Eastern Michigan. Sometimes, it occurred to the present author that the Punjabis have replaced the Muhajirs as the largest group of Pakistanis here in Michigan. Mostly these Punjabis are from urban areas, but there is a large number of the Punjabis, who hail from rural Punjab. The Pathans make the third group of Pakistanis on the basis of number and are engaged in different professions. The Sindhis make the smallest group of Pakistanis in Michigan. The few members of the Sindhi ethnic background are mostly students and are government employees back home. Except one family, there are no Baluchis from Baluchistan residing in this part of the U.S. The reason lies in the long-time

backwardness of this province under different British and Pakistani administrations.

The people who are settled here with the jobs or have at least immigrant status, are mostly married and live with their families. There are many immigrants who are still single. Among students, the number of the bachelors is predominant. That is why the rate of the mixed marriages among the single students is higher than in any other group. The student community represents different age groups, but the mid-twenties is the average age, as most of the Pakistani students are in graduate schools and were already in early twenties at the time of their arrival. There have been only two or three female students in the past from the Pakistani community on a regular basis. Some of the wives of the married students have been taking certain short-term courses to gain diplomas. The American wives of the Pakistanis presented a very interesting similarity to their Pakistani counterparts. Some of them were just housewives while some, with no children, were attending the schools along with their husbands. All these American partners of the Pakistanis have Muslim names, but interestingly their former names are the real names by which people in the community address them. Some Pakistani wives were helping their husbands in their businesses, like party stores or ethnic food stores. The study of the acculturation of the Pakistani wives needs a special treatment, which present research have no pretensions to do.



There is a new generation of the Pakistani-Americans already underway in the U.S. The youths in this generation have the inheritance from both the cultures and are more acculturated than their parents, which poses a concern for the latter group. Many of the youths have regenerated a religious interest and cultural affiliation which is evident in their writings, speeches and dialogues at the annual conventions of MSA. Such youths, in many cases, feel alienated with the mainstream American culture, but are also disheartened at the double standards of their parents.

The frequent visitors from Pakistan on academic, religious or business tours have very limited relationship with the mainstream American culture. It is due to the limited time they have at their disposal, plus, they interact with only a specific class of the people in the New World. So many of them share images of Americans from the local people who they come into contact. The number of such visitors, as noted earlier is not steady, but is dependent upon soci-political conditions back home. There are very few tourists coming all the way from Pakistan to the U.S., due to economic reasons, and, because many Pakistani tourists have traditionally gone to the Middle East or Europe.

In brief, there is a historical legacy behind the Pakistanis' migration to the U.S. The lack of communication and interest between the people of the Old World and the New World, joined by a geographic isolation have created a gap

where the stereotypes and images have persisted. The recent arrival of the Pakistanis in the wake of immigration restrictions have kept their number very small. The economic factor has kept many Pakistanis hindered in their mobility outside their own country. The British, and likewise many Pakistani governments, did not encourage the people to migrate to the New World. However, there is still the first generation of the Pakistanis in the U.S. while the second generation is well underway, too. The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan are an educated community which has all the familial, professional and ethnic diversities. Their relationships with one another on individual basis are sometimes moded by the variables and, same way their acculturation in the new environment, as we will see in the succeeding chapters.

## Chapter 4

### Early Phase in Acculturation

The present section of the study is an assessment of the early phase of acculturation of the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan where the third culture is in operation and the peers with the previous cross-cultural backgrounds impart their personal experiences to the newcomers. This stage of cultural encounter is generally extended over a span of a few months, and its duration will vary, given the three variables construed for our present study.

### Historical Retrospective

The desire to travel abroad for higher education and better socio-economic opportunities is a very historic and human reality in the Indo-Pakistani mind. During the Muslims' rule on the sub-continent, the Indian Muslims travelled to far away places like Persia, Central Asia and Arabian Peninsula, just as the people from these areas were migrating into Muslim India. This traffic and exchange of population derived from religious, economic, political and educational purposes. The psychological need to look into the roots of their Muslim culture always made many Muslims think in Pan-Islamic terms. Interestingly, even today, a majority of the Muslims in the sub-continent trace their roots to some Arabian, Iranian or Turkish dynasty, which came to the sub-continent as rulers or to spread Islam.

With the advent of the British Raj in India, the Indians in late nineteenth century, under the influence of westernization, started going to England and Western Europe for higher studies. Most of these Indians, particularly the Muslims, studied law or humanities in the European universities. Such people were mostly from aristocratic families of India, but there were individuals from the middle class like Mohammad Iqbal whom the Muslims remember as the greatest poet of Islam. Iqbal studied both in England and Germany in the early years of this century and tried to bring a resurgence of Islam on the basis of its superiority over the materialistic aspect of western civilization, which to him was in moral decay. But, such reformers made very conscious efforts to bring an equilibrium between modern science and Islamic spiritualism to encourage the Muslims in India, who were totally despondent after losing their power to a superior technological power, like Britain. People like Iqbal and many others became the leaders of liberation movements and struggled for a separate Muslim state in India as a base to boost Muslims' morale in the present world where technology and science matter more than spiritual seclusion. Interestingly, these people and many others like them, won the admiration of the local masses who trusted their decisions and judgements because of their cross-cultural backgrounds. The credit goes to such early leaders who prepared the Pakistani mind for living in a present-day world with acceptance rather than with rejection of day to

day realities: science, technology and better educational opportunities in the West.

By the late 1960's, most major schools in the United States had small numbers of Pakistani students studying subjects which were relevant to the needs of their young country. The limited job opportunities in Britain, in the wake of British racial discrimination towards the Pakistani students and immigrants, made many Pakistanis think in terms of the United States. Moreover, Americans relatively encouraging response to the Indian freedom movements and its welcome to the Muslim leaders like Liaquat Ali Khan helped in creating hope in the minds of many Pakistani students who were eager to get admission into MIT and other prestigious schools in different parts of the United States. But, tragically, the existing job opportunities in the United States have caused a brain drain phenomenon of acute degree in Pakistan. Simultaneously, the foreign aid, money pumped from abroad by the Pakistanis, and an unstable political situation in Pakistan, due to lack of proper leadership in the hosts of problems, have psychologically made many minds frustrated and fatalistic. All these factors have contributed to a severe depression. The departure of enthusiastic and trained individuals to the developed countries has paralyzed different sectors of Pakistani public and private life.

#### The Images of America in a Pakistani Mind

The images of America and Americans in the average Pak-

istani mind are not much different from those in any African or Asian mind. American television programs, movies, magazines, big cars, the huge size of the country, foreign propaganda, aid to poor countries, abundance of potential wealth and its role as a world power have all created an image of an America where everything is wonderful, money is plentiful, women are beautiful and relaxed in their sexual attitudes. Anybody can have access to all that very easily.

Simultaneously, the double standards of the American morality inside and outside the United States, and the support for the conservative and dictatorial regimes around the world, have helped create other contradictory stereotypes of America. The money spent by the Americans on pets, alcohol and fashion and the waste of many useful things in a careless way make non-Americans think of America as a land with problems. The rate of divorce, organized crimes, big corporations and scandals in the lives of important Americans, create mixed feelings in a foreign mind.

Travelling Americans, in many cases meeting only the affluent segments of the foreign countries, do not confront the "real" people in those societies. Their handshakes, dinner parties and aid-agreement signing ceremonies carried on local media strengthen such confusing images of America where all is well and at the same time all is bad, too.

Communication between the common Americans and the common Pakistanis is almost non-existent. The privileged people from both countries relate to one another in a very

formal, careful and limited way. The high costs of transportation, rigid bureaucracies and a lack of proper guidance in the wake of so many stereotypes and misunderstandings, have never encouraged the people of both countries to communicate face to face. The lack of financial support from Pakistan, strict American entry laws and the discouraging attitude of the American schools in the wake of high-cost education have prevented many students from coming to the United States. The few lucky ones who get a chance, pay so much price in Pakistan at the hand of a corrupt bureaucracy, that many of them decide not to return at all. Pakistan, despite the fact that it is one of the oldest allies of the United States, has only between two to three thousand students in American schools. The blame lies on the institutions of both the countries.

Despite the curtailment of American involvement in South-East Asia, and its decreasing interest in its ally, Pakistan, many Pakistani youths, still prefer American universities over their European counterparts. The Middle Eastern countries, with billions of petro-dollars, have thousands of Pakistanis working in different capacities, but still American charms linger in many minds.

Most of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan are members of the first generations of the Pakistani-Americans, despite the fact that a second generation of immigrants is already underway. The majority of our respondents came to the United State either for professional studies or for

better economic opportunities. The "pioneer" migrants attracted still more Pakistanis from amongst their friends, relatives or colleagues through mutual sponsorships or by the verbal propagation the the American dream of rags to riches.

The Pakistani residents in Lansing, Kalamazoo and Ann Arbor were students originally on F-1 or J-2 visas, which means that they were either self-supporting or were sponsored by some organization. Almost 95% of such people were majoring in subjects like engineering, business, economics or medicine. Since such subjects were in a greater demand in the late 1960's and early 1970's, and immigration laws were not that rigid either, all these students found the jobs easily and later on settled in the United States as American citizens. They, then, brought the remaining members of their immediate families from Pakistan and started living like other ethnic communities in the United States. In the first few years of their stay, these people contributed enormous amounts of money to their families back home, until their own needs in the new social environment hindered their regular assistance.

Detroit, being more than an academic center, attracted Pakistanis for a variety of reasons. The better economic prospects in the automobile industry or other industrial establishments, more money in the suburban hospitals, more opportunities to enhance businesses, the proximity to Windsor and other cities in Ontario, and the legal and recreational needs of the community in a multi-ethnic complex society



caused many Pakistani workers, engineers, physicians, shopkeepers, businessmen and lawyers to move into the city. So, the Pakistani community in the Greater Detroit area, unlike the communities in Lansing, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Jackson, Saginaw, Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo retains more diversity, variety and complexity.

The Pakistanis in the United States have developed an extended family system which helps perpetrate their subcultures. The "pioneer" members who were able to achieve citizen status previously have been sponsoring their immediate relatives into the New World. This phenomenon is more general in cases of rural Punjabis, who tend to have big families. In Lansing, one Punjabi, who came as a student in the late 60's and then decided to stay on in the United States has so far sponsored eighteen relatives. He has managed to arrange engagements of his sons and nephews with girls back home who are waiting to fly to the United States, soon after the marriage ceremonies are complete (51).

Similarly, some of the Urdu-speaking families from Karachi have caused additions in the number of the local communities in Detroit and Lansing.

Ninety per cent of the respondents now residing in Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti and Lansing, originally came as students, but later on, decided to stay permanently, while 60% of the Pakistanis in Greater Detroit area were either offered jobs before they came to this part of the United States, or moved into the area from other states or Canada. About 70% of Pakistani non-skilled or semi-skilled labor, now working at

different places in South-East Michigan did not come basically for studies, since in most cases such individuals were sponsored relatives of Pakistani-Americans.

About 85% of the Pakistani students in this part of Michigan were single when they arrived first in the United States. Eighty per cent Pakistani physicians, engineers and other professionals who did not face any major problems in becoming U.S. citizens were married, except in a few cases, where the individuals moved to the United States soon after getting their degree in Pakistan and could not find time to marry.

As the tables included at the end of Chapter One indicate, the people of diverse groups, based on age, family position, profession and ethnicity are represented in the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan. A majority of the people are married or were married recently. Excepting a few cases, where the spouses are non-Pakistanis, the females are Pakistanis. Ninety per cent of such marriages have been arranged through parents, relatives or friends. The cross-cultural marriages were the personal selections of the individuals and took place in a western style. The cross-cultural marriages are mostly among the students, ex-students or physicians, while businessmen, lawyers, un-skilled labor, or semi-skilled labor have Pakistani spouses. Almost 95% of the spouses are from the same ethnic backgrounds as the husbands. Most of the people are in their late twenties and mid-thirties. The married couples, excepting a few ones, have children where

the average number per family is not more than two. Many of these children are minors or young teen-agers, who speak English more frequently and fluently than their parents and in an American accent.

All the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan are absorbed in different professions like education, health, private business or practice or are employed with the state or some other branch of government. The number of students is decreasing while the other professionals are increasing proportionately. The number of skilled and unskilled labor is almost equal.

As the tables indicate, different ethnic groups of Pakistanis are represented in our study area, where the urban centers retain the majority and the rural and tribal Pakistanis follow them in sequence. Karachi in Sind has the largest representation among the Pakistanis. The Punjabis make the second largest group, followed by the Pathans and Sindhis, and only two Baluchis who mingle with the other ethnic groups of Pakistan.

#### Early Cultural Shock

America is not simple distant from Pakistan geographically; it is culturally quite a world apart. On his arrival in the United States, every Pakistani faces a cultural shock, which manifests itself in new food, language, dress styles, weather, transportation, customs, religion and educational systems. The weather in this part of the United States, particularly in late Fall and the entire Winter, is very

horrifying for a newcomer from a tropical land.

The extent of shock may vary from person to person due to his or her particular background. The rural or tribal people, accustomed to a more traditional life-style in Pakistan, are liable to an intense cultural shock, unless any of them has gone through such experience previously. Middle-aged people, in their mid-fourties, coming to a western country first time, face a great trauma. Professional people like physicians and engineers, despite being in the age group of mid-thirties generally, face less shock, likewise graduate students in their mid-twenties. The students from Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar are, generally, well-prepared beforehand for such cultural shock, since they are very mobile and enthusiastic in cross-cultural contacts.

Those Pakistani who have returned home from abroad play a very important role in the orientation of their departing colleagues and friends by trying to impart their experiences with American life. Sometimes, such information is very stereotypic as it shows the personal experiences, limitations and biases of an individual which may not be the same necessarily in every case. Still, such information can be a great help in encouraging as well as discouraging the emigrants, as it may be exaggerated, outdated, or totally false. The urban and rural background of the informant is another factor in the determination of the channels of such information. One respondent, in our present study, was very dejected at the attitude of his former colleagues at

work who all have been to the same campus in the United States and to the same department, to which he had sought admission. According to him, one "did not show up at the appointment in Rawalpindi, the second one was on leave, and the third one gave him high hopes by saying that he already written to his friends in America to receive him at the airport and then to help him every way in his adjustment." But, in America, he was dismayed to find no one waiting for him at the airport and had to rent a taxi from the airport to the city which cost him a fortune, since he did not know about buses either. Even six months after his stay, he did not come across those "friends" to whom his colleagues had written (9).

In Pakistan, there is no regular program organized to help students, visitors, scholars or other travellers in getting basic information about the United States and its basic institutions. Most of the people, particularly, students both sponsored as well as non-sponsored, are not sure until their very last moment for departure whether they would be cleared from the obligations of different governmental institutions to proceed abroad. One respondent, an employee of the Federal Government, spent two years going from one office to another office just to get clearance. His case was rejected numerous times until he was totally desperate and had to resort to political pressure. After getting clearance, he had to fly the same evening out of Pakistan, since he was already late for the American fall term by two weeks. "I

was not sure of leaving Pakistan until the jet liner flew past the Pakistani borders, since I was worried that any time some policeman will show up and take me back from the airport. Before leaving, I could not spend even a single night with my ailing father and the rest of the members of the family." (5). Another student, a former resident of Bangladesh, had just a stopover in Karachi for a few hours to see his parents and then flew out. He reached Michigan when it was snowing very hard and the poor fellow had no warm clothes (3).

The students or travellers who have relatives and friends already settled in the United States find preparations easier. They are generally well-informed about food, weather, transportation systems, insurance and other related problems.

On a university campus in Pakistan, because of a foreign trained faculty, many Pakistanis have an each access to basic information on matters like educational intricacies, immigration laws and the job situation in America. But many respondents did not even know that in big urban centers like Detroit, New York, Boston, Houston, Chicago and Los Angeles, the Pakistanis have well-established cultural groups, which are helpful to new arrivals in many ways. On big campuses like Michigan State University, UoM, WMU and WSU, there are associations of Pakistani students along with local chapters of Muslim Student Association. But it is very surprising to find that 75% of our respondents did not know of such organizations until they came into contact with them in the

United States. One respondent, a graduate student from Karachi, had his brother studying in Texas, while one of his close friends with whom he was in contact long before he left Pakistan, was attending MSU in the same major. This person did not face any major problems, since he was well-prepared for the cultural changes (5).

Another graduate student from a rural area in Punjabi had received his graduate education in Karachi and was a member of a well-organized religious party. The party members in New York and Detroit know of him long before he arrived in the United States and thus saved him from early inconvenience (14).

The exceptions were our respondents from rural Sind faced many problems since there are not many people from Sind residing permanently in this part of the United States.

Most of our respondents (about 85%) flew by Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) and did not face any major air-flight problem in food or language. Twenty per cent of other residents from Karachi chose to fly by non-Pakistani airlines, which offered lower rates because these respondents, from an urban background, knew about such differences in air fare. Some students, sponsored by United States agencies, had to fly by Pan Am, because of such requirements in their agreements.

American food is not that known to an average Pakistani who, as Muslims, have to observe strict diets. Pork, in any form, unkoshered meat, and liquor are strictly

prohibited for a Muslim, so certain new selections on the menus create confusion in a Pakistani mind. Continental and American foods are served only in very expensive restaurants in Pakistan, which are surely beyond the reach of most of the Pakistanis. In the early days of the stay in America, food, with its strange names and less-spiced components, confuse many newcomers.

American movies and documentaries both on television and in cinemas in Pakistan play a very important role in the orientation of Pakistanis travelling to the United States. But again, such luxury is available only to the people in the cities.

The first few weeks of the stay of a Pakistani in the United States are perplexing and embarrassing for him. He might avoid much of the confusion about the names of foods, roads or places, if he has joined some Pakistani-American family, but singles and particularly students with on-campus accommodations, are more apt to be confused. Because of the religious taboos many Pakistanis do not try American dishes other than made from pork like steaks, beef stew, or ethnic varieties like pizza or spaghetti. The more religious respondents have been very particular about such foods, and most of them eat only french fries and fish sandwiches.

Pakistanis are appalled at the mobility of the American society. Ninety-five per cent of our respondents did not like drinking, dancing or dating in the beginning, and rather felt aghast at the idea of sleeping with any



woman before marriage. In the beginning, jeans, shorts and very casual dress-styles of American students are shocking to them, since most of the Pakistanis are accustomed to formal dress at home, in the schools as well as at the jobs. Loud music in the dorms and apartments and weekend parties create mixed images of American youths in a Pakistani mind. The problem of understanding the lyrics of American songs causes more confused attitudes toward American popular culture.

One Pakistani was amazed at the difference pronunciation of certain words like "schedule", "lieutenant" and "laboratory" or even at the spelling of words like "center" and "theater" (35). And he is not the only one in the community to feel so, since the English language back home is patterned on the British style than it is on the American style. The unfamiliarity with the American accent creates obvious problems for most of the Pakistanis in the early days of their stay in the United States. Some students, who had not taken language tests in Pakistan before applying for admission to American schools, faced problems in meeting the academic standards of the American universities and ended up taking extensive courses in the English language. Accordingly, some students from rural areas, a few employees of the Pakistan Government and many other community members in the unskilled labor class, faced problems in communicating with Americans. The engineers and physicians generally do not have to go through such language courses, even if they have a deficiency in any aspect of English. The students in

humanities, education, history or other areas of social sciences have to show a special level in their linguistic skill before they could go on with their major.

Such problems create a shyness among the individuals, since they do not want their weakness to be exposed. Generally Pakistanis, like Indians, did not have any problems with English in the past, but because of falling education standards and the lack of quality language skills, many students cannot pass the basic English language tests. Many of our respondents were not clear about such experiences and they did not want to accept their weakness in the language, since they felt it was against their status to let others know. For example, a female visitor from the Pakistani government had been taking different classes in certain departments on a campus in Michigan, but very few other Pakistanis knew that such an important official had to take certain language classes to build up background in writing and comprehension (10). On the other hand, there were some visitors who did not face such problems at all.

The cultural consciousness is more evident among the new Pakistanis than it is among the ones who have lived for years here. The newcomers prefer to associate with the members of the local communities and look towards them for help and guidance. The distance from the homeland the families, in the new environment where everything is different and faster, creates nostalgia among the Pakistanis. They attend welcome parties hosted by the local Pakistani-Americans or the Pakistani clubs; cherish the memories from back home

and in many cases, attend religious functions like Friday prayers where they chance to meet Muslims from different parts of the world in similar situations. In certain cases where the peers did not encourage or help the newcomers, the latter turned towards other Muslims like Iranians, Arabs or other South-East Asians. This phenomenon is more evident in the dormitories on campuses, where many graduate students from all around the world live and mingle.

Along with a confused attitude toward American lifestyles, there is a deep sense of appreciation for the American achievements in education, science and technology, which sometimes becomes overwhelming for new arrivals. All of our respondents were impressed by the efficiency of the American system, where everything seemed to be taking place in its very natural way. The respondents from Lansing, Jackson, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti and likewise from other small towns in this part of Michigan, were amazed at the security and respect for law, but the Pakistanis in the Detroit area had mixed impressions and felt a sort of insecurity in a big city like Detroit with its ill-repute and its complexity, did not let much socialization take place, and most of our respondents felt lonely in the early stage of their stay there.

Along with the food, language and weather, lodging was another major problem for many visitors, particularly, those who settled in Detroit, first. The location of Wayne State University in Downtown Detroit attracted many Pakistanis to reside in the neighborhood in the initial period

of their stay. Their fears of American urban life were strengthened there, which multiplied their cultural shock. The Pakistani students did not face much problems and rather enjoyed living in the dorms. But due to age and family factors, respondents in their mid-thirties and early forties did not like dorm life at all. They disliked the food, noise and lack of privacy in the dorm-life. A student in his early 40's had problems with his Arabian roommate, whose American girlfriend was actually living and sharing the small room with him (7). Another student could not study in his room because of loud music played by his American roommate. One Pakistani graduate student did not eat anything except fish and chips during his early seven months of stay in a dormitory: "I did not like the food and also the way many students were living in the hall. Pot smoking, loud music and sexual freedom made me weary of the dorm life and I decided to move out. I had saved enough money in the meantime for a ticket of my wife who joined me in the seventh month of my stay here on campus and then, I moved into married housing (6).

Another student shared a house with some Chinese students. He did not join them in their cooking, but rather had his own arrangement. Later on, he visited Pakistan, got married, came back and moved in the married housing apartments (14). He had been very particular about his food, never eating unkoshered meat and avoided everything cooked in meat shortening. One of his close friends

in Detroit used to send him Koshered meat bought from the Arab butchers in Dearborn. Similarly, other respondents in the beginning had problems with their roommates, hallmates and other neighbors but some of them got adjusted in due course of time. However, it was commonly observed that the accommodation in a hall in the first term was found very advantageous by many Pakistani students in understanding the new culture and in cultivating new friendships. Some Pakistanis who moved out could not deal with the responsibilities of cooking, cleaning and buying groceries and so moved back into the dorms. During summer because of cheap rents, many students would move out to have a taste of off-campus life at least for a term. Pakistanis living in the dorms had more means of developing their social life by meeting people of cross-cultural backgrounds. Many of them developed close friendships with their roommates. One respondent observed: "My best friend in the United States is a Puerto-Rican with whom I was sharing the room in my first term" (5). The rural students had some problems in getting used to dorm life, but urban students were generally quick to compromise with it. Some of them went a bit ahead and developed associations with the female residents. Such relationships, later on, often developed into marriage.

#### The Variables and Early Cultural Experiences

The urban students are generally quick in cross-cultural interactions. A few of respondents from Karachi and Lahore

had started working in the cafeterias, soon after they arrived in Michigan. A graduate student from Karachi met his wife in the cafeteria where both of them were working at the same time (15). Another student from rural Punjab was working in a local club where he met his present wife who was working as a waitress then (17). Generally, the students in their twenties who are on F-1 visas take the initiative in working at odd jobs. Such students, mostly in their twenties, are least inhibited in doing cleaning, such students are mentally prepared to do such jobs long before they leave Pakistan. Many sponsored government employees feel hesitant in doing such jobs and the factors behind such attitudes are age and status consciousness. Yet another employee, father of three children and an official of the Pakistan Government, had to work, since his scholarship could not meet his family expenses, but he never liked to discuss his job before others (7). Many of the "pioneer" Pakistanis, now residing in Michigan, had done odd jobs at different periods in their early phase of stay here. One respondent who sponsored more than twenty members of his immediate family from a village in Punjab was a self-sponsoring student and had determined to stay in the United States. He earned the favor of the employer, who sponsored his green card. His story is typical of the American myth of rags to riches (51).

The married students are quick in developing such sort of initiative. They generally do not interact with the opposite sex. Some of our respondents in their initial stage

of stay were more worried about their wives and kins than anything else. They were not relieved of tension, until their remaining members of the family joined them. Since family and marriage, as mentioned earlier are more than just social institutions for a Pakistani, he finds psychological solace in being among his immediate family. In the absence of friends, and under the pressure of new culture, the family, particularly in the early state, becomes a very important boosting factor for a Pakistani. Interestingly, many newcomers felt very lonely in the beginning and their deep sense of insecurity in them made some of them think in terms of getting married with the Pakistani girls. Since there are not very many Pakistani girls in this part of the United States, these youths wrote back to their friends and parents to arrange their marriages with the suitable females.

The physicians are the most affluent members in the community and for them accommodation is not a big problem since they can afford modest places even in suburbia. But the new physicians, particularly ones with the families, have always certain early problems in adjustment. Their wives feel lonely and the unavailability of certain grocery items in the beginning is a hazard. Many Pakistani physicians, and for that matter even Indian ones, help such newcomers in the area. Most of these physicians are away from the humdrum of campus or city life so their profession becomes a sort of excuse for their adjustment in the new cultural environment. The solidarity among the physicians, surpassing

the regional or provincial backgrounds, is a very unique phenomenon in this part of Michigan. The unmarried Pakistani physicians are generally more out-going and their residency or practice in the hospitals afford them the opportunities to have more cross-cultural contacts. A few physicians, irrespective of familial, or ethnic background, are very religious and never associate much with the opposite sex. Such people seek out other Muslims in the area and from the very beginning are very reserved in their attitudes.

Pakistani engineers, pharmacists and likewise other skilled people are helped by the members of the local community in the beginning, irrespective of their familial, professional or ethnic background. To be simply a Pakistani was enough for getting early help from other colleagues in the area. Such people, due to the lack of experience in American academic institutions, face a cultural crisis but overcome it later on. The young and single professionals from urban centers are more social and receptive to a different culture in the initial stage of their stay. In South-East Michigan these professionals, with their background in American schools, are easily adjusted and to them mobility has never been important or unusual.

Ethnicity has much to do with the experiences of Pakistanis in their early contacts with the new donor culture. The process of acculturation is naturally slow in the initial stage of contacts but the pace could be varied due to some particular ethnic orientation. The urban people



particularly from Karachi and more open to cultural change, while the Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis follow them in the list. The Punjabi students and physicians are the most receptive groups in cultural term. The rate of literacy in Karachi and Lahore is highest in Pakistan, which makes the process of learning in acculturation much easier. To a large extent, the contacts with the foreigners in Pakistan, education in missionary schools, level of education and religiosity in the family and also the economic background influence the pace of acculturation. The older people are generally less receptive in cultural change unless they are unusually open-minded or well-traveled. Similarly, the marriage obligations or family responsibilities become important factors in the determination of the speed of acculturation.

The Karachiites and the urban Pakistanis are normally more open to cultural changes and the media in Pakistan prepares them for the inevitability of acculturation in a new cultural environment. The rural Punjabis or Sindhis and tribal Pathans take time in accepting new realities in the first phase of their stay. Due to the small number of the Pathans in the area, the new Pathans and likewise the rural Sindhis may not have much choice in the selection of the close associates, but later on the ethnicity makes the relationships closer. Because of international importance of Karachi and easy access to information of foreign cultures, the Karachiites are the most mobile people from Pakistan.

They face no major problem in seeking admission to different American schools and their friends and relatives abroad always keep them abreast of latest situation in jobs and immigration. Such people receive orientation on certain things like food, weather or cultural shock long before they embark on their travels to the United States.

The Urdu-speaking people in South-East Michigan tend to be together, and likewise, the Pathans and rural Sindhis. The Punjabis are not that community conscious and try to develop inter-ethnic relationships. Punjab being the biggest and the richest province in Pakistan, does not have minority consciousness among its inhabitants. The Punjabis are very social and their history through the ages have shaped them like that. In South-East Michigan, as we saw earlier, the Punjabis mostly speak Urdu or English among themselves, excepting a few cases where the parents feel more comfortable in communicating in their own dialects. The Urban Punjabis, from the very beginning are used to Urdu and English as medium of conversation. On the other hand, the Pathans and Sindhis feel more comfortable in the usage of their own mother tongues in their daily lives. The tribal Pathans, irrespective of profession or family status, are the most tradition conscious people and the extent of cultural shock for them is usually greater than the other Pakistani ethnic groups. The Pathans straight-forwardly accept or reject new culture norms and in their early stay, nearly all of them abstain from drinking and dancing. They feel more

nostalgic of their language, family and homeland and in the new environment they try to associate with the people from Pakistan in general and from the Frontier province in particular. In the initial stage of the stay in South-East Michigan, the Pathans and the rural Sindhis felt more cultural strangeness than the urban Sindhis and urban Punjabis. They have been more homesick than the rest of the community and their small numbers, relatively, in the area afforded them with more togetherness. These respondents, with a few weeks of their stay in this part of Michigan, came to know about the people from their ethnic stock already living in this region: "I moved to Michigan from West Virginia, because of assistanceship afforded to me by the University. But, I remember leaving Charleston when my Pathan friends came to say bye. I was crying like a child, and it looked as if I was leaving Pakistan for the first time, then" (13).

Another Pathan chemist in a small town working with Dow Medical Corporation, was very homesick in the beginning. He called the Pakistanis all around and thus, met some Pathans with whom he has developed regular friendship in the due course of time (52). The early loneliness is more among the first-timers in Detroit.

Thus the extent of cultural shock among different Pakistanis in South-East Michigan owes a great deal to their age, family position, professional background and ethnic origin. These factors help them in their early adjustment in America and prepare them for more cultural changes in the future.

## Chapter 5

### Middle Phase and the Participation in the Third Culture

A Pakistani, soon after the primary cultural shock is over, enters into the second phase in the process of his acculturation. The first phase, given the three variables, covers a few early months of his/her stay in the U.S. The second, or the middle stage in the process of acculturation reveals more stability in his/her attitude. The new society does not seem to be that awful, rather adjustment adopts a more natural course. It does not mean that one does not feel that defensive about one's own culture. Rather a compromising sort of acceptance replaces a more rigid resistance. At this stage, the adjustment of a Pakistani in the mainstream of a "third culture" occurs as an ultimate reality. In other words, A Pakistani starts sharing as well as contributing to a Pakistani-American culture. The extent of sharing in such a "third culture" varies from one individual to another, but still, it is never an optional activity. The present part of our study deals with the definition and the trait of this "third culture." It, also, attempts to estimate the response of the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan to the new socio-cultural environment in context with the three variables.

#### Definition and Traits of "The Third Culture"

The interaction of Pakistani culture with its American

counterpart in South-East Michigan causes the evolution of another culture, which we loosely can define as "the third culture" or a Pakistani-American culture. Actually, it is an amalgam of many different cultural traits where Pakistanis act accordingly. The American culture, playing role of a donor culture, interacts with the members of the Pakistani community in South-Eastern Michigan and leads its members to the acceptance of certain norms of life which they were not used to in Pakistan. Thus, the acculturation of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan during the second phase of their stay, in other words, means also their participation in the third culture. The level of the participation is determined by the particular background of that individual.

The American culture plays a dominant role in the determination of the third culture, shared by the Pakistanis in the South-East Michigan. It does not mean that American culture operates only as a donor culture, it is also a recipient of certain traits and values from its Pakistani counterpart. To deny the existence of this sort of relationship might be liable to the blind acceptance of sweeping king of "Americanization", which is a very unreal and un-historic generalization.

The common grounds for the interaction of both the American and Pakistani cultures, are multiple: dress, food language, leisure pastimes, matrimonial relationships, religious practices and association with others. The changes in attitudes created as results of interaction in the third

culture can be described as new outlooks towards America as well as to Pakistan.

The evolution of such a third culture has been a natural result of the mutual relationship of Pakistani and American individuals and institutions. After a few months of stay in the U.S., the Pakistanis feel host of changes in their habits and attitudes which consciously or unconsciously fall into the orbit of the third culture. The primary phase of their cultural experiences provides enough orientation for Pakistanis to work out a feasible acceptance of certain norms and values of American daily life. The role of the "ppers", "pioneers" or the members in the community already residing in South-East Michigan, cannot be ruled out in their insemination of the basic information during the second phase. The new students living in the dorms are helped occasionally by the veterans in getting used to new names and strange contents of the food on the menu. Some student respondents complained of the arrogant attitudes on the part of such old hands, who had enjoyed ridiculing their dress-styles, accent and unawareness of certain manners in the new society.

Excepting a few undergraduates, most of the Pakistani students in South-East Michigan are engaged in graduate studies. The graduate students are always pressed with time and complain of their busy schedules. The married students have additional family responsibilities which curtail their non-academic activities. The graduate students with their

prior educational background of undergraduate studies in the U.S. face fewer problems, of course. Their adjustment on big campuses is the smoothest of all.

For new Pakistani graduate students, the relationship between a teacher and a student in America is a strikingly new experience, since in Pakistan, a teacher holds a spiritual status in the minds of many students, where respect supersedes informality. Certain American trained teachers in Pakistan try to introduce an air of informality in their dealings with the students, but such efforts produce mixed results. It took quite a bit of time for most of our students to understand the nature of the relationship between a teacher and students. Many technicalities in the American educational system, such as quizzes or grading, formerly unknown to many Pakistani students, become normal now on.

This intermediary stage of acculturation is not that smooth for every student. Some respondents, majoring in areas like economics or mathematics-related subjects, had to work quite hard to compensate for certain professional deficiencies inherent in the Pakistani educational system. For a few respondents such academic weaknesses created a nervousness which went on long during the second phase in their stay. The family responsibilities and newness of the socio-cultural environment psychologically increased such nervousness to the embarrassment of such individuals.

The single students on scholarships felt more at ease with new educational challenges and, also, found ample time to increase their social relationships. A few of these

Pakistani students started going out on dates with the female students. The Pakistani students from urban backgrounds were quick enough to adopt such new life-styles, while married students with immediate families back home or even in the U.S., were either not social at all, or were unsuccessful in developing closer relationships with American students. Most sponsored students concentrated on their studies and by saving some money were able to bring their spouses to the U.S.

#### Categorization of the Pakistanis on the Basis of Their Ideological Outlooks

During the second phase, it is comparatively easy to categorize the Pakistani on the basis of their socio-cultural attitudes and roles in the third culture. The Pakistani students in South-East Michigan in particular and the rest of the community in general, can be divided into three groups: firstly, religious; secondly, liberal; and thirdly, moderates or the in-betweens.

The first group is composed of students and non-students with deep religious affiliations who are extremely defensive about their own culture. They wear western clothes, speak English and participate in the academic activities, but their priorities are very different. These people are generally strict in the observance of their prayers and socialize only with the people with the similar religious outlooks. Such people are very selective in the adoption of a Pakistani-American culture. They do not like dancing, drinking, dating



or free mixing of opposite sexes. Such people dislike the leisure pursuits of the Americans. Some of them with extreme religious attitudes do not like any sort of movies or music and watch American television basically for the news. They even discourage their families from watching different television programs and are worried about the future of their children in a free and dominantly Christian country. Such Pakistanis, the majority of whom are married but who represent all the different ethnic groups of Pakistan, interact in a limited zone. They believe in an arranged marriage system, distrust liberal attitudes and recommend a strict Islamic code of life for all the Pakistanis. Their activities are generally limited to the classrooms, jobs, home and associations with other religious Muslims. They abhor the materialistic values of the third culture where money, higher mobility, individualized leisure pasttimes are the main features of daily life. Such religious Pakistanis travel but on a limited basis and eat outside very rarely. They relate their experiences and attitudes to the new Pakistanis in the area by acting as "peers." So they have very defined cultural roles and actually live on the fringes of the third culture.

The second group of Pakistanis consist of those individuals who hold very liberal ideas and mix with the Americans in an unhibited way. The people in this group are mostly in their twenties and with a youthful enthusiasm adjust to the new socio-cultural framework. In many instances their attitude and behavior in the third culture is directly opposite

to those of the religious ones. The liberal Pakistanis are not defensive of their culture. These liberals are not atheistic or antagonistic to Islam, but they believe that "while in Rome, do as the Romans do." Most of the members in this group are from urban and affluent background in Pakistan. Their previous schooling in highly westernized institutions and early interaction with foreign cultures in cities like Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad and Peshawar orients them for such attitudes in the United States. These people have very internationalistic outlooks and enjoy the American popular culture. The members of these two groups hold opposite positions ideologically and thus try to avoid direct confrontations in Pakistani gatherings.

The third group of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan is comprised of moderates, individuals who have no avowed commitment to any of the other two groups. This is the largest of the three groups. These people live in the mainstream of the third culture without breaking off their controls with any of the two cultures. They create a sort of equilibrium between East and West and are usually successful in their roles as intermediaries. They are proud of being Pakistanis and show their nationalistic feelings by participating in social gatherings with the rest of the community. They quote American examples often and do not become over-defensive or offensive in their appreciation or depreciation of both the cultures. The individuals in this

group associate with other Pakistanis, non-Pakistanis, Muslims and non-Muslims indiscriminately and their associations are always non-ideological.

The acculturation of these people during the second phase is very natural, smooth and raises very few reactions. The moderates try new food, dress casually like other Americans, travel around in their vacations and have many American friends from classes, dorms, jobs or neighborhood. Due to their relaxed ideological outlooks, these people are generally successful in developing friendships with the members of the opposite sex. If married, their interaction with the American neighbors takes a very non-discriminatory course.

Despite the fact that this grouping is more vivid in the case of students, yet the physicians, pharmacists, engineers and members of unskilled labor can be accounted for. The new Pakistanis in South-East Michigan, after a few months of stay in the United States, affiliate themselves with one of the three groups. It happens automatically since this categorization is not a strict division, but simply shows the attitudinal differences among the Pakistanis in their response to American culture. The likeness of tendencies and attitudes among the members of the Pakistani community helps them in developing closer relationship among themselves as well as with outsiders.

Many of the unmarried physicians, engineers and semi-skilled personnel from Pakistan fall in the second group, comprised of liberals. Like many students in this category, these individuals represent big cities and affluent

families in Pakistan where cross-cultural marriages, foreign travels and highly westernized institutions liberalize their attitudes. Married students and members of Pakistani skilled labor in South-East Michigan occupy the third group while many rural and tribal Pakistani professionals in their late thirties and mid-forties or a few graduate students with a deep commitment to religious political parties in Pakistan, are part and parcel of the first group.

### Social Interaction of the Pakistanis

It is not difficult for a new Pakistani to decide about his/her closer relationships with either of the three groups. By the time, the second stage starts, a Pakistani feels very different toward America and her people. The single students or skilled personnel working with the state or in other professions are the first to come into direct contact with the Americans. After a few months, the American life-styles do not shock them anymore, but rather create mixed feelings. The nostalgia is gone, homesickness is replaced by busy schedules and life gets more regularized. The fondness for certain television programs and access to all sorts of literature and movies attune these Pakistanis to changed attitudes. A new sense of independence and self-confidence develops. The Pakistanis try to make the maximum use of their leisure time. Along with the parties, hosted frequently by local Pakistanis and other Muslim groups, the movies, concerts and night clubs attract the attention of

these Pakistanis. The married students, professionals and most of the other non-skilled personnel spend their leisure time and weekends either with their own families or visit other Pakistani married couples in the area. Indian movies are frequently shown in Detroit, Lansing, and Ann Arbor. Pakistani moving do not have much market in the area because of the smaller number of Pakistani patrons. Detroit hosts many Pakistani and Indian artists from time to time, who attract Pakistanis from different parts of South-East Michigan and Northern Ohio. These events are of social importance, since Pakistanis with similar ethnic backgrounds or professions come to know each other. These gatherings show the loyalty to the Pakistani culture by Pakistanis thousands of miles away from their own homeland. Pakistani women, irrespective of age, profession or origin prefer movies from the subcontinent over the American ones. Wearing Pakistani national dresses, these women attend such social gatherings to console their nostalgia for home.

Such recreational activities play a pivotal role in widening the social relationships of Pakistanis in the region. The Urdu-speaking Pakistanis from Karachi meet many Indian Muslims, with whom they share Urdu as a mother tongue. Rural Punjabis from Pakistan develop friendships with the Sikhs who belong to the Indian part of the Punjab. Many of these Sikhs, who are scattered all over the world are very ambitious people with an agrarian background. They share common ethnicity with many Pakistani Punjabis and

cherish the Punjabi music and mystic literature together. The liberal and also the moderate Pakistanis are generally well-ahead in developing this sort of sub-continental relationship. The religious Pakistanis avoid establishing closer associations with the Sikhs and Hindus but feel at ease with the Indian Muslims. The brief history of hostilities between India and Pakistan has left many scars in the mind of the people in both the countries, so their mutual relationships even in America are ususally very formal and limited.

The religious festivals and other Islamic celebrations afford the Pakistani Muslims with opportunities to meet the Muslims from other nationalities. Along with the Arabs and Iranians the Pakistanis meet the Muslims from South-East Asia, Africa, Europe and even from North American. Almost every Pakistani has been to the mosques or Islamic centers at least once in his/her stay in South-East Michigan.

#### Mobility among the Pakistanis

The single members in the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan have been found the most mobile people during the second phase in their acculturation. Quite a few of them have been to Cedar Point, Niagara Falls, Florida and California. Along with such pleasure trips, many Pakistanis find opportunities to travel to other parts of the United States sake of jobs or to attend seminars and conferences relating to their professions.

A majority of self-supporting Pakistani students in this area have travelled extensively in the Southern states working for the Southwestern Company of Nashville in Tennessee. The company published Christian religious literature and sells it door to door in Southern United States. This organization recruits many students on different campuses for summer jobs and then, depute them to different places in the States to sell the religious literature by making door calls. Before their assignments, the student employees receive a basic training in relevant commercial techniques at the company's headquarters in Nashville. These students, during their jobs as salesmen chance to see the poor sections in American society by visiting the areas of Blacks, Chicanos, Mexicans, Puerto-Ricans and Cubans, residing in these areas.

Many unmarried self-supporting Pakistani students in South-East Michigan have worked for this Nashville-based religious organization and found their experiences very thrilling and informative. The married self-supporting Pakistani students living with their immediate families in South-East Michigan find it hard to work at far away places. Such students prefer to work on campuses in cleaning or janitorial positions.

It is in summer when Pakistanis, like many Americans, travel to places of recreational and tourist attraction. The trips to Upper Peninsula or Chicago are commonplace for many Pakistanis in South-East Michigan. Married couples, particularly the ones with children, travel to Disney World in Florida.

Another unique reality observed among Pakistanis during this second stage is an ambitious zeal to see more of American. The graduate students, destined to return to Pakistan after finishing their education try to make maximum use of their leisure time. Many of the married students own the cars and travel to many places in the United States before they leave for Pakistan. Similarly, the blue-collar Pakistani workers in Lansing and Detroit visit their friends and relatives in other parts of the United States or make short visits to Pakistan. The Pakistanis with American wives keep in touch with their in-laws and visit them during the holidays.

The Pakistani physicians, lawyers, businessmen and some students with enough savings visit Pakistan and some of them get married, too. Most of the skilled and semi-skilled Pakistanis in South-East Michigan had visited Pakistan in their second or third year of their stay in the United States. Similarly, Pakistanis working in factories or other similar jobs had visited their relatives in Pakistan soon after they got settled. Such visits cause the arrival of many more relatives in the area.

#### Contacts with Pakistan

Despite the fact that the original nostalgia is over, still Pakistanis in South-East Michigan cherish the memories of home. They read newspapers from Pakistan provided by the libraries in the universities. The newsletters, published by the Pakistani Embassy in Washington, D.C., and religious



organizations like MSA, keep Pakistanis abreast of the latest happenings in Pakistan. The religious Pakistanis usually prefer religious literature and unlike the liberal Pakistanis distrust the western media. Letters from home, though not very explicit, depict vaguely the economic and political situation in Pakistan. In almost all the cases, all the Pakistani respondents in South-East Michigan were well-informed on the happenings in Pakistan, but the quality of information varied from an individual to another.

Visitors, travellers and new arrivals from Pakistan increase the curiosity of the local Pakistanis about their homeland. Many new members express mixed impressions of Pakistan, particularly, the officials of the Government of Pakistan, do not like to discuss political situations openly. On the contrary the students discuss Pakistani politics openly. The politics and religion are the two most interesting and at the same time very controversial topics for all the Pakistanis.

Pakistanis in South-East Michigan, soon after they are settled in their new positions, try to save some money. Students with families back home and likewise, the professionals, send regular money dispatches home. The students, being the poorest in the community, unlike the physicians, engineers, businessmen and lawyers, cannot send large consignments. The professionals with full-fledged plans of settling in the United States do not send that much money back home but rather bring more relatives to the United States. Similarly the blue-collar workers,

through the arranged marriages, sponsor many of their near relatives to the United States. The Punjabis, in this regard are the most ambitious people who waste little time in increasing the number of their families in South-East Michigan.

The affluent Pakistanis in South-East Michigan confirm the validity of the American dream by expanding their enterprises during this middle period. Investment in real-estate is a very lucrative business for many Pakistani professionals who manage it with the help of their relatives. The rural Punjabis, being fond of vast agrarian lands, prefer to buy farm land while the physicians and other skilled professionals usually buy houses and apartment complexes.

A rural Punjabi was working the the automobile factory along with his three cousins and two nephews whom he had sponsored to the United States. At the same time, his wife and two sons ran a party store adjacent to their house; his younger brother managed two of his apartment complexes, while two other nephews worked at different unskilled jobs. This while well-integrated family, obeying the "pioneer-member" completely, had expanded its number and business both in a span of a few years. To them America still meant a land of riches and opportunities.

Along with the people with family obligations, the rural and tribal Pakistanis, irrespective of their professions or ethnicity send money to their parents regularly. They are the people who believe in a strong family system based on mutual support and accept the system of arranged marriages.

Attitudes toward America

During the second phase of their stay in the United States, the Pakistanis undergo a big change not only in their habits and mutual relationships but also in their attitudes towards the new culture as well as their own culture. Or, in other words, they become part of the third culture. We will first discuss their attitudes towards America and Americans and then to their own culture to determine their acculturation during this intermediate stage.

Apart from their new ideological affiliations resulting into above-mentioned three groups and their mutual relationships or contacts with home, the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan gain more awareness of the American culture. Their early experiences in language, food, life-styles, education, jobs, travel and association with American neighbors, friends, colleagues and media, all contribute towards this. After a few months, they feel more at ease in the new land among new people. The problems in communication are over and the early hesitancy in trying American habits and tastes is replaced by a sort of adventurous spirit. A Pakistani tries new food, likes to wear jeans, uses certain colloquial words and will try to enhance his knowledge of American popular culture. Now, he is prepared for new dimensions and will not be shocked that much by the results of such experiences. This curiosity is mingled with a strong confidence and more capacity for new ideas and norms. There are exceptions, of course.

The deeply committed religious Pakistanis still look at American culture doubtfully. They prefer to be reserved in their social contacts and move mainly among Pakistanis or other Muslims with similiar outlooks. These Pakistanis, both rural and urban, are less provincial and are more Pan-Islamic in their social behavior. To them being a simple Pakistani or a Muslim is enough. They dislike American popular music, jazz, American movies and they avoid fraternization with American women. A few typical remarks will explain their attitudes:

" I do not like music of any type at all, because it is un-Islamic" (26).

" I prefer to wear Shalwar and Kurta, rather than tight trousers, but due to the weather I am compelled to do so" (40).

" I personally do not like the idea of going out with any girls what-so-ever, before actual marriage" (56).

" I hate seeing Pakistanis going out with American girls and behaving like Americans" (79).

" I cook my own food and all Pakistani dishes are my favorite ones" (74).

" I will accept anything from American culture as long as it is not un-Islamic" (62).

On the other hand, the liberal Pakistanis believe in closer interaction with the Americans:

" I do not mind free-mixing of opposite sexes and I like to go out with American boys and there is nothing wrong with it" (24).

" Casual drinking, dancing and partying are good for mental relaxation after a tense week of hard work" (23).

Bear in mind that such respondents are from highly westernized urban backgrounds, and most of them are unmarried students and skilled professionals.

Many other Pakistanis, who believe in making independent decisions for themselves are mostly in mid twenties and late twenties. To them, American culture, like any other culture, has both good and bad things in it. They are generally careful in their evaluation of American culture:

" I do not mind Pakistanis goint out with American girls as long as they know what they are reaching at" (30).

" I do not want to be Americanized or totally remain isolated. I want to pick up the good things from both cultures without going to eith of the extremes" (79).

All of these respondents are either passing through the second phase of acculturation or have just gone through it. Thus, they are clearer in their ideas and attitudes towards America. They feel self-assured in discussing their new habits and changes in their attitudes. Contacts with

the American students, roommates, teachers, patients, colleagues, insurance agents, businessmen, consumers and neighbors lessen the social isolation of Pakistanis. Many Pakistanis start going out with American females who they meet at jobs, in the class rooms or in the dorms. Some Pakistanis, very consciously, prefer to go out with other Eastern women present in the area. Such relationships are found mostly on campuses where large communities of international students reside. A few Pakistanis marry their female friends from Muslim countries like Egypt, Iran or Palestine. They do not believe in arranged marriages but feel comfortable in marrying partners with similar cultural orientations like their own. Since there are very few single Pakistani women, many Pakistanis start going out with other Eastern women. Such sort of datings usually end up as regular marriages.

The younger unmarried Pakistanis are the most outgoing members in the community during the second phase of their stay. The students and physicians from urban origins and with liberal and moderate outlooks are the most successful in such social ventures. The rural Punjabis, tribal Pathans and rural Sindhis have many difficulties in accepting the idea of such pre-marital relationships. The blue-collar workers have similar difficulties in overcoming their cultural inhibitions. These people do not find themselves in the mainstream of the third culture. They are either mostly married, or have no opportunity of meeting members of

opposite sex due to the nature of their jobs. Their family obligations back home, lack of leisure time and lack of experience in cross-cultural relations, all make them the least outgoing members in the community. The youthful Pakistanis in this group with the university degrees are very social and thus are exceptions. The attachment to the family back home and greater loyalty to their rural or tribal values hinder the free-mixing of many of the rural Pakistanis with the other Americans in the area. They face confusion in accepting the norms of a new culture.

On the other hand, Pakistanis with American girl friends or spouses provide a sort of psychological and moral support for other Pakistanis. The extent of involvement, at this stage, is varied, particularly the rural and tribal Pakistanis avoid serious commitments:

" I used to tell every woman I met about my belief in an arranged marriage system, which would turn her off. But I did not want to deceive her either" (18).

" I used to go out with the girls in those days but would drink only hot tea in place of alcohol and would avoid dancing" (71).

" I fell in love with a woman at the job in the hospital but could not marr her because of my familial and cultural reasons. She not only left me, but also, left the town" (73).

Such examples are not rare, since many Pakistani from rural backgrounds with strong family ties dislike drinking, dancing or marrying a non-Pakistani girl without the agreement of the parents. So they socialize for the sake of temporary fun and do not move away from the basics of their own culture. In general, many Pakistanis who start going out with American women seriously, at a later stage accept them for marriage, even if their parents disagree.

The application of the individual's freedom of speech, religion and his honesty about his work are the principal features Pakistanis appreciate about Americans the most. The second phase in their stay provides them with ample opportunities to see American system very closely. Their own observations and personal experiences help them in the evaluation of the American life-styles. They like the educational system of America but are usually critical of American moral values. The loneliness and isolation particularly among the elderly Americans hurt many Pakistanis who believe that these people should receive more care from their own young relatives.

#### Attitude towards other Pakistanis in South-East Michigan

The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan, during the second stage of acculturation, not only feel a change in their attitudes towards Americans, but also towards their own countrymen in the area. The similarities in family status, profession or in ethnicity determine their mutual relationship.



Besides, their respective roles in the third culture on the basis of their ideological grouping, harness their attitudes towards one another.

The local Pakistani and Muslim organizations provide the platform for getting closely acquainted with one another. The married Pakistani couples associate with the married Pakistanis from the same ethnic origin. Then, the students mingle among themselves more freely, likewise the other professionals relate to one another. There is always a sort of dissatisfaction among many of the members, who dislike such grouping on the basis of family, profession or ethnicity. To them being a Muslim or a Pakistani should eliminate such differences. The new enthusiasts feel disgusted at such differences and try to forge closer ties among the members in the community. Respondents recalled their irritation at the intervention of other Pakistanis in their own life-styles. The individualistic patterns of life, a necessary part of American life, comes into conflict with the dependent social patterns of Pakistani culture. So the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan try in their own to determine a balancing position for themselves between the two extremes.

The prosperity of some Pakistanis or the success in their family life could create arrogance or mutual jealousy which affect their mutual relationships. The nationality of wife can be an excuse as well as a support in the definition of mutual relations of Pakistanis in South-East Michigan.

a few bachelor Pakistanis feel uneasy with certain married couples who do not approve of their dates with the American girls. In an independent social atmosphere, these unmarried Pakistanis did not appreciate the interference of their countrymen in their personal affairs. The American individualism is the most admired trait by the bachelor Pakistanis while it is the most disliked one for the married Pakistanis.

#### Attitudes Towards Women

Women in Pakistan have fewer jobs available in the public sector outside family life. Even most of the educated women, after their marriage, become full-time housewives and simply raise the children. But in the U.S., a new world and life wait for them. No doubt, many of the Pakistani women in South-East Michigan feel very lonely and homesick in the beginning, but after a few months they begin an adjustment. Similarly, their husbands start accepting the new status of their wives in America. The extent of changes in the habits and attitudes among these women and men varies from person to person and can be traced to the three variables.

The age, religiosity, profession and ethnic background of the husbands play a very important role in the acculturation of their wives in America. After the early shock is over, many Pakistani men encourage their wives to accept some new things from American culture. A few women, particularly, the wives of students, start working to support some of the family expenses. Baby-sitting, housekeeping or similar other jobs on campuses absorb these women. The Pakistani women with

college degrees from Pakistan do not face any problem in communicating with the Americans and quickly discover a new atmosphere of personal independence and fruitfulness. Some women, particularly, the wives of the skilled professionals, start taking evening classes to keep themselves busy, but mothers with two or more children generally do not have enough leisure to find jobs.

Most of the Pakistani women, with encouragement from their husbands, wear American dresses like trousers and in some cases even skirts without quitting their basic Pakistani dress-styles. The wives of the religious Pakistanis in South-East Michigan dress themselves in a strict Islamic way. The women from rural areas of Pakistan wear "Shalwar" and "Kurta", the typical Pakistani dress. Similarly the urban women wear "Sari", another popular dress in the sub-continent. The religious Pakistanis prefer protective attitudes towards their wives by discouraging the association with the liberal and moderate Pakistani families. Such conservative attitudes were mostly found among rural Punjabi students and the tribal Pathan physicians, who believe in the strict separation of both the sexes.

Contrary to that, the non-Pakistani spouses of some Pakistanis are more social and friendly with the rest of the community. In the beginning, these women are very enthusiastic about learning of the people and culture of Pakistan. Many of them, in a very ambitious way, try to learn Urdu, wear Pakistani clothes and cook Pakistani food.

They even change their Christian names to popular Pakistani Muslim names. Such spouses help their husbands in their socialization and acculturation in America. The parents of such Pakistanis who plan to marry non-Pakistani women resent such mixed marriages in the beginning but, later on, accept the realities.

To summarize the above discussion, the second phase in stay of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan plays a pivotal role in their adjustment in the new culture. The greater knowledge of the new socio-cultural environment helps their movement in the third culture which is combined of the traits from both the Pakistani and American cultures. This third culture is comprised of certain habits and attitudes, which bring different reactions from three different groups of Pakistanis. These three groups are based on the extent of reception or rejection of certain cultural traits by the community members. This distribution also shows the pace of acculturation among different Pakistanis in South-East Michigan who are further influenced by their specific familial, professional and ethnic realities.

## Chapter 6

### The Final Phase and the Completion Of Acculturation

The acculturation of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan is measured by the three different stages in their stay; their arrival in the U.S. and the, their adjustment in the new socio-cultural environment. The present part of the study is devoted to the third and final stage of acculturation, when the cultural behavior and the attitudes of the Pakistanis are stabilized and their interaction with the Americans brings them closer to the mainstream of American society. At this stage, their sharing, participation and contribution to the American culture is exactly like many other minorities in the U.S. Despite their roots being in a different culture, they become part of American culture, too. By this time, the elements of foreignness in the U.S. culture are gone and familiarity with many American institutions brings a sense of belonging to the new homeland.

The change in habits and attitudes during this third phase of acculturation is the most comprehensive and far-reaching of all. A longer duration of stay in the U.S. and more intimate contacts with the Americans help Pakistanis accept the change in their daily lives. The Pakistanis, generally, develop a more tolerant and receptive

attitude towards many American cultural features. The American life-styles look more natural, less complex and, in many cases, easy to adopt. Similarly these Pakistanis undergo a big change in their attitudes towards their own people and culture. The role of American friends, colleagues, wives and the impact of a powerful media, contribute effectively in changing the cultural patterns of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan. In the following pages, we will explore the extent of such changes in habits and the attitudes of the members of the Pakistani community in this part of the United States.

#### Changes in Daily Life

After a few years of stay in American society, all the Pakistanis, irrespective of age, family, profession or ethnic origin, feel a tremendous amount of change in their daily habits. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the process of cultural change starts soon after the Pakistanis leave their homeland for the U.S. Their early contacts with the American culture through the "peers," media or by personal initiatives ensure their acculturation in America. The second part of their stay helps them in getting closely acquainted with the mainstream American culture. By then, they become a part of the third culture which flourishes more during the third part of their stay. The aura of personal confidence and self-reliance helps Pakistanis in gaining more intimacy

with the American culture without completely breaking off from their parent Pakistani culture.

During the third stage communication with all sorts of Americans no longer presents a problem for the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan. Knowledge of American daily usages and idioms help Pakistanis in the comprehension of American cultural infrastructure. Names of the people, places, customs, festivals, manners, food or other leisure activities of the Americans are not foreign to them any more. Sociable Pakistani students and other skilled personnel, due to the nature of their occupations and better educational qualifications, do not have to wait for the third stage to learn these things.

The Pakistanis without college education, the middle aged members of the community with strong religious affiliations, or other rural and urban Pakistanis whose visits to the U.S. have been sponsored by their relatives in America, more more slowly than the others in cross-cultural relationships. Family traditions, expectations from the elders and tribal taboos hinder the free movement in the mainstream American culture. These Pakistani speak English with their American colleagues at the places of work but feel more comfortable in using their mother tongue with their family members and other Pakistani friends. With Pakistanis, other than from their own ethnic group, they speak Urdu and send letters back home in the same language, too. But in many cases, the tribal Pathans and the rural Sindhis write letters

back home in Pushto and Sindhi, their respective mother tongues.

The Punjabis, both rural and urban, and likewise the Karachiites, communicate with their relatives and friends in Pakistan in Urdu. The religious, as well as to a large extent the moderate Pakistanis, irrespective of any variable, use Urdu as a medium of communication with their relatives in Pakistan. The liberal and highly westernized Pakistanis, mostly from affluent and urban families, use English as a medium of conversation with other Pakistanis, both here in South-East Michigan and back in Pakistan. The children born to the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan speak English with their parents and other family friends. These children or other teenagers in the Pakistani community, unlike the older generation of the Pakistanis in the U.S., are uni-linguals. The rural Pakistani mothers, with little knowledge of English or for that matter of Urdu, mostly speak mother tongues with their children and sometimes, unconsciously use words from English picked up from here and there.

The tribal Pathans are very sensitive about their family traditions, mother tongue and religion. Some Pathan respondents with American wives, have taught many Pushto words to their spouses and kids. A Pathan resident working in a local air-conditioning factory, always speaks Pushto with his infant son born from his American wife. They always eat Pakistani food and his wife does not feel hesitant in wearing Pakistani clothes. (65).



However widespread the knowledge and use of English in their public and private sectors of daily lives, the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan seldom change food habits. The spicy food prepared in the sub-continental styles remains the permanent interest of the Pakistanis in this part of Michigan. The single students living in the dorms eat American food in the cafeterias under compulsion but never forsake their native taste for their own Pakistani dishes. The married students from Pakistan, studying in the universities or colleges in Michigan, always eat Pakistani food except on rare occasions when they have to eat out. They entertain their friends, neighbors and colleagues with Pakistani food. The single Pakistani physicians, pharmacists, engineers, lawyers or other professionals eat all sorts of food because of the nature of their occupations, but always prepare Pakistani dishes at home elaborately on weekends. Their American friends and colleagues like the hot and spicy food from the East which encourages them in their entertaining efforts. The mutual exchange of recipes is a very natural result of such get-togethers. The food patterns of Pakistanis with American wives are not much different from those of the rest of the community. Some of the respondents will typify such realities:

A Punjabi skilled worker in Detroit:

"I always eat Pakistani food, while my wife prefers her own American food. Sometimes, we exchange the dishes

cooked by each other and our mutual arrangement works in complete harmony." (77).

Another rural Punjabi un-skilled worker in his late twenties observed:

"My wife works during the day for the State, while I am at home taking care of our baby. I usually prepare Pakistani dishes and then we all eat together. My wife also likes to cook Pakistani food on weekends and sometimes, entertains my Pakistani friends with Pakistani dishes." (51).

A student from Karachi finds it handy to try all kinds of food:

"I prefer Pakistani food, which both my wife and I cook very often. Sometimes, she prepares American dishes which we both like alike. We eat out rarely and try Greek food a lot." (15).

### Neighborhood and Cultural Change

Pakistani workers, both skilled and unskilled ones, irrespective of their family status and ethnic origins, buy their own houses during the third stage in their stay. The Pakistanis, historically like other Eastern societies, feel more secure in their own homes with their immediate family members and friends around. Due to the agrarian nature of the Pakistani society, property holds a very important position in the determination of the social status. Pakistani workers in South-East Michigan, after a few years of their stay, are well-prepared to buy their own houses.

Almost 90% own their own dwellings in this part of Michigan. Pakistani physicians, lawyers and some businessmen live in affluent neighborhoods in the suburbs, where most of their neighbors are usually white Americans. Blue-collar workers and other Pakistani workers belonging to middle class income group, share their neighborhoods with all kinds of Americans.

Students live in the mixed neighborhoods with predominantly lower-income group people around. They live near the campuses since their financial limitations make it hard to be choosy or to rent expensive places.

Proximity to the schools, jobs, food stores and, comparatively safer neighborhoods help the Pakistanis in making final decisions about their dwellings. The Pakistanis help one another in the real estate business and sometimes Pakistanis belonging to the same family or town live close to one another. Living close to some Pakistani, Indian or a Muslim family is always the foremost consideration in the minds of the spouses of these Pakistanis. The Pakistanis are scattered all over South-East Michigan and there is no particular area where they would be concentrated in the same neighborhood. Unlike New York and Chicago, there is no special Pakistani ethnic area in Detroit. The Pakistanis in Detroit seem to follow the patterns of other Americans, who with the acquisition of more wealth and prosperity move out to affluent suburbs. The diversity in the neighborhood helps Pakistanis in South-East Michigan in their acculturation.

The Pakistanis residing in this part of the state of Michigan spend their leisure time with their own families, relatives or their countrymen. The married Pakistanis visit other married Pakistani couples while many bachelors frequent American social spots. The religious Pakistanis, likewise, spend their spare time with other Muslims in the area and avoid much socialization with other Americans. However, they prefer to associate with the local Muslims, the majority of whom come from the Afro-American community. The religious Pakistanis associate with the religious Arabs, Iranians, Albanian Muslims and other Muslims from Afro-Asian countries.

Most Pakistanis, excepting a few single students, own television sets and watch their favorite programs regularly. The religious Pakistanis prefer to watch the news on television only and do not like other popular programs. Some of them even avoid going to the movie theaters. They do not like to go with their families to any American social event either. The American movies are like the most by bachelor students and other single professionals from the urban centers of Pakistan. By the third stage, language does not offer any hurdle and so they enjoy local American jokes and humor shown on the tube or screen. Many of them own stereo systems and prefer to entertain their guests with American popular music.

Similarly, many Pakistanis in South-East Michigan travel to other parts of the U.S. on recreational or business visits

and get to know more of America. The lawyers, physicians, local businessmen and other married blue-collar workers do not travel often, but the single students, insurance agents, Pakistanis holding administrative posts and casual visitors from Pakistan make trips to many places in the U.S. The Pakistani single students seeking summer jobs or temporary employment in other big cities in the United States, travel widely in the Midwest and the South. By this stage in acculturation, many Pakistanis in South-East Michigan own cars which facilitate their mobility.

#### Attitudes Towards Pakistan

The Pakistanis living in South-East Michigan, during their third stage in the stay, feel enormous changes in their outlooks towards their own country and people. They feel less nostalgic and generally plan on residing in the U.S. indefinitely. The Pakistanis with citizen status sponsor many of their relatives from Pakistan to the U.S., and feel more secure by being among them. That is why the number of the Punjabis is increasing in Michigan. The rural Punjabis feel pride in mentioning the number of their relatives residing in this part of Michigan or elsewhere in the U.S. The mutual engagements and arranged marriages of single Punjabis with the girls back in the native villages result in an ever-increasing number of the Punjabis into South-East Michigan.

The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan keep in constant touch with their families and friends in Pakistan. Their

occasional visits to Pakistan are due to a host of reasons, varying from nostalgia, matrimony or other happenings in the immediate family circles. The married workers make such elaborate visits along with their families to their homeland, while the single Pakistani workers visit their parents to get married to girls selected by their family members. The rural and tribal Pakistanis residing in Michigan, feel morally bound to these visits since they do not like to defy their elders in Pakistan. The success stories of these Pakistanis in the U.S., spread like wildfire in their native villages due to the regular consignments of money and other gifts to their parents. Interestingly, "the American charm" represented in person by the returning Pakistanis helps their parents in getting the hands of the beautiful and highly educated girls for marriage to their sons.

During the third stage in acculturation, many sponsored students prepare to return for their country, after they have completed their education or training. Readjustment problems await here. The other Pakistani professionals, after their vacations in Pakistan come back discouraged and pessimistic about their own country. The economic disparity, poverty, exploitation of many at the hands of a few, political instability, blind faith and corrupt bureaucracy all discourage them utterly. Their faith in America gets strengthened and the idea of returning to Pakistan is replaced by a new determination to stay in the U.S. forever. The better economic opportunities,

individual freedom and prospects of a better standard of life help these Pakistanis in making such decisions. Thus, these Pakistanis become part of a brain drain phenomenon, which is a historical reality between developed and developing countries of the world.

The mutual exchange of words over the bitter experience during their visits to homeland act as encouraging factors for the Pakistanis in making such decisions. The flaws in Pakistani laws and the apparent interest or motivation on the part of the Pakistanis at the helm of the affairs in the Pakistani government, cannot ignore their partial responsibility in pushing these men out of their country. Actually, many Pakistani physicians, engineers, law graduates and other highly qualified personnel in this part of Michigan went to Pakistan with an enthusiastic spirit, but had to suffer at the hands of local policy makers and prevalent systems in Pakistan. So they came back discouraged. Numerous of the respondents from amongst the students and professionals in South-East Michigan are the former employees of the Pakistan government who left their jobs to find better lives for themselves and their dependents. These Pakistanis talk about their personal experiences in Pakistan quite unhesitantly, and many of them are even ready to go back if some sort of change could be hoped for a better future in Pakistan. Tragically, they have become desperate and do not see any wisdom in going back to their country after getting established in the U.S.

A few recent university graduates from Pakistan, now residing in this part of Michigan, had applied for jobs in Pakistan and received very shocking responses. Two graduates in aeronautical engineering from a prestigious school disclosed their experiences very pathetically:

"The Pakistani office in charge of the department of Rawalpindi, advised us not to even think of coming back, since he, himself was trying his level best to leave his country and find some employment abroad."

(33 - 34).

Another student from Karachi and his American spouse are determined to go back, despite the fact they do not have any job waiting for them in Pakistan. (15 - 92).

The unskilled Pakistanis in this part of the state, generally, plan to go back after spending a few more years in the States. They work hard to save enough money to invest in some businesses on their return to Pakistan. But, in time, like many other Pakistanis in the area, they decide to stay on indefinitely.

Despite all sorts of discouragement meted out to them by the Pakistani officials, the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan never sever their relations with their motherland completely. They mostly associate with their own countrymen, frequent movies from the sub-continent, entertain visitors from Pakistan and try to gather news of their country. The mutual conversation among the Pakistanis and letters from relatives and friends in Pakistan are their main



channels of information on their country. The local Pakistani student organizations are the most active groups in providing opportunities for social meetings occasionally. These associations and citizens' groups organize dinners, seminars, concerts and many social events where they invite the Pakistanis and non-Pakistanis alike. Mostly the membership in such social clubs is voluntary and open to all nationalities. The members are mostly from local Pakistani communities in South-East Michigan, while many Americans, Indians, Europeans or people from other Afro-Asian countries are invited frequently in social get-togethers. In such functions, these associations serve Pakistani food, prepared by the Pakistani women in the community and expenses are borne by the individuals, or by the occasional help received from the Pakistani Embassy in Washington, D.C.

#### Mutual Relationships

During the third stage in the process of their acculturation in the U.S., the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan undergo many changes in their attitudes towards one another. The new relations are mostly based on similarities in family positions, professions or ethnic origins. The married Pakistanis prefer to associate closely with other married couples, while the bachelors feel more comfortable in the company of the bachelor Pakistanis.

Two groups invariably emerges in the Pakistani community after a period of time. The first group consists of

mainly the single and married students, while the second one is mostly comprised of all kinds of professionals in this part of the U.S. A sort of rivalry exists between these two groups who are basically divided due to the nature of their professions. The difference in age, professions and ideologies are some basic reasons in the emergence of such groupings. The students are generally in their twenties, comparatively younger than their counterparts, and because of the liberal atmosphere on the campuses enjoy life with open-heartedness. The other Pakistanis are mostly married people in their late thirties and forties, who generally act in a limited sphere of social activities and do not have an access to liberal intellectual pursuits which the students seem to enjoy. These professionals with basic degrees from Pakistani universities, unlike the student community, lack the mobility too. The leadership of the social organizations which is usually in the hands of the students, helps create such polarization among the two groups.

Similarly, ethnicity determines attitudes of the Pakistanis towards one another during their third stage in acculturation. The Punjabis and the Urdu-speaking people are the largest groups of Pakistanis in this part of Michigan. The Punjabis, if given a choice, prefer to associate with the Punjabis. But the single Punjabis are not that ethnic conscious as the married ones are, whose wives generally like to associate with the other Punjabi

women in the area. The Urdu-speaking Pakistanis enjoy mutual relationships among themselves and include the Indian Muslims in their social circles. They prefer to marry girls from Karachi or those of the Indian Muslims living in the U.S. Similarly, the Pathans of all ages and professions mix together and enjoy speaking Pushto with one another. Likewise, the Sindhis in the area keep in touch with one another through telephone, letters and mutual visits. The Pathans and these rural Sindhis, join all other Pakistanis in all sorts of social get-togethers, where, Urdu and English are used as medium of conversation. The professional loyalties, ideological affiliations and nationalistic feelings, sometimes cut cross through ethnic-based relationships and Pakistanis interact with one another as Pakistanis or as Muslims. However, it is very evident that by the third phase in acculturation, the mutual relationships of the Pakistanis in this area are more out of personal choices, where individual selection precedes all other considerations.

#### Attitudes Towards America

Frequent contacts with the mainstream American culture, hasten acculturation. Along with a powerful media, interaction with the American colleagues and neighbors, visits to shopping centers, leisure activities, travels and exchange of mutual experiences in America, provide these Pakistanis an intimacy with the different aspects of a

highly industrial culture.

The Pakistanis establish friendly relations with their American neighbors, colleagues, roommates or class fellows, which takes them often to the heart of the American culture. The mutual interactions over tea and dinner parties help create a mutual understanding between both the cultural groups. The bachelor students, physicians and the lawyers are the most active members of the community in their associations with Americans.

Married students, unskilled workers and religious Pakistanis maintain a sort of reserved attitude in getting closer to the Americans. However, more frequent encounters with the Americans let people from both the cultures get rid of many of the existing false images and stereotypes. They enjoy food, talk on all sorts of subjects varying from politics, religion to the status of women in both the cultures. Since such an interaction takes place in an open and voluntary atmosphere, the effects are long-lasting for both the cultural groups. The mutual accommodation or differences in culture is the most important result of such experiences.

The Punjabi skilled workers from urban origins are the most socially active members in the Pakistani community in South-East Michigan. Most of these workers have American spouses, whom they met on the jobs or in social gatherings. These Punjabis, without breaking off their relations with the other Pakistanis in the area, move in the orbit of the third culture. A Pakistani lawyer, who has lived in this

area for many years can be cited as a case study. (80). He lives in an affluent suburb of Detroit and is one of the most popular figures in the entire area. His clients, friends and colleagues come from all walks of American life. Despite being in his late fifties, he is a very ambitious, extremely social and quite a mobile person in his social circles. He hosts one of the biggest and perhaps the most attended Christmas parties in a local club where hundreds of people from around the township are provided free drinks and food. For that evening everybody in the area is automatically invited, while he moves around as the brightest star of the evening. The people wait for his party anxiously and come from far and wide.

This Pakistani lawyer, like many others, is very helpful to other Pakistanis in their legal problems. Pakistani students, facing deportations, or other community members with problems at the jobs approach him for consultations. He helps them free of any charge, and thus used his influence for the sake of his countrymen.

His younger brother, who is a physician, is more active socially among the Pakistanis than among the Americans. (70). He invites Pakistanis over to his place often, and his physician wife keeps herself active among the Pakistanis' wives. The wives of both these brothers are Pakistanis who help their husbands in the organization and celebration of such events, but they, themselves do not like to drink or dance. They

strictly wear Pakistani dresses and want always to be closely related with the Pakistani culture. (87 - 89).

The Punjabis make the largest group among the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan who have American spouses. Their wives help them in their businesses as well as in their socialization with the other Americans. The Karachiites are the next on the list among the Pakistanis with mixed marriages. Similarly, many other unmarried Pakistanis, particularly the students in this part of the state, undergo a change in their attitude towards the system of arranged marriages. Most of the mixed marriages happen among the students or the single physicians, who are more open to change than the rest of the Pakistanis in this area. These youths, despite early protests from their parents, eventually succeed in convincing them about their personal decisions. The distance from Pakistan, the decrease in the control by parents and education in liberal institutions bring about this sort of cultural change. The individualistic and personal approach towards the important matters of daily life like, marriage, religion or social relationship is the necessary out-come of the acculturation of these Pakistanis.

Religion, as we have seen earlier, is a very important social institution for all the Pakistanis back home. After spending a few years in the U.S., the Pakistanis feel differently towards religion. They do not refute the

importance of religion in their life, but start considering it more or less a personal affair.

Yet there are many Pakistanis, who, with the passage of time, become more religious and conservative. They develop strong doubts and suspicions about American moral standards. Such Pakistanis do not commend religion as a personal affair but rather feel more secure in practicing it with others. The religion provides them with a sort of psychological solace in an alien culture, where they feel more lonely and out of place. The extent of loyalties to their religion is determined by their involvement in the third culture. The resurgence of more religiosity among some Pakistanis in South-East Michigan is not without any reason. One respondent observed:

"I was very liberal and outgoing for the past few years. I did everything which an American youth does. All of a sudden, I was more liberal than many Americans, until my wife left me and I came back to my senses. Then I started associating myself with the Muslims, until I discovered my real identity." (30).

The Pakistanis, during the third stage in their acculturation develop more affinity for America than they do distaste. Most of the respondents appreciated individual freedom, better organizes public systems and the beautiful landscape of the country. On the basis of their personal experiences with other Americans, they testify their honesty

and faithfulness towards their jobs. At the same time, many of them express their dislike for the increasing rate of crimes and drug addiction in the American society. They criticize the cold attitude on the part of the American government towards Pakistan. As regards discrimination, very few Pakistanis suffer at the hands of their American colleagues, but all of them are very conscious of racial prejudices existing around. A student complained of being victimized by his teachers because of his leftist leanings. (32). A Pakistani physician, holding a very important administrative office with the state feels a wave of jealousy around him which to him is due to his different skin color. (61). The Pakistani students and, likewise, many other professionals, living in South-East Michigan do not face any discrimination on the basis of race, color, nationality or religion. But many of the respondents expected some sort of discrimination in the future, when more and more unskilled Pakistanis will compete with the Americans for low-paid jobs.

Many Pakistanis who chanced to travel other countries like in Europe, Canada or Middle East, quoted their personal observation of discrimination meted out to the Pakistanis. The sizeable numbers of the Pakistanis in the Commonwealth countries make them visible communities, quite enough to raise the resentment among some of the natives. The economic competition, lack of mutual communication and racial prejudices enhance the atmosphere of mutual suspicions. Immigrants from



the sub-continent residing in such countries become the scapegoats for the socio-political tensions in these local societies. The sporadic events of violence are not unusual in the Commonwealth countries. Similarly, in the oil-rich Middle Eastern countries, where most of the Pakistani blue-collar workers are engaged, there exists tragic evidences of racism. The economic jealousies are multiplied by the lack of mutual communication. The semi-educated Pakistanis, providing the bulk of labor in these countries, suffer the most at the hands of the natives who ignore the dignity of human labor. The existence of such servitude could not be wiped out from these societies even by an egalitarian religion like Islam.

In the case of the United States, such tensions do not exist except in a few cases. Relatively fewer numbers of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan make them almost an invisible minority. The comparatively better educational and professional background of the Pakistanis helps them in securing a better place in the mainstream of the American society.

The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan deal with all sorts of Americans in their daily lives. The students on the campuses meet whites, blacks, Hispanics and many other ethnic Americans. Similarly, the professionals deal with the cross-ethnic Americans, but still, the relationships of the Pakistanis, with the non-white minorities is rare, limited

and more formal. The Pakistanis, generally prefer to go out with the white American females; like to live in predominantly white neighborhoods, and in mixed marriages prefer the white women over others. A few Pakistanis students believe in going out with black girls but do not want to marry them. These Pakistanis either suffer from some racial prejudices or are afraid of socializing with the other ethnic minorities due to some images shared commonly by other Pakistanis. Interestingly many Pakistanis lament racism in American, but when it comes to their own person lives, they themselves share racist tendencies. The religious Pakistanis associate with the local Muslims from the black community but avoid close association with non-Muslim blacks. The Pakistanis businessmen have mixed feelings and varied attitudes towards other minorities in Detroit. The members of a Pakistani family, running a very lucrative business in ethnic foods near downtown Detroit, keep the doors of their shop closed for blacks and let only familiar Eastern or American individuals in. They never were robbed of a penny by any black, but are scared and cautious. (83 - 84).

#### Women and Acculturation

By the start of the third phase in their stay, the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan accept changes in their basic attitudes towards their own women as well as other. These women, equally, play a very important role in the

process of cultural change among their Pakistanis men. The American wives of the Pakistanis do not sever their basic contacts with their own culture, but rather introduce many of its traits to their husbands. Proficiency in language, expansion in social relations with the Americans and a reinforced mobility are some of the results of mixed marriages. Similarly, these women accept some norms of Pakistanis culture like, religion, food and dress. Most of these women pick up some Urdu words and use them while talking with other Pakistani women. Many of these wives of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan have visited Pakistan and have mixed impressions about the life-styles there. Like their husbands, they lose much of their early romanticism about Pakistan after their first visit. They dislike the poverty, lack of sanitation and general illiteracy in Pakistan. They do not accept the low status of women in Pakistan and thus, prefer to stay in the U.S. These women, on their return to the U.S. describe their experiences to other American spouses of the Pakistanis and share fears and ambiguities together. The American spouses of the Pakistani students in South-East Michigan are well-informed about Pakistan and some of them are prepared to go back with their husbands. These women, their husbands and many other Pakistanis live in the mainstream of the third culture and are generally, social, mobile and moderate in their attitudes. The American spouses of the Pakistanis prefer urban life in Pakistan and are hesitant to live in

rural or tribal areas. The rural, urban and religious backgrounds of such spouses determine their affiliations with the country of their husbands. Sometimes, the mixed marriages go through many strains because of personal, social, psychological, religious and cultural factors. The decision to settle in one of the two countries costs an enormous sacrifice on the part of the partners in marriage, which can jolt the whole marriage. The prospects of success in mixed marriages are few, as many other married Pakistanis couples in South-East Michigan believe.

Pakistani wives in this region adopt new roles in their day-to-day life. Some start attending schools, some join training program, while many absorb themselves in a variety of odd jobs. The skilled Pakistanis women have their own professions such as medicine and teaching. The wives of the Pakistani businessmen help their men in running the stores or keeping account of other business-related things. Except a few strict individuals, all other Pakistanis encourage their wives to obtain certain skills or jobs.

Despite all the monetary charm and better economic facilities in America, the Pakistani women feel more lonely and homesick than their husbands. They miss their families, language and homeland continuously and accept a new life in a different country as a fait accompli. These women prefer to associate closely with other Pakistani women in this part

of Michigan. The educated, urban and well-travelled Pakistani women, in the selection of their friends, do not care much about their ethnicity; just being a Pakistani is an enough recommendation. The semi-educated women from rural areas of Pakistan prefer to be intimate with the women of their own ethnic stock since it facilitates their mutual communication.

Many Pakistanis in South-East Michigan, who get married during the second or the third phase, attribute many changes in their attitudes to their wives. One Pakistani remarked, "I always took the idea of going back to Pakistan very lightly. I enjoyed all kinds of American leisure activities and did not think seriously about my study, country or my future. Since getting married, I have become more nationalistic in my ideas, do more study work and I am eager to go back." (5). Another Pakistani married to a non-Pakistani Muslim spouse believes, "I used to work whole day in hotels and restaurants as a janitor and would come home very late. I would not feel like studying, but my wife always pushed me and encouraged me to study by sitting awake for hours with me. Similarly, my wife has saved me from straying away from my culture and has helped me become a real Muslim." (20). A Pakistani physician observed, "My wife, a physician herself, always wears Pakistani clothes. Her stability in her own culture has helped me in refraining from drinking or dancing." (70).

Thus, the final stage in acculturation appears as an inevitable reality. With the result, the members of the Pakistani community in this part of Michigan undergo an enormous amount of change in their daily habits and attitudes. They, along with their women, succeed in finding an equilibrium between East and West. They, now on, live in America, like other minorities and many features of American culture do not shock them anymore. They establish their families in this part of the world and share expectations as well as frustrations of a new life with many others. Their social contacts with Americans become regular association, which help dynamically in the diffusion of the Pakistani-American culture.

## Chapter 7

### CONCLUSION

The acculturation of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan is a reality in which many factors are operative. The importance of the study of the present kind increases tremendously due to the fact that here one sees East and West compromising with each other in a very dynamic way. The Pakistanis, representing different age groups, with different family status and belonging to a number of ethnic groups are engaged in many kinds of professions. All these variables, joined by a strong religious faith help the Pakistanis in shaping their life-styles in the U.S. The mutual images of the Pakistanis and Americans in a broader and historical context represent a basic lack of understanding based on realities, rather sensational media and other channels of cheap information try to fill the gap. So, the early contacts between the Pakistanis and Americans are limited and it takes an immense amount of time and effort on the part of an individual to come to a reasonable evaluation of the other culture. However, after the early shock is over, the adjustment takes a more natural and stable course. The role of the peers decreases during the second stage in stay and by the start of the third stage vanishes out completely. The Pakistani, with a new vigour and confidence, explores the new culture and participates actively

in the third culture. He, rather helps in shaping the common grounds for a joint Pakistani American culture. The three variables, family, profession and ethnicity, not only determine his/her role in the third culture, but also cause changes in the habits and attitudes of a Pakistani residing in South-East Michigan.

One can summarize the discussion regarding the acculturation of the Pakistani community in this part of Michigan more specifically as following:

1-The Pakistani culture is a very Eastern culture where family, religion, profession, and ethnic origins determine the cultural role of an individual.

2-The Pakistanis started coming to the U.S. in very recent years and before that the relationship between the two cultures was minimal. The mutual images, based on second hand information, and, which have been partially true, persisted through the years.

3-The acculturation of the Pakistanis in American culture covers a variety of fields of activities, including the changes in habits, life-styles and attitudes. The process of cultural change usually relates with the three different stages or phases in the stay of a Pakistani in South-East Michigan.

4-The similar studies of acculturation on other groups show similarities between the experiences of such people and Pakistanis in this part of the U.S. The language, new food, more mobility, different socio-cultural habits and a



more formal atmosphere are some of the new things for the people from the Eastern countries. The Pakistanis, generally, do not face problems in language, since English is a compulsory language back in Pakistan, but the newness in many other things presents itself as a challenge for all sorts of Pakistanis coming to the U.S.

The acculturation of the Europeans in America is comparatively easy because of the similarities between the two continents. The religion, race, life-styles and the presence of large number of people from home country make the acculturation much easier for the European immigrants than that of the people from the Afro-Asian countries.

5-The immigration of the Pakistanis to the U.S. is a very recent development and because of restrictive measures on the part of the American Government, the number of the Pakistani community is relatively quite small. The Pakistanis in the U.S. are an invisible minority unlike their copatriots in other Commonwealth countries. The Pakistanis in the U.S. are mostly part of the brain-drain phenomenon; though the number of the unskilled personnel is on the increase due to the mutual sponsorships. The exact number of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan is not certain, but it should not exceed 850, including the minors. In the U.S., New York, Chicago, Boston, Houston, Los Angeles and San Francisco are the main centers of the Pakistanis, where they are engaged in a variety of professions. Due to their large numbers in these cities, the business in ethnic foods, clothings

and other related recreational necessities in increasing. Detroit is following the patterns of these big cities, too.

6-The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan can be conveniently categorized on the basis of the three variables. Most of the single Pakistanis are students, while the professionals are mostly married. The students are generally in their twenties and the professionals usually belong to the age groups of thirties and on.

The number of the Pakistani professionals, other than the students, is on a steady increase in the community and their socio-economic conditions are much more stable than those of the students. The professionals include the blue-collar workers, physicians, pharmacists, lawyers, engineers, state employees and many other personnel engaged in businesses or semi-skilled jobs. The self-supporting students along with their wives make the major portion of Pakistani unskilled labor in this part of Michigan. The summer jobs help them specially in their mobility in different sections of the American society where their interaction is mostly with the lower-income people. The skilled and better-placed Pakistani professionals deal with all sorts of Americans which helps in their acculturation.

The Urdu-speaking people from Karachi and the Punjabis are the two majority groups among the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan. The number of Punjabis has been continuously increasing due to the extended family system more prevalent

among the Punjabis. The Pathans, the rural Sindhis and the Baluchis are the minor ethnic groups of Pakistanis in South-East Michigan.

7-The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan can be further divided into three major groups on the basis of their religious affiliations. The most religious Pakistanis are the orthodox ones, followed by the moderates and the liberals respectively. This distribution, also, highlights the extent of a varied cultural response from the community members towards American culture.

8-The Pakistanis, at the time of their arrival in the U.S., suffer from a sort of cultural shock, which manifests itself in the shape of a nostalgia for one's own relatives, friends and country. The interaction with the Americans is very limited at this stage of their stay and the Pakistanis mostly try to associate with their own countrymen, already residing in South-East Michigan.

9-During the second stage in their stay, which starts a few months after their arrival in the U.S., the Pakistanis feel more at ease in developing an intimacy with the American culture. They now start participating actively in the third culture, which combines the traits of Pakistani as well as American culture. The extent of their involvement again rests on their familial, professional and ethnic background. The single students and physicians are the most mobile Pakistanis to get closer to the Americans. The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan, during their second stage in the stay

start accepting the new cultural realities around them and many of the outgoing members in the community start mixing with the Americans more intimately. The jobs, leisure time activities and more dependency on the new culture helps in their acculturation tremendously.

10-During the third phase of their stay, the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan find themselves more prepared mentally to interact in a cross-cultural environment. With a new self-reliance, their first-hand knowledge of the norms of the new culture makes their adjustment easier and smoother. Their habits and attitudes undergo a vital cultural change, and similarly their relations with both the cultures. The new needs in the new land and fewer contacts with the back home fashion them deeply in the new socio-cultural environment.

11-The acculturation of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan owes a lot to the personal background of the individuals. The unmarried Pakistanis in their twenties are the most active members in the community in the cross-cultural relationships. They accept many things from the new culture since they have fewer family responsibilities and their youthful age gives them an ample amount of enthusiasm to adventure deeply into the new culture. A large number of mixed marriages take place among the Pakistanis in this age group. The jeans, hamburgers, pop music, travel, dates, week-end parties and the open discussions on the national and international problems become usual norms of their lives. The married Pakistanis in South-East Michigan feel more responsible

towards their families and cultures. They worry about the future of their children in the new society and think more seriously about the needs of their dependents. They are more sensitive about the changes in their daily habits and attitudes and mostly live on the fringes of the third culture. Such people prefer to associate with the other married Pakistani couples, and unlike the bachelor Pakistanis, are not that mobile either.

The Pakistanis with the American spouses have a more direct and an easier access to the American culture. Their wives help them in accepting many realities of the new culture and somehow cause more mobility among their Pakistani husbands. These mixed couples work in the heart of the third culture. Most of such marriages happen in America and the partners end up living in America permanently. The lack of material comforts in Pakistan motivates these Pakistanis to stay on in the U.S. indefinitely.

The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan, mostly, believe in marrying with the Pakistani girls as they share doubts about the endurance of mixed marriages. The marriages with the Pakistani spouses gives them a psychological strength and security in American society. These Pakistani wives, though like to live in the U.S. because of their husbands, and material benefits, yet they feel very nostalgic about their own families and culture back home. Many of these wives in South-East Michigan feel very lonely and yearn to go back and thus try to visit their families in Pakistan very often. Many

Pakistani women cause the resurgence of a strong religiosity, more purposefulness and a new wave of nationalism in their husbands.

The Pakistanis in the U.S., like many other Eastern minority groups in America, are very family-minded people. They continue on sponsoring many of their relatives to the U.S., and cherish their strong family ties together.

12-The Pakistanis in South-East Michigan are engaged in different kinds of professions which help them variably in getting used to American culture. The students are, generally, the most serious and outgoing groups of Pakistanis since they have a variety of opportunities of meeting Americans of different interests. The lawyers and the physicians, particularly the bachelors among them, are the most acculturated Pakistani professionals. Their affluent life-styles in the upper-middle class suburban houses afford them with the mobility among the upper circles of the American society. The Pakistani businessmen deal with the Pakistanis and the other people from the sub-continent. Some businessmen deal with the Americans mainly, but again it depends upon the nature of their business. The members of the Pakistani blue-collar labor have mixed attitudes towards American life-styles. Their basic purpose is to make money without getting much involved in the American culture, and in this they are usually very successful. They, however, prefer to associate with the other Pakistanis and have a limited interaction with the Americans. A majority of them are married and lead reserved

family lives. The mixed marriages among these Pakistanis are very rare.

13-The ethnic backgrounds of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan as the third variable in our study, influence the process of their acculturation. The rural and tribal Pakistanis are generally more conservative in cultural change than their urban counterparts. They are more culture-conscious and are very sensitive towards their family obligations. They, even after a long time in their stay, continue on missing their language, friends and homeland. If given a choice, they prefer to associate with the other Pakistanis of the same ethnic stock which they themselves belong to. They have extended families back home and keep in close contacts with them. They help their new members.

The urban Pakistanis are usually more outgoing and are well-prepared for a cultural change. Karachi and Lahore, the two big cities in Pakistan, have the largest representation among the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan. These people associate with the Americans more often and feel less inhibited in their relationship due to more proficiency in language and better preparedness to live in a different culture. They never try to alienate themselves from their own ethnic ties, but also, do not like isolation from other Americans.

Among all the ethnic groups of Pakistanis, represented in South-East Michigan, the Punjabis are the most social people. The Urdu-speaking Pakistanis from Karachi have been culturally the most mobile of all, but the Punjabis, due to

the steady increase in their number and expansion in their socio-cultural activities, have started replacing the Karachiites on the list. The Punjabi skilled personnels are highly-placed Pakistanis in this part of Michigan and they relate with the upper-class Americans very often. The Punjabi lawyers and physicians are growing in number and are present in almost every corner of South-East Michigan. They have, already started becoming part and parcel of the new society. Some of them even provide leadership to their local Pakistani communities and find it a matter of prestige to host other Pakistanis and particularly the Punjabis at their luxurious homes.

The blue-collar Punjabis, working in factories, prefer to associate with other Punjabis, but are usually hesitant in entering the higher circles of suburban life.

The Urdu-speaking Pakistanis residing in South-East Michigan are a very language-conscious group and generally do not get very close to the Punjabis in socialization. The rural Sindhis, on the other hand are very small in number in this part of the U.S., and mostly belong to the student community. They feel more cultural strangeness, unlike the rural Punjabis or tribal Pathans. However, they associate with all sorts of Pakistanis and due to their short periods of stay in the U.S. do not get to know many other Pakistanis. The Pathans, cherishing their own language, prefer to associate with other Pathans in the region. They socialize with all kinds of Pakistanis equally and develop closer



friendships with the people from other Pakistani ethnic groups. The Pathans in South-East Michigan make a very small number of the Pakistani population, but are highly educated and well-placed members in the community. The tribal Pathans miss their homeland, and in the mutual gatherings cherish their tribal traditions. Language and religion play a very decisive part in the determination of their roles in the new soci-cultural cosmos. Very few mixed marriages occur among the Pathans, for whom family honor is a very unchallengable fact.

Thus, the ethnicity is a very vital variable in the acculturation. Besides their attitudes towards American culture, the mutual attitudes of the Pakistanis reflect their ethnic orientations. Like attachment with the family, or family status, and profession, the ethnic loyalties create a polarization of cultural forces among the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan.

Throughout their stay in the United States, the knowledge of the English language plays a very decisive part in the acculturation of the Pakistanis. That is why, the Pakistani graduate students or other skilled professionals in South-East Michigan find it comparatively easy in communicating with the American people. Their proficiency in the comprehension of American English helps them in selecting, accepting or rejecting the American cultural norms. On the other hand, the Pakistanis who have some

deficiency in any aspect of English, find it hard to adjust in the new socio-cultural environment. They cannot communicate with the Americans that easily, and mostly interact with the other fellow Pakistanis. Consequently, their acculturation takes a slower pace than that of others.

APPENDICIES

### EXPLANATORY NOTE

Before I introduce my research undertaking, I want to introduce myself to you. I am a Graduate student at MSU in East Lansing in the Dept. of English. I am a doctoral candidate in the American Studies with Dr. Victor Howard as my academic advisor. I hope to finish my research requirements before the end of the current year and hope to join back the University of Islamabad, my parent institution.

I have decided to do research on the Pakistanis in the United States for the fulfillment of my Ph.D. requirements. The topic for my dissertation is A Study of the Acculturation of the Pakistanis in South-East Michigan in reference to three variables: Family, Profession and Ethnicity. It is purely an academic activity with no political or subservise intentions what-so-ever. My dissertation will deal with the cross-cultural experiences of the Pakistanis in the American context. I have no other source-material in this field and only information provided by your friends will make my basis for the assumptions.

The Pakistanis make a new ethnic group in the American society because of their recent arrival in this part of the world. Their cultural experiences in this new

social environment make a very unique cross-cultural study. My present contacts and the subsequent ones too, all deal with the same theme. My contacts with you will be through a kind of field-work based on data collection, interviews personal observations and experiences and by distribution of two questionnaires which you will receive from me. In this regard, your full cooperation will be of tremendous help to me. I will really appreciate if you could write your name and address on the questionnaires so that I could contact you for further information. It is voluntary, but your cooperation will be of utmost encouragement for a citizen of your own country.

I assure you of full confidence and secrecy regarding all kinds of information provided to me and I will stand responsible for that. Furthermore, I assure you that after the research is complete, I will destroy all the information and its sources. I promise this with a perfect honesty. You can use any convenient language out of Urdu and English for the answers and could write as much as you like.

Your information about the community members, some social gatherings or any other cultural activity can be of great importance for me. There have been several studies similar to the present one made of other ethnic groups in this area, but there is no regular work done on the Pakistanis. I hope, that with your cooperation and confidence in me, we could start in this direction at least a little bit.

## THE PAKISTANIS IN THE UNITED STATES

### Questionnaire No. 1.

(Note): As mentioned in the Explanatory Note, this questionnaire is to gather information about the cultural experiences of the Pakistanis in the United States. It is purely an academic activity with no political or subversive motives at all. Your answers will make the basis for my assumptions in my dissertation for my Ph. D. I hope your full cooperation in this regard and assure you of full secrecy for all kinds of information given to me. I will especially request you to write your name and address for my convenience to contact you for a new more questionnaires. Use any language out of Urdu and English you feel comfortable with. I will really appreciate if you could send me the questionnaire back in your earliest possible. Thanx.

### Personal.

1. Would you please write your name?
2. Current address for future questionnaires?
3. Age.
4. Marital Condition.
5. Which province of Pakistan do you belong to?
6. Which is your mother's tongue?

History.

7. When did you arrive in the States first?
8. How long have you been in this city?
9. What is your visa status?
10. Was your visit sponsored by some Pakistani or American organization?
11. If yes, can you write the name of the organization?
12. Did somebody else cause your visit?
13. If yes, can you just mention your relationship with that person?
14. How did you select this town for your dwelling?

About Education & Profession

15. Are you a student?
16. If yes, will you please write your major field and class of study?
17. What basic degree did you hold from Pakistan?
18. If not a student, can you tell me your profession or field of training?
19. If not a student, were you offered your job while you were in Pakistan?
20. Did you face any problem in finding this job?
21. How long did you wait here in the U.S. to get the job?
22. Did you face any discrimination for the job?
23. If not sponsored, do you work or get some financial help?

Dwelling.

Will you check in the relevant box for your dwelling place?

1 \_\_\_ Dormitory

2 \_\_\_ Married Housing

3 \_\_\_ Off-campus housing

25. If immigrant, do you own this place?

26. How did you select this place of dwelling?

Religion & Family.

27. Which religion sect do you belong to?

28. If married, can you tell me the nationality and religion of your wife?

29. Is your wife here with you?

30. When and where did you get married?

31. How many children do you have now?

32. Does your wife work somewhere?

33. Is your wife a student, too?

34. What language do you generally use at home?

35. What language do you speak with your children?



## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

### QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 2

(Note): THE PRESENT SAMPLE FOR Interview follows the first questionnaire which was meant to be of a more preliminary nature. This exhaustive interview is meant for my Ph.D. dissertation and I hope that with your cooperation and trust in me, I will be able to make genuine statements in my thesis. I assure you of full protection and secrecy of information provided to me.

The Sample is divided into three parts which actually deal with the three stages of your stay, that is, the beginning part or the early days of your stay, the middle part or the recent past of your stay in the U.S., and finally the present adjustment in your American society. I will appreciate if you try to give answers to all of my questions. Thanks.

### Some QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EARLY PART OF YOUR STAY IN THE U.S.

1. Would you please give me your name?
2. Your address please?
3. Which province of Pakistan you belong to?
4. Which ethnic group in Pakistan you belong to?
5. When did you come to the U.S. first?

6. In what capacity did you first arrive in the U.S.?
7. Which place in the U.S. did you land at first?
8. Did you live with some friend in the beginning?
9. If so, can you tell me the ethnic background of that friend?
10. Did you encounter any sort of bitter experience in the beginning?
11. Did something shock you in the beginning?
12. Did you face any sort of discrimination in the early days of your stay in the U.S.?
13. How long have you been in Michigan?
14. How did you decide to move to the present place of accommodation?
15. What did you think of American food then?
16. What did you think of American dress styles then?
17. Did you feel hesitant in wearing jeans and rough clothes?
18. Who were your best friends then?
19. Did you make friendships with the Americans?
20. How did you come across them?
21. Did you believe in going out with the American girls?
22. Can you give me the reason for the above answer?
23. Did you visit any American club then?
24. Were you mostly associating with the Pakistanis in particular and the Muslims in general?
25. What ethnic group you preferred to be around while associating with the Pakistanis?
26. Did they invite you over mostly?
27. Did they try to influence your opinion about the Americans?
28. Were you mostly associating with the married couples or with the single ones?

29. Did something bother you in your association with the countrymen?
30. How did you find the attitude of the American wives of the Pakistanis?
31. What kind of professional people were you associating mostly amongst the Pakistanis?
32. Did you feel more comfortable with the Pakistanis of the same profession you are in? Why so?
33. Did you travel in the early days of your stay?
34. Were you going out the movies?
35. What kind of movies you were going to mostly?
36. What kind of company you would be with while going out for movies?
37. Were you going to religious meetings often?
38. Did you face any problem in communicating with the Americans?
39. How did you improve it?
40. Did you feel homesick often?
41. Any other impressions of your early days in America?

Some questions about your RECENT PAST

42. How did you find your living conditions in the U.S., once you got settled?
43. What kind of neighborhood did you move into?
44. How did you decide about that?
45. Did you face any academic problem?
46. Did you feel adjusted with the educational system here in the U.S.?
47. Did you face any discrimination at the job?

48. Did you face any sort of frustration in your relationship with your American colleagues, class-mates or roommates?
49. What sort of changes you felt in yourself once you came across wide range of American society?
50. Were your friends mostly Pakistanis?
51. Did most of your Pakistani friends belong to the same ethnic group you belong to?
52. Were they very friendly with you?
53. Did they help/hinder in your adjustment in America?
54. Did something bother you about them?
55. Were you going to the meetings of the Pakistanis?
56. Did you feel comfortable with their activities?
57. Did you become involved in any such cultural or social activities?
58. Did your wife feel comfortable with other Pakistani women in such meetings?
59. Any reason for the above answer?
60. Did you feel being left out by the Pakistanis because of your family, ethnicity or profession?
61. Did you attend meetings arranged by the Muslim Students' Association?
62. Did you hold any office with MSA?
63. Did you belong to any American social or cultural group?
64. Did you feel alienated because of your familial, ethnic or professional background in Americans' get-togethers?
65. Did you travel during this intermediary stage of your stay?
66. Did you like the American food?
67. Did you sometimes make American dishes at home?
68. Your favorite American dish or restaurant?

69. What kind of movies you were going to?
70. Did you see many American movies then?
71. Did you like American T.V. programs?
72. Any favorite T.V. programs?
73. Something which you want to say about the American T.V.?
74. Did you like your wife watch T.V. often?
75. Did you like the American music?
76. Did you go to any concert or club? How often?
77. Did you like to dance?
78. Did you date any American girl?
79. Did you ever think of marrying her?
80. Did you like your kids going with the American kids?
81. Any reason for the above answer?
82. Anything helping you in your relationship with the Americans?
83. Anything hindering you in your relationship with the Americans?
84. Did you, at that stage of stay ever think of going back to Pakistan?
85. Why did you decide to stay here?
86. Any other comment or impressions about your cultural experience in the U.S. at that time?

NOW SOMETHING ABOUT YOUR PRESENT

87. How do you feel about your present neighborhood?
88. How did you come across to it?
89. Do you own your dwelling?
90. Did the number in your family increase?

91. Do you own any car?
92. Do you own any stereo system?
93. Do you eat outside often?
94. Do you eat mostly Pakistani food?
95. Do you entertain your friends mostly with the Pakistani food?
96. Your favorite Pakistani dish?
97. Your favorite American dish?
98. Do you have some American friends?
99. Is your best friend a Pakistani or an American?
100. Does your best friend belong to the same ethnic origin?
101. How do you keep in touch with the people from the same ethnic origin?
102. What language do you speak with your friends from the same province of Pakistan?
103. What language do you speak while at home?
104. In what language do you write letters back home?
105. Do you wear American clothes often?
106. Do you allow your wife or children to wear American dresses?
107. What kind of dresses do you recommend for your family while attending Pakistani get-togethers?
108. Do you generally attend the Muslims' meetings?
109. Are you an office bearer in any Muslims' organization?
110. Any reason for the above answer?
111. Are you active in any Pakistani group?
112. Any reason for that?
113. Do you allow your other family members to attend the American parties?

114. How do you keep in touch with the happenings in Pakistan?
115. Do you read newspapers on Pakistan?
116. What does discourage you mainly about Pakistan?
117. Did you travel back to Pakistan once you landed here in the U.S.?
118. Do the other Pakistanis, other than in your own ethnic group, discriminate against you because of your familial, ethnic or professional backgrounds?
119. Do you attend any American social activity?
120. Do you go to any American club?
121. What kind of music you like to listen?
122. Do you attend any American parties on the week-ends?
123. Do you like to date an American girl?
124. Would you recommend dating for your near relatives?
125. Any reason for the above answer?
126. Do the Pakistanis discriminate against you if you go out with an American girl?
127. Do you yourself feel bad about your countrymen who go out with the American girls?
128. Any impression or comment about the mixed marriages?
129. Do you prefer the arranged marriage system?
130. Who so?
131. How do the people of your ethnic group treat your American wife or girlfriend?
132. How does your wife react to that?
133. What kind of T.V. program do you watch on T.V.?
134. Does your wife like soap operas?
135. How do you feel about that?

136. Do you like your children to watch T.V.?
137. Any comment on American T.V.?
138. Do you travel quite a bit?
139. What kind of people you come across?
140. Do you face any discrimination in your business by the customers because of your ethnic, familial or professional background?
141. What kind of customers do you get mostly?
142. Do you like the lifestyles here in the U.S.?
143. Anything you like the most about America?
144. Anything you dislike the most about America?
145. Would you like your children to grow up here?
146. Any reason for the above answer?
147. Are you planning to stay here forever?
148. Any reason for the above answer?
149. How do you like the educational system here?
150. Do you invite your neighbors/friends/colleagues over for tea or dinner?
151. What kinds of things do you discuss often with them?
152. How does your wife help you in your social interaction with the Americans?
153. How often are you invited over by the Americans?
154. How does your wife feel about your job or study?
155. Does she feel discriminated by other Pakistani wives because of her family, ethnicity or profession?
156. Do you celebrate American holidays? How?
157. Do you celebrate Pakistani holidays? How?
158. Do you celebrate Islamic holidays? How?



159. Are you planning to bring some members of your family from Pakistan to the U.S.?
160. Do you talk with the other Pakistanis about your cultural experiences in America?
161. Any other related impression or ideas about your socio-cultural experiences in the U.S.?
162. Any suggestion for the present study or such kinds of studies in future?

The List of the Pakistani Respondents

1. A graduate student from Punjab (MSU)
2. A graduate student from NWFP (MSU)
3. A graduate student from Karachi (MSU)
4. An undergraduate student from Karachi (MSU)
5. A graduate student from Punjab (MSU)
6. A graduate student from Punjab (MSU)
7. A graduate student from Sind (MSU)
8. A graduate student from Sind (MSU)
9. A graduate student from Sind (MSU)
10. A female graduate student from Sind (MSU)
11. A graduate student from Karachi (MSU)
12. An undergraduate student from Punjab (MSU)
13. A graduate student from NWFP (MSU)
14. A graduate student from Punjab (MSU)
15. A graduate student from Karachi (MSU)
16. A visiting graduate student from Karachi (MSU)
17. A graduate student from Punjab (MSU)
18. A graduate student from NWFP (MSU)
19. A graduate student from Beluchistsn (MSU)
20. A graduate student from Punjab (MSU)
21. A graduate student from Punjab (UoM)
22. A graduate student from Karachi (UoM)

23. An undergraduate student from Punjab (UoM)
24. An undergraduate female student from Punjab (UoM)
25. A graduate student from NWFP (UoM)
26. A graduate student from Karachi (UoM)
27. A graduate student from Karachi (UoM)
28. A graduate student from Sind (UoM)
29. A graduate student from Sind (UoM)
30. A graduate student from NWFP (UoM)
31. An undergraduate student from Punjab (UoM)
32. A graduate student from Punjab (UoM)
33. A recent Punjabi graduate from UoM
34. A recent Punjabi graduate from UoM
35. A graduate student from Karachi (EMU)
36. A graduate student from Punjab (EMU)
37. A Punjabi undergraduate student (UoD)
38. A recent Pathan graduate from WSU
39. An undergraduate student from Karachi (WSU)
40. A graduate student from Punjab (WSU)
41. A graduate student from Punjab (WMU)
42. A graduate student from Karachi (WMU)
43. A part-time graduate student from Karachi in Detroit  
Institute of Technology
44. A Punjabi visiting professor at MSU
45. A visiting professor from Karachi (MSU)
46. A faculty member from Punjab (UoM)
47. A regular faculty member from Punjab (EMU)

48. A regular faculty member from Karachi (WMU)
49. A regular faculty member from Karachi (WMU)
50. A Punjabi semi-skilled worker in Lansing
51. A Punjabi un-skilled worker (Lansing)
52. A Pathan skilled worker near Lansing
53. A Punjabi unskilled worker (Lansing)
54. A Punjabi store owner (Lansing)
55. A salesman from Karachi (Lansing)
56. A Punjabi sanitary engineer (Lansing)
57. An engineer from Karachi working with the state (Lansing)
58. An engineer from Karachi working with the state (Lansing)
59. A Punjabi engineer working for the state (Lansing)
60. An accountant from Karachi working for the state  
(Lansing)
61. A Punjabi physician working for the state (Lansing)
62. A Pathan physician working at a local hospital near  
Lansing
63. A Punjabi physician working in a hospital near Lansing
64. A Punjabi unskilled worker (Ann Arbor)
65. A Pathan semi-skilled worker (Tecumseh)
66. A Punjabi engineer (Jackson)
67. A Pathan physician working in a hospital (Monroe)
68. A Pathan physician working in a hospital (Monroe)
69. A physician from Karachi working in a local hospital  
(Detroit)
70. A Punjabi physician working in a hospital (Detroit)

71. A Punjabi physician working in a suburban hospital  
(Detroit)
72. A Punjabi physician working in a suburban hospital  
(Farmington Hills)
73. A Pathan physician employed in a local hospital  
(Detroit)
74. A parking lot attendant from Karachi in downtown  
(Detroit)
75. A semi-skilled worker from Karachi (Detroit)
76. A semi-skilled worker from NWFP (Detroit)
77. A Punjabi semi-skilled laborer (Detroit)
78. A Pathan unskilled worker (Detroit)
79. A Punjabi engineer (Detroit)
80. A Punjabi lawyer (Detroit)
81. A lawyer from Karachi (Detroit)
82. A lawyer from NWFP (Detroit)
83. A businessman from Karachi (Detroit)
84. A businessman from Karachi (Detroit)
85. An airlines' agent from Karachi (Detroit)
86. A Punjabi taxi driver (Detroit)
87. A Punjabi female physician (Detroit)
88. A female business partner from Karachi (Detroit)
89. A Punjabi housewife (Detroit)
90. A Punjabi wife of a student (Lansing)
91. A Pathan wife of a Pathan physician (near Lansing)
92. An American wife of a student from Karachi (Lansing)
93. An American wife of a Pathan semi-skilled worker  
(Tecumseh)

94. An American physician wife of a Pathan physician  
(outside Detroit)
95. An Egyptian wife of a Punjabi student (Lansing)
96. A Punjabi wife of a Punjabi student (Lansing)
97. A Pathan wife of a Pathan student (Ann Arbor)
98. A Punjabi wife of a Punjabi store owner (Lansing)
99. A Sindhi wife of a professor from Karachi (Kalamazoo)
100. The mother of a professor from Karachi (Kalamazoo)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmad, Akbar S. M. Millenium and Charisma Among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology. London: Routledge & Kegen Paul Lts., 1976.
- Ahmad, Aziz. Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment: Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Ali, Azizi. Ali, A Persian Yankee. by Maxine Adam Miller as told by Ali, Caldwell, Idaho, Carton Printers, 1965.
- Aswad, Barbara. "The Southeast Dearborn Community Struggles for Survival Against Urban Renewal" in Aswad, B.C. (ed.) Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities. New York: Center for Migration Studies of New York Inc. and Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., 1974.
- Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities. New York: Center for Migration Studies of New York Inc. and Association of Arab-American University Graduates Inc., 1974.
- Aziz, Khursheed Kamal. The Making of Pakistan: A study in nationalism. London: Chatto & Windus, 1967.
- Aziz, Qutbuddin. Mission to Washington. Karachi: UPI, 1973.
- Baluch, Muhammad, and Sardar Khan. The Great Baluch: Life and Time of Ameer Chakar Khan Rind 14-54-1551 A.D., Quetta: The Baluchi Academy, 1965.
- Barron, Milton. "Book Reivew: Assimilation in American Life, by Milton Gordon," American Sociological Review. 29. 1964, pp. 939-40.
- Barth, F. Political Leadership Among Swat Pathansm. Monograph London: Athlone Press.
- Bass, Jacquelyn. "The Southwest Spanish-Speaking Minority: A Study of Assimilation and Boundary Maintenance," Michigan State University: unpublished M. A. thesis, 1970.
- Benyon, E. D. "The Near East in Flint, Michigan." Geographical Review. 32: 259-74, 1944.



- Bresser. City of Detroit: Cross-Index and Directory. Detroit: Walter Bresser and Sons, 1975-1976.
- Brown, L. and Moore, E. "The Inter-urban Migration Process: A Perspective" in Bourne (ed.) Internal Structure of the City. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Boyce, Ronald. "Residential Mobility and Its Implications for Urban Spatial Change" in Larry Bourne, (ed.) Internal Structure of the City. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Burgess, E.W. "Residential Segregation in American Cities." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. 140 (Nov.): 195-15, 1928.
- Caroe, Alaf. The Pathans, 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Clark, A. H. "Old World Origins and Religious Adherence in Nova Scotia." Geographical Review. 50: 31-44.
- Caudill, W. "Japanese American Personality and Acculturation." Genetic Psychology Monographs. 45: 3-102, 1952.
- Dadabhay, Y. "Circuitous Assimilation Among Rural Hindu-istanis in California." Social Forces. 33: 138-41, 1954.
- Davis, D. H. "The Finland Community, Minnesota." Geographical Review. 25: 382-94, 1935.
- Dervla, Murphy. Full Tilt. London: Tom Murry, 1965.
- Doeppers, D. "The Globeville Neighborhood in Denver." Geographical Review. 57: 56-22, 1967.
- Duncan, O. S. and S. Lieberson. "Ethnic Segregation and Assimilation." American Journal of Sociology. 64: 364-74, 1959.
- Eglar, Zekize. A Punjabi Village in Pakistan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.
- Elfenbein, H. H. M. The Baluchi Language. London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1966.
- El-Kholy, Abdo. The Arab Moslems in the United States: Religion and Assimilation. New Haven: College and University Press, 1966.

- "The Arab Americans: Nationalism and Traditional Preservations" in Hagopian and Paden op. cit. pp. 3-17, 1969.
- Elton, Lord. The Unarmed Invasion, A Study of Afro-Asian Immigrants. London: Geoffrey Bles Ltd., Publ., 1965.
- Fairly, Jean. The Lion River: The Indus. London: Penguin Book Ltd., 1965.
- Faridi, Maulana N. A. K. Baluch Quam Aur Uski Tarikh, Noor Mahal, Multan, Qasar Al-Adab, 1968. (Urdu)
- Fong, S. L. "Assimilation of Chinese in America: Changes in Orientation and Social Perception." American Journal of Sociology. 27: 265-73, 1965.
- Gangkovsky, Yu. V. The Peoples of Pakistan. U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies: reprinted Lahore, Peoples Publishing House, 1971.
- Glazer, N. and D. P. Moynihan. Beyond the Melting Pot. Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1963.
- Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins. New York: Oxford University, 1964.
- Handlin, O. Race and Nationality in American Life. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1957.
- Hashmi, Dr. F. The Pakistani Family in Britain. London: National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967.
- Hoyt, Edwin P. Asians in the West. Nashville, Thomas Nelson Inc., Publ., 1974.
- Isaacs, Harold R. American Jews in Israel. New York: John Day Co., 1965.
- Isaacs, Harold R. Scratches on our Minds: American Images of China and India. New York: John Day Co., 1958.
- Jammaz, Abdulrahman I. "Saudi Students in the United States: A Study of Their Adjustment Problems": An unpublished Ph.D. dissertation at Michigan State University, 1972.
- Jonson, B. "The Location of German Immigrants in the Middle West." Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 41: 1-41.
- Khan, Akbar. Raiders in Kashmir. Karachi, Pak Publ, Ltd., 1970.

- Khan, Liaquat Ali. Pakistan, The Heart of Asia. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Khan, Rahim Bux. My Beloved Pakistan, Memories: Karachi, Trade & Industry Publ, Ltd., 1967.
- Kipling, Rudyard. Kim. (A Novel). New York: Doubleday and Co., 1901.
- Lambrick, H. T. Sind Before the Muslim Conquest. Hyderabad: Sindi Adabi Board, 1975.
- Lambrick, H. T. Sind, A General Introduction. Hyderabad: Sindi Adabi Board, 1975.
- Loomis, Charles P. "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito" Rural Sociology. 24: 54-57, 1959.
- Malik, Iftikhar H. "Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan As a Politician" Lahore, Punjab University: unpublished M.A. thesis, 1971.
- Marden, C. and Meyer, G. Minorities in American Societies. New York: American Book Co., 1968.
- Masters, John. Bhowani Junction. (A Novel). New York: The Viking Press, 1954.
- Matheson, Sylvia A. The Tigers of Baluchistan. London: Arther Barker Ltd., 1967.
- Meinig, D. W. "The Morman Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1946." Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 55: 191-220, 1965.
- Newman, R. E. Pathan Tribal Patterns, An Introductory Study Family Process and Structure. Ridgewood, N.J. Foreign Studies Institute, 1965.
- Paden, A. and Eliane Hagopian. The Arab Americans: Studies in Assimilation. Wilmette, Ill.: Medina University Press International, 1969.
- Pido, Antonio J. A. Social Structures and the Immigration Process As Factors in the Analysis of a non-White Immigrant Minority: The Case of the Phillipinos in a Midwest City, U.S.A. Lansing, MSU, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1976.
- Ray, Santha Ram. Home to India. New York: Scholastic Book Service, 1966.

- Restiveo, Sal P. Visiting Foreign Scientists At American Universities. A Study in the Third Culture of Science. Lansing, Michigan State University, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis.
- Rizh, Salom. Syrian Yankee. Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Daran & Co., 1943.
- Rossi, Peter. Why Families Move. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.
- Scott, Rachel. A Weddingman is Nicer than only Miss. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971.
- Shahnawaz, Jahan Ara. Father and Daughter. Lahore, 1974.
- Sills, David L., (ed.) International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Vol. 1. New York: Crowell, Collier & Macmillan, 1968.
- Stephen, Ian. Pakistan. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963.
- Stephen, Ian. The Pakistanis. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Spain, James W. The Way of the Pathans. London: Robert Hall Ltd., 1962.
- Taeuber, K. and A. F. Taeuber. Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965.
- Tannous, A. F. F. "Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community in the Deep South." American Sociological Review. 8 (June): 264-271, 1943.
- Tinker, Hugh. A New System of Slavery; Export of Indian Labor Overseas, 1850-1920. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Treudley, M. B. "Formal Organization and the Americanization Process with Special References to the Greeks of Boston." American Sociological Review. 14: 44-53, 1949.
- Useem, John. "Work Patterns of Americans in India." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November. 146-170, 1966.
- Useem, John and Ruth. The Interfaces of a Binational Third Culture: A Study of the American Community in India. The Journal of Social Issues. 23: 130-143, 1967.
- Useem John, Ruth Hill Useem and John Donoghue. "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture." Human Organization 22: 169-179, 1963.

- Waheed-Uz-Zaman. Towards Pakistan. Lahore: Publishers United, 1964.
- Wakins, Edward. The Lebanese and Syrians in America. Chicago: Claretian Publication, 1974.
- Ward, P. "The Emergence of Central Immigrant Ghettos in American Cities: 1840-1920." Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 58: 343-59. 1968.
- Wasfi, Afif A. "Dearborn Arab-Moslem Community: A Study of Acculturation." unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1964.
- Wigle, Lauri D. "A Michigan Arab Muslim Community" in Aswad, B.C. (ed.) Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities. New York: Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., 1974.
- Wittke, Carl. The Germans in America. New York: Teachers College Press, 1967.
- Wheeler, R. E. M. Five Thousand Years of Pakistan. London: Christopher Johnson Ltd., 1950.